A grammatical description of Kara-Lemakot

Matthew S. Dryer

A-PL 009 / SLIM 002

This is a grammatical description of the Lemakot dialect of Kara, an Oceanic language in the Lavongai-Nalik subgroup. It is spoken in the northwest part of New Ireland in Papua New Guinea, to the southeast of Tigak and to the northwest of Nalik. This description is based on the translation of the New Testament into Kara, not on field work.

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Acknowledgements

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### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1EXCL</td>
<td>first person exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1INCL</td>
<td>first person inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>first person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2DU</td>
<td>second person dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>second person plural</td>
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<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>second person singular</td>
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<tr>
<td>3DU</td>
<td>third person dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>third person plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>third person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADV</td>
<td>adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART</td>
<td>article</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMPAR</td>
<td>comparative</td>
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<tr>
<td>CONTIN</td>
<td>continuative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU</td>
<td>dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRTR.PL</td>
<td>greater plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HABIT</td>
<td>habitual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCOMPL</td>
<td>incompletive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEF</td>
<td>indefinite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTENS</td>
<td>intensifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTER</td>
<td>interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRANS</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRREAL</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NMLZ</td>
<td>nominalization</td>
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<td>NONSPEC</td>
<td>nonspecific</td>
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<tr>
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<td>passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAUC</td>
<td>paucal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERF</td>
<td>perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREP</td>
<td>preposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREV.STAT</td>
<td>previous state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROHIB</td>
<td>prohibitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURP</td>
<td>purpose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECIP</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REDUP</td>
<td>reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL</td>
<td>reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL</td>
<td>relative clause marker</td>
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<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sibling.oppos</td>
<td>sibling of opposite sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sibling.same</td>
<td>sibling of same sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRANS</td>
<td>transitive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kara is an Austronesian language spoken on the island of New Ireland in Papua New Guinea. The dialect described here is the eastern dialect, spoken in the village of Lemakot. Kara belongs to the Lavongai-Nalik group, whose internal classification is given by Volker (1998) as in Fig. 1, based on Ross (1982).

![Fig. 1: Classification of Lavongai-Nalik languages](image)

The Lavongai-Nalik group is listed by Lewis (2009) as one of five subgroups of the New Ireland subgroup of Oceanic and are spoken in the northwestern third or so of New Ireland, as shown in Fig. 2.

![Fig. 2: Map of New Ireland showing Lavongai-Nalik languages, with inset showing position of Kara within New Guinea](image)
The two languages on each side of Kara both have monograph descriptions: Beaumont (1979) on Tigak to the northwest and Volker (1998) on Nalik to the southeast. As shown in Fig. 1, Tigak is closer genealogically to Kara than Nalik is.

The source of data for this description is rather unusual: except for the phonology, it is based entirely on the translation of the New Testament into Kara (Schlie, Schlie and Mokis 1997). There are obvious risks in basing a description of a language entirely on a translation of the Bible. The most serious risk is that some of the sentences will not be natural Kara, and may be calques on the English version. I strongly suspect that there are many instances of calques in this translation, some of which are described in Appendix 1. The existence of calques does not necessarily indicate inaccurate translation. There are many expressions in the Bible which are very difficult to translate into various languages, and the use of a calque may in some cases be the only obvious solution. A second risk is that constructions which exist in the language, perhaps even commonly, will inadvertently not be included in the translations. There is no question that the use of Bible translations is no substitute for fieldwork-based descriptions.

However, there are a number of other considerations which to some extent ameliorate the risks associated with the use of Bible translations. First, while such translations may not provide a good source for a full description of a language, they do provide, I believe, a reasonable source for grammatical sketches, which is the goal of this description (though it admittedly ended up being a rather long sketch). A sketch based on Bible translation is probably more reliable than a sketch based on limited field work (of which there are many in the literature). Second, the people who translate the Bible generally have greater fluency in the language they are translating into than the majority of linguists who write even detailed descriptions of languages based on field work. In fact, in the case of the Kara New Testament, one of the three authors was a native speaker. Third, it is likely that there are many errors in both detailed descriptions and sketches of languages based on field work, errors that are never identified as such since the description may be the only source of data on the language. In other words, it is not as if a sketch based on Bible translation is unreliable while one based on field work is reliable. While the latter are probably more reliable in general, there are issues of reliability associated with all descriptions. Somewhat paradoxically, the risk associated with descriptions based on Bible translations is decreased precisely because their questionable reliability is so obvious. And last, a translation of the entire New Testament provides an especially large corpus of examples. While this does not address the problem of systematic errors throughout the corpus, it does provide a way of weeding out what look like isolated possible errors and it does provide a very large set of data on which a sketch can be written in a relatively short time.

It is perhaps worth mentioning the history behind this description. Its original goal was primarily pedagogical. I have twice taught a graduate course in which the course project for the students, either individually or in teams of three, was to provide a sketch of a language for

1 I am indebted, however, to helpful comments on an earlier draft by Perry Schlie. I have included the occasional footnote where his comments to me added something to what I was able to determine from the translation of the New Testament. In some cases, his comments suggest changes in the analysis. However, I keep the analysis I had and use only the footnote to point out its shortcomings, since one of the goals of this work is to demonstrate what one can do with just Bible translations, and these cases demonstrate the sort of errors that this approach can make. Some of the paradigms include forms not attested in the New Testament but which Perry Schlie kindly provided me with. He also shared a draft dictionary of Kara with me, that allowed me to identify the meaning of a few words whose meaning was not clear to me from examples in the New Testament.
which there were no grammatical materials or dictionary available, based entirely on Bible translations. The goal of these projects was to provide students with practice in analysing linguistic data for the purpose of language description and in writing brief descriptions. The issues surrounding the reliability of using Bible translations as a source of data are not significant as far as these pedagogical goals are concerned. This course is not a substitute for a field methods course; the students who take this course do so in addition to taking field methods courses. The second time I taught this course, I felt I should try this project out myself, both to have an idea of the challenges it faces, as well as providing a basis for lectures in the course that might be helpful for the students in doing their own analyses based on Bible translations. The language I chose to do this with was Kara and having done the amount of analysis of Kara for the course, felt it worthwhile to write up a description based on this analysis.

Most of this description is based on the four Gospels, Acts, Romans, and Revelation. The remaining books of the New Testament are letters which contain more abstract content than narrative and there is in general a much higher risk of calques in abstract discussion.

There is some literature on Kara, though I deliberately did not look at it until I had completed much of my analysis (since part of the goal of doing it was to experience possible challenges that the students might face). In only a couple of cases did this literature inform me of something I had not already figured out. (One example is the transitivizing suffix -an: see §4.2.3. One reason I may have missed it was that there are two other homophonous suffixes -an.) This literature includes Schlie and Schlie (1988), P. Schlie (1989) and V. Schlie (1989). Chapter 2 on phonology is based largely on Schlie and Schlie (1993). There is also an article on tone in Kara mentioned in Chapter 2, namely Hajek and Stevens (2004). Beaumont (1979) cites Peekel (1915), an unpublished description of Kara in German, which I have not seen.
2 Phonology

Since the source of data for this description is based on a translation of the New Testament, I have no original data and what I say here is based largely on Schlie and Schlie (1993), though the relationship between the phonology and the orthography is based on comparisons of forms in that work and in the New Testament. Table 2.1 lists the consonant phonemes, along with their orthographic representation where different.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>q&lt;k&gt;</th>
<th>ʔ&lt;ʔ&gt;</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>g</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.1: Consonant Phonemes

I have included the glottal stop as a phoneme in Table 2.1, despite the fact that Schlie and Schlie do not list it as a phoneme. Perry Schlie (pc) says that it should be treated as a phoneme, but one with a restricted distribution. Examples of near minimal pairs are nabe’ ‘this’ and nase’ ‘who’ with a final glottal stop contrasting with nane ‘3SG’ without a final glottal stop. The vowels of Kara are shown in Table 2.2.

| i<i> ~ ii> | u<u ~ uu> |
| i<i> | o<u> |
| e<e> | a<a> | o<o> |
| a<aa> |

Table 2.2: Vowel Phonemes

There is not a one-to-one correspondence between the orthographic symbols and phonemes for the high vowels. The tense and lax high vowels contrast only in closed syllables, where orthographic <ii> denotes /i/, <i> denotes /ɪ/, <uu> denotes /u/ and <u> denotes /ʊ/. There is no contrast between tense and lax vowels in open syllables, where only the tense vowels /i/ and /u/ appear. The orthography represents these vowels in open syllables with <i> and <u>. In other words, in closed syllables <i> represents /i/ while in open syllables it represents /ɪ/, and analogously for <u>.

Stress in Kara is determined by the following principles: (1) if the word contains a /a/ (<aa>), then the last occurrence of this vowel will receive primary stress; (2) otherwise, if the word contains any closed syllables, then the last closed syllable will receive primary stress; (3) otherwise, the initial syllable will be stressed.
Hajek and Stevens (2004) report that Kara has tone, at least two tones and possibly three. They cite the following as a minimal pair: [ŋòt] (high tone) ‘louse’ vs. [ŋòt] (low tone) ‘to weed’. Tone is not mentioned by Schlie and Schlie (1993) nor is it represented in the translations used as the basis for this description.
Pronominal morphemes

There are a number of different sorts of pronominal morphemes in Kara. These are most easily classified into five types:

1. weak subject pronouns
2. strong pronouns
3. object clitics and suffix
4. suffixes on nouns indicating possessor
5. suffixes on prepositions indicating object of preposition

Object clitics are found only for 1SG and 3SG; a 3SG object suffix that occurs on aan-nominalizations (§4.2.8). For the other sets of pronominal morphemes there are four numbers (singular, dual, trial and plural) and a distinction in the nonsingular numbers between first person exclusive and first person inclusive.

3.1. Weak subject pronouns

3.1.1. The basic weak subject pronouns

The forms of the weak subject pronouns are given in Table 3.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg</th>
<th>Du</th>
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<td>re</td>
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Table 3.1
Weak subject pronouns

The weak subject pronouns occur in the verbal complex, usually immediately preceding the verb, illustrated by the 1SG weak subject pronoun ne in (3.1).

(3.1) Ne fasuf nami pa-na raarum ...
1SG baptize 2PL PREP-3SG water ...
‘I baptize you with water.’ (Matthew 3:11)

² The first trial inclusive form tutul does not appear to occur in the New Testament but is kindly provided by Perry Schlie (pc).
There is a small set of particles that occur between the weak subject pronoun and the verb (see §7.7), as in (3.2), where the perfect particle fo occurs between the weak subject pronoun ne and the verb.

(3.2) Ne fo xel a Lak Tomexaan si-ak ti pe Isip.
1SG PERF call ART child male POSS-1SG from at Egypt
‘I have called my Son out of Egypt.’ (Matthew 2:15)

The weak subject pronouns occur as part of the verbal complex, not in subject position. This is clear from the fact that one can get a strong pronoun in subject position co-occurring with the weak subject pronoun, as in (3.3), where we get the strong 1SG pronoun nenia and the weak 1SG subject pronoun ne, or a full noun phrase with a noun co-occurring with the weak subject pronoun, as in (3.4), where the weak 3PL subject pronoun ri co-occurs with the subject noun phrase a mu fefeng sina ‘his disciples’.

(3.3) Taasaxa nenia ne xuus nami ...
but 1SG 1SG tell 2PL
‘But I say to you, ...’ (Matthew 5:34)

(3.4) A mu fefeng si-na ri fe fa-para=ye e ...
ART PL disciple POSS-3SG 3PL go.and CAUS-wake.up=3SG and
‘His disciples went and woke him up and ...’ (Matthew 8:25)

The examples in (3.5) through (3.14) illustrate the rest of the weak subject pronouns. In (3.5) is the first person exclusive plural maam and the 2PL mi.

(3.5) Maam tangiis a ma-maat e nami mi taangiis.
1EXCL.PL weep ART REDUP-die and 2PL 2PL weep
‘We wailed in mourning, yet you did not weep.’ (Matthew 11:17)

In (3.6) is the first person inclusive plural taara.

(3.6) Taara pi xa-xalum ta mo malaanabe’ pe Israel.
1INCL.PL never HABIT-see NONSPEC thing like.this at Israel
‘We have never seen anything like this in Israel.’ (Matthew 9:33)

In (3.7) is the 3PL ri.

(3.7) A mu rabuna ri falet xe si-na ti pe Jerusalem ...
ART PL people 3PL go to POSS-3SG from at Jerusalem
‘Then people were going to him from Jerusalem and ...’ (Matthew 3:5)

The four dual forms are illustrated in (3.8) through (3.11).

(3.8) Na Tama-ang e nenia maame saxa.
ART father-1SG and 1SG 1EXCL.DU one
‘My Father and I are one.’ (John 10:30)
Lumui na Pol a xuus na Baanabas, “Taare taa ulaa xe later ART Paul 3SG tell ART Barnabas 1INCL.DU FUT return to la nu bina aava taare fo ...” LOC PAUC town REL 1INCL.DU PERF

‘After some days Paul said to Barnabas, “Let’s go to every town where we ...”.’ (Acts 15:36)

Me maa usi=au e ... 2DU come.and follow=1SG and ‘Follow me and ...’ (Matthew 4:19)

... e re ta’ulan na tama-re lana xaati ... and 3DU leave ART father-3DU in boat ‘... and they left their father Zebedee in the boat ...’ (Mark 1:20)

The three attested trial forms are illustrated in (3.12) through (3.14). The first person exclusive trial in (3.12) refers to Peter, James and John, while the trial forms in (3.13) and (3.14) refer to Joseph, Mary and the baby Jesus.

Maatul taa vesan a sawat talatul. 1EXCL.TRIAL FUT make ART shelter three ‘Let us make three shelters.’ (Luke 9:33)

Mutul taa waan pave fefexaxaas a yaan ne xuus namutul 2TRIAL FUT be.at there until ART day 1SG tell 2TRIAL pa-na. PREP-3SG

‘Stay there until I tell the day I told you about.’ (Matthew 2:13)

... e rutul ta’ulan a bina pave la xunavung naang and 3TRIAL leave ART region there LOC midnight same xena falet xe pe Isip. PURP go to at Egypt ‘... and they left that place during the middle of the same night to go to Egypt.’ (Matthew 2:14)

These trial forms appear to be specifically trial rather than paucal, since all but one of the instances of trial forms in the texts are clearly associated with exactly three people. The only example I have found of a trial form where there is no clear evidence that three people are being referred to is (3.15), where there is nothing in the surrounding text in the English version I have that would imply that there was a group of precisely three people who prepared dinner.3

3 Perry Schlie (pc) informs me that the trial forms do denote sets of precisely three and that the meaning of (3.15) is that exactly three people prepared a dinner.
3.1.2. Non-obligatoriness of weak subject pronouns

The weak subject pronouns are not obligatory but usually do occur, as in most of the examples throughout this description of Kara. Examples where there is no weak subject pronoun are given in (3.17) to (3.19); the subject noun phrases are shown in bold italics.

(3.17)  E  piau ta  saxa tun  i-na  taa  vuax-an.  
and  no  NONSPEC  one  bone  POSS-3SG  FUT  break-PASS  
‘Not a bone of his will be broken.’  (John 19:36)

(3.18)  ...  senaso  a  mataut-an  molava  fo  siak  nari.  
...  because  ART  afraid-NMLZ  big  PERF  take  3PL  
‘... because a great fear seized them.’  (Luke 8:37)

(3.19)  Layaan  a  maana  mo  fo  faigot-an-an  ...  
when  ART  GRTR.PL  thing  PERF  prepare-TRANS-PASS  
‘When the things had been prepared ...’  (Matthew 22:3)

Most examples where the weak subject pronoun is absent have 3SG subjects. 
There are four situations in which weak subject pronouns are commonly absent. First, imperative sentences typically lack a weak subject pronoun, as in (3.20) and (3.21).

(3.20)  E  a  Piran  a  xuus=e  “Ta’ulan  a  bina  aanabe’  ...”  
and  ART  big.man  3SG  tell=3SG  leave  ART  region  this  
‘And God said to him, “Leave this country and ...” ’  (Acts 7:3)

(3.21)  Falet,  fa-xalum  a  mu  priis  pa-na  ta-mi.  
go  CAUS-see  ART  PL  priest  PREP-3SG  skin-2PL  
‘Go and show yourselves to the priests.’  (Luke 17:14)
This is not always the case with imperatives. In (3.22), there are three imperative verbs, the first two of which, tamasiak ‘get up’ and siak ‘take’, lack a weak subject pronoun, while the third, paan ‘go’, occurs with the 2SG weak subject pronoun no.

(3.22) Tamasiak, siak a ivin si-im e no paan xe
get.up take ART bed POSS-2SG and 2SG go to
la lifu si-im!
LOC house POSS.2SG
‘Stand up, take your stretcher, and go home.’ (Mark 2:11)

The second situation where we sometimes do not find a weak subject pronoun is after the 3SG strong pronoun nane (§3.2). Although there are instances of nane being followed by the 3SG weak subject pronoun a, as in (3.23), more commonly nane as subject occurs without the weak subject pronoun, as in (3.24) and (3.25).

(3.23) Nane a xuus a matalava i-na ...
3SG 3SG tell ART leader POSS-3SG
‘But he said to the leader of ...’ (Mark 5:36)

(3.24) E nane ta'ulan a bina aapave e falet xe Nasaret, ...
and 3SG leave ART town that and go to
‘And he left that place and went to Nazareth,...’ (Mark 6:1)

(3.25) ... e nane nai e tangpat pa-na fapiti-aan nari.
and 3SG sit and begin PREP-3SG teach-NMLZ 3PL
‘... and he sat down and began to teach them.’ (John 8:2)

The third situation where we sometimes do not find a weak subject pronoun is with the second of two conjoined clauses (or verb phrases) sharing the same subject, as in (3.26), where the second verb kuus ‘say’ lacks a weak subject pronoun.

(3.26) E a ferawai fa-lava paaliu e kuus, ...
and 3SG speak ADV-big INTENS and say
‘She spoke very loudly and said ...’ (Luke 1:42)

Similarly, the second verb in (3.27), pasak ‘white’, lacks a weak subject pronoun.

(3.27) ... a fa-pama-yaan-a faat a vuung e pasak, ...
ART CAUS-five-NMLZ-3SG stone 3SG red and white
‘... the fifth stone was red and white ...’ (Revelation 21:20)

But it is also common to repeat a weak subject pronoun with the second verb, as in (3.28), where the weak subject pronoun ri ‘3PL’ is repeated before the second verb fetiaian ‘ask each other’.
Example (3.29) is similar: the weak subject pronoun re ‘3DU’ is repeated before the second verb usi ‘follow’.

(3.29) E fataapus re ta'ulan a vana si-re
and quickly 3DU leave ART net POSS-3DU

e re usi=e.
and 3DU follow=3SG

‘They left their nets immediately and followed him.’ (Matthew 4:20)

It appears to be the case that the weak subject pronouns are usually repeated before the second verb when they are not 3SG, but are very often not repeated when they are 3SG.

The fourth situation in which weak subject pronouns are commonly absent is with relative clauses where the head of the relative clause is singular and is functioning as subject in the relative clause. In fact, in this case, I am aware of no exceptions. For example, in (3.30), there is no weak subject pronoun following the relative word aava and preceding the verb fakalimaan ‘signal’ in the relative clause.

(3.30) Maam xalum a vapara aava fakali-maan a savat-an
1EXCL.PL see ART star REL signal-come ART come-NMLZ

si-na ...
POSS-3SG

‘We saw a star which signaled his arrival ...’ (Matthew 2:2)

Similarly, in (3.31), there is no weak subject pronoun in the relative clause preceding the perfect particle fo.

(3.31) Layaan a Ferasi naang aava fo xel na Yesus
when ART Pharisee same REL PERF call ART Jesus

xe la lifu si-na ...
to LOC house POSS-3SG

‘Now when the Pharisee who had invited Jesus to his house ...’ (Luke 7:39)

As stated above, it is only when the head of the relative clause is singular that the weak subject pronoun is absent. When the head is dual or plural, a weak subject pronoun almost always occurs, as in (3.32), which shows a 3PL weak subject pronoun being used in the relative clause, and (3.33), which is similar but with a 3DU weak subject pronoun.

(3.32) ... ri malaan se-na mu kam aava ri poxo la salan
3PL like PREP-3SG PL seed REL 3PL fall LOC path.

‘They are like the seeds which fall on the path.’ (Matthew 13:19)
... but when they woke up, they saw his glory and the two men who were with him.’ (Luke 9:32)

A weak subject pronoun is also used when the head of a relative clause is a non-third person pronoun, as in (3.34).

(3.34) *Ai, nano aava no fo kuus o no taa ngas tapin*  
German: “Where will the Christ be born?” (Matthew 2:4)

3.1.3. The incompletive third singular weak subject pronoun *i*

In the third person singular (but only in the third person singular), there is a contrast in the weak subject pronouns between what I will call completive and incompletive, the completive form being *a*, as in (3.23) above and many examples throughout this work, the incompletive form being *i*, as in (3.35) and (3.36).

(3.35) *A Mataa Failai i taa lux-an faa?*  
German: “Where will the Christ be born?” (Matthew 2:4)

(3.36) *Na imu Saimon i taxa mati xulu-na ivin ...*  
German: “Simon’s mother-in-law was lying down on the bed ...” (Mark 1:30)

The incompletive weak subject pronoun *i* is used after the future irrealis particle *rao* and before the following preverbal particles:

* taa future  
* taxa continuative  
* tafe become (future)  
* muta must not  
* tamaa might, would  
* tafo would have
See examples in §7.7.1.2, §7.7.2, and §7.7.7. Note that except for the continuative taxa, illustrated in (3.36), the environment for the incompletive weak subject pronoun is future or irrealis. 4

The use of the incompletive in the last clause in (3.37) is interesting since it does not occur with one of the above preverbal particles, but with faasilak ‘near, almost’, where the event is one in the past which did not happen, but almost did.

(3.37) Ri turirik tapin a marapi si-na, ri sip fa-saat=e
3PL rip away ART clothes POSS-3SG 3PL beat ADV-bad=3SG
e ri ta'ulan fa-net=e su' e nane faasilak
and 3PL leave CAUS-sit=3SG down and 3SG near
i maat.
3SG.INCOMPL die

‘They stripped him, beat him badly, and left him half dead.’ (Luke 10:30)

3.2. The strong pronouns

The forms of what I call the strong pronouns are given in Table 3.2.

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Table 3.2: Strong pronouns

The strong pronouns are longer than the weak subject pronouns and, unlike the weak subject pronouns, occur as noun phrases functioning in subject or object position. Except for the 1SG and 3SG, these forms can be seen as being formed by adding ne- ~ na- before the corresponding weak subject pronouns. Whether it is ne- or na- depends on the next vowel: we find ne- preceding /a/ (or /ia/) and na before a vowel other than /a/. Note that the 3SG form nane has the form we would expect for 1SG if that were formed regularly. Note also that the form of /na/ is the same as the article na used with proper names and kin terms (§6.5).

The strong pronouns almost always have human reference. They have two primary uses. One is for objects of a verb, illustrated by 2SG nano in (3.38) and 3PL nari in (3.39).

(3.38) Ne taa tavai nano pa-na maana mo aanabe' tamo...
1SG FUT give 2SG PREP-3SG GRTR.PL thing this if
‘I will give you all these things if ...’ (Matthew 4:9)

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4 Perry Schlie (pc) points out that the continuative is irrealis in the sense that the action is not completed at the reference time of the event. In (3.36), the action of lying on the bed was not completed at the point of time assumed in the surrounding discourse.

5 The first person trial inclusive form netaatul does not appear to occur in the translation of the New Testament, but Perry Schlie (pc) has kindly provided this form.
Ne bai feng tapin nari pa-na ri lagai senaso ri
1SG not.want send away 3PL PREP-3SG 3PL hungry because 3PL
tamaa maat la falet-an si-ri.
may die LOC go-NMLZ POSS-3PL
‘I don’t want to send them away hungry since they may faint on the way.’ (Matthew 15:32)

The second primary use is for subjects, where they optionally co-occur with a weak subject pronoun. The strong pronoun apparently occurs in the position where nominal subjects occur while the weak subject pronoun occurs in the verbal complex. These uses are illustrated in (3.40) and (3.41) with 1SG nenia and 3PL nari respectively.

Taasaxa nenia ne xuus nami ...
but 1SG 1SG tell 2PL
‘But I say to you, ...’ (Matthew 5:34)

E nari, ri ipul faagut paaliu e ...
and 3PL 3PL amazed strong INTENS and
‘They were even more astonished and ...’ (Mark 10:26)

The strong pronouns nenia ‘1SG’ and nane ‘3SG’ have a somewhat different distribution from the other strong pronouns (and from each other). First, both differ from the other strong pronouns in that they are not normally used for objects of verbs; 1SG and 3SG objects are normally coded by object clitics (and the only object clitics are those for 1SG and 3SG) (§3.3). Second, nane ‘3SG’ is apparently less “emphatic” than the other strong pronouns that occur in subject position in that it often occurs without the 3SG weak subject pronoun a (see §3.1.2), as in (3.42), and thus is used a bit like a weak subject pronoun.

Nane viak a bret e ...
3SG break ART bread and
‘He broke the bread and ...’ (Mark 6:41)

The 3DU strong pronoun occurs in two forms, nare and narie, instances of the former outnumbering the latter by over ten to one in the texts. It is not clear what difference, if any, there is between these two forms. For example, both occur as objects of the verb sui ‘reply’, as in (3.43) and (3.44).

E nane sui nare, ...
and 3SG reply 3DU
‘He replied to them, ...’ (Luke 22:10)

Nane sui narie, ...
3SG reply 2DU
‘He replied to them, ...’ (John 12:23)

The 3DU strong pronouns have an additional use as nominal conjunctions (§5.13.2), as in (3.45).
(3.45) E voxo ri xel na nina-na nare tama-na.
and so 3PL call ART mother-3SG 3DU father-3SG
‘And so they summoned his mother and father.’ (John 9:18)

3.3. Object clitics

There are only two object clitics, =au for 1SG and =e for 3SG. Other pronominal objects are coded by strong pronouns (§1.2). The object clitics usually attach to verbs, but strictly speaking, they cliticize onto the end of the verbal complex, which usually ends in a verb. When the verbal complex ends in an adverb, the object clitic attaches to the adverb. Furthermore, if there are two verbs in the verbal complex, the object clitic will only attach to the second one.

Example (3.46) illustrates both 1SG =au and 3SG =e: 3SG =e is found on tingine ‘find him’ and on nanguse ‘worship him’, while 1SG =au is found on xusau ‘tell me’.

(3.46) ... e layaan mi fo tingin=e mi maa xuus=au
and when 2PL PERF find=3SG 2PL come.and tell=1SG
talo nenia sait ne taa fe nangus=e.
so.that 1SG also 1SG FUT go.and worship=3SG
‘... and when you find him, inform me so that I can go and worship him as well.’
(Matthew 2:8)

The object clitic is used in relative clauses in which the head functions as object in the relative clause, as in (3.47) and (3.48).

(3.47) No siak a fangan-an ti lana uma aava no pife
2SG take ART eat-NMLZ from in field REL 2SG NEG
xapis=e e ...
sow=3SG and
‘You take food from the field that you did not sow, and ...’ (Matthew 25:24)

(3.48) A mataa aava mu vovau saat ri fo ta'ulan=e,
ART man REL PL spirit bad 3PL PERF leave=3SG
a nung na Yesu ... 3SG ask ART Jesus
‘The man who the demons had gone out of asked Jesus ...’ (Luke 8:38)

While I gloss the object clitic =e as ‘3SG’, it is also used with nonhuman plural objects, as in (3.49), where it occurs on the verb viaxe ‘break’, but clearly refers to the seven loaves of bread.
Similarly, there are three occurrences of the object clitic =e in (3.50), all of which refer to plural objects. The first occurrence is on fawaane ‘put’, referring to the good fish, which is marked as plural with maana; the use of an object clitic here is caused by the fact that the object is fronted, rather than occurring in its normal postverbal position. The second occurrence is on ngane ‘eat’, where the object clitic corresponds to the head of a relative clause maana din ‘fish (PL)’. The third is on tapine and is analogous to the first occurrence, corresponding to a fronted object with plural reference (the fish that they could not eat).

The occurrence of an object clitic with plural reference is most common on a verb in a relative clause where it corresponds to the head of the relative clause, as in the occurrence in ngane=e in (3.50). Another example of this sort is given in (3.51), where the object clitic on xalum=e ‘see’ corresponds to a maana mo ‘the things’, the head of the relative clause.

The fact that the object clitic =e is used with plural nonhuman objects is probably a result of the constraint that the strong pronouns in general are only used with human referents, as in (3.52), so that this option is not available for plural nonhuman objects.

It is not clear whether it is animate objects or human objects that can be represented by strong pronouns. Example (3.53) suggests that it may be animate objects, since the pronoun nari refers back to the sheep. However, perhaps the strong pronoun is used here since humans are being compared to sheep; in other words, there is a sense in which nari refers back the 3PL human subject of the main clause.
‘They are like sheep that do not have any man to take care of them.’ (Matthew 9:36)

However note how din ‘fish’ counts as inanimate in (3.50) above in that it is coded by an object clitic, even though plural. Whether this is because fish are lower animals than sheep or because the fish are a form of food (rather than living fish) in (3.50) is not clear.

The 3SG object clitic is not used when there is a separate noun phrase expressing the object, only when the object is pronominal and the clitic is the sole coding of that object. Thus contrast (3.46) above with tingine ‘find him’ containing the object clitic =e with (3.54), where we get the form tingin without an object clitic preceding the nominal object a mataa aave ‘that man’.

‘... Jesus found that man ...’ (John 5:14)

Many adverbs in Kara immediately follow the verb, preceding an object noun phrase is there is one. If there is an object clitic, it attaches to the adverb, as in (3.55) to (3.57), rather than the verb. It is this property that is the basis of my analysing the object clitics as clitics.

‘The people who are not Jews (i.e. Gentiles) will hold onto him “strongly”.’ (Luke 18:32)

In (3.58), there are two verbs preceding the adverb fatasupan ‘quickly’; the 3SG object clitic attaches only to the adverb.

‘... will you quickly pull him up?’ (Luke 14:5)
Note that the position of the object clitic is the same as the position of a separate noun phrase functioning as object, since these immediately follow the verbal complex, following an adverb if there is one, as in (3.59), where the object a mata-na lifu ‘the door’ follows the adverb fatupusan ‘quickly’.

(3.59) ... a mu sisiak si-na ri taa kas fa-tapusan
    ART PL servant POSS-3SG 3PL FUT open ADV-quick
    a mata-na lifu xe si-na.
    ART eye-3 SG house to POSS-3SG
‘... his servants will open the door quickly for him.’ (Luke 12:36)

As mentioned above, when the verb is followed by a second verb, the object clitic occurs only on the second verb. In (3.60), we have two verbs, vesan ‘make’ and fa'uli ‘cause to return’, combining to mean ‘rebuild’. But only the second verb, fa'ulie ‘cause to return’, bears the object clitic.

(3.60) Ai, nano aava no fo kuus o no taa ngas tapin
    aha 2SG REL 2SG PERF say COMP 2SG FUT remove away
    a lifu lotu e no taa vesan fa-'uli=e
    ART house worship and 2SG FUT make CAUS-return=3SG
    lana yaan talatul, ...
    in day three
‘Aha! You who has said that you will destroy the temple and rebuild it in three days, ...
’ (Mark 15:30)

Example (3.61) is similar: the object clitic occurs on fa-waan ‘cause to be at’, the second of two verbs, the first of which is pis ‘tie’, which occurs without the object clitic.

(3.61) ... nane fo xuus a mu rabuna si-na o
    3SG PERF tell ART PL people POSS-3SG COMP
    ri taa tao na Jon e pis fa-waan=e la
    3PL FUT hold ART John and tie CAUS-be.at=3SG LOC
    bina i-na vipis-an.
    place POSS-3SG be.tied-NMLZ
‘... he told his men to arrest John and put him in prison’ (Matthew 14:3)

The fact that the 3SG object clitic attaches only to the second of two verbs might be seen as reflecting its status as a clitic rather than a suffix. However, it turns out that it is a general property of verbal suffixes as well that they attach only to the last of multiple verbs in a multi-verb predicate (see §7.6). For example, (3.62) illustrates the two word predicate kuus fakalimaan ‘say swear’ nominalized with the meaning ‘oath’, where the transitive nominalizing suffix occurs only on the second verb fakalimaan.
3.4. Object suffix on aan-nominalizations

There is a 3SG object suffix -a which occurs on aan-nominalizations (see §4.2.8), illustrated in (3.63) and (3.64).

(3.63)  E nane xel a xasa ro-vaat e a feng nare
and 3SG call ART other DU-man and 3SG send 3DU
xe si Memai xena fin-aan-a ...
to POSS Lord PURP ask-NMLZ-3SG
‘And he called two other men and sent them to the Lord in order to ask him ...’  (Luke 7:18)

(3.64)  ... e ri timin a bolo si Yesus la mi-na xena
and 3PL put ART cross POSS Jesus LOC back-3SG PURP
yaas-aan-a.
carry-NMLZ-3SG
‘... and they placed Jesus’ cross on his back for him to carry it.’  (Luke 23:26)

A question that arises is whether this suffix -a is really a clitic rather than a suffix, like the 3SG object clitic =e. To answer this, we would need to know what happens when the nominalization is followed by an immediately postverbal adverb. Unfortunately, there are no instances of this in the texts examined. Whether this is because it is not possible for an adverb to occur in this construction or simply an accidental gap is not clear. In the absence of evidence that it is a clitic, I treat it as a suffix.6

While there is a 1SG object clitic on ordinary verbs, there is no 1SG suffix with aan-nominalizations. The 1SG strong pronoun is used in these contexts, like person-number combinations other than 3SG (§4.2.8), as in (3.65).

(3.65)  ... e mi faigot faagut xena usi-aan nenia.
and 2PL prepare strong PURP follow-NMLZ 1SG
‘... and be well-prepared to follow me.’  (Revelation 3:19)

6 Perry Schlie (pc) informs me that it is apparently not possible to use an adverb with a nominalization, supporting treatment of -a as a suffix rather than a clitic.
3.5. Possessive suffixes

There are three constructions for nominal possession in Kara, which are discussed in detail below in §5.7. For pronominal possessors, one construction involves possessive suffixes on the noun itself, while the other two involve suffixes on one of two possessive prepositions. In this section, we discuss the first of these, where the possessive suffixes attach to the noun. As discussed in §5.7.1, the set of nouns that take possessive suffixes includes kin terms and body part terms though not all kin terms and not all body part terms take possessive suffixes. Table 3.3 lists the regular forms of the possessive suffixes; the forms in square brackets are ones that are not attested in the New Testament, but which Perry Schlie (pc) has kindly provided me with. As discussed below shortly, some nouns have irregular 1SG or 2SG forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg</th>
<th>Du</th>
<th>Trial</th>
<th>Pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>excl</td>
<td>-ak</td>
<td>-maame</td>
<td>[-maatul]</td>
<td>-maam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>incl</td>
<td>[taare]</td>
<td>[taatul]</td>
<td>-taara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>-me</td>
<td>[-mutul]</td>
<td>-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-re</td>
<td>-rutul</td>
<td>-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Int</td>
<td>-se'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.3: Possessive suffixes

Note that except in the singular, the forms are identical to the forms of the weak subject pronouns; the singular forms, however, are all different from the corresponding weak subject pronouns. The set of possessive suffixes (and suffixes on prepositions) contains a typologically unusual member, an interrogative possessive suffix -se’, illustrated in (3.66) and (3.67).

(3.66) ... atefin aave i taa naasa-se’ tuuna?  
ART woman that 3SG.INCOMPL FUT wife-INTER true  
‘... whose wife will the woman be?’ (Luke 20:33)

(3.67) A vave-se’ e a isi-se’ taxa waan xulu-na  
ART footprint-INTER and ART name-INTER CONTIN be.at ON-3SG  
faat aanabe’?  
stone this

‘Whose image and whose name is on this coin?’ (Matthew 22:20)

The possessive forms of ti ‘sibling of same sex’, representative of regular kin terms, are given in Table 3.4. The forms without square brackets are attested in the translation of the New Testament; the forms enclosed in square brackets were kindly provided by Perry Schlie (pc).
The possessive forms of the body part term mata ‘eye’ are given in Table 3.5; there is no difference between kin terms and body part terms in terms of possessive suffixes. Again, the forms in square brackets were provided by Perry Schlie (pc).

Table 3.5: Attested forms of mata ‘eye’

The nouns tama ‘father’ and nina ‘mother’ are irregular in the 1SG possessive, where they are formed with a suffix -ang. The attested possessive forms for tama ‘father’ are given in Table 3.6.7

Table 3.6: Attested forms of tama ‘father’

The noun natu ‘son’ is irregular in both the 1SG and 2SG possessive, where the forms are natuk ‘my son’ and natum ‘your (SG) son’; i.e. the possessive suffixes are -k and -m respectively, differing from the regular suffixes -ak and -am. The noun isi ‘name’ is also irregular in the 1SG and 2SG, where the forms are isak and isam respectively (rather than isiak and isiam). These are the only irregularities I am aware of with possessive forms of nouns.

Examples illustrating various possessive suffixes are given in (3.68) to (3.76).

(3.68) ... xuus na ti-ak o i taa
tell ART sibling.same-1SG COMP 3SG.INCOMPL FUT

fepatox-an a maana mo si tama-maame e ...
separate-TRANS ART GRTR.PL thing POSS father-1EXCL.DU and

‘... tell my brother to divide our father’s things and ...’ (Luke 12:13)
(3.69) *Ai, mu ti-maam, maam taa vil a so?*  
Ah PL sibling.same-1EXCL.PL 1EXCL.PL FUT do ART what  
‘Brothers, what should we do?’ (Acts 2:37)

(3.70) *Na Abrahem ve na tama-taara.*  
ART Abraham be ART father-1INCL.PL  
‘Abraham is our father.’ (Matthew 3:9)

(3.71) *... layaan no kaalum fa-matavas, no taa siak tapin*  
when 2SG look ADV-clear 2SG FUT take away  
a wai modak la mata ti-am.  
ART tree small LOC eye sibling.same-2SG  
‘... when you can see clearly, you will remove the speck from your brother’s eye.’  
(Matthew 7:5)

(3.72) *... me taa saf tapin a pof ti xulu-na ka-me.*  
2DU FUT wipe away ART dust from ON-3SG feet-2DU  
‘... shake the dust off your feet.’ (Mark 6:11)

(3.73) *Kaalum, ne taa fa-bukaak a mu xaiyaas si-mi*  
look 1SG FUT CAUS-bow ART PL enemy POSS-2PL  
la ka-mi e ...  
LOC feet-2PL and  
‘Look, I will make your enemies bow down at your feet and ... ’ (Revelation 3:9)

(3.74) *... e a ta-na fe-roxo e ...*  
and ART skin-3SG INCH-good and  
‘[He touched her hand,] and her body got well and ... ’ (Matthew 8:15)

(3.75) *... e re ta’ulan na tama-re lana xaaati ...*  
and 3DU leave ART father-3DU in boat  
‘and they left their father in the boat ... ’ (Mark 1:20)

(3.76) *A mu tama-na Israel ri xinaas-an a*  
ART PL father-3SG Israel 3PL jealous-TRANS ART  
ti-ri, na Yosep, ...  
sibling.same-3PL ART Joseph  
‘The fathers of Israel were jealous of their brother, Joseph, ... ’ (Acts 7:9)

3.6. Suffixes on prepositions

As discussed in §6, there are two sorts of prepositions in Kara, those that inflect for the person and number of their objects and those that do not inflect. In this section, I discuss the forms of suffixes that occur on inflecting prepositions, of which I am aware of ten. Not only
do prepositions vary as to whether they inflect, but those that do inflect fall into two further subcategories. Six of the inflecting prepositions inflect the same way as each other but differently from the possessive forms of inalienable nouns. The other four all exhibit some irregularity, but inflect in a way that is more similar to the possessive inflection on nouns than to the inflection on the first six inflecting prepositions. I will refer to the first six as regular inflecting prepositions, the other four as irregular inflecting prepositions. Table 3.7 lists the two types of inflecting prepositions. The use of these prepositions is discussed in §6.2, with more detailed discussion of the use of the possessive prepositions *i* and *si* in §5.7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>regular inflecting prepositions</th>
<th>irregular inflecting prepositions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>i</em> ‘possessive’</td>
<td><em>si</em> ‘possessive, etc.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pa</em> various uses</td>
<td><em>xa ~ xaa</em> ‘benefactive, malefactive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>se</em> various uses</td>
<td><em>xulu</em> ‘on’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>no</em> ‘in front of’</td>
<td><em>lami</em> ‘after, behind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>xase</em> ‘from, against’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lapaa</em> ‘under’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.7: Regular and irregular inflecting prepositions

Table 3.8 gives the forms of suffixes that occur with the regular inflecting prepositions; the forms in square brackets are not attested in the New Testament, but were provided to me by Perry Schlie (pc).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg</th>
<th>Du</th>
<th>Trial</th>
<th>Pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1excl -<em>ga</em></td>
<td>-<em>maame</em></td>
<td>[-<em>maatul</em>]</td>
<td>-<em>maam</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1incl -<em>taare</em></td>
<td>[-<em>taatul</em>]</td>
<td>-<em>taara</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 -<em>ma</em></td>
<td>-<em>me</em></td>
<td>[-<em>mutul</em>]</td>
<td>-<em>mi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 -<em>na</em></td>
<td>-<em>re</em></td>
<td>-<em>rutul</em></td>
<td>-<em>ri</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Int</td>
<td>-<em>se’</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.8: Suffixes on prepositions

The forms in Table 3.8 are the same as the possessive suffixes on nouns shown above in Table 3.3, except in the 1SG and 2SG, where the form of the possessive suffixes on nouns are -*ak* and -*am* respectively, while the corresponding suffixes on prepositions are -*ga* and -*ma*.

In (3.77) to (3.86) are given examples illustrating some of the suffixes on regular inflecting prepositions.

(3.77) *A bret aanabe’ ve a vipin i-ga ...*  
ART bread this be 3SG body POSS-1SG  
‘This bread is my body ...’ (John 6:51)

(3.78) *Tamo ta mataa taa laak lapaa-ga, ...*  
if NONSPEC man FUT enter under-1SG  
‘If anyone enters through me, ...’ (John 10:9)

(3.79) *Natu-k, xenaso no vil-ai malaave xase-maame?*  
child-1SG why 2SG do-INTRANS in.that.way against-1EXCL.PL  
‘Child, why have you treated us like this?’ (Luke 2:48)
... so that they may be one, like us.’ (John 17:22)

‘... and may your will happen among us, [as it is in heaven].’ (Matthew 6:10)

‘I will never deny you even if I must die with you.’ (Matthew 26:35)

‘If the people from some place do not welcome you or listen to you, ...’ (Mark 6:11)

‘I will harm those people with the sword of my mouth.’ (Revelation 2:16)

‘... and ran immediately to Paul and Silas, and fell down trembling in front of them.’ (Acts 16:30)

‘[The Sadducees say there is no resurrection, or angel, or spirit,] but the Pharisees believe in all three.’ (Acts 23:8)

As with possessive forms of nouns, there is an interrogative suffix -se’ on prepositions. For example, in (3.87), the last word pase’ here means ‘about who(m)’. 
His disciples looked at one another because they did not know who he was talking about. (John 13:22)

Example (3.88) is similar, with the interrogative form ise’ of the possessive preposition i.

By whose authority are you doing these things?’ (Matthew 21:23)

The four remaining inflecting prepositions exhibit some irregularity but inflect in a way more similar to nouns than to the regular inflecting prepositions. But they differ from the regular inflecting prepositions (and from nouns) only in the 1SG and 2SG.

The possessive preposition si has forms siak and siim for 1SG and 2SG respectively. The form siak, illustrated in (3.89), employs the same 1SG suffix -ak that is used on nouns (rather than -ga used on regular inflecting prepositions).

... I will eat with my disciples in order to signal the day of Passover.’ (Mark 14:14)

The 2SG form siim, illustrated in (3.90), resembles nouns in ending in /m/ but is irregular in that the expected form, based on nouns, would be siam.

And so I was afraid of you, and I went and hid your money in a hole in the ground.’ (Matthew 25:25)

The other forms of si are regular and formed the same way as other inflecting prepositions and nouns. For example, the 3SG form is sina, illustrated in (3.91).

‘His disciples looked at one another, ...’ (John 13:22)

The third person trial form is illustrated in (3.92).
The second irregular inflecting preposition is xa(a) ‘for’. Its 1SG form is xa(a)nak, illustrated in (3.93). This forms ends in /ak/, like nouns and unlike regular inflecting prepositions, but also, irregularly contains an /n/.

(3.93) A ling aanabe’ pife ferawai-an xa-nak taasaxa
ART voice this NEG speak-NMLZ for-1SG but
a ferawai-an xa-mi.
ART speak-NMLZ for-2PL

‘This voice has not come for my benefit but for yours.’ (John 12:30)

This preposition sometimes occurs with /ə/ (orthographic <a>) in the stem, illustrated by xanak in (3.93), but sometimes with /a/ (orthographic <aa>), illustrated by xaanak in (3.94).

(3.94) Nane fo vil a mo roxo xaa-nak.
3SG PERF do ART thing good for-1SG
‘She has done a good service for me.’ (Mark 14:6)

The 2SG form of this preposition, illustrated in (3.95), is also irregular. It occurs with a suffix -num. This form of the 2SG suffix again resembles the 2SG possessive suffix on nouns in that it ends in /m/. It also resembles the form of the 1SG suffix that occurs with xa(a), namely -nak, illustrated in (3.94), in that it begins with an /n/; however unlike the 1SG suffix -nak, the vowel of the suffix is a /u/ rather than an /a/.

(3.95) Mi pife fexaxaas se-na faisok lapaa-na Piran e la yaan
2PL NEG able PREP-3SG act under-3SG big.man and LOC day
naang faisok xena fa-xuvul-aan=a faat xaa-num xa.
same act PURP CAUS-with-NMLZ=ART stone for-2SG REFL/RECIP

‘You cannot serve God and at the same time act in order to collect money for yourself.’ (Matthew 6:24)

---

8 Volker (1998) notes that the neighbouring language Nalik has a 1SG benefactive form xaa(a)ku involving a morpheme xaa that does not otherwise exist in the language. He notes that if this were productive as a preposition in Nalik, it would have a 2SG form xaa(a)num, but that such a form does not exist in Nalik. But this is exactly the 2SG form of the benefactive preposition xa in Kara.

9 This example is anomalous in that the subject is 2PL while the preposition is marked as 2SG. This is probably an error.
The third irregular inflecting preposition is *xulu* ‘on’. Its 1SG form is *xulok*, illustrated in (3.96), with a suffix -*ok*. Again, it is more like nouns than regular inflecting prepositions in ending in a */k/*, but is irregular in that vowel is */o/* rather than */u/*.

(3.96)  
\[ \text{No taa piau ta gut-an } xul-ok \text{ tamo ...} \]  
\[ \text{2SG FUT not.have NONSPEC strong-NMLZ on-1SG if} \]  
\[ \text{‘You would have no authority over me, if [the one above did not give it to you].’} \]  
\[ \text{(John 19:11)} \]

Its 2SG form is *xulum*, illustrated in (3.97), more regular than *xulok* in that the second vowel is */u/*, but with a suffix -*m*, again more like nouns.

(3.97)  
\[ \ldots \text{malaan se-na yaan a malang i-na laam} \]  
\[ \text{like PREP-3SG day ART light POSS-3SG lamp} \]  
\[ a \text{ lang } xulu-m. \]  
\[ \text{3SG shine ON-2SG} \]  
\[ \text{‘... as when the light of a lamp shines on you.’} \]  
\[ \text{(Luke 11:36)} \]

The fourth and last irregular inflecting preposition is *lami* ‘after, behind’. Its 1SG form bears the suffix -*ak*, like nouns, as in (3.98).

(3.98)  
\[ \text{A mataa aava savat lami-ak i taa ...} \]  
\[ \text{ART man REL come after-1SG 3SG.INCOMPL FUT} \]  
\[ \text{‘A man who will come after me will ...’} \]  
\[ \text{(John 1:30)} \]

Its 2SG form is not attested in the texts examined.
4 Morphology

4.1. Noun morphology

4.1.1. Possessive suffixes

The only relatively productive noun morphology is possessive suffixes, discussed in §3.5, though these only occur on a relatively small set of nouns. See §5.7.1 for a list of nouns which take possessive suffixes.

4.1.2. Nonsingular forms of nouns

Grammatical number in Kara is normally coded by number words (§5.2). But a few nouns have nonsingular forms, shown in (4.1).

(4.1) lak rafulak ‘child’
      tefin lutefin ‘woman’
      mataa rabuna ‘man, person’

The usual singular form for ‘man, person’ is mataa, and the plural form for ‘men, people’ is rabuna, illustrated in (4.2).

(4.2) E layaan a mu rabuna aava ri taxa tigina faasilak
     and when ART PL people REL 3PL CONTIN stand near
     ri langai=e, ri fe-ferawai ...
     3PL hear=3SG 3PL RECIP-speak

‘And when some of the people standing nearby heard him, they said to each other, …’
(Mark 15:35)

In addition, however, there is a set of nonsingular forms of a word with stem -vaat ‘man’, shown in (4.3).

(4.3) tuvaat man.PLURAL
     rovaat man.DUAL
     rutuvaat man.TRIAL
     nutuvaat man.Paucal

Whether to analyse these words as forms of a word meaning ‘man’ is not clear. The alternative is to treat them as a type of pronoun.

The form tuvaat, however, always occurs with a paucal number word, like saxanu ‘INDEF.Pauc’ or xasanu ‘other.Pauc’, as in (4.4), or nu ‘paucal’ and (4.5).
Because tuvaat always occurs with a paucal word, it might be considered paucal itself, rather than plural, as I have glossed it. While the majority of instances of tuvaat are indefinite, as in (4.4), some are definite, as in (4.5).

It is not clear how (or even whether) nu + tuvaat, illustrated in (4.5), differs from the specifically paucal form nutuvaat illustrated in (4.6).

The dual form rovaat is illustrated in (4.7).

The trial form rutuvaat is illustrated in (4.8).

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10 Perry Schlie (pc) confirms that tuvaat can only be used for small groups of people.
analyse the *tu* in *rutuvaat* in the same way, but since *tu* is found in all trial forms, I prefer to analyse it as part of a trial prefix.

While I have suggested these forms might be considered pronouns, specifically denoting humans, they are clearly nouns syntactically in that they occur with various sorts of noun modifiers, such as the article *a* and demonstrative *aaave* in (4.8), the number words *saxanu* and *nu* in (4.4) and (4.5), and the numerals *talafat* ‘four’ in (4.4) and *pisaxa* ‘six’ in (4.6).

### 4.1.3. The singular prefix *pa-*

There are a few instances in the texts of what is apparently a singular prefix *pa-*, used most commonly on body part nouns denoting body parts that normally occur in pairs, such as *patanga* ‘ear (SG.)’ and *pama* ‘hand (SG.)’, illustrated in (4.9) and (4.10).

(4.9) ... *e sip a yaasok si-na memai priis e patal tapin* and beat ART slave POSS-3SG lord priest and cut.off away

*a saxa pa-tanga-na.*

ART one SG-ear-3SG

‘... and struck the high priest’s slave, cutting off his ear.’ (Matthew 26:51)

(4.10) *A malasuf i-na vapara pisiguak aava no xalum=e lan* ART meaning POSS-3SG star seven REL 2 SG see=3SG in

*pa-ma-ak muaan e ...*

SG-hand-1SG right and

‘The meaning of the seven stars that you saw in my right hand and ....’ (Revelation 1:20)

The singular prefix is not obligatory. For example in (4.11), *ma* ‘hand’ occurs three times, without the singular prefix *pa-*, but it is clear from the story that in all three cases a single hand is involved, since the third occurrence refers to the hand other than the hand denoted by the first two occurrences.

(4.11) *E mui a kuus xe si-na mataa ma-na maat,* and later 3 SG say to POSS-3SG man hand-3SG die

“*Talangai-an a ma-am.*” E nane talangai-an=e

move.hand-TRANS ART hand-2SG and 3 SG move.hand-TRANS=3SG

*e fo roxo, malaan se-na xasa ma-na.*

and PERF good like PREP-3SG other hand-3SG

‘Then he said to the man with a withered hand, “Stretch out your hand”. He stretched it out and it was good, like the other hand.’ (Matthew 12:13)

While the majority of instances of the singular prefix are with body part terms, there are also occurrences with nouns like *xakalayan* ‘writing’ and *ferawaian* ‘things said’. For
example, in (4.12), we get the singular suffix with xalalayan ‘writing’ to apparently denote a particular passage.11

(4.12) Ne tesaas se-na pa-xakala-yen si-na Piran aava kius ...
1SG know PREP-3SG SG-write-NMLZ PREP-3SG big.man REL say
‘I know a passage in the writings of God which says, ...’ (Acts 23:5)

It is possible that this prefix should be interpreted, not as a singular marker, but as an individuator, applying to nouns that denote plurals or masses to pick out a particular instance. For example in (4.13), we get the prefix pa- with marapi ‘cloth(es)’ to denote a piece of cloth.

(4.13) ... i taa kap a valof i-na marapi xavai
3SG.INCOMPL FUT sew ART skin POSS-3SG clothes old
pa-na pa-marapi fa'ui.
PREP-3SG SG-clothes new
‘No man sews a patch of unshrunk cloth on an old garment with a new piece of cloth.’ (Mark 2:21)

4.2. Verb morphology

4.2.1. Object suffix

As discussed above in §3.4 above and further in §4.2.8 below, there is a 3SG object suffix -a that occurs on aan-nominalizations. There are also object clitics for 1SG and 3SG objects, discussed in §3.3.

4.2.2. The passive suffix -an

There is a passive suffix -an, illustrated in (4.14) to (4.17).

(4.14) Muta tiis a xasanofuna talo no taa pife tiis-an.
PROHIB judge ART other so.that 2SG FUT NEG jud-judge-PASS
‘Do not judge so that you will not be judged.’ (Matthew 7:1)

---

11 Perry Schlie (pc) informs me that pa- is best analysed as a prefix meaning ‘a portion of’. With body parts like tanga ‘ear’, which occur in pairs, the meaning can be construed as a portion of the ears, namely one ear. This accounts for examples (4.12) and (4.13), where the meaning is a portion of the writings and a portion of clothing. He points out a case where the meaning is clearly not singular or individuating:

(i) a sensurian lana pa-rabuna i-na fevis-an ...
ART centurion in portion-people POSS-3SG fight-NMLZ
‘the centurion of the group of soldiers ...’ (Acts 10:1)

The effect of the prefix pa- here is to pick out a subset of the soldiers and is clearly not singular.
The actor cannot be expressed with the Kara passive; it is an actorless passive.

The passive suffix is homophonous with the transitivizing suffix -an (§4.2.3) and the general nominalizing suffix -an (§4.2.7). It is clearly distinct from the transitivizing suffix -an since it can co-occur with it, as shown in §4.2.3 below. However, it does not co-occur with the general nominalizing suffix and is probably related to it, at least diachronically, since a common meaning when the general nominalizing suffix is attached to a transitive verb is that the resultant nominalization denotes the object of the verb being nominalized, as in (4.18), where xakalayan means ‘that which is written’.

The passive in the English gloss ‘that which is written’ shows that this use of nominalizations resembles a passive.

Nevertheless, it is quite clear that synchronically, the passive suffix and the general nominalizing suffix -an are distinct, since the latter combines with verbs to form a noun, occurring in noun phrases, while the passive suffix results in words that occur in the position of verbs, following preverbal particles like taa ‘future’, as in (4.14) to (4.16). Furthermore, when the general nominalizing suffix -an combines with intransitive verbs, the result is not passive-like, as illustrated by (4.19), where, although the verb semantically could take a second argument, the meaning is not that which one is afraid of, but the fear itself.

It is worth noting that the passive suffix is not common in the texts. The majority of times that a passive is used in the English translation, a passive is not used in the Kara. For example, the English translation for (4.20) uses a passive was killed, while the Kara employs an active verb with a 3PL subject and a 3SG object suffix.

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12 The general nominalizing suffix -an, discussed in §4.2.7, should not be confused with the transitive nominalizing suffix -aan, discussed in §4.2.8.
\(4.20\) Nane sait, \(ri\) punux=e e a mu fangaasik si-na
\(3SG\) also \(3PL\) kill=\(3SG\) and \(ART\ PL\) follower \(POSS\-3SG\)
\(ri\) sinuf.
\(3PL\) run.away
‘He too was killed, and all who followed him were scattered.’ (Acts 5:37)

Similarly, \(4.21\) uses an active verb with \(3PL\) weak subject pronoun \(ri\) where the English here uses a passive, despite the fact that the reference of \(ri\) is clearly not anaphoric here.

\(4.21\) E nane va tama-na mu rabuna aava \(ri\) vuputuk vaxa.
and \(3SG\) be father-\(3SG\) PL people REL \(3PL\) circumcise also
‘And he is the father of people who are circumcised as well.’ (Romans 4:12)

4.2.3. The transitivizing suffix -an

There is a suffix -an which transitivizes verbs that are basically intransitive but can take a second argument semantically, as in the examples in Table 4.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Transitive Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bai</td>
<td>‘not want to’</td>
<td>baian</td>
<td>‘not like’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuus</td>
<td>‘speak’</td>
<td>kuusan</td>
<td>‘speak about’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vubuk</td>
<td>‘want to, like to’</td>
<td>vubuxan</td>
<td>‘want or like [something]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xinaas</td>
<td>‘jealous’</td>
<td>xinaasan</td>
<td>‘jealous of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mataut</td>
<td>‘afraid’</td>
<td>matautan</td>
<td>‘afraid of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fiai</td>
<td>‘ask’</td>
<td>fiaian</td>
<td>‘ask for’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faisok</td>
<td>‘act’</td>
<td>faisoxan</td>
<td>‘do’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fepatok</td>
<td>‘separate (intrans)’</td>
<td>fepatoxan</td>
<td>‘separate (trans)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fetok</td>
<td>‘argue’</td>
<td>fetoxan</td>
<td>‘argue about something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faaxolus</td>
<td>‘deny it (intrans)’</td>
<td>faaxolusan</td>
<td>‘deny someone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sinuf</td>
<td>‘run away’</td>
<td>sinufan</td>
<td>‘run away from someone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuus</td>
<td>‘speak’</td>
<td>kuusan</td>
<td>‘speak about’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta’ul</td>
<td>‘leave’</td>
<td>ta’ulan</td>
<td>‘leave someone or something’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1
Examples illustrating the transitivizing suffix -an

In \(4.22\) is illustrated the transitivized form of \(xinaas\) ‘be jealous’, namely \(xinaasan\) ‘be jealous of’.

\(4.22\) A mu tama-na Israel \(ri\) xinaas-an a
\(ART\ PL\) father-\(3SG\) Israel \(3PL\) jealous-\(TRANS\) \(ART\)
\(ti-ri,\) na Yosep, ...
\(sibling\-same\-3PL\) \(ART\) Joseph
‘The fathers of Israel were jealous of their brother, Joseph, ...’ (Acts 7:9)

In \(4.23\) is the transitivized form of \(mataut\) ‘be afraid’, namely \(matautan\) ‘be afraid of’.
And (4.24) contains two occurrences of baian ‘not like’, the transitivized form of bai ‘not want’.

(4.24) ... senaso ri fo baian=au paamuin ri
because 3PL PERF not.want-TRANS=1SG before 3PL

‘... because they hated me before they hated you.’ (John 15:18)

Some of the transitivized verbs are formed from nouns rather than verbs, such as xaiyaasan ‘be enemy of’, formed from the noun xaiyaas ‘enemy’, illustrated in (4.25).

(4.25) Ri xaiyaas-an a Piran ...
3PL enemy-TRANS ART big.man

‘They are enemies of God ...’ (Romans 1:30)

While the general transitivizing suffix -an is homophonous to the passive and general nominalizing suffixes, it is a distinct morpheme and can co-occur with these, preceding them. This is illustrated by two sets of examples in (4.26) to (4.31), where the first example in each set illustrates the simple verb, the second the transitivized verb formed from that simple verb, and the third the passive of the transitivized verb. For example, in (4.26), we get the simple intransitive verb kuus ‘speak’.

(4.26) Ri kuus malaan:
3PL speak thus
‘They spoke as follows:’ (Matthew 1:23)

In (4.27), we get the transitivized verb form kuusan of kuus, a transitive verb meaning ‘to speak about’ or ‘tell’ in the sense where the object is the thing told, like a story (rather than someone who is told something).

(4.27) ... e pave ri kuus-an a xuuskuus xurul e ...
and there 3PL speak-TRANS ART story whole and

‘[The herdsmen ran off, went into the town,] and told the whole story ...’ (Matthew 8:33)

In (4.28), the form kuusana is the passive of the transitivized verb kuusan that occurs in the preceding example, bearing both the transitive suffix -an and the passive suffix -an.
Similarly, in (4.29), we get the bare intransitive verb *faigot* ‘to make preparations’.

(4.29)  

> E vovo re *faigot* xena fenamo i-na Paalivuan.  
> and so 3DU **prepare** PURP feast POSS-3SG Passover  
> ‘So they made preparations for the feast of Passover.’  (Mark 14:16)

In (4.30), we get the transitivized verb *faigotan* of *faigot*, meaning ‘to prepare’.

(4.30)  

> ... e nane tamasiak e *faigot-an*  
> and 3SG get up and **prepare**-TRANS  
> a fa-ngan-an xa-na.  
> ART CAUS-eat-NMLZ for-3SG  
> ‘... and she got up and prepared food for him.’  (Matthew 8:15)

In (4.31), we get the passive *faigotanan* of the verb *faigotan* which occurs in the preceding example.

(4.31)  

> Layaan a maana mo fo *faigot-an-an* ...  
> when ART GRTR.PL thing PERF **prepare**-TRANS-PASS  
> ‘When the things had been prepared ...’  (Matthew 22:3)

The transitivizing suffix -an also occurs with the general nominalizing suffix -an, also preceding it. In (4.32) is the intransitive verb *vubuk* ‘want’, which occurs with verbal or clausal complements to mean ‘want to’ or ‘want someone to’, as well as *vubuxan* ‘will’, the nominalization of the transitivized form of the same verb.

(4.32)  

> Tamo no *vubuk* usi fatak a *vubux-an-an*  
> if 2SG **want** follow straight ART **want**-TRANS-NMLZ  
> si-na Piran ...  
> POSS-3SG big.man  
> ‘If you want to follow the will of God, ...’  (Matthew 19:21)

The transitivized form of *vubuk*, namely *vubuxan*, is a transitive verb and is used for ‘want, like’ in the sense of ‘want or like something’, as in (4.33).

(4.33)  

> Taasaxa na Tama-mi pe la xunavata, nane texaas  
> but ART father-2PL at LOC heaven 3SG know  
> o mi *vubux-an* a maana mo aave.  
> COMP 2PL **want**-TRANS ART GRTR.PL thing that  
> ‘But your Father in Heaven knows that you want these things.’  (Matthew 6:32)
Forms with a single -an are in principle ambiguous between a nominalization reading and a transitivized reading. For example, the form matautan occurs as an transitivized verb in (4.23) above, meaning ‘afraid of’, but as a nominalization meaning ‘fear’ in (4.34).

(4.34) ... senaso a mataut-an molava fo siak nari.
    ... because ART afraid-NMLZ big PERF take 3PL
    ‘... because a great fear seized them.’ (Luke 8:37)

On the other hand, forms are never ambiguous between a transitive reading and a passive reading since the transitivizing suffix only attaches to intransitive verbs, while the passive only applies to transitive verbs.

The transitivizing suffix also attaches to adverbs and degree words following verbs (like the object clitics: see §3.3). The examples in (4.35) to (4.37) illustrate the transitivizing suffix attached to adverbs.

(4.35) ... a mu sisiak si-na ri taa kas fa-tapus-an
    ART PL servant POSS-3SG 3PL FUT open ADV-quick-TRANS
    a mata-na lifu xe si-na.
    ART eye-3SG house to POSS-3SG
    ‘... his servants will open the door quickly for him.’ (Luke 12:36)

(4.36) Ne fo xuus fa-xaves-an nami xo!
    1SG PERF tell ADV-many-TRANS 2PL TOPIC
    ‘I have told you many times.’ (John 8:25)

(4.37) Na Pita a mamaxus senaso na Yesus a fin
    ART Peter 3SG troubled because ART Jesus 3SG ask
    faa-talatul-an=e ... times-three-TRANS=3SG
    ‘Peter was distressed that Jesus asked him three times ...’ (John 21:17)

The examples in (4.38) and (4.39) show the transitivizing suffix attached to degree words modifying the verb.

(4.38) A mo aava fa-mamaxus paaliu-an nari ve a
    ART thing REL CAUS-troubled INTENS-TRANS 3PL be 3SG
    pa-ferawai-an si-na o ri taa pife xalum fulan=e.
    SG-speak-NMLZ POSS-3SG COMP 3PL FUT NEG see again=3SG
    ‘The thing that especially troubled them was his statement that they would not see him again.’ (Acts 20:38)

13 The gloss ‘TOPIC’ for the word xo is based on the draft dictionary provided to me by Perry Schlie; its function is not clear from examples in the New Testament.
A maana mo aava rabuna ri vubux-an temasaat-an=e,
ART GRTR.PL thing REL people 3PL want-TRANS much-TRANS=3SG
a Piran a bai-an=e.
ART big.man 3SG not.want-TRANS=3SG
‘The things that people want badly, God detests.’ (Luke 16:15)

It is even possible for the transitivizing suffix to occur on an instance of the degree word *paaliu* that is modifying an adverb modifying the verb, as in (4.40) and (4.41).

No fo sui fa-roxoi *paaliu-an=e.*
2SG PERF reply ADV-good INTENS-TRANS=3SG
‘You have answered very correctly.’ (Luke 10:28)

The fact that the transitivizing suffix attaches to these postverbal modifiers might suggest that it is a clitic. It is not, however, transitivizing the entire predicate. In all of the examples above, the verb is already transitive. For example, *famamaxus* ‘cause to be troubled’ in (4.38) above is already a transitive verb. Similarly, *vubuxan* ‘want’ in (4.39) is itself already transitivized by the transitivizing suffix. So occurrences of the transitivizing suffix on postverbal modifiers are not making the predicate transitive. Rather, what we have to say is that whenever an adverb or degree word is followed by a direct object (including an object clitic), the adverb or degree word must be transitivized. So the transitivizing suffix is not combining with a phrase consisting of verb plus modifier, as a clitic would, but just with the modifier, as a suffix would.

While postverbal modifiers followed by objects normally occur with the transitivizing suffix, there are cases like (4.42) where a postverbal adverb *fadak* occurs without the transitivizing suffix, despite the fact that they are followed by an object.

... e nami xa mi pife xavang *fa-dak* nari ...
and 2PL REFL/RECIP 2PL NEG help ADV-small 3PL
‘... and you yourselves do not help them a bit ...’ (Luke 11:46)

### 4.2.4. The causative prefix *fa-*

Both intransitive and transitive verbs are causativized by a prefix *fa-.* This is illustrated for intransitive verbs in (4.43) to (4.45).

Ne taa *fa-bas=e* pa-na Vovau si-ak e ...
1SG FUT CAUS-full=3SG PREP-3SG spirit POSS-1SG and
‘I will fill him with my spirit and ...’ (Matthew 12:18)
The example in (4.43) illustrates causativization of a stative predicate, those in (4.44) and (4.45) causativization of event predicates. While the clear majority of examples of causative verbs in the texts are formed from intransitive verbs, there are instances of causatives of transitive verbs, as in (4.46) to (4.48).

(4.44) **Kaalum, ne taa fa-bukaak a mu xaiyaas si-mi**

look 1SG FUT CAUS-bow ART PL enemy POSS-2PL

la ka-mi e ... LOC feet-2PL and

‘Look, I will make your enemies bow down at your feet and ...’ (Revelation 3:9)

(4.45) **Matalava, ne piau ta mataa xena xavang**

leader 1SG not.have NONSPEC man PURP help

fa-du=au lana raarum layaan ... CAUS-go.down=1SG in water when

‘Sir, I have no one to help lower me into the pool when ...’ (John 5:7)

The example in (4.43) illustrates causativization of a stative predicate, those in (4.44) and (4.45) causativization of event predicates. While the clear majority of examples of causative verbs in the texts are formed from intransitive verbs, there are instances of causatives of transitive verbs, as in (4.46) to (4.48).

(4.46) **Ri fa-falax=e pa-na marapi i-na piran e**

3PL CAUS-wear=3SG PREP-3SG clothes POSS-3SG big.man and

ri feng fa-luli=e xe si Pailat.
3PL send CAUS-return=3SG to POSS Pilate

‘They dressed him in elegant clothes [literally: ‘they caused him to wear clothes of an important person’) and sent him back to Pilate.’ (Luke 23:11)

(4.47) **E rao ri fa-num=e pa-na wain aava**

and IRREAL 3PL CAUS-drink=3SG PREP-3SG wine REL
toxan a saxa buk titiwai ...
have ART one kind herb

‘They offered him wine mixed with myrrh, [but he did not take it].’ (Mark 15:23)

(4.48) **Falet, fa-xalum a mu priis pa-na ta-mi.**

go CAUS-see ART PL priest PREP-3SG skin-2PL

‘Go and show yourselves to the priests.’ (Luke 17:14)

Clauses with causatives of transitive verbs are ditransitive and are grammatically similar to ditransitive clauses with noncausative verbs. The argument that is subject of the basic verb becomes primary object of the causative verb and the argument that is object of the basic verb becomes secondary object of the causative verb. In (4.48), for example, a mu priis ‘the priests’, which would be the subject of the noncausative verb xalum ‘see’, is primary object of the causative verb, immediately following the verb and marked with the common article a, like the sole object of monotransitive verbs. And tami ‘your body’, which would be the object of xalum ‘see’ in a basic monotransitive clause, is marked with the preposition pa, as are secondary objects of ordinary ditransitive verbs (see §6.2.3)

The causative verb fa'isin, ‘to cause somebody to be named something’, is formed, not from a verb, but from the noun isin ‘name’. This verb is also ditransitive, like causatives of transitive verbs: the one who is named something is primary object and the name is secondary
object. This is illustrated in (4.49), where the one named is represented by the object suffix on
the verb and the name is marked with the preposition pa.

(4.49) ... e no taa fa-'isin=e pa Jon.
and 2SG FUT CAUS-name=3SG PREP John
‘... and you will name him John.’ (Luke 1:13)

Also ditransitive are the causatives of semantically bivalent intransitive verbs, which, as
discussed in §7.9, are syntactically intransitive in that they treat their second argument, not as
an object of the verb, but mark it with the preposition se. When causativized, the second
argument of these verbs is treated as a secondary object, marked with the preposition pa, as in
(4.50) and (4.51). In this one respect, the second argument of semantically bivalent verbs
behaves like the object of a transitive verb.

(4.50) ... e xavang fa-masam nari pa-na maana
and help CAUS-understand 3PL PREP-3SG GRTR.PL
ferawai-an paap.
speak-NMLZ sacred
‘... and he helped them understand parables.’ (Matthew 13:3)

(4.51) ... ri pife xuus fa-texaas a rabuna pa-na
3 PL NEG tell CAUS-know ART people PREP-3SG
maana mo ri fo xalum=e
GRTR.PL thing 3 PL PERF see=3SG
‘... they did not inform people of the things that they had seen.’ (Luke 9:36)

4.2.5. The adverbial prefix fa-

There is a prefix with the same form as the causative prefix which combines with stative
verbs to form adverbs, such as fa-roxo ‘ADV-good’ i.e. ‘well’, as in (4.52).

(4.52) ... taasaxa a wai aava pife boak fa-roxo i taa
but ART tree REL NEG grow ADV-good 3SG.INCOMPL FUT
fa-savat a xalana mopaak aava pife roxo.
CAUS-come ART fruit sour REL NEG good
‘... but the tree that does not grow well bears sour fruit that is not good.’ (Matthew
7:17)

Similarly, (4.53) illustrates fa-lava ‘ADV-big’ functioning adverbially to mean ‘loudly’, (4.54)
illustrates fa-matavas ‘ADV-clear’ meaning ‘clearly’, and (4.55) illustrates fa-saat ‘ADV-bad’,
meaning ‘badly’.

(4.53) E a ferawai fa-lava paaliu e kuus, ...
and 3SG speak ADV-big INTENS and say
‘She spoke very loudly and said ...’ (Luke 1:42)
... when 2SG look ADV-clear 2SG FUT take away
a wai modak la mata ti-am.
ART tree small LOC eye sibling.same-2SG

‘... when you can see clearly, you will remove the speck from your brother’s eye.’
(Matthew 7:5)

but 3SG.INCOMPL FUT NEG think away ART sin-NMLZ
si-n’ ta mataa aava ferawai fa-saat ...
POSS-3SG NONSPEC man REL speak ADV-bad

‘But he will not forgive the sins of any man who blasphemes ...’ (Matthew 12:31)

It is not always clear whether a particular instance of fa- is the causative prefix or the adverb prefix. In (4.56), for example fa-roxoi could be analysed as the second of two verbs in a predicate consisting of two verbs (‘he made the house, he caused it to be good’) or as an adverb (‘he made the house well’).

... and it [the house] stood very strongly because he made it well.’ (Luke 6:48)

In (4.57), however, faroxo is clearly an adverb: there is nothing that his seeing is causing to be good.

... and the man was able to see clearly.’ (Mark 8:25)

4.2.6. The prefix fe-

The prefix fe- occurs in four related functions: reciprocal, middle, for a group to perform an act together, and inchoative. While all senses seem to be related, I will gloss the different uses separately, as ‘RECIP’, ‘MID’, ‘together’, and ‘INCH’ respectively.

The reciprocal use is illustrated in (4.58) and (4.59).

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14 The stem roxo in faroxoie is the same verb that appears above in (4.52) in the form roxo. The /i/ in faroxoie appears to be inserted phonologically before the clitic =e. Various suffix and clitics beginning with a vowel take an epenthetic /y/ before the suffix and I suspect that the form faroxoie might be alternatively represented as fa-roxo=ye. The nominalized form of roxo using the general nominalizing suffix -an is similarly roxoyan, illustrated in (4.74) below. (Perry Schlie (pc) suggests a possible alternative, where -i is a verbal suffix meaning ‘at/toward.’)
(4.58) E layaan a mu rabuna aava ri taxa tigina faasilak
and when ART PL people REL 3PL CONTIN stand near

   ri langai=e, ri fe-ferawai ...
3PL hear=3SG 3PL RECIP-speak

‘And when some of the people standing nearby heard him, they said to each other, ...’
(Mark 15:35)

(4.59) Ri taa pet lisan nari xa e fe-bai-an nari.
3PL FUT betray bring 3PL REFL/RECIP and RECIP-not.want-TRANS 3PL
‘They will betray one another and hate one another.’ (Matthew 24:10)

Note that the verbal expression pet lisan ‘betray’ in (4.59) is also reciprocal in meaning but
doesn’t occur with the reciprocal prefix, possibly because the predicate is a two word
expression pet lisan ‘betray’; the reciprocal meaning is expressed here, however, by the
reflexive-reciprocal word xa following the strong pronoun nari in object position.

With reciprocal meaning, fe- sometimes co-occurs with the intransitive suffix -ai, as in
(4.60), without any obvious change in meaning.

(4.60) A mu fefeng si-na ri taxa fe-xalum-ai
ART PL disciple POSS-3SG 3PL CONTIN RECIP-see-INTRANS

   senaso ...
because

‘His disciples looked at one another, because ...’ (John 13:22)

Reciprocal verbs are occasionally followed by a strong pronoun that is coreferential to the
subject, as in the last clause in (4.59) above, and in (4.61).

(4.61) ... xenaso rao me fe-sopan name?
why IRREAL 2DU RECIP-hurt 2DU
‘Why are you hurting one another?’ (Acts 7:26)

More commonly, there is either no pronominal or nominal expression of the reciprocal object,
as in (4.60), or the expression la palou iri, literally ‘in the middle of them’ is used, following
the verb, as in (4.62).15

(4.62) E nari, ri fe-fiai la palou i-ri o ri piau
and 3PL 3PL RECIP-ask LOC middle POSS-3PL COMP 3PL not.have

   ta bret.
NONSPEC bread

‘So they began to discuss with one another about having no bread.’ (Mark 8:16)

The second meaning associated with fe- is middle, illustrated in (4.63), where it is added to
faxuvul ‘to mix (transitive)’ (which is in turn a causative of xuvul ‘be with’).

15 Perry Schlie (pc) suggests that the fe- in (4.62) might be better analysed as inchoative, the fourth
use of fe- discussed below, since the meaning is ‘they began to discuss’. On the other hand, the
meaning does appear to be reciprocal as well.
The third meaning associated with *fe-* appears to indicate that the subject, which refers to several people or things, performed the action denoted by the verb together, as in (4.64) and (4.65). Note that with this meaning, the stem to which *fe-* is attached will already be intransitive, unlike the previous two uses, where it is attached to a transitive stem.\(^\text{16}\)

(4.64) ... *ri fe-xukulai* ...  
3PL together-shout  
‘[But when they recognized that he was a Jew,] they all shouted in unison, ...’  (Acts 19:34)

(4.65) *A mu vio xapiak ri fala sivi ti la xasing i-na*  
ART PL pig all 3PL run down from LOC side POSS-3SG  
*put xe lana raarum aave e ri fe-xarak*  
mountain to in water that and 3PL together-drown  
*e ri maat.*  
and 3PL die  
‘The pigs all rushed down the steep slope into the lake and drowned in the water.’  
(Matthew 8:32)

The fourth meaning associated with *fe-* is inchoative, as in (4.66) and (4.67). This is the only use of *fe-* where the subject can be singular. As with the previous meaning, this one also involves verb stems which are intransitive.

(4.66) ... *e a ta-na fe-roxo e* ...  
and ART skin-3SG INCH-good and  
‘[He touched her hand,] and her body got well and ...’  (Matthew 8:15)

(4.67) ... *e mu bina xapiak fe-suk.*  
and PL place all INCH-dark  
‘... and everywhere became dark.’  (Revelation 9:2)

While the majority of instances of inchoative *fe-* involve stative predicates, some involve event predicates, as in (4.68).

(4.68) ... *e ri fe-paan.*  
and 3PL INCH-go  
‘... and they set out.’  (Luke 8:22)

\(^{16}\) Perry Schlie questions whether *fe-* has this third meaning and suggests that the two examples in (4.66) and (4.67) are really inchoative, my fourth use of *fe-* discussed immediately below.
The prefix *fe-* used with reciprocal meaning, can co-occur with the transitivizing suffix -an, as in (4.69). The basic verb *fi(n)* ‘ask’ in (4.69) is transitive, taking the addressee as object. In (4.69), it occurs with both the reciprocal prefix *fe-* and the intransitive suffix -ai, plus the transitivizing suffix -an. What the transitivizing suffix adds is not clear, though it is possible that it is used because there is a reciprocal object phrase *nari xa* ‘3PL REFL/RECIP’ following the verb, so that the clause is in some sense transitive. (The use of *xa* to express reflexive or reciprocal meaning is discussed below in §5.10.6.)

(4.69)  
\[E \text{ ri } \text{fe-mataut paaliu e ri } \text{fe-fi-ai-an}\]  
and 3PL INCH-afraid INTENS and 3PL RECIPI-ask-INTRANS-TRANS  
\[nari \text{ xa } \text{ malaan, } \ldots\]  
3PL REFL/RECIP thus  
‘They became very afraid and asked one another, ...’ (Mark 4:41)

Example (4.70) is similar. The basic verb here is *falou* ‘attack’, a transitive verb. The reciprocal prefix gives the meaning ‘attack each other’. Again, what the transitivizing suffix adds is not clear, though again there is a reciprocal object phrase *nari xa* following the verb.\(^{17}\)

(4.70)  
\[\ldots \text{ a mu fatataganan ri taa } \text{fe-falou-an}\]  
ART PL kingdom 3PL FUT RECIPI-attack-TRANS  
\[nari \text{ xa}.\]  
3PL REFL/RECIP  
‘[For nation will rise up in arms against nation,] and kingdom against kingdom.’  
(Matthew 24:7)

In (4.59) above, in contrast, the function of the transitivizing suffix is clear. The basic verb in (4.59), *bai* ‘not want to’, is intransitive. The transitivizing suffix in this case clearly combines with the stem first, forming the transitive verb *baian* ‘not like’, and the reciprocal prefix combines with this to form a verb *febaian* meaning ‘not like each other’.

4.2.7. The general nominalizing suffix -an

There are two nominalization constructions in Kara, one which allows the subject but not the object (if transitive) to be expressed, the other which is the opposite of this, allowing the object to be expressed but not the subject. The first of these, the topic of this section, involves the suffix -an (-yan after a vowel), which I refer to as the general nominalizing suffix, since it can occur with any verb, intransitive or transitive. The second construction, which is discussed in the next section, involves the suffix -aan, which I refer to as the transitive nominalizing suffix, since it can only be used with transitive verbs.

The general nominalizing suffix -an is illustrated in (4.71), which contains both the verb *yangan* ‘sing’ and its nominalization *yanganan* ‘song’.

\(^{17}\) Perry Schlie (pc) confirms the relevance of *nari xa* in these examples, that without the *nari xa*, the transitivizing suffix would not be used on the verb.
(4.71) *E mui ri yangan a saxa yangan-an xena nangus* and later 3PL sing ART one sing-NMLZ PURP worship

\[ a \text{ Piran e } \ldots \]
ART big.man and

‘They sang a hymn (literally “a song for worshipping God”) and ...’ (Matthew 26:30)

The subject of *an*-nominalizations is expressed with either of the two possessive prepositions, *si* if the possessor is human, as in (4.72), *i* if it is nonhuman, as in (4.73).

(4.72) *Na Yesus a xalum a namkai-an si-ri e ...* ART Jesus 3SG see ART believe-NMLZ POSS-3PL and

‘Jesus saw their faith and ...’ (Mark 2:5)

(4.73) *Layaan i taxa fenung a xa-kaalum-an i-na* when 3SG.INCOMPL CONTIN pray ART HABIT-look-NMLZ POSS-3SG

\[ \text{nonau i-na a puk } \]
face POSS-3SG 3SG turn

‘As he was praying, the appearance of his face changed ...’ (Luke 9:29)

Nominalizations with *-an* behave syntactically like nouns. They occur with number words, for example, as in (4.74), where *roxoyan* ‘good thing’ is preceded by the common article *a* and the greater plural word *maana*.

(4.74) *A mataa roxo a lisan a maana roxo-yan ti la* ART man good 3SG bring ART GRTR.PL good-NMLZ from LOC

\[ \text{fa-xuvul-an } \text{i-na maana roxo-yan si-na.} \]
CAUS-be.with-NMLZ POSS-3SG GRTR.PL good-NMLZ POSS-3SG

‘The good person brings good things out of his good treasury.’ (Matthew 12:35)

In (4.75), the *an*-nominalization *fanganan* ‘eat-NMLZ’ (i.e. ‘food’) is followed by *xaves* ‘many, much’.

(4.75) *A xavala aanabe’ a xavala roxo e a fa-savat a* ART ground this 3SG ground good and 3SG CAUS-come ART

\[ \text{fangan-an xaves. eat-NMLZ many} \]

‘This land was good land and it produced much food.’ (Luke 12:16)

In (4.76), the nominalization *giisan* ‘sick-NMLZ’ is followed by the demonstrative *aanabe’* ‘this’.
(4.76) Nane fo toxan a giis-an aanabe’ pa-na mariaas
3SG PERF have ART sick-NMLZ this PREP-3SG year
sangafilu saxa pa-na taragua.
ten one PREP-3SG two
‘She had had this sickness for twelve years.’ (Mark 5:25)

In (4.77), the nominalization fenungan ‘pray-NMLZ’ is followed by the adjective phrase modus paaliu ‘very long’.

(4.77) E ri fenung xe si-na Piran pa-na fenung-an modus
and 3PL pray to POSS-3SG big.man PREP-3SG pray-NMLZ long
paaliu talo ...
INTENS so.that
‘And they pray to God with very long prayers so that ...’ (Mark 12:40)

And in (4.78), the nominalization fanaian ‘promise-NMLZ’ occurs with a relative clause aava mu rabuna ina kuus fatuxai ri fo mo kuusane ‘that the prophets talked about’.

(4.78) A mu kuus fanaian si-na Piran aava mu rabuna
ART PL say promise-NMLZ POSS-3SG big.man REL PL people
i-na kuus fatuxai ri fo mo kuus-an=e, ...
POSS-3SG say prophecy 3PL PERF ?? say-TRANS=3SG
‘The promises of God that the prophets talked about ...’ (Acts 3:25)

As noted above, an-nominalizations are not used when the clause being nominalized contains an object. This does not mean, however, that one does not get an-nominalizations of transitive verbs. For example, in (4.75) above, the verb being nominalized, fangan ‘eat’, is a transitive verb. Similarly, in (4.79), we get an an-nominalization of the transitive verb xaxaafaian ‘bury’.

(4.79) ... nane fo fasuf=au pa-na mo lalas paamuin=a
3SG PERF anoint=1SG PREP-3SG thing aromatic before=ART
xaxaafaian si-ak.
bury-NMLZ POSS-1SG
‘... she anointed my body before my burial.’ (Mark 14:8)

Nominalizations of transitive verbs are either event nominalizations (denoting an event or state of affairs), like xaxaafaian ‘bury’ in (4.79), which denotes the event of burying rather than the person buried, or object nominalizations (denoting the object of the verb), like fanganan in (4.75) above, which denotes the thing which is eaten, not the event of eating.

Nominalizations of intransitive verbs are sometimes subject nominalizations (denoting the subject of the verb) and sometimes event nominalizations. For example, roxoyan, the

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18 But (4.79) is actually unusual in that when the object of a verb being nominalized is expressed, the aan-nominalization rather than the an-nominalization is normally used; in (4.79) the 1SG argument is treated as a subject of xaxaafaian ‘bury’ although this argument is the one being buried, not the one doing the burying.
nominalization of *roxo* ‘good’ denotes things that are good in (4.74) above, but the state of goodness in (4.80).

(4.80) *A Piran a waan xuvin pa-ma e a xafut nano*

\[\text{ART big.man 3SG be.at with PREP-2SG and 3SG cover 2SG}\]

\[\text{pa-na roxo-yan si-na.}\]

\[\text{PREP-3SG good-NMLZ POSS-3SG}\]

‘God is with you and covers you with his goodness.’ (Luke 1:28)

### 4.2.8. The transitive nominalizing suffix -aan

The second type of nominalization, formed with the suffix -(y)aan, is illustrated in (4.81) and (4.82).

(4.81) *... o a Piran fo feng=e xena xavang-aan nari, ...*

\[\text{COMP ART big.man PERF send=3SG PURP help-NMLZ 3PL}\]

‘[Moses thought his own people would understand] that God had sent him to help them, ...’ (Acts 7:25)

(4.82) *E mui, na Baanabas a ta'ulan nari xena seng-aan*

\[\text{and then ART Barnabas 3SG leave 3PL PURP look.for-NMLZ}\]

\[\text{na Sol pe kol Taasus.}\]

\[\text{ART Saul at west Tarsus}\]

‘Then Barnabas left them to look for Saul in Tarsus in the west.’ (Acts 11:25)

What distinguishes the transitive nominalizing suffix -aan from the general nominalizing suffix -(y)an discussed in the preceding section, is that -aan can only be used when there is an object, expressed either by an object noun phrase or by the 3SG object suffix -a (which is discussed above in §3.4 and later in this section), while -an can never be used when there is an object.

It is not immediately obvious that the verb forms bearing the suffix -aan are nominalizations, since in both (4.81) and (4.82), they occur with objects marked with the proper article *na*, which otherwise only occurs on subjects or objects. In fact, apart from the fact that they do not occur with weak subject pronouns, they look like finite clauses. A further fact that makes them look like finite clauses, is that they take a 3SG object suffix -a, which is distinct from the normal 3SG object clitic =e (§3.3), illustrated in (4.83).

(4.83) *... senaso a rabuna sangafiliu talafaat ri taxa fun-ai*

\[\text{because ART people ten four 3PL CONTIN hide-INTRANS}\]

\[\text{bang xena punux-aan-a.}\]

\[\text{wait PURP kill-NMLZ-3SG}\]

‘... because forty men were hiding waiting in order to kill him.’ (Acts 23:21)

Like the 3SG object clitic =e, the suffix -a is only used when there is no noun phrase functioning as the object of the aan-nominalization, that is where the -a is the sole expression of the object. While there is also a 1SG object clitic with ordinary verbs, there is no such
suffix with *aan*-nominalizations, the strong 1SG pronoun *nenia* being used instead, as in (4.84).

(4.84) ... *e mi faigot faagut xena usi-aan nenia.*
and 2PL prepare strong PURP follow-NMLZ 1SG

‘... and be well-prepared to follow me.’ (Revelation 3:19)

There are two reasons for considering these forms to be nominalizations. The first is that while it is not common for them to occur as subject or object, they occasionally do, and when they do, they occur with the common article *a*, as in (4.85), where *a fakaxupaan nami* ‘saving you’ is functioning as subject of the verb *filimaan* ‘come’.

(4.85) ... *senaso a fakaxup-aan nami i taxa.*
... because ART save-NMLZ 2PL 3SG.INCOMPL CONTIN

*fili-maan faasilak.*
come-come near

‘... because your redemption is drawing near.’ (Luke 21:28)

The second reason for considering these constructions to be nominalizations is that they are in complementary distribution with nominalizations marked with *-an*, in that *aan*-nominalizations always occur with an object, while *an*-nominalizations never do. Furthermore, while *an*-nominalizations can occur with what corresponds to the subject of the corresponding verb marked with the possessive preposition *si*, *aan*-nominalizations are always subjectless. This means that nominalizations in Kara cannot occur with both a subject and an object.

Most occurrences of *aan*-nominalizations in the texts occur in purpose expressions, following the purpose preposition *xena* (see §6.3.6); examples (4.81) to (4.84) above illustrate this. However, they are used occasionally in other constructions. Example (4.85) above illustrates an *aan*-nominalization functioning as subject. They also occur occasionally as objects of various prepositions. In (4.86), the nominalization *fapitiaan* ‘teach-NMLZ’ occurs after the preposition *pana*, serving as complement of *tangpat* ‘begin’.

(4.86) ... *e nane nai e tangpat pa-na fapiti-aan nari.*
and 3SG sit and begin PREP-3SG teach-NMLZ 3PL

‘... and he sat down and began to teach them.’ (John 8:2)

In (4.87), the nominalization of *tisui* ‘oppose’ follows the possessive preposition *i* in what looks a bit like a relative clause, although it is really a prepositional phrase.

(4.87) ... *layaan a mu rabuna i-na tisui-aan nano ri.*
when ART PL people POSS-3SG oppose-NMLZ 2SG 3PL

*maa savat.*
come and come

‘... when your accusers arrive.’ (Acts 23:35)

In (4.88), the nominalization *fasavataan* of the verb *fasavat* ‘produce’ (literally ‘cause to come’) occurs as object of the preposition *sena*, following the verb *fexaxaas* ‘able’.

(4.88) ...
While *aan-*nominalizations are nominalizations in the sense that they occur as objects of prepositions and occur with the common article *a*, they differ from *an-*nominalizations in that they do not have the internal structure of noun phrases. In none of the examples I have found in the texts do they occur with any noun modifiers, number words, adjectives, numerals, demonstratives or relative clauses. In fact, they rarely occur with anything other than an object noun phrase, though in (4.89), there is also an adverb *fulaa* ‘again’.

But *fulaa* is an adverb, so the *aan-*nominalization is behaving like a verb here, not like a noun.

There are forms which the translators represent in a fashion identical to *aan-*nominalizations with the 3SG object suffix -*a*, but which I believe are better analysed as containing instances of the common article *a*. Consider (4.90), treating the form *faxuvulaana* as containing the 3SG object suffix -*a*.

There are two reasons to believe that the final -*a* in *faxuvulaana* in (4.90) is not the 3SG object suffix, but actually the common article that goes with the noun phrase that follows it. First, the 3SG object clitic =*e* never occurs when followed by a noun phrase object; if the 3SG object suffix on *aan-*nominalizations were the same, then (4.90) would be unexpected, since there is an object noun phrase in (4.90), namely *faat* ‘stone’ (here meaning ‘money’) following the verb.

The second and more decisive reason for believing that the final -*a* in examples like (4.90) is not the 3SG suffix -*a* is that when *aan-*nominalizations are followed by a common object noun phrase, like *faat* ‘stone, money’ in (4.90), the common article is always missing from the object noun phrase. And the suffix -*a* only occurs when the *aan-*nominalization is followed by a common noun phrase, not when it is followed by a proper noun phrase, as in (4.82), or a strong pronoun, as in (4.85) above, or a noun phrase introduced by the nonspecific article *ta*, as in (4.89). These considerations argue that in *aan-*nominalizations that appear to end with the 3SG object suffix that are followed by a common noun phrase, what appears to be the 3SG object suffix -*a* is really the common article *a*, so that the correct analysis of (4.90) is that given in (4.91).
... xena fa-xuvul-aan a faat xaa-num xa.

‘... in order to collect money for yourself.’ (Matthew 6:24)

There are actually two versions of this alternative analysis. Under one version, the translators misanalysed the word boundaries, incorrectly treating the common article in these examples as part of the preceding word. On the other version, the translators were correct, but the common article cliticizes backwards onto the preceding word; under this version the analysis of (4.90) is in fact that given in (4.92).19

(4.92) ... xena fa-xuvul-aan=a faat xaa-num xa.

‘... in order to collect money for yourself.’ (Matthew 6:24)

The choice between these two alternatives might be decided by phonological data that is lacking in the texts in question. Schlie and Schlie (1993) describe the placement of stress in Kara as governed by complex rules but the rule that is relevant here is that if a word contains an occurrence of <aa>, then the primary stress falls on the last occurrence of <aa>, which means that in any word bearing the transitive nominalizing suffix -aan, the primary stress will fall on the suffix -aan. In such a case, the 3 SG object suffix will be unstressed and hence possibly indistinguishable from the common article a. In order to keep as close as possible to the translators’ representations, I will henceforth use the representation in (4.92), treating it as a clitic.

It is worth emphasizing that I am not claiming that there is no 3 SG object suffix -a that occurs on aan-nominalizations, only that aan-nominalizations that appear to contain this suffix do not, if the nominalization is followed by a common noun phrase. If there is no noun phrase following the nominalization, then these forms do contain the 3 SG object suffix -a, as in (4.93).

(4.93) ... fexaxaaas a yaan i-na fa-xuvul-aan-a.

‘[Let both grow together] until the time of collecting them (i.e. the harvest)’

(Matthew 13:30)

The aan-nominalization of vil ‘do’, namely vilaana, appears to have become lexicalized as a noun since it occurs in environments where aan-nominalizations in general cannot occur: it can occur with a prepositional phrase using the preposition si expressing what is semantically the subject, the one performing the doing, as in (4.94), and it can be modified by adjectives, as in (4.95).

(4.94) ... a vil-aan-a si-ri a pesa-saat se-na

‘... their deeds are worse than the other Galileans ...’ (Luke 13:2)

19 Perry Schlie (pc) suggests that they probably should have represented these occurrences of a as separate words.
4.2.9. The intransitive suffix -ai

There is a low frequency suffix -ai, which functions as a detransitivizer. Thus compare vil ‘do’, a transitive verb, illustrated in (4.96) with intransitive vilai in (4.97).

(4.96) Mutu vil a maana faisok roxo la matavas ...
        PROHIB do ART GRTR.PL act good LOC be.open
‘Don’t do good things in the open ...’ (Matthew 6:1)

(4.97) Natu-k, xenaso no vil-ai malaave xase-maame?
        son-1SG why 2SG do-INTRANS like.this against-1EXCL.DU
‘Child, why have you treated us like this?’ (Luke 2:48)

Similarly, from transitive fi(n) ‘ask’, illustrated in (4.98), we get intransitive fiai, illustrated in (4.99), which is used when the addressee of the question is not mentioned. (Note that with this verb, there is a final /n/ on the transitive version which is absent in the intransitive version.)

(4.98) Fin a Piran pa-na maana mo aava no vubux-an=e.
        ask ART big.man PREP-3SG GRTR.PL thing REL 2SG want-TRANS=3SG
‘Ask God for things that you want.’ (Matthew 7:7)

(4.99) E na Pailat a fi-ai, “...”
        and ART Pilate 3SG ask-INTRANS
‘And Pilate asked, “...”’ (Matthew 27:23)

With the majority of verbs bearing the suffix -ai, the detransitivization involves the loss of the object of the transitive verb. However, the verb funai ‘to hide (intrans)’, illustrated in (4.101), is derived from the transitive verb fun ‘to hide something’, illustrated in (4.100), where the meaning is reflexive in that the sole argument of the intransitive verb funai bears both semantic roles associated with the two arguments of the transitive verb fun.

(4.100) E voxo ne mataut se-ma e ne fe fun
        and so 1SG afraid PREP-2SG and 1SG go.and hide
        a faat si-im lana vaa’ul.
        ART stone POSS-2SG in hole
‘And so I was afraid of you, and I went and hid your money in a hole in the ground.’
 (Matthew 25:25)

(4.101) ... senaso a rabuna sangafilu talafaat ri taxa fun-ai
        because ART people ten four 3PL CONTIN hide-INTRANS
        bang xena punux-aan-a.
        wait PURP kill-NMLZ-3SG
‘... because forty men were hiding waiting in order to kill him.’ (Acts 23:21)
The verb *ta'ulai* ‘to leave’, illustrated in (4.102) would appear to be the detransitivization of a transitive verb *ta'ul*. However, the corresponding transitive verb is *ta'ulan* ‘to leave someone or something’, bearing the transitive suffix, as in (4.103).

(4.102) Layaan a masalai aave a *ta'ul-ai*, ...
   when ART demon that 3SG leave-INTRANS
   ‘When the demon had gone out, ...’ (Luke 11:14)

(4.103) ... *e* rutul *ta'ul-an* a bina pave la xunavung naang
   and 3TRIAL leave-TRANS ART place there LOC midnight same
   xena falet xe pe Isip.
   PURP go to at Egypt
   ‘... and the three of them left that place at midnight the same night to go to Egypt.’
   (Matthew 2:14)

4.2.10. The associated motion suffix *-maan*

The suffix *-maan* on verbs indicates movement towards the deictic centre (often the speaker or the main character in a narrative), essentially the meaning of ‘come’ in English, and is glossed ‘come’ here. In (4.104), for example, *-maan* occurs on the verb *feng* ‘send’ conveying the meaning ‘send to you’.

(4.104) *Na* Jon I-na Fasuf-an a *feng-maan* nemaame xena
   ART John POSS-3SG baptize-NMLZ 3SG send-come 1EXCL.DU PURP
   fin nano ...
   ask 2SG
   ‘John the Baptist has sent us to you to ask, ...’ (Luke 7:20)

In (4.105), it occurs on *radakui* ‘tremble’ to convey the meaning ‘come trembling’.

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20 Perry Schlie informs me that *-maan* contrasts with a suffix *-et* that indicates motion away from the deictic centre. What I analyse as a monomorphemic verb *falet* ‘go’ could apparently be analysed as containing this suffix, but I am not aware of this verb occurring without *et*. I have found one other apparent instance of this suffix, in (i), where it occurs on *lisan* ‘bring’:

(i) *Tamo mataa taa sip nano la yaava-am lavaxa*
   if man FUT beat 2SG at jaw-2SG then
   *puk lisan-et a xasa pa-yaava-am.*
   turn bring-go 3SG other SG-jaw-2SG
   ‘To the person who strikes you on the cheek, offer the other as well, ...’ (Luke 6:29)
   There is also a separate word *et* meaning ‘away’ that occurs in (ii).

(ii) *Feng tapin et nari ...*
   send away away 3PL
   ‘Send them away ...’ (Matthew 14:15)
(4.105) ... a radakui-maan e ...  
3SG tremble-come and  
‘[When the woman saw that she could not escape notice,] she came trembling and ...’ (Luke 8:47)

And in (4.106), it occurs on the verb fakali ‘signal’ to convey the meaning that the signal came towards ‘us’.

(4.106) Maam xalum a vapara aava fakali-maan a savat-an  
1EXCL.PL see ART star REL signal-come ART come-NMLZ  
si-na ...  
POSS-3SG  
‘We saw a star which signaled his arrival ...’ (Matthew 2:2)

There is also a (presumably cognate) preverbal particle maa (§7.7.4.1) that also conveys associated motion. It is not clear how this particle differs from the suffix -maan. Example (4.107) illustrates both the suffix -maan and the preverbal particle maa, the first occurring on fala ‘run’ to convey the meaning ‘run up to’ while the second occurs in the second clause with turung ‘kneel’ to convey the meaning ‘kneel before him’.

(4.107) ... a saxa mataa a fala-maan xe si-na e  
ART one man 3SG run-come to POSS-3SG and  
maa turung la no-na e fin=e, ...  
come.and kneel LOC in.front.of-3SG and ask=3SG  
‘... a man ran up to him, fell on his knees in front of him, and asked him, ...’ (Mark 10:17)

There is also what I will analyse as an interjection man meaning ‘Come!’, illustrated in (4.108), which functions like an imperative, but which otherwise does not behave like a verb; the resemblance to the verbal suffix -maan is again presumably not accidental.

(4.108) Man, taara taa punux=e xena siak a maana mo come! 1INCL.PL FUT kill=3SG PURP take ART GRTR.PL thing  
xapiak si-na.  
all POSS-3SG  
‘Come, let’s kill him in order to take all his things!’ (Matthew 21:38)

Most of the verb forms with the associated motion suffix are forms of one of five verbs, and one of these verbs makes up about half of all occurrences. This last verb is the verb filimaan ‘come’, illustrated in (4.109), which contains the suffix -maan. This verb stem does not occur without this suffix. I assume that this and the fact that this verb makes up about half of the occurrences of the associated motion suffix are both due to the fact that a verb meaning ‘come’ has approximately the same meaning as the suffix, both indicating motion towards the deictic centre.
... senaso a fakaxup-aan nami i taxa
... because ART save-NMLZ 2PL 3SG.INCOMPL CONTIN

\textit{fili-maan} faasilak.
\textit{come-come} near

‘... because your redemption is drawing near.’ (Luke 21:28)

There is, in fact, another verb meaning ‘come’, \textit{savat}, illustrated in (4.110), which is more common than \textit{filimaan}; how these two verbs differ in meaning is not clear.\footnote{Perry Schlie (pc) informs me that \textit{savat} might be better translated as ‘appear’.}

(4.110) \textit{La saxa yaan na nina Jesus xuvul pa-na mu ti}
\textit{LOC one day ART mother Jesus with PREP-3SG PL sibling.same}

\textit{Jesus ri \textit{savat}.}

‘Then one day, Jesus’ mother and his brothers came.’ (Mark 3:31)

In fact, one of the five frequent verbs that occur with \textit{-maan} is this verb \textit{savat}, illustrated in (4.111).

(4.111) \textit{Mi lamon o ne \textit{savat-maan} xena lisan a luai-an, bo?}
\textit{2PL think COMP 1SG \textit{come-come} PURP bring ART calm-NMLZ Q}

‘Do you think I have come to bring peace?’ (Luke 12:51)

How \textit{savatmaan} differs from \textit{savat} and \textit{filimaan} is also not clear.

The three verbs other than \textit{filimaan} and \textit{savat} that occur frequently with the suffix \textit{-maan} are \textit{lisan} ‘bring’, \textit{ulaa} ‘return’, and \textit{sivi} ‘descend’. The first of these is inherently a verb that involves motion towards the deictic centre. This is not true for the other two verbs, but, at least in the New Testament, these two verbs do frequently involve motion towards the deictic centre. An example of \textit{sivi} ‘descend’ occurring with the suffix \textit{-maan} is given in (4.112).

(4.112) \textit{Nenia ne fo \textit{sivi-maan} ti la xunavata.}
\textit{1SG 1SG PERF descend-come from LOC heaven}

‘I have come down from heaven.’ (John 6:42)

All of these verbs (other than \textit{filimaan}) also occur without \textit{-maan}, even when they appear to involve motion towards the deictic centre, as illustrated in (4.113) for \textit{sivi} ‘descend’.

(4.113) \textit{... layaan ri \textit{sivi} ti xulu-na put, a malila molava}
\textit{when 3PL descend from ON-3SG mountain ART crowd big}

\textit{ri fefasusui=e.}
\textit{3PL greet=3SG}

‘... when they had come down from the mountain, a large crowd met him.’ (Luke 9:37)

It is not clear what determines when \textit{-maan} is used and when it is not used, except that it is not used when the motion is not towards the deictic centre, as in (4.114).
(4.114) *E bak nane sivi xe kol Kapanam,* ...
and then 3SG **descend** to west Capernaum
‘So he went down to Capernaum, ...’ (Luke 4:31)

Verbs bearing the suffix *-maan* can take other verbal suffixes, such as the general nominalizing suffix *-an*, illustrated in (4.115), and the transitive nominalizing suffix *-aan*, illustrated in (4.116).

(4.115) *A mataa aanabe’ i taxa vil a mu*
ART man this 3SG.INCOMPL CONTIN do ART PL

*fakali-maan-an* xaves.
signal-come-NMLZ many

‘This man is performing many miraculous signs.’ (John 11:47)

(4.116) *... ne taa fangan xuvul pa-na mu fefeng si-ak*
1SG FUT eat with PREP-3SG PL disciple POSS-1SG

*xena fakali-maan-aan=a yaan i-na Paaluan.*
PURP signal-come-NMLZ=ART day POSS-3SG Passover

‘... I will eat with my disciples in order to signal the day of Passover.’ (Mark 14:14)

The example in (4.117) contains three different words meaning ‘come’, *filimaan*, *maa*, and *savat*.

(4.117) *E saxa nu-tu-vaat Ferasi e saxa-no mataa aava*
and INDEF PAUC-PL-man Pharisee and INDEF-PL man REL

*ri fepitaa pa-na vuputkai si Moses, ri fili-maan*
3PL teach PREP-3SG command POSS Moses 3PL come-come

*ti Jerusalem e ri maa savat si Yesus.*
from Jerusalem and 3PL come.and come POSS Jesus

‘Now the Pharisees and some of the experts in the law came from Jerusalem to Jesus.’ (Mark 7:1)

4.2.11. The reduplicative prefix

There are various instances of reduplicative prefixes on verbs, forms with a CV prefix that is a copy of the initial CV of the stem to which it is attached. The function or functions of this reduplication is not always clear. However, many of the reduplication forms occur following a negative, especially *pi* ‘never’, as in (4.118). Reduplication seems to most commonly indicate habitual status. This would be consistent with the high number of reduplicated forms following *pi* ‘never’.
(4.118) ... layaan me taa savat lana me taa xalum a fomirak
when 2DU FUT come in 2DU FUT see ART small

“donki” aava ri pi na-nai xulu-na lunai.
donkey REL 3PL never HABIT-sit ON-3SG still

‘... as soon as you enter it, you will find a colt that has never been ridden.’ (Mark 11:2)

In (4.119), there are two occurrences of reduplicated forms lalangai ‘hear’ and xaxalum ‘see’.

(4.119) Mi pi la-langai a ling i-na e mi pi
2PL never HABIT-hear ART voice POSS-3SG and 2PL never

xa-xalum a vipin i-na.
HABIT-see ART body POSS-3SG

‘You people have never heard his voice nor seen his form at any time,’ (John 5:37)

Some of the nonnegative examples have habitual meaning as well, such as (4.120) and (4.121).

(4.120) ... e fungan e num xuvul pa-na rabuna aava
and eat and drink with PREP-3SG people REL

ri nu-num temasaat.
3PL HABIT-drink much

‘[and he begins to beat his fellow slaves] and to eat and drink with drunkards,’
(Matthew 24:49)

(4.121) ... se-seng e mi taa tingin=e,
HABIT-seek and 2PL FUT find=3SG

‘... seek, and you will find.’ (Luke 11:9)

However, a few instances are clearly not habitual, such as (4.122) and (4.123). I gloss the ones that seem to have habitual readings as HABIT-; those that don’t seem to, I gloss as REDUP-.

(4.122) ... a sa-sagen tapin na Moses ...
3SG REDUP-push away ART Moses

‘[But the man who was unfairly hurting his neighbour] pushed Moses aside, ...’
(Acts 7:27)

(4.123) E voxo nane falet e fe su-suuf ...
and so 3SG go and go and REDUP-wash

‘And so he went away and washed, ...’ (John 9:7)

A few instances involve an apparent change of lexical meaning of an unpredictable sort, such as mamaat, a reduplicated form of maat ‘die’, which functions as a noun meaning ‘corpse’, illustrated in (4.124).
Follow me, and let the dead bury their own dead.’  (Matthew 8:22)

4.2.12. The comparative prefix \( \text{pe-} \sim \text{peCa-} \)

There is a comparative prefix that occurs on adjectives that sometimes takes the form \( \text{pe-} \).

‘You are much more valuable than the birds [in the eyes of God]!’  (Luke 12:24)

‘But when a stronger man attacks and defeats him, …’  (Luke 11:22)

More commonly, the form of this prefix is \( \text{peCa-} \), where \( C \) is a copy of the first consonant of the stem to which the prefix is attached. Thus, when this prefix is added to the stem \( \text{saat} \) ‘bad’, it takes the form \( \text{pesa-} \), as in (4.127).

‘… their deeds are worse than the other Galileans …’  (Luke 13:2)

Similarly, it takes the form \( \text{pema-} \) when attached to \( \text{mosaat} \) ‘bad’, an alternate form of \( \text{saat} \), as in (4.128).\(^{22}\)

---

\(^{22}\) The form \( \text{mosaat} \) appears to contain a fossilized prefix \( \text{mo-} \). This is one of three adjectives (the others are \( \text{lava} \sim \text{molava} \) ‘large’ and \( \text{dak} \sim \text{modak} \) ‘small’) that have alternate forms with and without \( \text{mo-} \); it is not clear how these differ in meaning, if at all. (Perry Schlie (pc) says that \( \text{mosaat} \) is used for bad things, \( \text{saat} \) for bad actions; note that \( \text{mo} \) also occurs as a noun meaning ‘thing’.) There are two other adjectives which begin with \( \text{mo-} \), namely \( \text{mopaak} \) ‘sour’ and \( \text{modus} \) ‘long, high’, but these never occur without \( \text{mo-} \) in the texts examined (though Perry Schlie (pc) says that these adjectives are used on rare occasions without \( \text{mo-} \)). The word \( \text{xaves} \) ‘many’ also occurs with this prefix, as \( \text{moxaves} \). In the case of \( \text{moxaves} \), \( \text{mo-} \) seems to have comparative meaning, but with other words it does not seem to have this meaning.
Example (4.129) illustrates peraroxo, the comparative form of roxo ‘good’.

(4.129)  
\[
\text{Nemaam } \mu \text{ Juda, maam pera-roxo } \text{se-ri aava} \\
1\text{EXCL.PL PL Jew 1EXCL.PL COMPAR-good PREP-3PL REL} \\
\text{ri } \text{pife } \text{Juda, bo?} \\
3\text{PL NEG Jew Q} \\
\]

‘Are we Jews better than those who are not Jews?’  (Romans 3:9)

The two adjectives illustrated in (4.125) and (4.126) that occur with the simple form of the comparative prefix, pe- (rather than the form peCa-), namely pe-lalava ‘COMPAR-large’ and pe-tateak ‘COMPAR-strong’, both have stems that begin with Ca, where C is the next consonant. In the case of pelalava, we could analyse this as pela- plus lava, since lava exists alongside lalava as a word meaning ‘large’. On the other hand, there is no form teak ‘strong’ attested in the texts. Nevertheless, the apparent absence of the Ca with these two adjectives is presumably related, at least historically, to the fact that the stems begin with Ca.

As will be discussed in §5.4, adjectives in Kara could be considered either as a distinct word class or as a subclass of verbs. This comparative prefix does provide evidence for adjectives as a separate class (either as a distinct word class or as a distinct subclass of verbs) because it does not occur with ordinary verbs. Note, however, in (4.130), the comparative prefix also occurs on xaves ‘many’, which I argue in §5.5 is best treated as a numeral.

(4.130)  
\[
\text{... nane feng } \text{a xasa-no sisiak pexa-xaves ...} \\
3\text{SG send ART other-PL servant COMPAR-many} \\
\]

‘... he sent other slaves, many more, ...’  (Matthew 21:36)

4.2.13. Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals are formally formed from the numeral stem with the causative prefix fa-, the transitive nominalizing suffix -(y)aan, and the 3SG object suffix -a (which only occurs on aan-nominalizations). For example, the ordinal for ‘third’ is fa-talatul-aan-a, as in (4.131).

(4.131)  
\[
\text{... e la fa-talatul-aan-a yaan ne taa fataxapin} \\
\text{and LOC CAUS-three-NMLZ-3SG day 1SG FUT finish} \\
\text{a } \text{faisok si-ak.} \\
\text{ART act POSS-1SG} \\
\]

‘... and on the third day I will complete my work.’  (Luke 13:32)

Similarly, the form for ‘fifth is fa-pama-yaan-a, as in (4.132).
(4.132) ... a fa-pama-yaan-a faat a vuung e pasak, ...
    ART CAUS-five-NMLZ-3SG stone 3SG red and white
‘... the fifth stone was red and white ...’ (Revelation 21:20)

Ordinal numerals precede the noun, as the above examples show. However, the word for ‘first’, mata, which has the same form as the word for ‘eye’, and fataxapiak ‘last’ do not pattern with the ordinal numerals, but follow the noun, like adjectives, as in (4.133).

(4.133) A bit-an fataxapiak aanabe’ i taa mo mosaat
    ART lie-NMLZ last this 3SG.INCOMPL FUT thing bad
    se-na bit-an mata.
    PREP-3SG lie-NMLZ eye/first

‘This last SG lie-NMLZ thing will be worse than the first deception.’ (Matthew 27:64)

4.2.14. Adverbial numerals

Adverbial words with the meaning ‘n times’ are formed by adding a prefix faa- to the numeral, as illustrated in (4.134), both by faatalatul ‘three times’ and by faataragua ‘twice’.

(4.134) E no taa kuus malaan faa-talatul paamuin=a pura
    and 2SG FUT speak thus times-three before=ART chicken
    i taa rawei faa-taragua.
    3SG.INCOMPL FUT make.sound times-two

‘You will speak this way three times before a rooster crows twice.’ (Mark 14:30)

The same construction is used with xaves ‘many’ to form faaxaves ‘often’.

(4.135) ... ri ferawai faa-xaves se-na mu Juda ti
    3PL speak ADV-many PREP-3SG PL Jew from
    Juda, ...
    Judea

‘[the Jews from the Greek regions] spoke often about the Jews from Judea ...’ (Acts 6:1)

4.3. Prepositions

There are ten prepositions which inflect for their object. These inflections are discussed in §3.6. The functions of the prepositions are discussed in §6.
5 Noun phrase structure

The general structure of noun phrases is as follows:

\[ NP = (Art) + (Number \ Word) + N + (Adj) + (Num) + (Dem) + (PP) + (RC) \]

The different categories mentioned in this formula are discussed in order in this chapter. §5.11 gives examples of various combinations of postnominal modifiers.

5.1. Articles

There are three words I analyse as articles, which occur at the beginning of noun phrases and which are in complementary distribution with each other. These are the proper article \( na \), the common article \( a \), and the nonspecific article \( ta \). But see §6.5 for an alternative analysis which treats the proper and common articles as prepositions.

5.1.1. The proper article \( na \)

The proper (or personal) article \( na \) occurs with proper nouns, as in (5.1) and (5.2).

(5.1)  \( \text{Lumui} \ na \ \text{Pol} \ a \ \text{xuus} \ na \ \text{Baanabas} \),
later \( \text{ART} \ \text{Paul} \ 3SG \ \text{tell} \ \text{ART} \ \text{Barnabas} \)
‘After some days Paul said to Barnabas,’ (Acts 15:36)

(5.2) \( \text{Na} \ \text{Abraham} \ \text{ve} \ \text{na} \ \text{tama-taara} \).
\( \text{ART} \ \text{Abraham} \ \text{be} \ \text{ART} \ \text{father-1INCL.PL} \)
‘Abraham is our father.’ (Matthew 3:9)

The proper article also occurs with kinship nouns, such as \( na \ \text{tamataara} \) ‘our father’ in (5.2) and \( na \ \text{imu} \ \text{Saimon} \) ‘Simon’s mother-in-law’ in (5.3).

(5.3) \( \text{Na} \ \text{imu} \ \text{Saimon} \ \text{i} \ \text{taxa} \ \text{mati} \ \text{xulu-na} \ \text{ivin} \).
\( \text{ART} \ \text{parent.in.law} \ \text{Simon} \ 3SG.INCOMPL \ \text{CONTIN} \ \text{lie} \ \text{ON-3SG} \ \text{bed} \)
‘Simon’s mother-in-law was lying down on the bed.’ (Mark 1:30)

However, as discussed in §5.1.2, kinship nouns occasionally occur with the common article. The proper article also occurs with proper nouns denoting places, as in (5.4) and (5.5).

(5.4) \( \text{Nane} \ \text{ta'ulan} \ \text{na} \ \text{Nazaret} \ \text{e} \ \text{fe} \ \text{taagul} \ \text{pe} \ \text{Kapanam} \ ... \)
\( 3SG \ \text{leave} \ \text{ART} \ \text{Nazareth} \ \text{and} \ \text{go.and} \ \text{stay} \ \text{at} \ \text{Capernaum} \ ... \)
‘He left Nazareth and went and lived at Capernaum ...’ (Matthew 4:13)
‘When you see armies surrounding Jerusalem ...’ (Luke 21:20)

One might call this article a personal article, since it occurs with kinship nouns (which are not proper nouns). However I prefer to call it a proper article both because it occurs with names of places and because it does not occur with other common nouns denoting people, such as mataa ‘man’ in (5.6).23

(5.6)  
A mataa aanabe’ a lamon o nane ve a Piran!  
ART man this 3SG think COMP 3SG be 3SG big.man

‘This man thinks that he is God.’ (Matthew 9:3)

Not all nouns that might considered proper nouns semantically are treated as proper nouns in Kara. For example, nouns denoting ethnic groups are common nouns in Kara, as illustrated in (5.7), where Isip ‘Egyptian’ and Juda ‘Jew’ both occur twice, marked with the common article.

(5.7)  
Na Moses a xalum a saxa Isip aava vil pengan  
ART Moses 3SG see ART one Egyptian REL do harm

a saxa Juda e voxo nane ti vot-an  
ART one Jew and so 3SG stand.and block-TRANS

a Juda e nane xa punuk a saxa Isip aave.  
ART Jew and 3SG REFL/RECIP strike ART one Egyptian that

‘Moses saw an Egyptian harming a Jew, so he came to his defense and struck down the Egyptian.’ (Acts 7:24)

Similarly, although the noun Piran is used to refer to God, it is a common noun in Kara (meaning ‘big man, important person, clan leader’), not a proper noun, occurring with the common article a, as in (5.8).

(5.8)  
E lana mif-an a Piran a xuus fa-texas nari o  
and in dream-NMLZ ART big.man 3SG tell CAUS-know 3PL COMP

ri muta ulaa xe si Herot.  
3PL PROHIB return to POSS Herod

‘And in a dream, God warned them that they should not return to Herod.’ (Matthew 2:12)

Proper noun phrases are normally singular; but they can be nonsingular when two or more singular proper noun phrases are conjoined, as in (5.9).

23 The word a also appears in a Piran ‘big man’ in (5.6), but as argued in §7.10, it is the 3SG weak subject pronoun, not the common article, that occurs with predicate nominals.
(5.1) **Na Jems e na Jon, re falet xuvul pa-ri sait.**

\[ \text{ART James and ART John 3DU go with PREP-3PL also} \]

‘James and John went with them as well.’ (Mark 1:29)

The proper article and the common article are obligatorily absent in a variety of syntactic contexts discussed below (§5.1.4), such as following a preposition. I use the expression *proper noun phrase* throughout this work to refer to noun phrases that employ the proper article and to noun phrases without an article that would employ the proper article (rather than the common article) if they did occur with an article. I use the expression *common noun phrase* analogously.

### 5.1.2. The common article

Like the proper article, the common article *a* occurs before nouns, as in (5.10), where it precedes the common noun *vapara* ‘star’ and again before the nominalization *savatan* ‘come-NMLZ’ (i.e. ‘arrival’).

(5.10) **Maam xalum a vapara aava fakali-maan a savat-an**

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{1EXCL.PL see ART star REL signal-come ART come-NMLZ} \\
&s\text{-na} \\
&\text{POSS-3SG}
\end{align*}
\]

‘We saw a star which signaled his arrival ...’ (Matthew 2:2)

Note that the common article is homophonous with the 3 SG weak subject pronoun *a*. The first word *a* in (5.11) is the common article while the fourth word in this example is the 3SG weak subject pronoun.

(5.11) **A mataa roxo a lisam a maana roxo-yan ...**

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{ART man good 3SG bring ART GRTR.PL good-NMLZ} \\
&\text{s\text{-na}} \\
&\text{POSS-3SG}
\end{align*}
\]

‘The good person brings good things ...’ (Matthew 12:35)

This is potentially a source of confusion, since these two words are the most common words in the texts. However, the common article never precedes verbs. And the 3SG weak subject pronoun precedes noun phrases only with noun phrases functioning as predicates (see §7.10), so there is never in fact any problem distinguishing the two.

The common article is not specifically singular. It occurs in plural noun phrases, like *a mu rabuna* ‘the people’ in (5.12).

(5.12) **A mu rabuna ri langai a ferawai-an si-na e ...**

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{ART PL people 3PL hear ART speak-NMLZ POSS-3SG and} \\
&\text{si-na} \\
&\text{POSS-3SG}
\end{align*}
\]

‘The people heard what he said and ...’ (Mark 1:22)

While kin terms normally occur with the proper article, they occasionally occur with the common article, as in (5.13), where we get the common article before *tamana* ‘his father’.

(5.13) **A tamana maana roxo-yan ...**

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{ART his 3SG good-NMLZ} \\
&\text{si-na} \\
&\text{POSS-3SG}
\end{align*}
\]

‘His good things ...’ (Matthew 12:35)
Similarly, in (5.14), the kin term bu ‘ancestor’ occurs with the common article a.

(5.14) Lavaxa, senaso a bu-taara lava, na Aadam,
then because ART ancestor-1INCL.PL big ART Adam

‘Then, because our ancestor, Adam, heard ...’ (Romans 5:12)

While kin terms in the singular usually take the proper article na, kin terms in the plural always take the common article a, as in (5.15) and (5.16).

(5.15) Ne toxan a mu ti-ak pama e ...
1SG have ART PL sibling.same-1SG five and

‘I have five brothers and ...’ (Luke 16:28)

(5.16) A mu bu-maam ri naangus xulu-na put aanabe’.
ART PL ancestor-1EXCL.PL 3PL worship ON-3SG mountain this
‘Our ancestors worshiped on this mountain.’ (John 4:20)

This reflects the fact that the proper article na is always singular.

The common article is not specifically definite; it can occur with indefinite noun phrases, illustrated by both a saxanu tuvaat talafaat ‘four people’ and a saxa mataa a kana e mana maat ‘a leper’ in (5.17).

(5.17) A saxa-nu tu-vaat talafaat ri lisan a saxa mataa
ART INDEF-PAUC PL-people four 3PL bring ART one man

‘Four people brought a paralytic and ...’ (Mark 2:3)

However, it seems to be particularly common for indefinite noun phrases to occur without an article, illustrated by saxa mataa aava tana tapak ‘a leper’ in (5.18).

(5.18) La saxa yaan, saxa mataa aava ta-na tapak,
LOC one day one man REL skin-3SG leprosy

‘One day, a leper came to Jesus.’ (Mark 1:40)
As with the proper article, the common article is obligatorily absent in a variety of syntactic contexts, such as after prepositions (§5.1.4).

5.1.3. The nonspecific article *ta*

The third article, much less common than the first two, is the nonspecific article *ta*, illustrated in (5.19) to (5.21).

(5.19)  
Layaan *ta* mataa a *vubux-an* a *mo* si-im, ...  
when NONSPEC man 3SG want-TRANS ART thing POSS-2SG  
‘When a man wants something of yours, ...’ (Matthew 5:42)

(5.20)  
E *ta* wai aava pife fa-savat a *xalana* roxo  
and NONSPEC tree REL NEG CAUS-come ART fruit good  
i taa tei tapin-an xe lana fata.  
3SG.INCOMPL FUT chop.down throw-PASS to in fire  
‘Every tree that does not bear good fruit will be cut down and thrown into the fire.’  
(Matthew 7:19)

(5.21)  
Muta *xuus* *ta* mataa pa-na.  
PROHIB tell NONSPEC man PREP-3SG  
‘Don’t tell any man about it!’  
(Matthew 8:4)

The nonspecific article only occurs with common nouns.  
Many instances of *ta* in the texts, perhaps even a majority, may be calques on the English. (See Appendix 1.4.) This makes it quite unclear exactly when *ta* is used. The example in (5.22) illustrates an instance where *any* would not be used in English and is thus an instance of *ta* which is clearly not a calque.

(5.22)  
Layaan *nane* xalum na *Pita* nare *Jon* re *tava* laak  
when 3SG see ART Peter 3DU John 3DU CONTIN enter  
vaxa, *nane* fin nare *pa-n’* *ta* faat.  
also 3SG ask 3DU PREP-3SG NONSPEC stone  
‘When he saw Peter and John about to go into the temple courts, he asked them for money.’  
(Acts 3:3)

The article *ta* differs from the proper and common articles *na* and *a* in that it occurs following prepositions (see §5.1.4). However, when it follows an inflecting preposition with the 3SG suffix -*na*, the suffix is reduced to -*n*. The translators of the Kara New Testament represent this reduction with an apostrophe following the /n/, so that the reduced form of *pana*, for example, is represented as *pan’*, illustrated in (5.23) (the preposition *pa* is used for the theme or theme-like argument with ditransitive verbs like *tavai* ‘give’; see §6.2.3).
Similarly, in (5.24), we get *sin’*, the reduced form of *sina ‘POSS-3SG’ before *ta*.

(5.24) Taasaxa *i* taa pife lamon tapin *a faasaal-an* but 3SG.INCOMPL FUT NEG think away ART sin-NMLZ

*si-n’* *ta* mataa aava ferawai fa-saat ... POSS-3SG NONSPEC man REL speak ADV-bad

‘But he will not forgive the sins of any man who blasphemes ...’ (Matthew 12:31)

And (5.25) illustrates *xulun’, the reduced form of xuluna ‘on-3SG’.

(5.25) ... e tamo *a faat naang i* taa poxo and if ART stone same 3SG.INCOMPL FUT fall

*xulu-n’* *ta* mataa, i taa mimit=e e ... on-3SG NONSPEC man 3SG.INCOMPL FUT crush=3SG and

‘... and if the same stone falls on any man, it will crush him and ...’ (Matthew 21:44)

In §6.3.2, I discuss the preposition *lana* and argue that, at least synchronically, it is not a 3SG form of the preposition *la*, despite appearing to be *la* plus the 3SG suffix -na. However, one way in which *lana* does behave like a 3SG form is that it occurs in a reduced form *lan’* before the nonspecific article *ta*, as in (5.26).

(5.26) Mut*a falet xe lan’* *ta* bina si-na mu rabuna aava PROHIB go to in NONSPEC place POSS-3SG PL people REL

ri pife Juda o ... 3PL NEG Jew or

‘Do not go to any Gentile regions or ...’ (Matthew 10:5)

### 5.1.4. Contexts where articles are absent

There are a variety of syntactic contexts where neither the proper article *na* nor the common article *a* are used or where the proper article can be used but not the common article.

The first context where neither the proper article nor the common article can be used is after prepositions. Examples (5.27) and (5.28) (as well as many examples in §6) illustrate this for proper noun phrases. There is no proper article following the preposition *xa* ‘for’ and preceding *Abrahem ‘Abraham’ in (5.27), nor after the preposition *ti* and preceding *Efasis ‘Ephesus’ in (5.28).
... a Piran a fexaas se-na fa-savat a rafuklak
ART big.man 3SG able PREP-3SG CAUS-come ART child.PL

xa Abraham pa-na mu faat aanabe’!
for Abraham PREP-3SG PL stone this

‘... God can raise up children for Abraham from these stones!’ (Matthew 3:9)

E a rabuna ti Efasis e ti la xasa-no bina
and ART people from Ephesus and from LOC other-PL place

pe Esia ri langai=e.
at Asia 3PL hear=3SG

‘And the people from Ephesus and from the other places in Asia heard him.’ (Acts 19:26)

Examples (5.29) and (5.30) (as well as many examples in §6) illustrate the same for common noun phrases. The absence of the common article after a preposition is illustrated twice in (5.29), first by mu kam ‘the seeds’ following the preposition sena and second by salan ‘path’ following the general locative preposition la.

... ri malaan se-na mu kam aava ri poko la salan
3PL like PREP-3SG PL seed REL 3PL fall LOC path.
‘They are like the seeds which fall on the path.’ (Matthew 13:19)

Similarly, mataa fatak aave ‘that innocent man’ occurs without an article following the preposition xasena ‘against’ in (5.30).

Muta vil ta mo xase-na mataa fatak aave ...
PROHIB do NONSPEC thing against-3SG man straight that
‘Don’t do anything against that innocent man ...’ (Matthew 27:19)

The examples in (5.31) and (5.32) show the absence of an article before kinship nouns after a preposition. In (5.31), the noun vasaa ‘sibling of opposite sex’ occurs without an article following the possessive preposition si.

Taasaxa a lak tomesaan si vasaa Pol a langai
but ART child male POSS sibling.oppos Paul 3SG hear

kasam a ferawai-an si-ri.
quiet ART speak-NMLZ POSS-3PL.

‘But the son of Paul’s sister overheard what they said.’ (Acts 23:16)

In (5.32), the noun ninana ‘his mother’ occurs without an article following the preposition pa.
When noun phrases conjoined with the conjunction e follow a preposition, the article is absent from only the first conjunct; the last conjunct will retain its article. In (5.33), for example, the first conjunct tang lifu lotu ‘the temple’ does not occur with a common article while the second conjunct, a ivin ina faraaman sina Piran ‘the altar’, does.

(5.33) Mi punuk na Sekaraia la palou i-na tang lifu
2PL kill ART Zecharia LOC middle POSS-3SG huge house
lotu e a ivin i-na fa-raam-an si-na
worship and ART table POSS-3SG CAUS-burn-NMLZ POSS-3SG
Piran.
big.man

‘You killed Zechariah between the temple and the altar.’ (Matthew 23:35)

The proper article behaves the same way. In (5.34), the proper article na only occurs on the last conjunct Yaakop ‘Jacob’; there is no article on the first conjunct Abrahem ‘Abraham’, following the preposition si.

(5.34) a Piran si Abrahem, Aisaak e na Yaakop
ART big.man POSS Abraham Isaac and ART Jacob
‘the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob’ (Acts 3:13)

As discussed in §5.13.1, with conjoined phrases containing more than two conjuncts which are not objects of prepositions, the article normally occurs with the first and last conjunct, so its absence from the second conjunct in (5.34) above, Aisaak, is independent of the fact that the conjoined noun phrase is the object of a preposition.

The second context in which the proper and common articles are obligatorily absent is after inalienably possessed nouns (§5.7.1). This is illustrated for proper noun phrases in (5.35) and (5.36). In (5.35), there is no article marking Yesus ‘Jesus’, following the noun nina ‘mother’.

(5.35) Layaan na nina Yesus e na tama-na re lisan-maan=e
when ART mother Jesus and ART father-3SG 3DU bring-come=3SG
xena ...
PURP

‘When Jesus’ mother and his father brought him in to [do for him what was customary according to the law.]’ (Luke 2:27)

Example (5.36) shows the same after a body part noun: Yesus ‘Jesus’ occurs after ka ‘feet’ without an article.
‘... a leper approached and knelt at Jesus’ feet ...’ (Matthew 8:2)

Similarly, (5.37) illustrates the absence of the common article after a kin term, where the noun *lak* ‘child’ lacks an article following *tamana* ‘father-3SG’ (*lak* is itself semantically a kin term, but is an ordinary common noun grammatically; see §5.7.2).

(5.37)  
A *tama-na* *lak*, *na* Sekaraia, *a* bas *pa-na*  
ART father-3SG child ART Zechariah 3SG full PREP-3SG

Vovau Xaradak e ...  
spirit straight and

‘The child’s father, Zechariah, was filled with the Holy Spirit and ...’ (Luke 1:67)

Similarly, *mataa* ‘man in (5.38) occurs without an article following the kin term *tina* ‘his brother’.

(5.38)  
... *lavaxa* na *ti-na* *mataa* aava fo maat  
then ART sibling.same-3SG man REL PERF die

  i taa tamai si-na tefin aave ...  
3SG.INCOMPL FUT marry POSS-3SG woman that

‘... then the brother of the man who died must marry that woman ...’ (Mark 12:19)

Example (5.39) illustrates the same for a body part noun, where following *matana* ‘his eye’, we get the noun *mataa* ‘man’ without the common article.

(5.39)  
*Na* ne *kaanus* xe *la* *mata-na* *mataa* *piif* e ...  
3SG spit to LOC eye-3SG man blind and

‘He spat on eyes of the blind man and ...’ (Mark 8:23)

Similar to conjoined noun phrases following a preposition, conjoined noun phrases following an inalienably possessed noun will use an article only on the last conjunct. In (5.40), there is no common article on *maana* *mu vuputkai* si Moses ‘the commandments of Moses’, the first conjunct of the possessor of *fufuna* ‘base-3SG’, but there is on the second conjunct *a mu fepitai-an* *si-na* *mu rabuna* ina *kuus* *fatuxai* ‘the teachings of the prophets’.

(5.40)  
A ro vuputkai aana’ re *fufu-na* *maana* *mu*  
ART DU command this 3DU base-3SG GRTR.PL PL

vuputkai si Moses e a mu fepitai-an si-na  
command POSS Moses and ART PL teach-NMLZ POSS-3SG

mu rabuna i-na *kuus* fatuxai.  
PL people POSS-3SG say prophecy

‘These two commandments are the basis of the commandments of Moses and the teachings of the prophets.’ (Matthew 22:40)
Example (5.41) shows the same, but with a conjoined noun phrase whose conjuncts are proper noun phrases; again, the proper article na occurs only on the third conjunct Yaakop ‘Jacob’ of the conjoined noun phrase functioning as possessor of bu ‘descendant’, and not on the first conjunct Abraham ‘Abraham’.

(5.41) senaso ri mu bu Abraham, Aisaak e na Yaakop.

because 3PL PL descendant Abraham Isaac and ART Jacob
‘because they are the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.’ (Romans 11:28)

There are also syntactic contexts in which proper noun phrases must occur with the proper article but where common noun phrases must occur without an article. One of these is in predicate noun phrases (§7.10), as in (5.42) and (5.43). For example, in (5.42), the common noun phrase mu rafulak sina ‘his children’ in predicate function does not occur with an article.

(5.42) ... nari ve ri mu rafulak si-na.

3PL be 3PL PL child.PL POSS-3SG
‘... they are his children.’ (Romans 8:14)

(5.43) Nami ve mi mu rabuna saat.

2PL be 2PL PL people bad
‘You are bad people.’ (Matthew 16:4)

Note, however, that with such predicate noun phrases, we get weak subject pronouns occurring where the common article would occur, such as 3PL ri in (5.42) and 2PL mi in (5.43).

Proper noun phrases in predicate function, in contrast, do require the proper article, as in (5.44) and (5.45). Note also that, unlike common noun phrases in predicate position, we do not get a weak subject pronoun with these proper noun phrases.

(5.44) Nenia ve na Gebriel e ...

1SG be ART Gabriel and
‘I am Gabriel and ...’ (Luke 1:19)

(5.45) Na Abraham ve na tama-taara.

ART Abraham be ART father-1INCL.PL
‘Abraham is our father.’ (Matthew 3:9)

Another context in which the common article is obligatorily absent is following the relative word aava. For example, there is no article with mataa ‘man’ in (5.46).

(5.46) a mo aava mataa taa num=e o ngan=e

ART thing REL man FUT drink=3SG or eat=3SG
‘the things that a man drinks or eats’ (Matthew 15:11)
Nor is there an article after *aava* with the noun phrase *mu vovau saat* ‘bad spirits’ in (5.47).²⁴

(5.47)  
\begin{verbatim}
A mataa aava mu vovau saat ri fo ta'ulan=e,  
\end{verbatim}  
\begin{verbatim}
ART man REL PL spirit bad 3PL PERF leave=3SG  
\end{verbatim}  
\begin{verbatim}
a nung na Yesus ...
3SG ask ART Jesus
\end{verbatim}  

‘The man who the demons had gone out of asked Jesus …’ (Luke 8:38)

The proper article, in contrast, does occur following *aava*, as in (5.48), where the proper article *na* occurs with *Yesus* ‘Jesus’.

(5.48)  
\begin{verbatim}
... put aava na Yesus a feng nari xe xulu-na.
\end{verbatim}  
\begin{verbatim}
mountain REL ART Jesus 3SG send 3PL to ON-3SG
\end{verbatim}  

‘[So the eleven disciples went to Galilee to] the mountain that Jesus had sent them to.’  
(literally ‘the mountain that Jesus had sent them to on it’) (Matthew 28:16)

There are two other contexts in which articles are obligatorily absent, both involving strong pronouns. First, the article is obligatorily absent from noun phrases headed by strong pronouns, as in (5.49) and (5.50).²⁵

(5.49)  
\begin{verbatim}
Nemaam mu Juda, maam pera-roxo se-ri aava  
1EXCL.PL PL Jew 1EXCL.PL COMPAR-good PREP-3PL REL
\end{verbatim}  
\begin{verbatim}
ri pife Juda, bo?  
3PL NEG Jew Q
\end{verbatim}  

‘Are we Jews better than those who are not Jews?’ (Romans 3:9)

(5.50)  
\begin{verbatim}
Nami mu rabuna mi pi namkai e ...  
2PL PL people 2PL never believe
\end{verbatim}  

‘You people never believe …’ (Matthew 17:17)

The proper article does not occur in this context either, but since all examples in the texts headed by pronouns that combine with noun phrases combine with common noun phrases, it is not clear whether it is even possible for strong pronouns to combine with proper noun phrases.

The proper article is absent following instances of the 3DU strong pronoun *nare* used as a conjunction (§5.13.2), as in (5.51), where there is no article marking *Jon* ‘John’, and (5.52), where there is no article marking *Sailas* ‘Silas’.

(5.51)  
\begin{verbatim}
Layaan nane xalum na Pita nare Jon ...  
when 3SG see ART Peter 3DU John
\end{verbatim}  

‘When he saw Peter and John …’ (Acts 3:3)

---

²⁴ See §5.8.6 for brief discussion of the possibility that the absence of the common article after the relative word *aava* may be due to *aava* being originally a contraction of *aave* ‘that’ and the common article *a*.

²⁵ Recall that nouns denoting ethnic groups are common nouns in Kara (§5.1.1), so *nemaam mu Juda* ‘we Jews’ in (5.49) is a common noun phrase.
(5.52) ... e fala fataapus xe si Pol nare Sailas e ...  
... and run quickly to POSS Paul 3DU Silas and  
‘... and ran immediately to Paul and Silas and ...’  (Acts 16:29)

The common article does not occur in this context: the dual pronoun is used as a conjunction only when both conjuncts are proper noun phrases.

5.2. Number words

There is a set of words which occur before the noun, but after an article if there is one, which code grammatical number, including three words coding indefiniteness plus number and three words coding ‘other’ plus number. These are listed in Table 5.1 and discussed in detail below.26

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mu</td>
<td>‘plural’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maana</td>
<td>‘greater plural’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ro</td>
<td>‘dual’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu</td>
<td>‘paucal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saxa</td>
<td>‘one, INDEF.SG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saxano</td>
<td>‘INDEF.PL’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saxanu</td>
<td>‘INDEF.PAUCAL’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xasa</td>
<td>‘other.SG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xasano</td>
<td>‘other.PL’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xasanu</td>
<td>‘other.PAUCAL’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.1: Grammatical number words

5.2.1. The plural word *mu*

The most common number word is the plural word *mu*, illustrated in (5.53) and (5.54). This is the normal way to code nominal plurality in Kara.

(5.53) A *mu* fefeng si-na ri fe fa-para-ye e ...  
ART PL disciple POSS-3SG 3PL go.and CAUS-wake.up-3SG and  
‘His disciples went and woke him up and ...’  (Matthew 8:25)

(5.54) A *mu* tama-na Israel ri xinaas-an a ti-ri,  
ART PL father-3SG Israel 3PL jealous-TRANS ART sibling.same-3PL  
na Yosep, ...  
ART Joseph  
‘The fathers of Israel were jealous of their brother, Joseph, ...’  (Acts 7:9)

26 Numerals other than *saxa* ‘one’ follow the noun and are discussed below in §5.5.
5.2.2. The greater plural word *maana*

There is also what I am analyzing as a greater plural word, *maana*, illustrated in (5.55) and (5.56).

(5.55) Ne taa tavai nano pa-na *maana mo aanabe'* tamo ...
1SG FUT give 2SG PREP-3SG GRTR.PL thing this if
‘I will give you all these things if ...’ (Matthew 4:9)

(5.56) A mataa roxo a lisan a *maana roxo-yan ti la*
ART man good 3SG bring ART GRTR.PL good-NMLZ from LOC
fa-xuvul-an i-na *maana roxo-yan si-na.*
CAUS-be.with-NMLZ POSS-3SG GRTR.PL good-NMLZ POSS-3SG
‘The good person brings good things out of his good treasury.’ (Matthew 12:35)

My analyzing *maana* as a greater plural word, a word denoting a plurality more than a few, is based on the fact that it seems to only occur with a number of referents that is greater than just a few. Also supporting this view is the fact that it occasionally corresponds to ‘all’ in the English translations, as in (5.55), and the fact that it not infrequently co-occurs either with the word *xaves* ‘many’, as in (5.57), or the word *xapiak* ‘all’, as in (5.58).

(5.57) ... *e maana rabuna xaves ri sangas usi a salan aave.*
and GRTR.PL people many 3PL walk follow ART path that
‘... and many people follow that route.’ (Matthew 7:13)

(5.58) ... nane xo i taa tavai nami pa-na
3SG TOPIC 3SG.INCOMPL FUT give 2PL PREP-3SG
*maana* mo *xapiak aave vaxa.*
GRTR.PL thing all that also
‘... he will give all these things to you as well.’ (Matthew 6:33)

The word *maana* occasionally co-occurs with the plural word *mu*, as in (5.59).

(5.59) ... re fe-xuus a *maana rabuna xaves la*
... 3DU INCH-tell ART GRTR.PL people many LOC
*maana* *mu* bina *xapiak pa-na.*
GRTR.PL PL place all PREP-3SG
‘... they told people throughout that entire region about him.’ (Matthew 9:31)

5.2.3. The dual word *ro*

The dual number word *ro* is illustrated in (5.60) and (5.61), with two occurrences in the latter.
‘[If the miracles which you have seen] had happened in the two towns of Tyre and Sidon, ...’ (Matthew 11:21)

‘Your eyes are the lamps for lighting your body.’ (Matthew 6:22)

Note that the dual word is distinct from the numeral taragua ‘two’, illustrated in (5.62).

‘So they are no longer two people ...’ (Matthew 19:6)

The dual word precedes the noun, in the same position as the other number words, while the numeral for ‘two’ occurs after the noun, like other numerals (except for saxa ‘one’) (§5.5).

5.2.4. The paucal word nu

There is a number word nu that I identify as a paucal, illustrated in (5.63) to (5.65).

‘Seven loaves and a few small fish.’ (Matthew 15:34)

‘... and on three Sabbath days he spoke with them.’ (Acts 17:2)

‘And we stayed there for some days.’ (Acts 16:12)

Most occurrences of nu occur with what appear to be a small number of referents. There is one occurrence of nu in a noun phrase denoting seven things, given in (5.66).

‘He held seven stars in his right hand, ...’ (Revelation 1:16)
There are, however, a number of examples where *nu* co-occurs with *maana*, which I have analysed as a greater plural word, such as (5.67). I am not sure how to reconcile the analysis of *nu* as a paucal word with this.

(5.67)  
(ART) Jesus and (PL) disciple (POSS-3SG) 3PL go to (LOC) 
*maana* (GRTR.PL) *nu* (PAUC) place near (PREP) Caesarea Philippi.

‘Then Jesus and his disciples went to the villages of Caesarea Philippi.’ (Mark 8:27)

These examples are not only unexpected if *nu* is a paucal word (and if *maana* is a greater plural word), but also unexpected if both *maana* and *nu* are number words, since one might expect them not to co-occur. However *maana* also occurs with the plural word *mu*, as illustrated in (5.59) above.

The exact meaning of *nu* is thus not clear, though all instances where it occurs without *maana* seem consistent with paucal meaning. I should also note that one of the nonsingular forms of the noun for ‘person’ begins with */nu/* and also appears to be paucal in meaning, as in (5.68).

(5.68)  
(ART) PAUC-PL-person (PAUC-PL-person) six this also (3PL) go to (LOC) 
*Sesaria* (ART) with (PREP-1SG) and

‘These six men also went to Caesarea with me and ...’ (Acts 11:12)

A paucal suffix -*nu* also occurs in the paucal form *saxanu* of the indefinite marker *saxa*, as discussed in §5.2.7, and a paucal form *xasanu* of the word *xasa* ‘other’, as discussed in §5.2.8)

5.2.5. The number word *saxa* ‘one, indefinite’

The word for ‘one’, *saxa*, differs from other words that are semantically numerals in that it precedes the noun, as in (5.69) and (5.70), occurring in apparently the same position as the number words, which argues that it is grammatically a number word rather than a numeral.

(5.69)  
(2PL) NEG think COMP ART thing good INTENS if (ART) one (ART) man 
*i* (3SG.INCOMPL) FUT die for-3SG PL people all

‘You do not realize that it is a better thing if one man dies for all the people.’ (John 11:50)

(5.70)  
(ART) voice (POSS-3SG) one (ART) man at (LOC) wilderness

‘The voice of one man in the wilderness ...’ (Matthew 3:3)
One might, therefore, refer to *saxa* as a singular word. However, it clearly means ‘one’ in (5.71), where none of the three occurrences is modifying a noun.

(5.71) *Ai Memai, nemaatul taxa waan, a roxo naak*

*INTERJ lord 1EXCL.TRIAL CONTIN be.at 3SG right surely*

*maatul taa vesan a sawat talatul xa-mutul; saxa*

*1EXCL.TRIAL FUT make ART shelter three for-2TRIAL one*

*xaa-num, saxa xa Ilaija e saxa xa Moses.*

*for-2SG one for Elijah and one for Moses*

‘[So Peter said to Jesus.] Rabbi, it is good for us to be here. Let us make three shelters - one for you, one for Elijah, and one for Moses.’ (Mark 9:5)

The word *saxa* is also widely used as a type of indefinite article, like words for ‘one’ and unlike singular words in other languages. And it does not seem to occur with definite noun phrases (though this may simply reflect the fact that noun phrases with numerals seem to be most commonly indefinite), unlike a true singular word, suggesting that it is also functioning as a marker of indefiniteness. Furthermore, as discussed immediately below, there is a plural form of *saxa*, namely *saxano*, which is also always indefinite. Hence, *saxa* would appear to be best analysed as a number word that is singular indefinite.27

While *saxa* differs from other words that are semantically numerals in preceding the noun, there is one context in which it does follow the noun, namely when modified by *mon* ‘only’, as in (5.72).

(5.72) *A mo roxo no taa laak lana to-yan vulai*

*3SG thing good 2SG FUT enter in live-NMLZ always*

*pa-na pa-mata saxa mon ...*

*PREP-3SG SG-eye one only*

‘It is better for you to enter into life with one eye [than to have two eyes and be thrown into fiery hell].’ (Matthew 18:9)

### 5.2.6. Indefinite plural word *saxano*

The word *saxano* is the plural of *saxa*, the word discussed in the preceding section. It is illustrated in (5.73) and (5.74).

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27 There are actually many instances of *saxa* occurring in definite noun phrases, but the construction in which they appear looks like a calque on the English translations, since the occurrences of *one* that occur in the English translations in these cases is not the numeral *one* but the pronoun *one*, as in (i), where is is not modifying a noun.

(i) *A saxa aava savat ti laa’ui ...*

*3SG one REL come from above*

‘The one who comes from above ...’ (John 3:31)

Since this use of the word for ‘one’ is not common crosslinguistically, it is most likely a calque (§Appendix.3).
(5.73) *Saxa-no* Ferasi ri xalum a vil-aana aanabe’ e ...
INDEF-PL Pharisee 3PL see ART do-NMLZ this and
‘Some Pharisees saw this and ...’ (Matthew 9:11)

(5.74) ... *saxa-no* kam ri poxo la salan e ...
INDEF-PL seed 3PL fall LOC path and
‘[And as he sowed.] some seeds fell along the path, and ...’ (Matthew 13:4)

*Saxa-no* can also mean ‘other’, as in (5.75).

(5.75) *Taasaxa* *saxano* kam ri poxo la xavala roxo e ri
but INDEF/other-PL seed 3PL fall LOC ground good and 3PL

fa-savat a mu kam xaves:
CAUS-come ART PL seed many

‘But other seeds fell on good soil and produced many seeds:’ (Matthew 13:8)

Since this word appears never to co-occur with other number words, I classify it here with the number words.

There is also a corresponding indefinite pronoun *saxafuna* (§5.12.4). The text following the example in (5.75) is given in (5.76) and illustrates this indefinite pronoun.

(5.76) *saxanofuna* a kam xaves e *saxanofuna* a kam xaves
some.PL ART seed many and some.PL ART seed many

*paaliu*
INTENS

‘some, many seeds, and some, very many seeds’ (Matthew 13:8)

5.2.7. Indefinite paucal word *saxanu*

There is also an paucal form of *saxa*, namely *saxanu*, illustrated in (5.77) and (5.78).

(5.77) *Taasaxa* *saxa-nu* tu-vaat si-mi ri pife fa-vusiiit
but INDEF-PAUC PL-man POSS-2PL 3PL NEG CAUS-dirty

a marapi si-ri.
ART clothes POSS-3PL

‘But a few of your men have not stained their clothes.’ (Revelation 3:4)

(5.78) *A* *saxa-nu* tu-vaat talafaat ri lisan a *saxa* mataa
ART INDEF-PAUC PL-man four 3PL bring ART one man

a ka-naa e ma-na maat e ...
ART feet-3SG and hand-3SG die and

‘Four people brought a paralytic and ...’ (Mark 2:3)
5.2.8. *xasa, xasano, xasanu* ‘other’

The basic meaning of *xasa, xasano*, and *xasanu* is ‘other’, but these words appear in the same position as number words, following articles and not co-occurring with another number word. They differ from each other in number: *xasa* is normally singular, *xasano* is plural and *xasanu* is paucal. The singular *xasa* is illustrated in (5.79).

(5.79) Ne pi ta faat, taasaxa ne taa tavai nano
1SG not.have NONSPEC stone but 1SG FUT give 2SG

\[ \text{pa-na} \quad \text{xasa} \quad \text{mo}, \quad \ldots \]
PREP-3SG other thing

‘I have no money, but I will give you another thing ...’ (Acts 3:6)

*Xasa* occurs in both indefinite noun phrases, like (5.79), and definite noun phrases, as in (5.80).

(5.80) ... o ri taa falet fatak xe la *xasa* paxasing
COMP 3PL FUT straight to LOC other side

\[ \text{i-na} \quad \text{raarum.} \]
POSS-3SG water

‘... [he told his disciples] to go to the other side of the lake.’ (Matthew 8:18)

*Xasa* is usually singular, though there are a few instances where it occurs in a plural noun phrases, such as (5.81).

(5.81) E nane xel a *xasa* ro-vaat e a feng nare xe si
and 3SG call ART other DU-man and 3SG send 3DU to POSS

\[ \text{Memai} \quad \text{xena} \quad \text{fin-aan-a} \quad \ldots \]
Lord PURP ask-NMLZ-3SG

‘And he called two other men and sent them to the Lord to ask him ...’ (Luke 7:18)

With plural noun phrases, the plural form *xasano* is more commonly used, as illustrated in (5.82).

(5.82) E a rabuna ti Efasis e ti la *xasa-no* bina
and ART people from Ephesus and from LOC other-PL place

\[ \text{pe} \quad \text{Esia} \quad \text{ri} \quad \text{langai=e}. \]
at Asia 3PL hear=3SG

‘And the people from Ephesus and from the other places in Asia heard him.’ (Acts 19:26)

There is also a paucal form *xasanu*, illustrated in (5.83).

(5.83) Layaan a *xasa-nu* fefeng ri xuus=e o \ldots
when ART other-PAUC disciple 3PL tell=3SG COMP

‘When the other disciples told him that ...’ (John 20:25)
5.3. Ordinal numerals

As discussed in §4.2.10, ordinal numerals have the form of a numeral stem preceded by the causative (or adverbial) prefix fa-, and followed by the transitive nominalizing suffix -aan, followed by the 3SG object suffix -a which occurs with aan-nominalizations. The ordinal numerals precede the noun, following the article, as in (5.84).

(5.84) ... a fa-pama-yaan-a faat a vuung e pasak, ...

ART CAUS-five-NMLZ-3SG stone 3SG red and white

‘... the fifth stone was red and white ...’ (Revelation 21:20)

I am not aware of any examples in which the ordinal numeral combines with a number word, so they could be classified as being in the same word class as number words.

5.4. Adjectives

There is a set of words in Kara that can directly modify nouns without occurring in a relative clause which I am calling adjectives. The set of words of this sort that I am aware of include those in Table 5.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>roxo</th>
<th>good</th>
<th>xiis</th>
<th>yellow</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>saat</td>
<td>bad</td>
<td>xaradak</td>
<td>straight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mosaat</td>
<td>bad</td>
<td>tateak</td>
<td>strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lava</td>
<td>large</td>
<td>piif</td>
<td>blind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molava</td>
<td>large</td>
<td>vaang</td>
<td>deaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dak</td>
<td>small</td>
<td>vipis</td>
<td>tied up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modak</td>
<td>small</td>
<td>valagof</td>
<td>poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modus</td>
<td>long, high</td>
<td>mopaak</td>
<td>sour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xaxaalif</td>
<td>short</td>
<td>xakaarik</td>
<td>salty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa’ui</td>
<td>new</td>
<td>vusiit</td>
<td>unclean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xavai</td>
<td>old (thing)</td>
<td>lagaf</td>
<td>difficult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaiak</td>
<td>old (person)</td>
<td>matavas</td>
<td>(be) open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xulau</td>
<td>young</td>
<td>tuuna</td>
<td>true</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pasak</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>giis</td>
<td>sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vuung</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>lalas</td>
<td>aromatic</td>
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<td>maxata</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>matafan</td>
<td>heavy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raf</td>
<td>purple</td>
<td>ngong</td>
<td>crazy, drunk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.2: Adjectives

Adjectives follow the noun they modify. Examples illustrating adjectives modifying nouns are given in (5.85) to (5.87). Example (5.86) contains two instances of nouns followed by adjectives.

(5.85) Taasaxa saxa-no kam ri poxo la xavala roxo e ...

but INDEF-PL seed 3PL fall LOC ground good and

‘But other seeds fell on good soil and [produced many seeds].’ (Matthew 13:8)
Example (5.88) illustrates a noun modified by an attributive adjective which is itself modified by the degree word paaliu ‘more, very’.

(5.88)  
E ri fenung xe si-na Piran pa-na fenung-an  
and 3PL pray to POSS-3SG big.man PREP-3SG pray-NMLZ  
modus paaliu talo ...  
long INTENS so.that  

‘And they pray to God with very long prayers so that ...’  (Mark 12:40)  

In (5.89) the adjective is further modified with a prepositional phrase sena hos ‘than a horse’.

(5.89)  
A “kaamel” aava tiir molava se-na hos, ...  
ART “camel” REL animal big PREP-3SG horse  

‘A “camel”, which is an animal larger than a horse, ...’  (Matthew 19:24)  

Although I will call these words adjectives, they in some respects behave as a subclass of verbs and are treated as such in the sections on verb morphology (§4.2). Adjectives share with verbs the fact that they can occur in predicate position preceded by weak subject pronouns, as in (5.90) and (5.91).

(5.90)  
E monabe’ mon a tefin aave a roxo.  
and immediately only ART woman that 3SG good  

‘And the woman was immediately good (i.e. healed).’ (Matthew 9:22)  

(5.91)  
Senaso a faat aave a molava paaliu.  
because ART stone that 3SG big INTENS  

‘Because that stone is very large.’ (Mark 16:3)  

But since nouns can also occur in this position, as in (5.92), the possibility of occurring with weak subject pronouns might seem to provides little basis for determining the word class of adjectives.

(5.92)  
Nenia ve ne yaamut xe si-mi ..  
1SG be 1SG apostle to POSS-2PL  
‘I am an apostle to you, ...’ (Romans 11:13)
On the other hand, it is not really nouns but noun phrases without articles that follow weak subject pronouns, as in (5.93), so adjectives and verbs can be distinguished from nouns in this respect.

(5.93) ... nari ve ri mu rafulak si-na.
    3PL be 3PL PL child.PL POSS-3SG
    ‘... they are his children.’ (Romans 8:14)

Adjectives also occur with preverbal particles, as in (5.94), where the adjective roxo occurs with the future particle taa, and (5.95), where it occurs with the perfect particle fo.

(5.94) ... e a sisiak si-ak i taa roxo fulaa.
    and ART servant POSS-1SG 3SG.IMPF FUT good back
    ‘... and my servant will be healed.’ (Matthew 8:8)

(5.95) ... e a ma-na fo roxo.
    and ART hand-3SG PERF good
    ‘... and his hand was restored.’ (Mark 3:5)

A possible difference between adjectives and verbs is that adjectives can directly modify nouns, without being placed in a relative clause, while verbs modifying nouns normally occur in a relative clause, with the relative word aava (§5.8). For example, most instances of roxo ‘good’ that modify a noun in the texts have roxo immediately following the noun, without the relative word aava, as in (5.96) and (5.97).

(5.96) Taasaxa saxa-no kam ri poxo la xavala roxo e ri
    but INDEF/other-PL seed 3PL fall LOC ground good and 3PL
    fa-savat a mu kam xaves.
    CAUS-come ART PL seed many
    ‘But other seeds fell on good soil and produced many seeds.’ (Matthew 13:8)

(5.97) A maana din roxo ri fa-waan=e lana mu bi
    ART GRTR.PL fish good 3PL CAUS-be.at=3SG in PL basket
    e maana din aava ri pife fexaxaas se-na ngan=e
    and GRTR.PL fish REL 3PL NEG able PREP-3SG eat=3SG
    ri tapin=e.
    3PL throw=3SG
    ‘The good fish, they put into containers and the fish that they could not eat, they threw away.’ (Matthew 13:48)

There are only a few instances in which roxo occurs with the relative clause marker aava, such as (5.98) and (5.99).
But words that are more clearly intransitive verbs do not directly modify nouns without the relative word *aava*. This provides a possible basis for distinguishing adjectives from verbs. However, it is possible that verbs can also directly modify nouns when they are not accompanied by other material, but that this does not show up in the texts because verbs modifying nouns are almost always accompanied by other material. Almost all the relative clauses with verbs have such additional material, as in (5.100), where the verb is accompanied by the weak subject pronoun *ri* and the preverbal perfect particle *fo*, and (5.101), where the verb is accompanied by the preverbal continuative particle *taxa*.

(5.100) *a mu rabuna aava ri fo maat*

- ART PL people REL 3PL PERF die
- ‘people who have died’ (Matthew 8:22)

(5.101) *ta mataa aava taxa to*

- any man REL CONTIN live
- ‘any man who is alive’ (Matthew 11:11)

There are only a few instances of relative clauses with just an intransitive verb (preceded by the 3PL weak subject pronoun *ri* if the subject is plural), such as those in (5.102) and (5.103).

(5.102) *xasano mo aava savat*

- other thing REL come
- ‘other things that happened’ (Matthew 27:54)

(5.103) *mataa aava tamai*

- man REL marry
- ‘the man who is getting married (i.e. the bridegroom)’ (Luke 5:34)

If the relative word *aava* is obligatory in these examples, then one difference between adjectives and verbs would be that only adjectives can directly modify nouns without being put in a relative clause.

There are a couple of words which look like verbs and which directly modify nouns. One of these is *fa-’ipul* ‘amazing’, which looks like a verb, since it includes the causative prefix *fa-* and is literally ‘cause something to be amazed’, as in (5.104).

(5.104) *a maana mo fa-’ipul aava mi fo xalum=e*

- ART GRTR.PL thing CAUS-amazed REL 2PL PERF see=3SG
- ‘the amazing things (i.e. miracles) that you have seen’ (Matthew 11:21)
Another is *masam*, which occurs most commonly in the texts as a bivalent stative verb (§7.9) meaning ‘understand’, as in (5.105), but occurs at least once directly modifying a noun, with the meaning ‘smart’, as in (5.106).

(5.105)  
\begin{verbatim}
Mi masam se-na mo ne fo vil=e se-mi?
\end{verbatim}  
2PL understand PREP-3SG thing 1SG PERF do=3SG PREP-2PL  
‘Do you understand what I have done for you?’ (John 13:12)

(5.106)  
\begin{verbatim}
A rabuna masam, ri taa pal a vaafa fa'ui xena uma fa'ui.
\end{verbatim}  
ART people smart 3PL FUT build? ART fence new PURP field new  
‘Smart people will build a new fence for a new field.’ (Mark 2:22)

I am otherwise not aware of instances of intransitive verbs other than adjectives directly modifying a noun without the relative word *aava*. Examples like *fa'ipul* ‘amazing’ and *masam* ‘smart, understand’ might simply be words that are sometimes adjectives and sometimes non-adjectival verbs. If this is correct, then adjectives can be distinguished from other verbs by the criterion of being able to directly modify nouns.

Note that adjectives undergo nominalization with the suffix -an, like verbs. For example (5.107) contains a nominalization of *roxo* ‘good’, namely *roxoyan* ‘goodness’.

(5.107)  
\begin{verbatim}
... a Piran i taa faxalit netaara pa-na roxo-yan si-na.
\end{verbatim}  
ART big.man 3SG.IMPF FUT show 1INCL.PL PREP-3SG good-NMLZ POSS-3SG  
‘... God will show us his goodness.’ (Luke 4:19)

Similarly, (5.108) contains two nominalizations of adjectives, *lava-yan* ‘large-NMLZ’ and *modus-an* ‘long-NMLZ’.

(5.108)  
\begin{verbatim}
a lava-yan e modus-an si-ri
\end{verbatim}  
ART large-NMLZ and long-NMLZ POSS-3PL  
‘their width and length’ (Matthew 23:5)

However, derivational processes are not always indicative of the word class of the input to the process, so the fact that adjectives in Kara nominalize does not provide convincing evidence that they are verbs, although, since I am not aware of any other words in Kara that nominalize, it does constitute a possible basis for considering them verbs.

Adjectives also resemble verbs in that they can occur with the causative prefix *fa-* , as in (5.109) and (5.110)

(5.109)  
\begin{verbatim}
A mataa aava vil fa-roxoï=au a xuus=au, ...
\end{verbatim}  
ART man REL do CAUS-good=1SG 3SG tell=1SG  
‘The man who made me well said to me, ...’ (John 5:11)
This is not, however, strong evidence that adjectives are verbs, since there are cases where the causative prefix is added to a word that is not a verb. For example, *famalang* in (5.111) is formed by adding the causative prefix to the noun *malang* ‘light’. 

There are five words which denote properties (and which one might therefore expect them to be adjectives), which do not directly modify nouns in the texts but occur only in relative clauses. These are *lagai* ‘hungry’, *milung* ‘lost’, *mangil* ‘ashamed’, *marala* ‘angry’, and *tiva* ‘pregnant’ (although there is one only instance of a relative clause for each of the last three). The following example illustrates *lagai* ‘hungry’ modifying a noun but with the relative word *aava*.

There is a sixth word denoting a property, namely *giis* ‘sick’, which does occur in the texts directly modifying a noun, but more often occurs in a relative clause. Note that all six of these words denote temporary properties and hence are more verb-like semantically than adjectival words that denote more permanent properties.

### 5.5. (Cardinal) Numerals

The cardinal numerals for 1 to 12 are given in Table 5.3, along with some higher numerals.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Appears With</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>saxa</td>
<td>‘one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taragua</td>
<td>‘two’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talatul</td>
<td>‘three’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talafaat</td>
<td>‘four’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pama</td>
<td>‘five’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pisaxa</td>
<td>‘six’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pisiguak</td>
<td>‘seven’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pisiktu</td>
<td>‘eight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pisikfaat</td>
<td>‘nine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sangafilu</td>
<td>‘ten’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sangafilu saxa pana saxa</td>
<td>‘eleven’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sangafilu saxa pana taragua</td>
<td>‘twelve’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sangafilu saxa pana talafaat</td>
<td>‘fourteen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sangafilu talatul</td>
<td>‘thirty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sangafilu talafaat pana taragua</td>
<td>‘forty two’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sangafilu pisiktu</td>
<td>‘eighty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sangafilu pisikfaat pana talafaat</td>
<td>‘eighty four’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sangafilu sangafilu</td>
<td>‘one hundred’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.3: Some numerals

Cardinal numerals follow the noun, as in (5.113) to (5.117).

(5.113) *E nane siak a bret pama e din taragua e ...* and 3SG take ART bread five and fish two and ‘He took the five loaves and the two fish, and ...’ (Mark 6:41)

(5.114) *Maatul taa vesan a sawat talatul.* 1EXCL.TRIAL FUT make ART shelter three ‘Let us make three shelters.’ (Luke 9:33)

(5.115) *A saxa-nu tu-vaat talafaat ri lisan ART INDEF-PAUC PL-person four 3PL bring* a saxa mataa a ka-na e ma-na maat e ... ART one man ART feet-3SG and hand-3SG die and ‘Four people brought a paralytic and ...’ (Mark 2:3)

(5.116) *A nu-tu-vaat pisaxa aanabe’ vaxa ri falet xe puua ART PAUC-PL-person six this also 3PL go to north Sesaria xuvul pa-ga e ... Caesarea with PREP-1SG and ‘These six men also went to Caesarea with me, and ...’ (Acts 11:12)
The word *saxa* ‘one’ differs from other numerals in preceding the noun, as in (5.115) above and in (5.118), occurring in the position of number words (§5.2).

(5.118) *A ling i-na saxa mataa pe la xobingil ... ART voice POSS-3SG one man at LOC wilderness
‘The voice of one man in the wilderness ...’ (Matthew 3:3)

However, *saxa* does follow the noun when it is modified by *mon* ‘only’, as in (5.119).

(5.119) *A mo roxo no taa laak lana to-yan vulai 3SG thing good 2SG FUT enter in live-NMLZ always
da-naxa pa-naxa saxa mon ...
PREP-3SG SG-eye one only
‘It is better for you to enter into life with one eye [than to have two eyes and be
thrown into fiery hell].’ (Matthew 18:9)

Also, when conjoined by *o* ‘or’ with *taragua* ‘two’, *saxa* ‘one’ follows the noun, as in (5.120).

(5.120) *... xuvul pa-na mataa saxa o taragua.
with PREP-3SG man one or two
‘... [go back to him] with one or two men.’ (Matthew 18:16)

The word *xaves* ‘many’ patterns with numerals in the sense that it follows nouns and adjectives modifying nouns, as in (5.121), but precedes demonstratives, as in (5.122).

(5.121) *A vana a toxan a din molava xaves, ...
ART net 3SG have ART fish large many
‘The next contained many large fish, ...’ (John 21:11)

(5.122) *faat xaves aave
stone many that
‘those many stones’ (Matthew 18:27)

*Xaves* can also mean ‘much’, as in (5.123).

(5.123) *Saxanofuna ri poxo lapí la bina faat e piau
some.PL 3PL fall down LOC place stone and not.have
ta xavala xaves.
NONSPEC ground many/much
‘Other [seeds] fell on rocky ground and did not have much soil.’ (Matthew 13:5)
The example in (5.124) is the sole example suggesting that numerals might be a subclass of verbs: it occurs in predicate position, preceded by a weak subject pronoun. However, the word ve, which functions either as a copula or a topic marker, suggests that pisiguak might also be analysed as a noun phrase here.

(5.124) Voxo, a matafetinan ve ri pisiguak ... so ART sibling.same.RECIP be 3PL seven
‘So the brothers were seven (in number) ...’ (Mark 12:20)

Xaves 'many' more clearly can function as a predicate, as in (5.125) and (5.126).

(5.125) ... e a viis la tana ri xaves.
and ART sore LOC skin-3SG 3PL many
‘... and the sores on his body were many.’ (Luke 16:20)

(5.126) Layaan ri vil malaane ri pife fexaxaas se-na yuuf
when 3PL do this.way 3PL NEG able PREP-3SG pull
  fa-lak a vana aave senaso a mu din lana ri
CAUS-go.up ART net that because ART PL fish in 3PL
  xaves paaliu.
  many INTENS
‘When they did this, they were not able to pull up the net because the fish in it were many.’ (John 21:6)

Ordinal numerals precede the noun (§5.3). See §4.2.14 regarding adverbial numerals.

5.6. Demonstratives

There are four adnominal demonstratives in Kara: aanabe' 'this', aave 'that', aapave 'that', and naang 'that same'. It is difficult to determine the precise meanings of these words from a Bible translation, especially the difference between aave 'that' and aapave 'that' and between aave and naang, since almost all instances in the texts are anaphoric. How they might be used exophorically is not clear. It is possible that aave is actually a demonstrative that is neutral to distance. These adnominal demonstratives follow the noun.

The demonstrative aanabe' 'this' is illustrated in (5.127) and (5.128).

(5.127) Malaafiu a mataa aanabe' a fexaxaas se-na tavai
how ART man this 3SG able PREP-3SG give
  netaara pa-na vipin i-na xena ngan-aan-a?
INCL.PL PREP-3SG body POSS-3SG PURP eat-NMLZ-3SG
‘How can this man give us his flesh to eat?’ (John 6:52)
(5.128) *aava fo kuus-an-an lana buuk aanabe*.  
REL PERF speak-TRANS-PASS in book this  
’[... and he will not pick the fruit of the Tree of Life] that is spoken about in this book.’ (Revelation 22:19)

The demonstrative *aave* ‘that’ is illustrated in (5.129) and (5.130).

(5.129) *A rutu-vaat aave ri sui=e, ...*  
ART TRIAL-man that 3PL reply=3SG  
‘These three men replied to him, ...’ (Acts 10:22)

(5.130) *A yaasok si-na mataa a pife waan tuuna lana*  
ART slave POSS-3SG man 3SG NEG be.at true in  
*pabung si-na mataa aave ...*  
family POSS-3SG man that  
‘The slave of a man does not remain in the family of that man forever, ...’ (John 8:35)

Example (5.131) contains two occurrences of *aave*. The first occurrence illustrates clearly how it is used anaphorically since the demon referred to in the preceding clause.

(5.131) *Na Yesus a baras a vovau saat e a vovau saat*  
ART Jesus 3 SG rebuke ART spirit bad and ART spirit bad  
*aave ta'ulan a lak aave e ...*  
that leave ART child that and  
‘Then Jesus rebuked the demon and the demon came out of the boy and [the boy was healed].’ (Matthew 17:18)

The demonstrative *aapave* ‘that’ is illustrated in (5.132) and (5.133).

(5.132) *E nane ta'ulan a bina aapave e falet xe Nasaret, ...*  
and 3 SG leave ART town that and go to Nazareth  
‘And he left that place and went to Nazareth, ...’ (Mark 6:1)

(5.133) *Senaso a Piran fo vil a maana mo aapave, ...*  
because ART big.man PERF do ART GRTR.PL thing that  
‘Because God has done all these things, ...’ (Romans 4:1)

These demonstratives have the same forms in plural noun phrases, as illustrated by (5.129) and (5.133) above and by (5.134).

(5.134) *Ne taa tavai nano pa-na maana mo aanabe’ tamo ...*  
1SG FUT give 2SG PREP-3SG GRTR.PL thing this if  
‘I will give you all these things if ...’ (Matthew 4:9)

The fourth demonstrative word is *naang*, which means something like ‘the same X’ in an anaphoric sense, illustrated in (5.135) to (5.137).
‘You cannot serve God and at the same time act in order to collect money [for yourself].’  (Matthew 6:24)

‘... and if the same stone falls on any man, it will crush him and ...’  (Matthew 21:44)

‘Now when the Pharisee who had invited Jesus to his house ...’  (Luke 7:39)

It is not clear how naang differs from aave used anaphorically. See §5.12.2 regarding demonstrative pronouns and §7.4 regarding adverbial demonstratives.

5.7. Nominal possession

There are three constructions for nominal possession, illustrated for pronominal possessors in (5.138) to (5.140). The first of these constructions, illustrated in (5.138), involves the use of a possessive suffix on the possessed noun. See §3.5 for the forms of these possessive suffixes on nouns. I will call this construction the inalienable possession construction.

(5.138) tama-ang
father-1SG
‘my father’  (Matthew 11:25)

The other two constructions indicate a pronominal possessor by the use of one of two prepositions, si and i. When the possessor is pronominal, these prepositions inflect for the possessor, as in (5.139) and (5.140). I will refer to these as si-possession and i-possession respectively. See §3.6 for the forms of the suffixes on these two prepositions (note, for example, that the form of the 1SG suffix is different on the prepositions si and i in these two examples.).

(5.139) a lak tefin si-ak
ART child woman POSS-1SG
‘my daughter’  (Matthew 9:18)
The same three constructions can also be distinguished when they have nominal possessors. The example in (5.141) illustrates the inalienable possession construction. There is no morpheme coding the possession: the possessor noun phrase simply follows the possessed noun directly and, as discussed below, is always missing an article.

(5.141) na tama Aīsaak
   ART father Isaac
   ‘the father of Isaac’  (Matthew 1:2)

*Si*-possession and *i*-possession with nominal possessors are similar to each other. When the possessor is a proper noun phrase, there is no possessive inflection on the preposition, as in (5.142) and (5.143).

(5.142) a lak tefin  *sī* Herodias
   ART child woman POSS Herod
   ‘the daughter of Herod’  (Matthew 14: 6)

(5.143) rīa  *i* Jesus
   blood POSS Jesus
   ‘the blood of Jesus’   (Romans 5: 9)

When the possessor is a common noun phrase in *si*-possession or *i*-possession, the preposition occurs with the 3SG suffix *-na*, as in (5.144) and (5.145), even if the object noun phrase is plural, as in (5.146) and (5.147).

(5.144) pabung *sī*-na mataa aave
   family POSS-3SG man that
   ‘the family of that man’  (John 8:35)

(5.145) xasing  *i*-na put
   side POSS-3SG mountain
   ‘the side of the mountain’  (Matthew 8:32)

(5.146) mu bina xapiak *sī*-na mu rabuna roxo e saat
   PL place all POSS-3SG PL people good and bad
   ‘all the places of good and bad people’  (Matthew 5:45)

(5.147) tangpat  *i*-na maana mo xapiak
   beginning POSS-3SG GRTR.PL thing all
   ‘the beginning of all things’  (Matthew 13:35)

The use of the bare stem of *si* and *i* when preceding a proper noun phrase and the use of the suffix *-na* before a common noun phrase, whether the object is singular or plural, is a general property of inflecting prepositions (§6.1).

Each of these three constructions is discussed in greater detail in the next three sections.
5.7.1. Inalienable possession

The choice between the three possessive constructions is somewhat complex. Very roughly, the inalienable possession construction is used, as the name implies, for instances of what would appear to count as inalienable possession semantically. The set of nouns that occur with inalienable possession in the data are either kin terms or body part terms, plus the words for ‘name’, ‘language’ and ‘footprint’. However, it is not the case that all kin terms or all body part terms are used in the inalienable possession construction (§5.7.2 and §5.7.3), though the ones that do seem to be more canonical instances of kin terms or body part terms. Table 5.4 gives a list of nouns occurring in the inalienable possession construction.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kin terms</th>
<th>Body part terms</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lava</td>
<td>mata</td>
<td>isi ~ isin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘husband’</td>
<td>‘eyes’</td>
<td>‘name’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nina</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>pok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘mother’</td>
<td>‘body’</td>
<td>‘language’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tama</td>
<td>vula</td>
<td>vase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘father’</td>
<td>‘mouth’</td>
<td>‘footprint’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vasa</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sibling of’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opposite sex</td>
<td>tanga</td>
<td>‘ear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu</td>
<td>xalema</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ancestor’</td>
<td>‘tongue’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tau</td>
<td>yaava</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘relative’</td>
<td>‘jaw’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sibling of’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>same sex</td>
<td>pamata</td>
<td>‘eye’ (SG.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naasa</td>
<td>vilau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘wife’</td>
<td>‘heart’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imu</td>
<td>putu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘parent-in-law’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘head’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mataa tafu</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>‘back’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘master’</td>
<td>fa</td>
<td>‘tooth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xaka(a)ve</td>
<td>‘wing’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.4: Nouns occurring in the inalienable possession construction

Examples of kin terms occurring in the inalienable possession construction with pronominal possessors are given in (5.148) and (5.149).

(5.148)  

Kaalum, na nina-am e mu ti-am ri taxa

look ART mother-2SG and PL sibling.same-2SG 3PL CONTIN

waan lamalei e ...

be.at outside and

‘Look, your mother and your brothers are outside and [wanting to speak to you.]’

(Matthew 12:47)

(5.149)  

E mu rafulak ri taa taaluugen na nina-ri e

and PL child.PL 3PL FUT point ART mother-3PL and

tama-ri xena punux-aan nare.

father-3PL PURP kill-NMLZ 3DU

‘Children will rise against parents and have them put to death.’ (Matthew 10:21)

28 The noun vilau ‘heart’ also occurs in the i-possession construction.
Examples of kin terms occurring in the inalienable possession construction with nominal possessors are given in (5.150) and (5.151). In (5.150) there are two instances of this construction, *na nina Yesus* ‘Jesus’ mother’ and *mu ti Yesus* ‘Jesus’ brothers’.

\[(5.150)\]
\[
\text{La saxa yaan na nina Yesus xuvul pa-na}
\]
\[
\text{LOC one day ART mother Jesus with PREP-3SG}
\]
\[
\text{mu ti Yesus ri savat.}
\]
\[
\text{PL sibling.same Jesus 3PL come}
\]

‘Then one day, Jesus’ mother and his brothers came.’  (Mark 3:31)

In (5.151), we have both an instance of pronominal possession in *tiam* ‘your brother’ (literally ‘your sibling of the same sex’) and an instance of nominal possession in *naasa tiam* ‘your brother’s wife’.29

\[(5.151)\]
\[
\text{Pife roxo no taa tamai si naasa ti-am.}
\]
\[
\text{NEG right 2SG FUT marry POSS wife sibling.same-2SG}
\]

‘It is not lawful for you to marry your brother’s wife.’  (Mark 6:18)

An example of a body part term occurring in the inalienable possession construction with a pronominal possessor is given in (5.152), where *tangana mataa* ‘the man’s ears’ illustrates nominal possession while *xalemana* ‘his tongue’ illustrates pronominal possession.

\[(5.152)\]
\[
\text{A tanga-na mataa a matavas e xalema-na pife}
\]
\[
\text{ART ear-3SG man 3SG be.open and tongue-3SG NEG}
\]
\[
\text{pasak fulaa.}
\]
\[
\text{white back}
\]

‘And immediately the man’s ears were opened, and his tongue was no longer white.’  (Mark 7:35)

5.7.2. **Kin terms using si-possession**

Kin terms that do not employ the inalienable possession construction always occur in the *si*-construction. A list of such kin terms, interpreting that expression broadly, is given in Table 5.5.

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29 Example (5.151) also contains the preposition *si*, one of the two prepositions used for expressing nominal possession, but its use in this construction is not for possession. Rather, the verb *tamai* ‘marry’ marks its second argument with *si*. 
Table 5.5: Kin terms occurring in the si-construction

Pronominal possession with the si-construction with a kin term is illustrated by tefin sina ‘his wife’ in (5.153), where si inflects for the person and number of the possessor (in this case 3SG).

(5.153) ... a tefin si-na fo lisan a lagasai xe si-na.  
ART wife POSS-3SG PERF bring ART news to POSS-3SG  
‘[As he was sitting on the judgment seat,] his wife sent a message to him.’  
(Matthew 27:19)

Example (5.154) illustrates the si-construction with the kin term lak ‘child’.

(5.154) ... a xalum na Matiu Livai, a lak si Elfias, ...  
3SG see ART Matthew Levi ART child POSS Alphaeus  
‘[As he went along,] he saw Levi, the son of Alphaeus, [sitting at the tax booth].’  
(Mark 2:14)

The fact that tefin ‘wife’ occurs with the si-construction rather than with the inalienable possession construction is probably due to the fact that its basic meaning is simply ‘woman’ or ‘female’; there is in fact a separate word naasa which specifically means ‘wife’ and occurs in the inalienable possession construction, as in (5.151) above. Similarly, the fact that lak ‘child’ occurs in the si-construction rather than the inalienable possession construction is probably related to the fact that the word also means ‘child’ in a non-kin sense, as in (5.155).

(5.155) Na Yesus a baras a voyau saat e a voyau saat  
ART Jesus 3SG rebuke ART spirit bad and ART spirit bad  
aave ta'ulan a lak aave e ...  
that leave ART child that and  
‘Then Jesus rebuked the demon and the demon came out of the boy and [the boy was healed].’  
(Matthew 17:18)

Example (5.156) involves one possessive construction embedded within another, both involving kin terms, but where the inner one involves inalienable possession (vasaa Pol ‘Paul’s sister’) and the outer one the si-construction (a lak tomexaan si vasaa Pol ‘the son of Paul’s sister’).
(5.156) Taasaxa a lak tomexaan si vasaa Pol a langai
but ART child male POSS sibling.oppos Paul 3SG hear

kasam a ferawai-an si-ri.
quiet ART speak-NMLZ POSS-3PL.

‘But the son of Paul’s sister overheard what they said.’ (Acts 23:16)

5.7.3. Body part terms using i-possession

Body part and part-whole terms that do not occur in the inalienable possession construction employ the i-construction. A list of these words is given in Table 5.6.30

vilau ‘heart’31 iti ‘side’
vipirigum ‘finger(s)’ palou ‘middle’
vipin ‘body’ xavil ‘piece’
füi ‘hair’ raarum ‘water of vine’
nonau ‘face’ vebit ‘ashes’
mamaat ‘corpse’ kam ‘seed’
ling ‘voice’ xarei ‘roots/basis’
xasing ‘side’ valof ‘hole’
xaxaalua ‘shadow’ xunus ‘soul’
paxasing ‘side’

Table 5.6: Body part and part-whole words that occur in i-construction

Example (5.157) illustrates paxasing ‘side’ occurring with a nominal possessor in the i-construction.

(5.157) Taara taa falet xe la paxasing i-na laman.
1INCL.PL FUT go to LOC side POSS-3SG sea
‘Let’s go across to the other side of the lake.’ (Mark 4:35)

Example (5.158) illustrates vipin ‘body, flesh’ occurring in the i-construction (vipin ina ‘his flesh’).

30 Perry Schlie (pc) has brought to my attention the fact that whether a body part term occurs in the inalienable possession construction is largely if not entirely predictable phonologically: the inalienable possession construction is used when the noun ends in CV, while the i-construction is used elsewhere, where the noun ends in VV or VC. This does account for all the body part terms in Tables 5.4 and 5.6, except for iti ‘side’, which occurs with the i-construction, despite ending in CV and vilau ‘heart’, which occurs in both constructions. The same applies to the choice of the inalienable possession construction versus the si-construction with kin terms: it accounts for all the kin terms in Tables 5.4 and 5.5, except for tau ‘relative’ which occurs in the inalienable possession construction, despite ending in VV, and matafetama ‘household’, which occurs in the si-construction despite ending in in CV.

31 The noun vilau ‘heart’ occurs either in the i-construction or in the inalienable possession construction.
There is more than one instance, however, of *vipin* ‘body, flesh’ occurring in the *si*-construction rather than in the *i*-construction, as in (5.159); I have no explanation for this.

(5.159)  
\[Siax=e\ e\ ngan=e,\ a\ *vipin*\ \textit{si-ak} \ ve.\]  
\[\text{take}=3SG\ \text{and}\ \text{eat}=3SG\ \text{3SG} \ \textit{body} \ \textit{POSS-1SG} \ \text{be}\]  
‘Take, eat, this is my body.’ (Matthew 26:26)

Contrast this with the similar example in (5.160), where the *i*-construction is used.

(5.160)  
\[A\ \textit{bret} \ \textit{aanabe’},\ ve \ a \ *vipin*\ \textit{i-ga} \ ...\]  
\[\text{ART}\ \text{bread} \ \text{this} \ \text{be} \ 3SG \ \textit{body} \ \textit{POSS-1SG}\]  
‘This bread is my body ...’ (John 6:51)

Another body part term that occurs in both the *i*-construction and the *si*-construction is *fui* ‘hair’. In (5.161) it occurs with *si*, while in (5.162) it occurs with *i*.

(5.161)  
\[E\ \textit{a} \ \textit{fa-pagala}=ye\ \textit{pana} \ \textit{fui}\ \textit{si-na} \ e \ a\ ngus=e\]  
\[\text{and}\ \text{3SG} \ \textit{CAUS-dry}=3SG \ \textit{PREP-3SG} \ \textit{hair} \ \textit{POSS-3SG} \ \text{and} \ \text{3SG} \ \textit{kiss}=3SG\]  
\[e\ \textit{mui}\ \textit{tivan} \ \text{a} \ \textit{mo}\ \textit{lalas}\ \textit{aave\ xulu-na ka-na}.\]  
\[\text{and}\ \text{later}\ \text{pour} \ \text{ART}\ \text{thing}\ \text{aromatic}\ \text{that}\ \text{ON-3SG}\ \text{feet-3SG}\]  
‘And she wiped them with her hear and kissed them and then poured the perfumed on his feet.’ (Luke 7:38)

(5.162)  
\[A\ \textit{maana}\ \textit{marapi} \ \textit{si}\ \textit{Jon} \ \textit{ri}\ \textit{vesan}=e\ \textit{pa-na}\]  
\[\text{ART}\ \textit{GRTR.PL} \ \text{clothes} \ \text{POSS}\ \text{John} \ \text{3PL} \ \text{make}=3SG \ \text{PREP-3SG}\]  
\[\textit{fui}\ \textit{i-na}\ \textit{kaamel}\ e\ ...\]  
\[\textit{hair} \ \textit{POSS-3SG} \ \text{camel} \ \text{and}\]  
‘John’s clothes were made from camel’s hair and ...’ (Matthew 3:4)

The contrast between (5.161) and (5.162) might be governed by the fact that the possessor in (5.161) is human and in (5.162) nonhuman (see the next section). However, this would not account for (5.163).

(5.163)  
\[a\ \textit{fui}\ \textit{i-mi}\]  
\[\text{ART} \ \textit{hair} \ \textit{POSS-2PL}\]  
‘your hair’ (Peter 3:2)
5.7.4. Other uses of *si*-possession and *i*-possession

Other uses of the *si*-construction and the *i*-construction appear to be governed for the most part by a simple principle: if the possessor is human, the *si*-construction is used; if the possessor is nonhuman, the *i*-construction is used. This is illustrated by various pairs of examples, where the same head noun occurs in the two constructions, distinguished by whether the possessor is human. For example, in (5.164), we get the *si*-construction in *bina siri* ‘their country’, with a human possessor, while in (5.165), we get the *i*-construction in *bina ina vipisan* ‘prison (literally: place of tying up)’ with a nonhuman possessor.

(5.164)  
\[E \ \text{v vox o ri us a s ala n pat a k x e l a } \ b i n a \ \text{si-ri.}\]  
and so 3PL follow ART path different to LOC place POSS-3PL  
‘And so they went back by another route to their own country.’ (Matthew 2:12)

(5.165)  
\[... \ \text{nane fo x u u s a} \ \text{mu} \ \text{r a b u n a s i-} \ \text{n a} \ \text{o}\]  
3SG PERF tell ART PL people POSS-3SG COMP  
\[\text{ri} \ \text{t a a t a o na} \ \text{Jon e} \ \text{p i s} \ \text{fa-waan=e} \ \text{la}\]  
3PL FUT hold ART John and tie CAUS-be.at=3SG LOC  
\[\text{b i n a} \ \text{i-} \ \text{n a} \ \text{v i p i s-} \ \text{a n}.\]  
place POSS-3SG be.tied-NMLZ  
‘... he told his men to arrest John and put him in prison’ (Matthew 14:3)

Similarly, in (5.166) we get the *si*-construction with a human possessor in *a lagasai si Jona* ‘the message of John’, while in (5.167) we get the *i*-construction with a nonhuman possessor in *a lagasai ina fatataganan* ‘news about the kingdom’.

(5.166)  
\[L \ \text{layaan ri langai a} \ \text{lagasai si} \ \text{J o n a}.\]  
when 3PL hear ART news POSS John  
‘... when they heard the message of Jonah’ (Matthew 12:41)

(5.167)  
\[N a r i \ \text{aava ri langai a} \ \text{lagasai i-} \ \text{n a} \ \text{f at a t a g a n a n} \ \text{s i-} \ \text{n a}\]  
3PL REL 3PL hear ART news POSS-3SG kingdom POSS-3SG  
\[\text{P i r a n} \ \text{t a a s a x a ri} \ \text{p i f e} \ \text{masam ...}\]  
big.man but 3PL NEG understand  
‘Those who hear the word about the kingdom of God but do not understand ...’ (Matthew 13:19)

It is not immediately obvious, however, from the examples in (5.164) to (5.167) whether it is the humanness of the possessor that is the relevant factor determining the choice between the *si*-construction and the *i*-construction rather than the particular semantic relationship since in both cases, the precise semantic relationship associated with the possessive construction is different. The semantic relationship in *bina siri* ‘their country’ in (5.164) is not the same as that in *bina ina vipisan* ‘prison (literally: place of tying up)’ in (5.165) in that the latter involves some notion of purpose (a place for tying people up) which is absent in the former. Similarly, the semantic relationship in *a lagasai si Jona* ‘the message of John’ in (5.166) is not the same as that in *a lagasai ina fatataganan* ‘news about the kingdom’ in (5.167) in that the former means news or a message from John, not about John.
A further pair of examples that might argue that humanness is the relevant factor is given in (5.168) and (5.169). In (5.168), the noun marapi ‘clothes’ occurs in the si-construction with a human possessor, while in (5.169), the same noun occur in the i-construction with a nonhuman but animate possessor.

(5.168)  
\[
\text{a maana marapi si Jon} \\
\text{ART all clothes POSS John} \\
\text{‘all John’s clothing’ (Matthew 3:4)}
\]

(5.169)  
\[
\text{a marapi i-na vupung} \\
\text{ART clothes POSS-3SG wild.animal} \\
\text{‘the hide of a wild animal’ (Matthew 9:16)}
\]

Again, however, the semantic relationship is not the same, since in (5.169), the possessed noun is a body part, while in (5.168) it is not.

A possibly stronger case is provided by the examples in (5.170) and (5.171), although again it is not obvious that the semantic relationship is the same.

(5.170)  
\[
\text{a mu matalava si-na mu Juda} \\
\text{ART PL leader POSS-3SG PL Jews} \\
\text{‘the leaders of the Jews’ (Mark 12:13)}
\]

(5.171)  
\[
\text{mu matalava i-na lotu} \\
\text{PL leader POSS-3SG worship} \\
\text{‘the leaders of worship’ (Mark 14:1)}
\]

The strongest evidence that humanness is the relevant factor rather than the semantic relationship is provided by examples involving the word xakaaluman, which is a nominalization of kaalum ‘look’. In some instances the possessor is semantically the person or thing that is seen, in other cases it means ‘vision’ or ‘sight’ in the sense of the ability to see. In a xakaaluman si Jesus ‘the appearance of Jesus’ in (5.172), Jesus is the one seen.

(5.172)  
\[
\text{Layaan rutul taxa faalim, a xa-kaalum-an si Jesus} \\
\text{when 3TRIAL CONTIN awake ART HABIT-look-NMLZ POSS Jesus} \\
\text{a puk.} \\
\text{3 SG turn} \\
\text{‘When they awoke, the appearance of Jesus had changed.’ (Matthew 17:2)}
\]

In (5.173), in contrast, xakaaluman refers to an individual’s vision or sight, his ability to see.

(5.173)  
\[
\text{A xa-kaalum-an si-na a roxo fulaa ...} \\
\text{ART HABIT-look-NMLZ POSS-3SG 3SG right back} \\
\text{‘His sight was restored ...’ (Mark 8:25)}
\]

The semantic relationship between the possessor and the head noun is different in (5.173) from that in (5.172), but in both cases, the possessor is human and the si-construction is used. In (5.174), however, the i-construction is used. The semantic relationship of the possessor to the head noun is the same as in (5.172), where the si-construction is used. However, in
the possessor is his face, which, though part of a human, is presumably considered nonhuman.

\[(5.174)\] *Layaan i taxa fenung a xa-kaalum-an i-na*  
when 3SG.INCOMPL CONTIN pray ART REDUP-look-NMLZ POSS-3SG  
nonau i-na a puk ...  
face POSS-3SG 3SG turn

‘As he was praying, the appearance of his face changed ...’  (Luke 9:29)

We also find the *i*-construction in (5.175), where the possessor (the thing seen) is nonhuman, a burning bush.

\[(5.175)\] *Layaan na Moses a xalum=e, a ipul-an*  
when ART Moses 3SG see=3SG 3SG amazed-TRANS  
a xa-kaalum-an i-na.

ART HABIT-look-NMLZ POSS-3SG

‘When Moses saw it, he was amazed at the sight ...’  (Acts 7:31)

Unfortunately, not all examples behave this way. In (5.176), we get the *si*-construction, despite the fact that the possessor is inanimate, *mu fur* ‘flowers’.

\[(5.176)\] *Taasaxa ne xuus nami o a xa-kaalum-an si-na*  
but 1SG tell 2PL COMP ART HABIT-look-NMLZ POSS-3SG  
mu fur a pera-roxo se Solomon ...  
PL flowers 3SG COMPAR-good PREP Solomon

‘Yet I tell you, the appearance of the flowers is better than Solomon ...’  (Luke 12:27)

There are other examples which do not conform to the pattern of human possessors with the *si*-construction and nonhuman possessors with the *i*-construction. With the head noun *tateaxan* ‘authority’ (a nominalization of the word for ‘strong’), the *i*-construction is always used, even when the possessor is human, as in (5.177).

\[(5.177)\] *tateax-an i-ga*  
strong-NMLZ POSS-1SG

‘my authority’  (Matthew 8: 9)

Perhaps, however, this is considered like a body part in some metaphorical sense, though it is not clear why this should be a body part in a metaphorical sense while *xakaaluman* ‘vision, appearance’, illustrated above in (5.173), is not.\(^{32}\)

\(^{32}\) Perry Schlie (pc) has brought the following contrast to my attention that clearly cannot be handled in terms of the humanness of the possessor:

\[(i)\] *xaxalu a i-ga*  
picture POSS-1SG

‘picture of me’  
\[(ii)\] *xaxalu a si-ak*  
picture POSS-1SG

‘a picture belonging to me’
5.8. Relative clauses

5.8.1. Subject relatives

Relative clauses in Kara are introduced by the word aava, as in (5.178) and (5.179).

(5.178) a maana rabuna aava ri bai-an a Piran
             ART  GRTR.PL people REL  3PL not.want-TRANS ART big.man
‘people who hate God’ (Matthew 11:12)

(5.179) mataa aava tapalan a mu kam roxo la uma si-na
           man REL  spread ART  PL seed good LOC  field POSS-3SG
‘the man who sowed the good seed in his field’ (Matthew 13:37)

Both of these examples illustrate relative clauses where the head of the relative clause is functioning as subject in the relative clause.

The weak subject pronoun a is never used in relative clauses. Where we might expect it, as in (5.179), it is always absent. The same is not true for other weak subject pronouns. When the subject in the relative clause is 3PL, in contrast, the 3PL weak subject pronoun ri is normally used, as in (5.178). Similarly, the 3SG incompleteive weak subject pronoun i can be used, as in (5.180).

(5.180) fata aava i taa pife maat
fire REL  3SG.INCOMPL FUT NEG die
‘fire that will not die (inextinguishable fire)’ (Matthew 3:12)

Although the weak subject pronoun a is obligatorily absent, preverbal particles can be used, like the perfect particle fo, as in (5.181).

(5.181) a kam roxo aava fo boak
ART  seed good REL  PERF  grow
‘the good seeds that have grown’ (Matthew 13:29)

And while the 3SG incompleteive particle i is generally used in relative clauses when the subject is 3SG and one of the preverbal particles governing the use of the incompleteive is used, there are many instances in which it is absent when the continuative particle taxa is used, as in (5.182).

(5.182) ta mataa aava taxa to
NONSPEC man REL  CONTIN live
‘any man that is alive’ (Matthew 11:11)

With other preverbal particles that govern the use of the incompleteive weak subject pronoun i, the i is always or almost always present in relative clauses, as in (5.180), where the preverbal particle is the future particle taa.

He suggests that the difference between the i-construction and the si-construction is often one of the former indicating inalienable possession and the latter alienable possession and that some of my examples involving human versus nonhuman possessors really involve this contrast.
5.8.2. Object relatives

Examples illustrating relative clauses where the head is functioning as object in the relative clause are given in (5.183) to (5.185).

(5.183) a maana mo fa-‘ipul aava mi fo xalum=e
       ART GRTR.PL thing CAUS-amazed REL 2PL PERF see=3SG
       ‘the amazing things (i.e. miracles) that you have seen’ (Matthew 11:21)

(5.184) a mataa aava mu vovau saat ri fo ta’ulan=e
       ART man REL PL spirit bad 3PL PERF leave=3SG
       ‘the man who the demons had gone out of’ (Luke 8:38)

(5.185) vapara pisiguak aava no xalum=e lana pa-ma-ak muaan
       star seven REL 2 SG see=3SG in SG-hand-1 SG right
       ‘the seven stars that you saw in my right hand’ (Revelation 1:20)

Note that when the object is relativized, the 3 SG object suffix always occurs on the verb, not only when the head is singular, but also when the head is plural and nonhuman, as in (5.183) and (5.185). When the head is plural and human, the strong pronoun nari ‘3 PL’ is used, as in (5.186) and (5.187), and if the head is dual, the strong pronoun nare ‘3 DU’ is used, as in (5.188).

(5.186) a mu rabuna xapiak aava ri tingin nari
       ART PL people all REL 3 PL find 3 PL
       ‘all the people that they found’ (Matthew 22:10)

(5.187) ... taasaxa nari aava ne fo fin nari pa-na fili-maan ...
       but 3 PL REL 1 SG PERF ask 3 PL PREP-3 SG come-come
       ‘... but those that I have asked to come ... ’ (Matthew 22:8)

(5.188) xa-na ro-vaat aava nane fo siak fati nare
       for-3 SG DU-man REL 3 SG PERF take ?? 3 DU
       ‘for the people that he has prepared it for’ (Matthew 20:23)

5.8.3. Object of preposition relatives

Examples in which the head of the relative clause is functioning as the object of a preposition are given in (5.189) to (5.191). In (5.189), the head of the relative clause, Maria Mekdala ‘Mary Magdalene’ is functioning as object of the preposition xase ‘from’.

(5.189) ... nane savat paamua si Maria Mekdala aava nane fo
       3 SG come first POSS Mary Magdalene REL 3 SG PERF
       gepi tapin a mu vovau saat pisiguak xase-na.
       cast.out away ART PL spirit bad seven from-3 SG
       ‘... he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, from whom he had driven out seven demons.’ (Mark 16:9)
In (5.190), the head, *put* ‘mountain’, is functioning as the object of the preposition *xulu* ‘on’ in the relative clause.

(5.190) ... *put aava na* Yesu a feng nari xe *xulu-na.*  
mountain REL ART Jesus 3SG send 3PL to ON-3SG  
‘[So the eleven disciples went to Galilee to] the mountain that Jesus had sent them to.’ (literally ‘the mountain that Jesus had sent them to on it’) (Matthew 28:16)

In (5.191), the head, *a miridingan* ‘the glory’, is functioning as object of the preposition *pa*, which always marks the theme of the verb *tavai* ‘give’.

(5.191) *a miridingan aava Piran a tavai=e pa-na*  
ART glory REL big.man 3SG give=3SG PREP-3SG  
‘the glory that God has given to him’ (Matthew 24:30)

When the head of the relative clause functions as object of a preposition in the relative clause, that preposition always occurs with the 3SG suffix -na, even if the head is plural, as in (5.192) and (5.193). In both examples, the head *a maana mo* ‘the things’ is plural and functions as the object of the preposition *pa*, here meaning ‘about’.

(5.192) *a maana mo aava Xakalayan Taap a ferawai pa-na*  
ART GRTR.PL thing REL writing sacred 3SG speak PREP-3SG  
‘the things that the Scriptures speak about’ (Matthew 26:54)

(5.193) *a maana mo aava mi fakali-maan pa-na xe*  
ART GRTR.PL thing REL 2PL swear-come PREP-3SG to  
si-na Memai.  
POSS-3SG Lord  
‘the things that you have made an oath about to the Lord’ (Matthew 5:33)

The use of prepositions with the 3SG suffix -na with plural heads mirrors the fact that when an inflecting preposition takes a common noun phrase as object following it, it occurs with the suffix -na, even when the object is plural, as in (5.194) and (5.195) (see §6).

(5.194) *Ne taa tavai nano pa-na maana mo aanabe' tamo* ...  
1SG FUT give 2SG PREP-3SG GRTR.PL thing this if  
‘I will give you all these things if ...’ (Matthew 4:9)

(5.195) ... *ri ferawai faa-xaves se-na mu Juda ti Judia* ...  
3PL speak times-many PREP-3SG PL Jew from Judea  
‘[the Jews from the Greek regions] spoke often about the Jews from Judea ...’ (Acts 6:1)

It is only with inflecting prepositions (see §6.1) that we find relative clauses where the head of the relative clause is the object of the preposition. There are no instances of relative clauses where the head is functioning as object of an noninflecting preposition, except with *lana* ‘in’. Although *lana* may have originally been an inflected form of *la*, synchronically it is in most respects simply a distinct preposition, meaning ‘in’ in contrast to the more general locative preposition *la*. However, one respect in which *lana* does behave synchronically like a
preposition inflected for 3SG is that it can occur in relative clauses where the head of the relative clause functions as its object, as in (5.196) and (5.197).

(5.196) ... xena lišas fa-lax=e xe la lifū aava na Yešu
PURP bring CAUS-go.up=3SG to LOC house REL ART Jesus
i taxa waan lana.
3SG.INCOMPL CONTIN be.at in

‘... in order to bring him into the house that Jesus was in.’ (Luke 5:18)

(5.197) a nobina aava fa-fanai-an si-mi i taxa waan lana
ART place REL CAUS-promise-NMLZ POSS-2PL 3SG.INCOMPL CONTIN
be.at in

‘the place where your money is’ (Luke 12:34)

This mirrors the fact (§6.3.2) that lana is like an inflecting preposition in that it can be used without a noun phrase following it, where its object is interpreted pronominally. Furthermore, just as lana does not specifically mean ‘in’ but can also mean ‘at’ when it occurs in main clauses without a noun phrase following it, the same is true in relative clauses when the head is object of lana, as in (5.197). In other words, it behaves as if it is an inflected form of the general locative preposition la in this context.

5.8.4. Possessor relatives

Examples illustrating relative clauses in which the head is functioning as a possessor are given in (5.198) to (5.200). In (5.198), the head is functioning as possessor of the subject.

(5.198) a ro-vaat aava mata-re piif
ART DU-man REL eye-3DU blind
‘two men whose eyes were blind’ (Matthew 9:27)

In (5.199), the head is functioning as possessor of the object of a preposition.

(5.199) ... se-na mataa aava mu voyau saat mo waan
PREP-3SG man REL PL spirit bad thing be.at
la ta-na ...
LOC skin-3SG

‘[Those who had seen what had happened to] the man that the evil spirits were in the body of ...’ (Mark 5:16)

In the two preceding examples, the head of the relative clause is a possessor in the inalienable possession construction (see §5.7.1). In (5.200), the head of the relative clause is functioning as a possessor in the si-construction, which involves alienable possession.
‘a prisoner whose bad deeds all people knew about’ (Matthew 27:16)

5.8.5. Ambiguous relatives

The example in (5.201) is an interesting one since, as far as I can determine, the relative clause aava ri xalum nari is in principle ambiguous between ‘who see them’ and ‘who they see’ (though it is clear that, in the context of (5.201) in the text, it means the first of these).

‘... they act like this in the synagogues and on the street so that people who see them will praise them.’ (Matthew 6:2)

In other words, the use of a retained pronoun in the relative clause that is coreferential to the head of the relative clause rather than using a gap creates the possibility of ambiguities that would not exist if the language used gaps rather than retained pronouns. While the intended reading in (5.201) is one where the head is functioning as the subject in the relative clause, the intended readings of (5.202) and (5.203) are ones where the intended reading is one where the head is functioning as object in the relative clause.

‘the centurion of the group of soldiers that they call the Italian Cohort’ (Acts 10:1)

‘... from among the seven who they chose in Jerusalem ...’ (Acts 21:8)

Formally, all three examples are similar in expressing the subject with the weak subject pronoun ri ‘3PL’ and the object with the strong pronoun nari ‘3PL’. Thus relative clauses of this form are apparently ambiguous out of context.
This ambiguity is not restricted to ambiguities between subject and object relatives. In (5.204), the context makes clear that the intended meaning is ‘the people who were with him’, but in another context, this could presumably mean ‘the people who they were with’.

(5.204) *mu rabuna aava ri waan xuvul pa-na*

PL people REL 3PL be.at with PREP-3SG

‘the people who were with him’ (Matthew 8:10)

In other words, out of context, it is not clear whether the head of the relative clause in (5.204) is functioning as subject or object of the preposition *pa*.

### 5.8.6. The absence of a after the relative word *aava*

It was noted above that the 3SG weak subject pronoun *a* is not used in relative clauses. This is true regardless of the function of the head in the relative clause. Examples (5.179) and (5.181) above illustrate that this is true when the head is functioning as subject in the relative clause. When the head is something other than subject in the relative clause but the subject of the relative clause is pronominal and 3SG, the subject in the relative clause is expressed by the strong pronoun *nane* and the weak subject pronoun *a* is not used, as illustrated by (5.205) and (5.206).

(5.205) *a mu rabuna si-na Piran aava nane maraan=e pa-na*

ART PL people POSS-3SG big.man REL 3SG obtain=3SG PREP-3SG

*ria i-na.*

blood POSS-3SG

‘the people of God that he obtained with his blood (i.e. the blood of his own Son)’

(Acts 20:28)

(5.206) *a mo aava nane taa ngan=e*

ART thing REL 3SG FUT eat=3SG

‘the thing that he will eat’ (Mark 7:19)

But not only is the relative word *aava* never followed by the weak subject pronoun *a*, regardless of the role of the head of the relative clause in the relative clause; it is never followed by the common article *a*, either. In other words, if the subject of the relative clause is a common noun phrase, the common article is always absent, as in (5.207) and (5.208) (or (5.184) above).

(5.207) ...

3SG like PREP-3SG seed POSS-3SG mustard REL man

*nia xapis=e la uma si-na.*

3SG take=3SG and go.and sow=3SG LOC field POSS-3SG

‘[The kingdom of heaven] is like a mustard seed that a man took and sowed in his field.’ (Matthew 13:31)
A diachronic explanation for the fact that neither the weak subject pronoun a nor the common article a occur following the relative word aava might be that the relative word aava arose historically from a combination of the demonstrative aave and either the weak subject pronoun a or the common article. But this is not a possible synchronic analysis since the relative word is always aava, even when what follows is something that could not be preceded by either the common article or the weak subject pronoun a, such as another weak subject pronoun, as in (5.203) and other examples above, or the proper article, as in (5.209).

(5.209) a maana mo roxo aava na Jesus taxa vil=e
ART GRTR.PL thing good REL ART Jesus CONTIN do=3SG
‘the good things that Jesus was doing’ (Matthew 21:15)

5.8.7. Relative clauses with pronouns as head

The head of the relative clause can be a strong pronoun, as in (5.187) above and (5.210).

(5.210) Nari aava ri langai a lagasai i-na fatataganan si-na
3PL REL 3PL hear ART news POSS-3SG kingdom POSS-3SG
Piran taasaxa ri pife masam ...
big.man but 3PL NEG understand
‘Those who hear the word about the kingdom of God but do not understand …’
(Matthew 13:19)

A strong pronoun that is head of a relative clause can be first or second person, as in (5.211) and (5.212).

(5.211) Ai, nano aava no fo kuus o no taa ngas tapin
ah a 2SG REL 2SG PERF say COMP 2SG FUT remove away
a lifu lotu e no taa vesan fa’uli=e
ART house worship and 2SG FUT make CAUS-return=3SG
lana yaan talaatu, ...
in day three
‘Aha! You who has said that you will destroy the temple and rebuild it in three days, …’ (Mark 15:29)

(5.212) nami aava mi vil a mu vil-aan-a saat
2PL REL 2PL do ART PL do-NMLZ-3SG bad
‘you who do bad deeds’ (Matthew 7:23)
Note that when the head of a relative clause is a strong pronoun functioning as subject in
the relative clause, the weak subject pronoun in the relative clause agrees with the head in
person and number. This is illustrated in the two preceding examples, where the weak subject
pronouns no ‘2SG’ and mi ‘2PL’ are used. When the head of the relative clause is functioning
as something other than subject in the relative clause, any pronominal morphemes in the
relative clause will also agree with the head, as in (5.213). In this example, the relative clause
involves four conjoined clauses and the head functions as object of the verb in the first three
clauses (all expressed by the strong object pronoun nami ‘2PL’) and as possessor in the fourth
clause (isi-mi ‘your (PL) name’).

(5.213) namí aava rabuna ri bai-an nami e ri feng tapin
2PL REL people 3PL not.want-TRANS 2PL and 3PL send away

namí e ri ferawai fakasal nami e ri gilis a
2PL and 3PL speak insult 2PL and 3PL reject ART

isi-mi ... name-2PL

‘you who people hate and exclude and insult and reject the name of ...’ (Luke 6:22)

The head of the relative clause can also be the pronominal object of a preposition, as in
(5.214). It is not clear how best to analyse examples like this. Formally, the prepositional
phrase in (5.214) consists of the preposition xulu-ri ‘on-3PL’ plus a relative clause, so, unless
we say that the relative clause is modifying the suffix -ri, it is not clear what, if anything, the
relative clause is modifying.33

(5.214) E a malang fo savat xulu-ri aava ri taagul lapaa-na
and ART light PERF come on-3PL REL 3PL stay under-3SG

xaxaalua i-na maat-an.
shadow POSS-3SG die-NMLZ

‘And the light has come onto those who stay under the shadow of death.’ (Matthew
4:16)

Examples (5.215) and (5.216) are similar, but with the prepositions siri and seri respectively.

(5.215) a mu ivin si-ri aava ri faasot pa-na vaalus
ART PL chair POSS-3PL REL 3PL sell PREP-3SG dove
‘the chairs of those selling doves’ (Matthew 21:12)

(5.216) Nemaam mu Juda, maam pera-roxo se-ri aava
1EXCL.PL PL Jew 1EXCL.PL COMPAR-good PREP-3PL REL

ri pife Juda, bo?
3PL NEG Jew Q

‘Are we Jews better than those who are not Jews?’ (Romans 3:9)

33 The possibility that examples like these are calques cannot be discounted.
5.9. Prepositional phrases modifying nouns

The most common prepositional phrase modifiers of nouns are possessors expressed with either of the two possessive prepositions *si* and *i*, discussed above in §5.7.2 and §5.7.3, and illustrated in (5.217) and (5.218).

(5.217) *a maana mo si tama-maame*

\[\text{ART GRTR.PL thing POSS father-1EXCL.DU} \]

‘our father’s things’ (Luke 12:13)

(5.218) *... a malang i-na laam a lang xulu-m.*

\[\text{ART light POSS-3SG lamp 3SG shine ON-2SG} \]

‘... the light of a lamp shines on you.’ (Luke 11:36)

Other sorts of prepositional phrases modifying nouns are given in (5.219) and (5.220). In (5.219), the noun *salan* ‘path’ is modified by the prepositional phrase *xe la bina siri* ‘to their place’.

(5.219) *E voxo ri usi a salan patak xe la bina si-ri.*

\[\text{and so 3PL follow ART path other to LOC place POSS-3PL} \]

‘And so they followed another route to their country.’ (Matthew 2:12)

The example in (5.220) contains two prepositional phrases modifying the noun *rabuna* ‘people’.

(5.220) *saxa-no rabuna [pa-na texaas-an] [ti paa lasuun paaliu]*

\[\text{INDEF-PL people [PREP-3SG know-NMLZ] [from east far INTENS]} \]

‘some people with knowledge (i.e. wise men) from the east very far away’

(Matthew 2:1)

Prepositional phrases modifying nouns often contain nothing other than an inflected preposition, like *sina* in (5.221).

(5.221) *... a tefin si-na fo lisan a lagasai xe si-na.*

\[\text{ART wife POSS-3SG PERF bring ART news to POSS-3SG} \]

‘[As he was sitting on the judgment seat,] his wife sent a message to him.’

(Matthew 27:19)

Prepositional phrases follow modifiers other than relative clauses, *vaxa* ‘also’ and *(sang)* *mon* ‘only’. This is true even for prepositional phrases consisting of a single word, like *sina* in (5.222), which follows the demonstrative *aave* ‘that’.

(5.222) *... a lak aave si-na fo ulaa fa-roxo.*

\[\text{ART child that POSS-3SG PERF return ADV-good} \]

‘his son has returned safe and sound.’ (Luke 15:27)
5.10. Miscellaneous other modifiers of nouns

5.10.1. xapiak ‘all’

The word xapiak ‘all’ resembles the numerals in following adjectives and preceding demonstratives and possessors. Example (5.223) shows it following an adjective and preceding a possessor while (5.224) shows it preceding a demonstrative.

(5.223) ... a vupukai si Moses pife fexaxaas se-na mulus
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ART</th>
<th>command</th>
<th>POSS</th>
<th>Moses</th>
<th>NEG</th>
<th>able</th>
<th>PREP-3SG</th>
<th>release</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tapin</td>
<td>nami</td>
<td>se-na</td>
<td>mu</td>
<td>vil-aan-a</td>
<td>saat</td>
<td>xapiak</td>
<td>si-mi,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>away</td>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>PREP-3SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>do-NMLZ-3SG</td>
<td>bad</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>POSS-2PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piau.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘... the commandments of Moses cannot forgive you all your bad deeds (all your sins), no.’ (Acts 13:38)

(5.224) A maana mo xapiak aanabe’ ri savat ...
| ART | GRTR.PL | thing | all | this | 3PL | come |

‘All these things happened ...’ (Matthew 1:22)

But there is a small amount of evidence that it can co-occur with a numeral, following it, as in (5.225).

(5.225) a mu matalava sangafilu taragua pa-na talafuat xapiak aave
| ART | PL | leader | ten | two | PREP-3SG | four | all | that |

‘all twenty four of those leaders’ (Revelation 4:10)

There is only other example of xapiak following a numeral, given in (5.226), although in this case xapiak and the numeral are modifying a pronoun rather than a noun.

(5.226) E nari pisiguak xapiak ri tamai si-na tefin aanabe’ ...
| and | 3PL | seven | all | 3PL | marry | POSS-3SG | woman | this |

‘And all seven of them married this woman ...’ (Mark 12:22)

This word xapiak can also follow prepositions, where it is associated semantically with the object of the preposition, as in (5.227) and (5.228). In (5.227), for example, it is associated with the 1INCL.PL suffix -taara on the possessive preposition i.

(5.227) E taara taa suai se-na pa-na xunus i-taara
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>and</th>
<th>1INCL.PL</th>
<th>FUT</th>
<th>honour</th>
<th>PREP-3SG</th>
<th>PREP-3SG</th>
<th>soul</th>
<th>POSS-1INCL.PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xapiak</td>
<td>e ...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>all</td>
<td>and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘And we will honour him with all our hearts and ...’ (Mark 12:33)
**5.10.2. xurul ‘whole’**

The word xurul ‘whole’ is illustrated in (5.229) modifying a noun.

(5.229) ... a ta-mi xurul i taa bas pa-na malang.

`... your whole body will be full of light.’ (Matthew 6:22)

This word is one of only a limited set of words, like demonstratives, which can follow numerals within the noun phrase, as illustrated in (5.230).

(5.230) E na Yesus a falfaal pa-na yaan sangafilu talafuat

`Jesus fasted forty days and forty nights and became famished.’ (Matthew 4:2)

**5.10.3. (sang) mon ‘only’**

The meaning ‘only’ is expressed either by the word mon alone or by the combination sang mon. The meaning of sang itself is not clear, though it may mean ‘alone’ when not followed by mon. When sang and mon occur together, they are probably best viewed as a two-word expression meaning ‘only’. Mon by itself is illustrated in (5.231).

(5.231) Nane xewai e xalum a marapi i-na mamaat mon

`He bent down and saw only the cloth from the corpse there and ...’ (Luke 24:12)

Sang mon is illustrated in (5.232).

(5.232) A Piran sang mon a roxo.

`Only God is good.’ (Matthew 19:17)
(5.233) *Nenia mon ne mataa aave.*  
1SG only 1SG man that  
‘Only I am that man.’  (John 4:26)

(5.234) *Nane toxan a marapi pasak sang mon la ta-na.*  
3SG have ART clothes white alone only LOC skin-3SG  
‘He had only white clothes on this body,’ (i.e. ‘He was only wearing white clothes’)  
(Mark 14:51)

*Mon* can also be used to modify a verb, as in (5.235).

(5.235) *... a tefin a pife maat, i taxa matef mon.*  
ART woman 3SG NEG die 3SG.INCOMPL CONTIN sleep only  
‘The woman did not die, she is only sleeping.’  (Luke 8:52)

But this raises a question about examples like (5.231) above. Is *mon* in this example modifying *a marapi ina mamaat* ‘the cloth from the corpse’, or is it modifying the verb *xalum* ‘see’? Semantically, it clearly goes with *a marapi ina mamaat*, but this does not mean that it modifies this noun phrase syntactically. After all, in English *John only saw two children* has a natural reading where the scope of *only* is *two*, but syntactically, it is modifying the verb *saw*. This analysis is more difficult for examples like (5.232) since there is in general very little material that is allowed to occur between the subject noun phrase and the weak subject pronoun. The fact that we get *mon* alone when it is specifically the verb that is modified, as in (5.235), while we get *sang mon* when it is unambiguously modifying a noun, as in (5.232), suggests that perhaps the contrast between *mon* and *sang mon* is that the former modifies verbs while the latter modifies nouns.

Because of the difficulty determining whether postverbal *mon* is modifying a noun or the verb, I will restrict further discussion to occurrences of *sang mon* or occurrences of *mon* alone modifying a subject (which there are few instances of). *Sang mon* invariably occurs at the end of the noun phrase. In (5.236) it follows a prepositional phrase modifying the noun.

(5.236) *... e mu fefeng si Yesus sang mon ri fo falet ...*  
and PL disciple POSS Jesus alone only 3PL PERF go  
‘... and only Jesus’ disciples had gone ...’  (John 6:22)

In (5.237), *sang mon* follows a relative clause; there are only a couple of expressions in Kara that can follow a relative clause within a noun phrase (another of which is the topic particle *ve*, which follows *sang mon* in (5.237)).

(5.237) *A rabuna aava ri giis sang mon ve ri vubux-an ...*  
ART people REL 3PL sick alone only TOPIC 3PL want-TRANS  
‘Only people who are sick want ...’  (Luke 5:31)

In (5.238), however, *sang mon* precedes the relative clause.
There are cases where the scope of *mon* is a numeral, as in (5.239).

(5.239)  
Xalei a vaan pisiktul *mon*.  
write ART jar eight only  
‘Write only fifty jars.’ (Luke 16:6)

In most such cases, however, we cannot be sure that *mon* is modifying the numeral rather than the verb. However, in (5.240), *mon* occurs with the subject, so this would appear to be a clearer case where *mon* is modifying the noun or the numeral.

(5.240)  
... ri texaas o a xaati saxa *mon* fo waan pave ...  
3PL know COMP ART boat one only PERF be.at there  
‘... they knew that only one boat was there ...’ (John 6:22)

In fact, since the word *saxa* ‘one’ precedes the noun, except when followed by *mon*, this is an argument that *mon* combines with *saxa* syntactically (since it would otherwise be an odd constraint on the order of *saxa* and the noun).

5.10.4. *vaxa* ‘also’

The word *vaxa* ‘also’ occurs at the end of a noun phrase, as in (5.241) and (5.242).

(5.241)  
A *nu-tu-vaat* pisaxa aanabe’ *vaxa* ri falet xe puua  
ART PAUC-PL-person six this also 3PL go to north  
Sesaria xuvul pa-ga e ...  
Caesarea with PREP-1SG and  
‘These six men also went to Caesarea with me, and ...’ (Acts 11:12)

(5.242)  
... nane xo i taa tavai nami pa-na maana  
3SG TOPIC 3SG.INCOMPL FUT give 2PL PREP-3SG GRTR.PL  
*mo xapiak aave vaxa*.  
thing all that also  
‘... he will give all these things to you as well.’ (Matthew 6:33)

As with *mon* ‘only’, it is not obvious whether instances of *vaxa* at the end of a clause are modifying the preceding noun phrase or the verb; instances where it follows a subject are more convincing examples of it modifying a noun phrase. Thus (5.241) above is a more convincing example than (5.242). On the other hand, it seems more likely that *vaxa* in (5.243) is modifying the noun, despite its clause-final position, since the noun that it goes with semantically, namely *rabuna* ‘people’, is itself a modifier of *tamana* ‘father’.
If "vaxa" is modifying "rabuna" in (5.243), then this example shows that "vaxa" is like "mon" (or "sang mon") 'only' in occurring after relative clauses. Another example showing the same point more unambiguously is (5.244), where "vaxa" follows a subject noun phrase, although strictly speaking the noun phrase "a mu rabuna Juda aava si savatmaan xuvul pana vaxa" 'the Jewish people who came with her also' is both the object of the matrix verb "xalum" 'see' and subject of the verb "taangiis" 'weep' at the end of the sentence.

(5.244)  
Na Yesus a xalum na Maria taxa taangiis e a  
ART Jesus 3 SG see ART Mary CONTIN weep and ART  
mu rabuna Juda aava ri savat-maan xuvul pa-na vaxa  
PL people Juda REL 3 PL come-come with PREP-3SG also  
ri taxa taangiis.  
3 PL CONTIN weep  

'Jesus saw Mary weeping, and also the Jewish people who had come with her weeping.' (John 11:33)

5.10.5. sait ‘also’

There is a second word meaning ‘also’ that can modify nouns, namely "sait", illustrated in (5.245) and (5.246)

(5.245) ... tavai=e pa-na marapi i-na xakaafutan sait.  
give=3SG PREP-3SG clothes POSS-3SG covering also  
'[And if someone wants to sue you and to take your tunic,] give him your coat also.’  
(Matthew 5:40)

(5.246) E mu vasaa-na sait, a sou ri pife waan  
and PLUR sibling.oppos-3SG also 3SG why 3PL NEG be.at  
la palou i-taara?  
LOC middle POSS-1PL.INCL  

'And aren’t his sisters also with us?' (Mark 6:3)

How "sait" differs from "vaxa" is not clear.

5.10.6. The reflexive/reciprocal word xa

The reflexive/reciprocal word "xa" can be used after a pronoun to express the equivalent of a reflexive pronoun, as in (5.247) and (5.248).
(5.247)  ... tapin fa-sivi nano xa ...  
throw CAUS-go.down 2SG REFL/RECIP  
‘[If you are the Son of God,] then throw yourself down.’  (Matthew 4:6)

(5.248)  E muta lamon o mi taa xus nami xa ...  
and PROHIB think COMP 2PL FUT tell 2PL REFL/RECIP  
‘And don’t think you can say to yourselves, ...’  (Matthew 3:9)

When plural, pronouns plus xa can be either reflexive in meaning, as in the preceding example, or reciprocal, as in (5.249) and (5.250).

(5.249)  E ri fe-mataut paaliu e ri fe-fi-ai-an  
and 3PL INCH-afraid INTENS and 3PL RECIP-ask-INTRANS-TRANS  

nari xa malaan, ...  
3PL REFL/RECIP thus  

‘They became very afraid and asked one another, ...’  (Mark 4:41)

(5.250)  ... a mu fatataganan ri taa fe-falou-an  
ART PL kingdom 3PL FUT RECIP-attack-TRANS  

nari xa.  
3PL REFL/RECIP  

‘[For nation will rise up in arms against nation,] and kingdoms will attack each other.’  (Matthew 24:7)

The reciprocal prefix on the verb (see §4.2.6), as in the two preceding examples, disambiguates reciprocal from reflexive meaning.

The reflexive/reciprocal word can follow a preposition, adding reflexive/reciprocal meaning to the object of the preposition, which is expressed only by a suffix on the preposition, as in (5.251) and (5.252). In (5.251), for example, siri xa means ‘their own’, making it clear that the reference of the pronominal object on siri refers back to the subject of the verb.

(5.251)  Usi=au e ta’ulan a mu rabuna aava ri fo maat  
follow=1SG and leave ART PL people REL 3PL PERF die  

xena xaafan a mamaat si-ri xa.  
PURP bury ART corpse POSS-3PL REFL/RECIP  

‘Follow me, and let the dead bury their own dead corpses.’  (Matthew 8:22)

(5.252)  Mi pife sexaxaas se-na faisok lapaa-na Piran e la  
2PL NEG able PREP-3SG act under-3SG big.man and LOC  

yaan naang faisok xena fa-xuvtul-aan=a faat xaa-num  
day same act PURP CAUS-with-NMLZ=ART stone for-2SG  

xa.  
REFL/RECIP  

‘You cannot serve God and at the same time act in order to collect money for yourself.’  (Matthew 6:24)
The word *xa* is also found after inalienably possessed nouns, adding reflexive/reciprocal meaning to the possessor. In (5.253), for example, *isiri xa* ‘means ‘their names’, referring back to the subject of the clause.

(5.253) *nari aava ri lamon fa-sivi a isi-ri xa*

3PL REL 3PL think CAUS-go.down ART name-3PL REFL/RECIPI ‘those who think “down” their names (i.e. the meek)’ (Matthew 5:5)

Similarly, *mata-am xa* ‘eye-2SG REFL/RECIPI’ in (5.254) means your own eye, referring back to the subject of the clause.

(5.254) ... *siak tapin a wai modus la mata-am xa ...*

take away ART tree long LOC eye-2SG REFL/RECIPI ‘... remove the beam from your own eye ...’ (Matthew 7:5)

The word *xa* is not the only way to express reflexivity in Kara. The noun *ta* ‘body’ is sometimes used with reflexive meaning, as in (5.255) and (5.256).

(5.255) *E xasanofuna aava ri fuuna vil vulan a maana mo and others.PL REL 3PL HABIT do always ART GRTR.PL thing xena fa-faamaaas-aan=a ta-ri mon ... PURP CAUS-happy-NMLZ=ART skin-3PL only*

‘And others who always do things in order to please only themselves ...’ (Romans 2:8)

(5.256) *Falet, fa-xalum a mu priis pa-na ta-mi.*

go CAUS-see ART PL priest PREP-3SG skin-2PL ‘Go and show yourselves to the priests.’ (Luke 17:14)

The reflexive/reciprocal word *xa* can also be used as a type of focus particle, illustrated in (5.257) and (5.258), analogous to the use of a reflexive pronoun following a noun phrase in English, as in *he himself*. This is apparently the only interpretation when it occurs on a subject noun phrase, as in both of these examples.

(5.257) *Na Tama-mi sang mon aava mi pife fexaxaas ART father-2PL alone only REL 2PL NEG able se-na xalum=e, nane xa taa texaas. PREP-3SG see=3SG 3SG REFL/RECIPI FUT know*

‘Only your father who you cannot see, he himself will know.’ (Matthew 6:18)
While the majority of instances of \( xa \) used as a focus particle follow pronouns, examples where it follows a noun are given in (5.259) to (5.261).

(5.259) Senaso lana mu Yangan-an, na Devit \( xa \) a kuus:  
because in PL sing-NMLZ ART David REFL/RECIP 3SG say  
‘For in the Book of Psalms, David himself says ...’  (Luke 20:42)

(5.260) ... ne taa ulaa-maan e na Sera \( xa \)  
1SG FUT return-come and ART Sarah REFL/RECIP 3SG.INCOMPL  
taa luk a lak tomexaan.  
FUT give.birth ART child male  
‘... I will return and Sarah (herself) will give birth to a son.’  (Romans 9:9)

(5.261) e nemaam xapiak \( xa \), maam xalum=e.  
and 1EXCL.PL all REFL/RECIP 1EXCL.PL see=3SG  
‘... and we all saw it ourselves.’  (Acts 2:32)

5.10.7. The topic particle \( ve \sim va \)

The word \( ve \sim va \) primarily functions as a nonverbal copula in clauses with nominal predicates (§7.10). What the difference between \( ve \) and \( va \) might be is not clear. But it also occurs occasionally following a subject of a verbal clause, as in (5.262).

(5.262) Taasaxa, lak tuaan \( va \) taxa waan la uma.  
but child older TOPIC CONTIN be.at LOC field  
‘Now his older son was in the field.’  (Luke 15:25)

Describing \( ve \sim va \) as a topic marker is potentially problematic since there is a tendency in the linguistic literature to use the term “topic” in extremely varied ways. However, it is possible to be more specific about \( ve \sim va \) and to tentatively describe it as a marker of contrastive topics. In the case of (5.262), for example, the subject marked by \( va \), namely \( lak tuaan \) ‘the older son’, represents a contrastive topic, since the preceding text dealt with another son, and attention shifts in this sentence to the older son. At least some other instances of \( ve \) or \( va \) seem to be marking contrastive topics. In (5.263), \( ve \) marks \( na Yesus \) ‘Jesus’, who is being contrasted with the disciples.
Examples (5.264) to (5.266) similarly all involve some sort of contrast.

Examples

(5.264) ... *nane ve* taxa sangas paamuin nari.

*Art* first *topic* 3sg not.know prep-3sg source-3sg wine that

*tasaxa mu sisiak ri texaas.*

*but* pl servant 3pl know

‘The head steward did not know the source of the wine, but the servants knew.’

(John 2:9)

(5.265) *paamua ve* a vungut se-na fufu-na wain aave,

*art* first *topic* 3sg not.know prep-3sg source-3sg wine that

*tasaxa mu sisiak ri texaas.*

*but* pl servant 3pl know

‘The head steward did not know the source of the wine, but the servants knew.’

(John 2:9)

(5.266) *rabuna aava ri giis sang mon ve ri vubux-an*

*art* people rel 3pl sick alone only *topic* 3pl want-trans

*a mataa xena irin fa-roxoi nari tasaxa rabuna aava*

*art* man purp cure caus-good 3pl but *people rel*

*ri pi ta giis-an ve, piau.*

*3pl never.have nonspec sick-nmlz topic* no

‘Only people who are sick need a doctor, but people who never have any sickness don’t.’

(Luke 5:31)

However, some instances of *ve ~ va* marking subjects of verbs do not seem to be marking contrastive topics at all. There is no obvious contrast, for example, in (5.267).

(5.267) *E a mo mosaat talatul aanabe’ ve rutul savat ...

*art* thing bad three *topic* 3trial come

‘And these three plagues (literally “bad things”) came [from the mouths of horses: fire, smoke and sulfur.]’

(Revelation 9:18)

A question arises whether instances of *ve ~ va* before nominal predicates are also topic markers rather than nonverbal copulas, as they are analysed here (§7.10). But this does not seem possible for a number of reasons. First, while relatively few subjects of verbal predicates are marked with *ve ~ va*, the clear majority of subjects of nominal predicates are followed by *ve ~ va*. Second, the sort of contrastiveness associated with most subjects of verbal predicates followed by *ve ~ va* is generally absent from most subjects of nominal predicates followed by *ve ~ va*. And third, there are instances of interrogative phrases that are subjects of nominal predicates followed by *ve ~ va*, as in (5.268) and (5.269), which is not expected if these are...
some sort of topic marker, since interrogative phrases more often behave like focus rather than topic (though these examples might be calques).

(5.268)  
\[
E \ nase' \ ve \ a \ mu \ tau-ga? \\
\text{and who be 3SG PL neighbour-1SG} \\
\text{‘And who are my neighbours?’ (Luke 10:29)}
\]

(5.269)  
\[
A \ so \ ta \ buk \ ferawai-an \ va \ nabe'? \\
\text{ART what NONSPEC kind speak-NMLZ/PASS be this} \\
\text{‘What sort of teaching is this?’ (Luke 4:36)}
\]

5.10.8. buk ‘kind, sort’

The miscellaneous modifiers of nouns discussed in the preceding sections all follow the nouns. The word buk ‘kind, sort’, in contrast, immediately precedes nouns, as in (5.270) to (5.272).

(5.270)  
\[
E \ a \ maana \ buk \ giis-an \ aava \ fo \ sip \ a \ rabuna, \\
\text{and ART GRTR.PL kind sick-NMLZ REL PERF beat ART people} \\
\text{nane vil fa-roxoi=e.} \\
\text{3SG do CAUS-good=3SG} \\
\text{‘And all kinds of sickness among the people, he healed.’ (Matthew 4:23)}
\]

(5.271)  
\[
A \ kam \ i-na \ wai \ mastaat \ a \ pema-modak \ se-na \\
\text{ART seed POSS-3SG tree mustard 3SG COMPAR-small PREP-3SG} \\
xasano \ buk \ kam ... \\
\text{other kind seed} \\
\text{‘The mustard seed is smaller than other kinds of seeds.’ (Matthew 13:32)}
\]

(5.272)  
\[
A \ so \ ta \ buk \ ferawai-an \ va \ nabe'? \\
\text{ART what NONSPEC kind speak-NMLZ be this} \\
\text{‘What sort of teaching is this?’ (Luke 4:36)}
\]

From a semantic point of view, it is not obvious that buk is modifying the noun that follows it (rather than being modified by it), but syntactically it seems better analysed as a modifier.

5.10.9. The prenominal words fomirak ‘unexpectedly small’ and tang ‘huge’

There is a prenominal word fomirak whose meaning is given by Schlie and Schlie (1993) as ‘unexpectedly small’, illustrated in (5.273) and (5.274).

(5.273)  
\[
Nane \ toxan \ a \ fomirak \ buuk \ aava \ taxa \ talakas \ lana \ ma-na. \\
3SG have ART small book REL CONTIN open in hand-3SG \\
\text{‘He held in his hand a little scroll that was open.’ (Revelation 10:2)}
\]
This word is unusual in that it resembles adjectives semantically but precedes the noun, occurring between the number word and the noun, as in (5.275), unlike adjectives, which follow the noun (§5.4).

One might consider this word a diminutive word, since most modifiers of nouns which precede nouns are function words.

Another word that translates as an adjective, but which precedes the noun, is tang ‘huge’, illustrated in (5.276) and (5.277).

5.11. Combinations of noun modifiers

The general structure of noun phrases can be described by the following formula (leaving out a few minor complications), repeated from the beginning of this chapter. Asterisks mean that more than one of that element can occur.

\[ \text{NP} = (\text{Art}) + (\text{Number Word}) + N + (\text{Adj}^*) + (\text{Num}) + (\text{Dem}) + (\text{PP})^* + (\text{RC}) \]

Examples illustrating various combinations of two or more postnominal modifiers follow.
N + Adj + Dem

(5.278) *Muta vil ta mo xase-na mataa fatak aave ...*  
PROHIB do NONSPEC thing against-3SG man straight that  
‘Don’t do anything against that innocent man ...’  (Matthew 27:19)

(5.279) ... *e a vovau saat aave ta'ulan a lak aave e ...*  
and ART spirit bad that leave ART child that and  
‘Then Jesus rebuked the demon and the demon came out of the boy and [the boy  
was healed].’  (Matthew 17:18)

(5.280) *A mataa fa'ui aave a kuus, ...*  
ART man new that 3SG say  
‘The young man said ...’  (Matthew 19:20)

(5.281) *a lak modak aanabe'*  
ART child small this  
‘this small child’  (Luke 9:48)

N + Adj + Num

(5.282) *E ne xalum a vovau saat talatul ...*  
and 1SG see ART spirit bad three  
‘I saw three unclean spirits ...’  (Revelation 16:13)

N + Adj + xaves ‘many’

(5.283) *A vana a toxan a din molava xaves, ...*  
ART net 3SG have ART fish large many  
‘The net contained many large fish, ...’  (John 21:11)

N + Adj + xapiak ‘all’ + PP

(5.284) ... *a vuputkai si Moses pife fexaxaas se-na mulus tapin*  
ART command POSS Moses NEG able PREP-3SG release away  
*nami se-na mu vil-aan-a saat xapiak si-mi, piau.*  
2PL PREP-3SG PL do-NMLZ-3SG bad all POSS-2PL no  
‘... the commandments of Moses cannot forgive you all your bad deeds (all your  
sins), no.’  (Acts 13:38)

N + mata ‘first’ + PP

(5.285) *la yaan mata i-na Fenamo i-na Bret Aava*  
LOC day eye/first POSS-3SG feast POSS-3SG bread REL  
*Piau Ta Yiis*  
not.have NONSPEC yeast  
‘on the first day of the feast of Unleavened Bread’  (Matthew 26:17)
N + Adj + mata ‘first’ + Rel

(5.286) a mo fa-ipul mata aava na Yesus a vesan=e
ART thing CAUS-amazed eye/first REL ART Jesus 3SG make=3SG

e nane vil=e la bina Kena pe Galili
and 3SG do=3SG LOC place Cana at Galilee

‘the first miracle that Jesus performed in Cana in Galilee’ (John 2:11)

N + Num + Dem

(5.287) Lami-na yaan taragua aave nane ta'ulan nari xena falet xe
after-3SG day two that 3SG leave 3PL PURP go to

puaa Galili.

north Galilee

‘After the two days he left them to go (north) to Galilee.’ (John 4:43)

(5.288) ... e ri timin a ma-ri la putu-na
and 3PL put ART hand-3PL LOC head-3SG

nu-tu-vaat pisiguak aanabe' e ...
PAUC-PL-person seven this and

‘... and they put their hands on the heads of these seven men and ...’ (Acts 6:6)

(5.289) Na Yesus a feng a mu yaamut sangafilu saxa
ART Jesus 3SG send ART PL disciple ten one

pa-na taragua aanabe' e ...
PREP-3SG two this and

‘Jesus sent out these twelve disciples and ...’ (Matthew 10:5)

N + Num + Dem + vaxa ‘also’

(5.290) A nu-tu-vaat pisaxa aanabe' vaxa ri falet xe puua
ART PAUC-PL-person six this also 3PL go to north

Sesaria xuvul pa-ga e ...
Caesarea with PREP-1SG and

‘These six men also went to Caesarea with me, and ...’ (Acts 11:12)

N + xaves ‘many’ + Dem

(5.291) faat xaves aave
stone many that

‘those many stones’ (Matthew 18:27)
N + xapiak ‘all’ + Dem

(5.292) ... nane xo i taa tavai nami pa-na
3SG TOPIC 3SG.INCOMPL FUT give 2PL PREP-3SG
maana mo xapiak aave vaxa.
GRTR.PL thing all that also
‘... he will give all these things to you as well.’ (Matthew 6:33)

(5.293) A maana mo xapiak aanabe’ ri savat ...
ART GRTR.PL thing all this 3PL come
‘All these things happened ...’ (Matthew 1:22)

N + Num + xapiak ‘all’ + Dem

(5.294) a mu matalava sangafilu taragua pa-na talafaat xapiak aave
ART PL leader ten two PREP-3SG four all that
‘all twenty four of those leaders’ (Revelation 4:10)

N + Adj + Num + Dem + ve ‘topic’

(5.295) E a mo mosaat talatul aanabe’ ve rutul savat ...
and ART thing bad three this TOPIC 3trial come
‘And these three plagues (literally ‘bad things’) came ...’ (Revelation 9:18)

N + Num + Poss

(5.296) a mu pabung sangafilu pa-na taragua si-maam
ART PL family ten PREP-3SG two POSS-1EXCL.PL
‘our twelve tribes’ (Acts 26:7)

(5.297) ... o re taa laak xuvul pa-na e a
... COMP 3DU FUT enter with PREP-3SG and ART
fefeng talatul si-na.
disciple three POSS-3SG
‘[And he called the child’s father and his mother] to go inside with him and his three disciples.’ (Mark 5:40)

N + xapiak ‘all’ + PP

(5.298) a mu rabuna xapiak pe Jerusalem
ART PL people all at Jerusalem
‘all the people in Jerusalem’ (Acts 1:19)

(5.299) ... e fe faasot pa-na maana mo xapiak si-na ...
and go.and sell PREP-3SG GRTR.PL thing all POSS-3SG
‘... and he went and sold all his things ...’ (Matthew 13:44)
N + Num + xurul ‘whole’

(5.300) E na Yesus a falfaal pa-na yaan sangafilu talafaat and ART Jesus 3SG fast PREP-3SG day ten four  
\[xurul\ e fe-lagai.\] whole and INCH-hungry  
‘Jesus fasted forty days and forty nights and became famished.’ (Matthew 4:2)

N + Rel + mon ‘only’

(5.301) a rabuna [aava ri vubux-an xasingit nami] mon ART people [REL 3PL like-TRANS greatly 2PL] only  
‘only people who love you’ (Matthew 5:46)

N + Adj + Rel

(5.302) a xalana mopaak [aava pife roxo]. ART fruit sour [REL NEG good]  
‘[but the tree that does not grow well bears] sour fruit that is not good.’ (Matthew 7:17)

N+ PP + Rel

(5.303) a mu kuus fanai-an [si-na Piran] [aava mu rabuna ART PL say promise-NMLZ [POSS-3SG big.man] [REL PL people  
i-na kuus fatuxai ri fo mo kuus-an=e] POSS-3SG say prophecy 3PL PERF ?? say-TRANS=3SG]  
‘the promises of God that the prophets talked about’ (Acts 3:25)

N + Poss + vaxa ‘also’

(5.304) tama-na mu rabuna [aava ri vuputuk] vaxa father-3SG PL people [REL 3PL cut] also  
‘the father of the circumcised as well’ (Romans 4:12)

N + Adj + Rel

(5.305) a maana mo roxo [aava na Yesus taxa vil=e] ART GRTR.PL thing good [REL ART Jesus CONTIN do=3SG]  
‘the good things that Jesus was doing’ (Matthew 21:15)

(5.306) a maana mo fa-ipul [aava mi fo xalum=e] ART GRTR.PL thing CAUS-amazed [REL 2PL PERF see=3SG]  
‘the amazing things (i.e. miracles) that you have seen’ (Matthew 11:21)
N + A+ Rel + vaxa ‘also’

(5.307) Piau, layaan mi put a latan mi tamaa put
no when 2PL pull.up ART weeds 2PL may pull.up
a kam roxo [aava fo boak] vaxa.
ART seed good [REL PERF grow] also
ART N A REL also

‘No, when you pull up the weeds, you may pull up the good seeds that have grown as well.’ (Matthew 13:29)

N + AdjP + Rel

(5.308) a maana mo [roxo paaliu] [aava Piran a vesan=e]
ART GRTR.PL thing [good INTENS] [REL big.man 3SG make=3SG]
ART NUMB N AdjP REL

‘the great deeds God has done’ (Acts 2:11)

(5.309) fafaania' [roxo paaliu] [aava fun-an la uma]
money [good INTENS] [REL hide-PASS LOC field]
ART NUMB N AdjP REL

‘[The kingdom of heaven is like] a treasure that is hidden in a field’ (Matthew 13:44)

N + Num + Rel

(5.310) vapara pisiguak [aava no xalum=e lana pa-ma-ak muaan]
star seven [REL 2SG see=3SG in SG-hand-1SG right]
N NUM REL

‘the seven stars that you saw in my right hand’ (Revelation 1:20)

N + xaves ‘many’ + Rel

(5.311) rabuna xaves [aava ri roxo]
people many [REL 3PL good]

‘many people who are good’ (Luke 15:7)

N + xapiak ‘all’ + Rel

(5.312) a mu rabuna xapiak [aava ri tingin nari]
ART PL people all [REL 3PL find 3PL]
ART NUMB N ALL REL

‘all the people that they found’ (Matthew 22:10)
And he went and called together the seven other bad spirits which were worse than him ...’ (Luke 11:26)

‘these words that you have heard’ (John 14:24)

‘Now when the Pharisee who had invited Jesus to his house ...’ (Luke 7:39)

‘... but I said this for the sake of the many people standing listening...’ (John 11:42)

‘the angels in heaven that take care of them’ (Matthew 18:10)
(5.318) \textit{Nenia, ne pife Mataa Failai [si-na Piran] [aava mi}  \\
\text{1SG 1SG NEG man Christ [POSS-3SG big.man] [REL 2PL}}  \\
\text{taxa waan bang=e].}  \\
\text{CONTIN be.at wait=3SG]}  \\
\text{‘I am not the Christ of God that you are waiting for.’}  \\
\text{(Acts 13:25)}

(5.319) \ldots a malaan se-na kam [i-na mastaat] [aava mataa}  \\
\text{ART like PREP-3SG seed [POSS-3SG mustard] [REL man}}  \\
\text{N PP REL ...}  \\
\text{a siax=e e fe xapise la uma si-na].}  \\
\text{3SG take=3SG and go.and sow-3SG LOC field POSS-3SG]}  \\
\text{‘[The kingdom of heaven] is like a mustard seed that a man took and sowed in his field.’}  \\
\text{(Matthew 13:31)}

5.12. Pronouns

Weak subject pronouns, which are part of the verbal complex, are discussed in §3.1.

5.12.1. The strong pronouns

The forms and uses of strong pronouns are discussed in §3.2 above. Here we discuss possible ways of modifying strong pronouns. All modifiers of strong pronouns follow the pronoun.\footnote{Some of these possibilities may be calques on the English.} They can be modified by \textit{xapiak} ‘all’, as in (5.320).

(5.320) \ldots \textit{netaara xapiak taara taa tigina la no-na}  \\
\text{1INCL.PL all 1INCL.PL FUT stand LOC in.front.of-3SG}  \\
Piran.  \\
\text{big.man}  \\
\text{‘All of us will stand in front of God.’}  \\
\text{(Romans 14:10)}

They can be modified by relative clauses, as in (5.321).

(5.321) \textit{netaara [aava taara namkai o a Piran a fatatoi}  \\
\text{1INCL.PL [REL 1INCL.PL believe COMP ART big.man 3SG raise}}  \\
\text{fa-'uli na Yesus], \ldots}  \\
\text{CAUS-return ART Jesus]}  \\
\text{‘we who believe that God raised Jesus ...’}  \\
\text{(Romans 4:24)}

They can combine with noun phrases, as in (5.322) and (5.323). When they do, no article is used.
(5.322) **Nemaam mu Juda, maam pera-roxo se-ri aava**
1EXCL.PL PL Jew 1EXCL.PL COMPAR-good PREP-3PL REL

ri pife Juda, bo?
3 PL NEG Jew Q

‘Are we Jews better than those who are not Jews?’ (Romans 3:9)

(5.323) **Nami mu rabuna mi pi namkai e ...**
2PL PL people 2PL never believe

‘You people never believe ...’ (Matthew 17:17)

### 5.12.2. Demonstrative pronouns

Adnominal demonstratives are discussed above in §5.6. There is only one word that could be classified as a demonstrative pronoun, *nabe* ‘this’, illustrated in (5.324) and (5.325).

(5.324) **Nabe’ ve a lak si-ak aava ne vubux-an xasingit=e.**
this be 3SG child POSS-1SG REL 1SG like-TRANS greatly=3SG

‘This is my Son, who I love.’ (Matthew 17:5)

(5.325) **Nabe’ ve a vuputkai si-ak:**
this be 3SG command POSS-1SG

‘This is my command:’ (John 15:17)

However, as a pronoun, *nabe’* has a very restricted distribution, only occurring in subject position in clauses with nominal predicates, as in the last two examples.

*Nabe’* is more commonly used as a demonstrative adverb meaning ‘here’, as in (5.326) (§7.4).

(5.326) **Nai nabe’ e ne taa falet patak ...**
sit here and 1SG FUT go away

‘Sit here and I will go away ...’ (Matthew 26:36)

The fact that *nabe’* as a pronoun only occurs before the copula *ve* suggests that that construction may be a calque on English *Here is X*.

### 5.12.3. Interrogative pronouns

There is one word that can be called an interrogative pronoun, namely *nase’* ‘who’, illustrated in (5.327) and (5.328).

(5.327) **Nase’ pebukan nami pa-na sinuf-an-aan=a**
who warn 2PL PREP-3SG run.away-TRANS-NMLZ=ART

fakasanam-an lava aava i taa savat?
harm-NMLZ big REL 3SG.INCOMPL FUT come

‘Who warned you to flee from the coming wrath?’ (Matthew 3:7)
(5.328) Mi taxa seng nase’?
2PL CONTIN look for who
‘Who are you looking for?’ (John 18:4)

Note that nase’ is formally a strong pronoun, in that it begins with na and ends with the same suffix -se’ that marks interrogative possessors on nouns and interrogative objects of prepositions (see §3.5, §3.6).

The word so ‘what’ is strictly speaking a noun, not a pronoun, since it occurs with the common article a, as in (5.329).

(5.329) Mi falet xena xalum a so?
2PL go PURP see ART what
‘What did you go out to see?’ (Matthew 11:8)

See §8.1.2 for more discussion of content questions.

5.12.4. Indefinite pronouns

There are six words, listed in Table 5.7, that are semantically indefinite pronouns, but are strictly speaking nouns in Kara, since they can occur with the common article a.

saxa ‘someone’
saxafuna ‘another’
xasafuna ‘another’
saxanofuna ‘some, others’
xasanofuna ‘others’
saxamufuna ‘some, others (paucal)’

Table 5.7: Indefinite “pronouns”

The forms in the lefthand column in Table 5.7 are those that are formed from saxa, while those in the righthand column are formed from xasa. The forms with xasa specifically mean ‘other’. The forms with saxa sometimes mean either ‘some’ or ‘other’ or both. The first two rows in Table 5.7 are singular, the third row plural, and the last row paucal. One can extrapolate that there is probably a sixth unattested form xasanufuna ‘others (paucal)’ not attested in the texts examined. Note that if we remove the final funa from these words, we get the corresponding modifiers of nouns (see §5.2.6 to §5.2.9).

The word saxa ‘someone’ is illustrated in (5.330) and (5.331).35

(5.330) Saxa fo taw=au.
one PERF touch=1SG
‘Someone touched me.’ (Luke 8:46)

(5.331) Saxa la palou i-ri a xuus na Yesus, ...
one LOC middle POSS-3PL 3SG tell ART Jesus
‘Someone amongst them told Jesus, …’ (Matthew 12:47)

35 As discussed in Appendix 3, there are many uses of saxa in the texts that look like possible calques. It is possible that saxa used as ‘someone’ is a calque.
However, this is also the word for ‘one’ (§5.5) and it also functions like an indefinite marker, as in (5.332).

(5.332)  ... a saxa mataa a fala-maan xe si-na e ...  
  ART one man 3SG run-come to POSS-3SG and  
  ‘... a man ran up to him and ...’ (Mark 10:17)

The singular saxafuna occurs only twice in the texts examined, and in both cases means ‘another one’, as in (5.333).

(5.333)  A saxafuna aava usi na Yesus, a kuus ...  
  ART another one REL follow ART Jesus 3SG say  
  ‘Another of the disciples (literally ‘Another who followed Jesus’) said, ...’  
  (Matthew 8:21)

The fact that this form is not used for ‘someone’ is probably related to the fact that saxa, illustrated above in (5.330) and (5.331), is used for that purpose.

The plural of saxafuna, namely saxanofuna, is illustrated in (5.334).

(5.334)  E saxanofuna aava ri ti faasilak, ri langai=e ...  
  and some.PL REL 3PL stand and near 3PL hear=3SG  
  ‘And some who were standing nearby heard him and ...’ (Matthew 27:47)

Note that these pronouns are not specifically human. In (5.335), saxanofuna refers to seeds. Although the English translation uses the word other here, the word some could have been used instead.

(5.335)  Saxanofuna ri poxo lapi la bina faat e piau ...  
  some.PL 3PL fall down LOC place stone and not have  
  ‘Other [seeds] fell on rocky ground and did not have much soil.’ (Matthew 13:5)

The paucal form of saxafuna, namely saxanufuna, is illustrated in (5.336).

(5.336)  Saxanufuna ri ilisai o naak na Yesus fo xuus=e ...  
  some.Pauc 3PL think COMP surely ART Jesus PERF tell=3SG  
  ‘Some thought that Jesus must be telling him ...’ (John 13:29)

The singular form xasafuna ‘another one’ is illustrated in (5.337) and (5.338).

(5.337)  E mui fa-dak a xasafuna a xalum=e e fin=e ...  
  and then ADV small ART another 3SG see=3SG and ask=3SG  
  ‘Then a little later someone else saw him and asked him ...’ (Luke 22:58)

(5.338)  ... o maam taa waan bang a xasafuna?  
  or 1EXCL.PL 3FUT be at wait ART another  
  ‘... or should we wait for another?’ (Matthew 11:3)

Note that these indefinite words can occur as subject, as in (5.337), as object, as in (5.338), or as object of a preposition, as in (5.339).
‘And if you don’t take good care of someone else’s property, ...’  (Luke 16:12)

The plural of xasafuna is xasanofuna, illustrated in (5.340) and (5.341).

(5.340)  
Muta tiis a xasanofuna talo no taa pife tiis-an.  
PROHIB judge ART other.PL so.that 2SG FUT NEG judge-PASS  
‘Do not judge others so that you will not be judged.’  (Matthew 7:1)

(5.341)  
E xasanofuna ri yot a mu sisiak aave e ...  
and other.PL 3PL seize ART PL servant that and  
‘The rest seized the slaves and ...’  (Matthew 22:6)

5.13. Conjoined noun phrases

There are two ways in which noun phrases can be conjoined in Kara with the meaning ‘and’, one with the general conjunction e, the other with the third person dual pronoun nare, discussed in §5.13.1 and §5.13.2 respectively.

5.13.1. The general conjunction e

One way to conjoin noun phrases is with the conjunction e ‘and’, as in (5.342) to (5.344).

(5.342)  
Na Tama-ang e nenia maame saxa.  
ART father-1SG and 1SG 1EXCL.DU one  
‘My Father and I are one.’  (John 10:30)

(5.343)  
a bret pisiguak e nu din modak.  
ART bread seven and PAUC fish small  
‘seven loaves and a few small fish’  (Matthew 15:34)

(5.344)  
Na Yesus e mu fefeng si-na ri falet xe la  
ART Jesus and PL disciple POSS-3SG 3PL go to LOC  
maana nu bina faasilak se Sesaria Filipai.  
GRTR.PL PAUC place near PREP Caesarea Philippi  
‘Then Jesus and his disciples went to the villages of Caesarea Philippi.’  (Mark 8:27)

The conjunction e is also used to conjoin clauses, either ones sharing the same subject, as in (5.345) and (5.346), or ones with different subjects, as in (5.347) and (5.348).
(5.345) *E nane ta’ulan a bina aapave e falet xe Nasaret,* ...
and 3SG leave ART town that **and** go to Nazareth
‘And he left that place and went to Nazareth,...’ (Mark 6:1)

(5.346) *E voxo ne mataut se-na e ne fe fun*
and so 1SG afraid PREP-2SG **and** 1SG go.and hide

* a faat si-im lana vaa’ul.
ART stone POSS-2SG in hole

‘And so I was afraid of you and I went and hid your money in the ground.’
(Matthew 25:25)

(5.347) *Nane sait, ri punux=e e a mu fangaasik si-na*
3SG also 3PL kill=3SG **and** ART PL follower POSS-3SG

* ri sinuf.
3PL run.away

‘He too was killed, and all who followed him were scattered.’ (Acts 5:37)

(5.348) *A tanga-na mataa a matavas e xalema-na pife pasak*
ART ear-3SG man 3SG be.open **and** tongue-3SG NEG white

* fulaa.
back

‘And the man’s ears were open, and his tongue was no longer white.’ (Mark 7:35)

The conjunction *e* can also be used to conjoin prepositional phrases, as in (5.349).

(5.349) *E a rabuna ti Efasis e ti la xasa-no bina*
and ART people from Ephesus **and** from LOC other-PL place

* pe Esia ri langai=e.
at Asia 3PL hear=3SG

‘And the people from Ephesus and from the other places in Asia heard him.’ (Acts 19:26)

It is possible for the first conjunct of a conjoined noun phrase to be the implicit object of a preposition, as in (5.350), where the first conjunct *e* ‘and’ is expressed by the 3SG suffix -*na* on the preposition *pana*.

(5.350) *... o re taa laak xuvul pa-na e a*
... COMP 3DU FUT enter with PREP-3SG **and** ART

* fefeng talatul si-na.
disciple three POSS-3SG

‘[And he called the child’s father and his mother] to go inside with him and his three disciples.’ (Mark 5:40)
It is noted in §5.1.4 that articles are absent from noun phrases that function as the object of prepositions and or as possessors in the inalienable possession construction. However, with noun phrases conjoined with *e*, the article is only absent in these contexts.

### 5.13.2. Conjoining noun phrases with the 3DU strong pronoun

The second way to conjoin noun phrases is with the 3DU strong pronoun *nare ~ narie* (see §3.2), as in (5.351) and (5.352), the latter containing instances of both *narie* and *nare* used as conjunctions.

(5.351) *Layaan nane xalum na Pita nare Jon ... when 3SG see ART Peter 3DU John 3DU ‘When he saw Peter and John ...’ (Acts 3:3)*

(5.352) *E na Maria Mekdala narie Maria, na nina and ART Mary Magdalene 2DU Mary ART mother Jems nare Joses, re taxa ti falim nari ... James 3DU Joses 3DU CONTIN stand and see 3PL ‘And Mary Magdalene and Mary, the mother of James and Joses, went and saw them ...’ (Mark 15:47)*

The use of the 3DU strong pronouns as conjunctions is more constrained than the general conjunction *e*, both because the 3DU pronouns can not be used to conjoin anything other than noun phrases and because they are normally used only for conjoining proper noun phrases, including, not only noun phrases with proper nouns, as in (5.51) and (5.352), but also noun phrases with kin terms, as in (5.353).36

(5.353) *Na nina-na nare tama-na re kuus ... ART mother-3SG 3DU father-3SG 3DU say ‘His mother and father said ...’ (John 9:20)*

If one of the conjuncts is a proper noun phrase and the other a common noun phrase, then the conjunction *e* is always used, as in (5.354), where it is the first noun phrase which is a common noun phrase, and (5.355), where it is the second noun phrase which is a common noun phrase.

(5.354) *... ri waan xuvul pa-na saxa-no lutefin e na Maria, 3PL be at with PREP-3SG INDEF-PL woman PL and ART Mary na nina Jesus, e a mu ti-na ... ART mother Jesus and ART PL sibling same-3SG ‘... they were with some women and Mary, the mother of Jesus, and his brothers ...’ (Acts 1:14)*

---

36 This explains why only dual pronouns are used as conjunctions, not plural pronouns: proper noun phrases are always singular, so each of the two conjuncts will always be singular and the conjoined noun phrase dual.
‘[As Jesus was having a meal in Matthew’s house, many tax collectors and sinners] came and sat and ate with Jesus and his disciples.’ (Matthew 9:10)

However, there is at least one instance of the 3DU pronoun being used when the second conjunct is a common noun phrase, given in (5.356).

(5.356) Na Saimon Pita narie xasa fefeng si Yesus re
ART Simon Peter 2DU other disciple POSS Jesus 3DU
taxa usi nari ...
CONTIN follow 3PL

‘Simon Peter and another disciple of Jesus followed them ...’ (John 18:15)

No more than two noun phrases can be conjoined with nare ~ narie. Example (5.357) contains a noun phrase with three conjuncts, the first two of which (na Maria and Yosep) are conjoined with narie, the last two with e. This apparently reflects the fact that the two conjuncts conjoined with narie are both proper noun phrases, while the last conjunct is a common noun phrase.

(5.357) ... e ri fe tingin na Maria narie Yosep e
and 3PL go.and find ART Mary 2DU Joseph and
a lak popo aava i taxa mati ...
ART child infant REL 3SG.INCOMPL CONTIN lie

‘So they went and found Mary and Joseph and the baby who was lying [in a manger].’ (Luke 2:16)

There are also a few instances in the texts of e being used to conjoin two proper nouns phrases, as in (5.358).

(5.358) Se-na fufu-na aanabe’ a mataa taa ta’ulan na tama-na
PREP-3SG base-3SG this ART man FUT leave ART father-3SG
e na nina-na ...
and ART mother-3SG

‘For this reason a man will leave his father and his mother ...’ (Matthew 19:5)

An important difference between conjoining noun phrases with e and conjoining them with the 3DU strong pronoun is that with the conjunction e, the second conjunct is more often marked with an article, whereas with the 3DU strong pronoun, the second conjunct is never marked with an article. Contrast, for example, the article na on the second conjunct na ninana ‘his mother’ in (5.358), following the general conjunction e, with the absence of an article in the example in (5.359) with the same ninana ‘his mother’ as second conjunct following the 3DU pronoun.
When there are three or more conjuncts, all of them proper noun phrases, the most common construction is one in which the first and last conjuncts are marked with the proper article *na* and the conjunction *e* occurs between the last two conjuncts, as in (5.360), where there are three conjuncts, and (5.361), where there are four conjuncts.

(5.360)  
*... na Abrahem, Aisaak e na Yaakop, ...
... ART Abraham Isaac and ART Jacob*

‘[I am the God who your ancestors,] Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob [worshipped.]’

(Matthew 22:32)

(5.361)  
*
... mu ti-na ve na Jems, Yosep, Simon e na
PL sibling.same-3SG be ART James Joseph Simon and ART Judae.
Jude.

‘... his brothers are James, Joseph, Simon, and Judas.’

(Matthew 13:55)

The use of the conjunct *e* here rather than a 3DU pronoun might be due to the fact that there are more than two conjuncts, so the phrase itself is not dual, although in (5.357) above, we do get a case of the 3DU pronoun being used between the first two of three conjuncts (‘Mary and Joseph and the baby ...’), though this may be because Mary and Joseph form a natural set to the exclusion of the baby Jesus, while, for example, in (5.361), Abraham and Isaac do not form a natural set to the exclusion of Jacob.

There is also one instance, given in (5.362), in which the third person trial strong pronoun *narutul* is used as a conjunction between the first two of three conjuncts, otherwise being similar to the preceding two examples, with the first and last conjuncts marked with the proper article *na*.

(5.362)  
*na Pita narutul Jems e na Jon
ART Peter 3TRIAL James and ART John*

‘... Peter, James, and John ...’

(Luke 9:28)

Although strong pronouns in Kara often behave like proper noun phrases, they differ in that when conjoined with a proper noun phrase, the conjunction *e* is always used, as in (5.363), though this could be due to the fact that if the 3DU strong pronoun were used, there would be two strong pronouns in a row.

(5.363)  
*nane e na nina-na xuvul pa-na mu ti-na
3SG and ART mother-3SG with PREP-3SG PL sibling.same-3SG

*e mu fefeng si-na
and PL disciple POSS-3SG*

‘he and his mother with this brothers and his disciples’

(John 2:12)
This example also illustrates the use of *xuvul pa* ‘with’ (§6.2.3) in a context where a conjunction might have been used.

### 5.13.3. o ‘or’

Noun phrases can also be conjoined by *o* ‘or’, as in (5.364) and (5.365). This word may be a borrowing from Tok Pisin.

(5.364) *Nane toxan a giis-an la putu-na e fuuna gaga e maana yaan fuuna poxo xe lana fata o raarum.*

*3SG have ART sick-NMLZ LOC head-3SG and GRTR.PL day HABIT fall to in fire or water*

‘He has a sickness in his head and he is crazy and he often falls into the fire or the water.’ (Matthew 17:15)

(5.365) *E i taa pi nu-num a raarum tateak o xasano mo malaan e ...*

*3SG.INCOMPL FUT never HABIT-drink ART water strong or other thing like and*

‘And he must never drink wine or other things like it ...’ (Luke 1:14)

The conjunction *o* is also used to conjoin various types of words or constituents other than noun phrases. It can conjoin clauses, as in (5.365), prepositional phrases, as in (5.367), adjectives, as in (5.368), or numerals, as in (5.369).

(5.366) *Xuus nemaam, nano, no saxa aava na Jon a kuus o i taa savat o maam taa waan bang a xasafuna? another.one*

*tell 1PL.EXCL 2SG 2SG one REL ART John 3SG say COMP 3SG.INCOMPL FUT come or 1PL.EXCL FUT be.at wait ART another.one*

‘Tell us, are you the one who is to come, or should we look for another?’ (Matthew 11:3)

(5.367) *Naak a mataa i taa timin a laam lapaana bi o lapaana ivin, bo? or under bed Q*

*surely ART man 3SG.IMPF FUT put ART lamp under basket under a basket or under a bed? (Mark 4:21)*

(5.368) *Layaan mi savat la bina lava o modak, laak lana e ... when 2PL come LOC place large or small enter in and ‘Whenever you enter a large or small village, enter it and ...’ (Matthew 10:11)*
(5.369) ... *falet fulaa xe si-na xuvul pa-na mataa saxa o*  
go again to POSS-3SG with PREP-3SG man one or  
taragua.  
two  

‘... go back to him with one or two men.’ (Matthew 18:16)
6 Prepositions and prepositional phrases

6.1. Inflecting versus noninflecting prepositions

There are two classes of prepositions in Kara, those that inflect and those that do not inflect. A list of each of these is given in Table 6.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>inflecting prepositions</th>
<th>noninflecting prepositions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>si ‘possessive, etc.’</td>
<td>la general locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i ‘possessive’</td>
<td>lana ‘in’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa various uses</td>
<td>pe ‘at (for large places)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se various uses</td>
<td>xe ‘to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xa ~ xaa ‘for’</td>
<td>ti ‘from’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xulu ‘on’</td>
<td>xena ‘purpose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no ‘in front of’</td>
<td>paamuin ‘before’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xase ‘from, against’</td>
<td>fefexaxaas ‘until’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lapaa ‘under’</td>
<td>faasilak ‘near’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lami ‘behind, after’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.1: Inflecting and noninflecting prepositions

The morphology of the inflecting prepositions is discussed in §3.6. In this chapter, I discuss their syntax and the meanings and functions of each preposition.

Syntactically, the inflecting prepositions share the property that the uninflected form of the preposition is used before proper noun phrases, illustrated by the preposition se in (6.1), while the 3SG form with the suffix -na is used before common noun phrases whether the noun phrase is singular or plural, illustrated by sena in (6.2).

(6.1) Taasaxa ne xuus nami o a xa-kaalum-an si-na mu
but 1SG tell 2PL COMP ART HABIT-look-NMLZ POSS-3SG PL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>flowers 3SG COMPAR-good</th>
<th>se Solomon ...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

‘Yet I tell you, the appearance of the flowers is better than Solomon ...’ (Luke 12:27)

(6.2) ... nane a pera-roxo se-na xasano fangan-an lana uma.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3SG 3SG COMPAR-good PREP-3SG other.PL eat-NMLZ in field</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

‘... it is better than other food in the field.’ (Mark 4:32)

The other inflected forms are only used when the preposition does not have a noun phrase object, i.e. where the object is realized only by the suffix on the preposition, illustrated by sema in (6.3).
... saxa mataa aava pe-lalava se-ma tamaa savat.
   one man REL COMPAR-big PREP-2SG may come
   ‘... a person more distinguished than you may come.’ (Luke 14:8)

One syntactic difference between inflecting and noninflecting prepositions is that noninflecting prepositions cannot occur without a full noun phrase as object, while inflecting prepositions can, as illustrated by xuluna ‘on it’ in (6.4), by xana ‘for him’ in (6.5), and by pana ‘about it’ in (6.6).

... put aava na Yesus a feng nari xe xulu-na.
   mountain REL ART Jesus 3SG send 3PL to ON-3SG
   ‘[So the eleven disciples went to Galilee to] the mountain that Jesus had sent them to.’
   (literally ‘the mountain that Jesus had sent them to on it’) (Matthew 28:16)

Narutul aave rutul faigot-an a fangan-an xa-na.
   3TRIAL that 3TRIAL prepare-TRANS ART eat-NMLZ for-3SG
   ‘So they prepared a dinner for him.’ (John 12:2)

Muta xusu ta mataa pa-na.
   PROHIB tell NONSPEC man PREP-3SG
   ‘Don’t tell any man about it!’ (Matthew 8:4)

Both inflecting and noninflecting prepositions share the property that the common article and proper article are always absent from noun phrases following a preposition. In (6.1) above, for example, the proper article na is missing from Solomon following the inflecting preposition se. The proper article is also missing from Nasaret ‘Nazareth’ in (6.7) following the noninflecting preposition xe ‘to’.

E nane ta’ulan a bina aapave e falet xe Nasaret, ...
   and 3SG leave ART town that and go to Nazareth
   ‘And he left that place and went to Nazareth, ...’ (Mark 6:1)

Analogous examples are given in (6.8) and (6.9) illustrating the absence of the common article a, following the inflecting preposition i (in the form ina) in (6.8) and following the noninflecting general locative preposition la in (6.9).

Taara taa falet xe la paxasing i-na laman.
   1INCL.PL FUT go to LOC side POSS-3SG sea
   ‘Let’s go across to the other side of the lake.’ (Mark 4:35)

Taasaxa, lak tuaan va taxa waan la uma.
   but child older TOPIC CONTIN be.at LOC field
   ‘Now his older son was in the field.’ (Luke 15:25)

A further difference between inflecting and noninflecting preposition is that in general, only the former can occur with human objects. This is clearly related to the fact that the only way in Kara of expressing a first or second person object of a preposition is by suffixes on the preposition, which is only possible with inflecting prepositions. Some of the noninflecting prepositions do occur with human objects, but only if an inflecting preposition is used as well.
For example, the preposition *xe* ‘to’ can take a human object, but only in conjunction with the inflecting preposition *si*, as in (6.10) (§6.2.1).

(6.10)  
Ri fa-falax=e pa-na marapi i-na piran e  
3PL CAUS-wear=3SG PREP-3SG clothes POSS-3SG big.man and  
ri feng fa-uli=e xe si Pailat.  
3PL send CAUS-return=3SG to POSS Pilate  
‘They dressed him in elegant clothes and sent him back to Pilate.’  (Luke 23:11)

Similarly, the word *faasilak* ‘near’, whose status as a preposition is unclear (§6.3.9) combines with the inflecting preposition *se* when it occurs with a human object, as in (6.11).

(6.11)  
a mu rabuna aava ri fuuna taagul faasilak se-na  
ART PL people REL 3 PL HABIT stay near PREP-3SG  
‘the people who lived near him’  (John 9:8)

The word *paamuin* ‘before’, whose status as a preposition is also unclear, can take human objects expressed by a strong pronoun, as in (6.12).

(6.12)  
... nane ve taxa sangas paamuin nari.  
3 SG TOPIC CONTIN walk before 3 PL  
‘[When Jesus and his disciples were going up to Jerusalem,] he was walking ahead of them.’  (Mark 10:32)

However, as discussed below in §6.3.7, this property of *paamuin* is one reason to think it might be better analyzed as a verb. The noninflecting preposition *lana* ‘in’ can also occur with a human object without any additional preposition, as in (6.13).

(6.13)  
Piau ta mo i taa laak lana mataa ...  
no NONSPEC thing 3SG.IMPF FUT enter in man  
‘Nothing can enter a man ...’  (Mark 7:15)

However, as discussed in §6.3.2, while the preposition *lana* is noninflecting, it does behave in a few ways like inflecting prepositions.

There are many instances of prepositions in the texts that may be calques (see Appendix 1.5). The discussion here is limited to uses that are least likely to be calques.

### 6.2. Inflecting prepositions

#### 6.2.1. The possessive preposition *si*

The preposition *si*, illustrated in (6.14) to (6.16), is one of two prepositions used in possessive constructions; the second one is *i*, discussed in §6.2.2. See §5.7.2 for more detailed discussion.
(6.14) *Tiis fa-roxoi=au xase-na mu xaiyaas si-ak.*
judge ADV-good=1SG against-3SG PL enemy POSS-1SG
‘Judge me well against my adversaries.’ (Luke 18:3)

(6.15) *Muta falet xe lan’ ta bina si-na mu rabuna aava*
PROHIB go to in NONSPEC place POSS-3SG PL people REL
ri pife Juda o ... 3PL NEG Jew or
‘Do not go to any Gentile regions or ...’ (Matthew 10:5)

(6.16) ... *e sip a yaasok si-na memai priis e patal tapin*
and beat ART slave POSS-3SG lord priest and cut.off away
a saxa pa-tanga-na.
ART one SG-ear-3SG
‘... and struck the high priest’s slave, cutting off his ear.’ (Matthew 26:51)

*Si* is also required after the preposition *xe* ‘to’, when the object of *xe* is human, as in (6.10) above and (6.17).

(6.17) ... *e fala fataapus xe si Pol nare Sailas e*
... and run quickly to POSS Paul 3 DU Silas and
a poxo radakui la no-re.
3SG fall tremble LOC in.front.of-3DU
‘... and ran immediately to Paul and Silas, and fell down trembling in front of them.’ (Acts 16:29)

The use of *si* after *xe* with human objects makes it possible to express the equivalent of a first or second object with *xe*, by using the appropriately inflected form of *si* after *xe*, such as the 2SG form *siim* in (6.18).

(6.18) *Tamo nane pife mataa saat, maam taa pife lisan-maan=e*
if 3SG NEG man bad 1EXCL.PL FUT NEG bring-come=3SG
*xesim.*
*to POSS-2SG*
‘If he were not a criminal, we would not have handed him over to you.’ (John 18:30)

However, the preposition *xe* is the only noninflecting preposition that takes *si* with human objects. This is probably due to the fact that most noninflecting prepositions have meanings that are less likely to occur with human objects. We might expect *ti* ‘from’ to be similar to *xe* ‘to’ in combining with *si* with human objects. However, the inflecting preposition *xase* ‘against’ is used instead of *ti* in these contexts, as in (6.19).

(6.19) ... *senaso a malasuf i-na a fun-an xase-ri e ...*
because ART meaning POSS-3SG 3SG hide-PASS from-3PL and
‘... because its meaning was hidden from them, and ...’ (Luke 18:34)
The meanings of *lana* ‘in’ and *faasilak* ‘near’ seem compatible with human objects, but neither occur in the texts with first or second person objects, though *faasilak* with a third person human object in (6.20), but combines with *se*.

(6.20) ... *a saxa paamu aava i taxa tigina faasilak*  
\[ \text{ART one first REL 3SG.IMPF CONTIN stand near} \]

\[ \text{se-na a tavaf=e la yaava-na ...} \]  
\[ \text{PREP-3SG 3SG hit=3SG in jaw-3SG} \]

‘... one of the high priest's officers who stood nearby struck him on the face ...’ (John 18:22)

### 6.2.2. The possessive preposition *i*

The preposition *i*, illustrated twice in (6.21), is one of two prepositions used in nominal possessive constructions and is discussed in more detail in §5.7.3. The other possessive preposition is *si*.

(6.21) *Layaan i taxa fenung a xa-kaalum-an i-na*  
\[ \text{when 3SG.INCOMPL CONTIN pray ART HABIT-look-NMLZ POSS-3SG} \]

\[ \text{nonau i-na a puk ...} \]  
\[ \text{face POSS-3SG 3SG turn} \]

‘As he was praying, the appearance of his face changed ...’ (Luke 9:29)

The preposition *i* is frequently used (in the 3 SG form *ina*) to mark abstract relationships between two nouns, often in complex expressions corresponding to single nouns in English, where for cultural reasons, Kara would be unlikely to have a word. This is illustrated in (6.22) to (6.24). In (6.22), *bina ina vipisan*, literally ‘a place of tying up’ is used to express the meaning ‘prison’.

(6.22) ... *nane fo xuus a mu rabuna si-na o*  
\[ \text{3SG PERF tell ART PL people POSS-3SG COMP} \]

\[ \text{ri taa tao na Jon e pis fa-waan=e la} \]  
\[ \text{3PL FUT hold ART John and tie CAUS-be.at=3SG LOC} \]

\[ \text{bina i-na vipis-an.} \]  
\[ \text{place POSS-3SG be.tied-NMLZ} \]

‘... he told his men to arrest John and put him in prison’ (Matthew 14:3)

In (6.23), *rabuna ina rawen*, literally ‘people of war’, is used to express the meaning ‘soldiers’.

(6.23) *E nane fasei faagut-an a mu rabuna i-na*  
\[ \text{and 3SG order strong-TRANS ART PL people POSS-3SG} \]

\[ \text{rawen si-na o ri taa punuk ...} \]  
\[ \text{war POSS-3SG COMP 3PL FUT kill} \]

‘And he ordered his soldiers to kill ...’ (Matthew 2:16)
And in (6.24), *rabuna ina kuus fatuxai*, literally ‘people of prophecy’, is used to express the meaning ‘prophet’.37

(6.24) A mu kuus fanai-an si-na Piran aava mu rabuna
ART PL say promise-NMLZ POSS-3SG big.man REL PL people

i-na kuus fatuxai ri fo mo kuus-an=e, ...
POSS-3SG say prophecy 3PL PERF ?? say-TRANS=3SG

‘The promises of God that the prophets talked about ...’ (Acts 3:25)

6.2.3. The preposition *pa*

The preposition *pa* has a very wide array of uses and is simply glossed ‘PREP’ throughout this work. Because of the wide array of uses, it is difficult to identify a basic use, but if there is one, perhaps it is as a marker of instrumentals, as in (6.25) and (6.26).

(6.25) Ne fasuf nami pa-na raarum ...
1SG baptize 2PL PREP-3SG water ...

‘I baptize you with water’ (Matthew 3:11)

(6.26) Ne taa fakasanam a mu tu-vaat aave pa-na pinis ti
1SG FUT harm ART PAUC PL-man that PREP-3SG sword from

lana vala-ak.
in mouth-1SG

‘I will harm those people with the sword of my mouth.’ (Revelation 2:16)

The most frequent use of *pa* in the texts is in combination with the word *xuvul* to express ‘with’ in a comitative sense, as in (6.27) to (6.30).

(6.27) ... ne taa fangan xuvul pa-na mu fefeng si-ak ...
1SG FUT eat with PREP-3SG PL disciple POSS-1SG

‘... I will eat with my disciples ...’ (Mark 14:14)

(6.28) mu rabuna aava ri waan xuvul pa-na
PL people REL 3PL be.at with PREP-3SG

‘the people who were with him’ (Matthew 8:10)

(6.29) ... maa nai fangan xuvul pa Jesus e mu fefeng
come.and sit eat with PREP Jesus and PL disciple

si-na.
POSS-3SG

‘[As Jesus was having a meal in Matthew’s house, many tax collectors and sinners] came and sat and ate with Jesus and his disciples.’ (Matthew 9:10)

37 The exact meaning of *fatuxai*, glossed ‘prophecy’, is not clear since it only occurs in the texts in this expression meaning ‘prophet’.
(6.30) *A nu-tu-vaat pisaxa aanabe’ vaxa ri falet xe puuaa*

**ART PAUC-PL-person six this also 3PL go to north**

*Sesaria xuuvul pa-ga e ... Caesarea with PREP-1SG and*

‘These six men also went to Caesarea with me, and ...’ (Acts 11:12)

The preposition *pa* (in the form *pana*) can be used in a comitative sense without *xuvul* when the object is nonhuman, as in (6.31) to (6.33).

(6.31) *A mo roxo no taa laak lana to-yan vulai*

**3SG thing good 2SG FUT enter in live-NMLZ always**

*pa-na pa-mata saxa mon ... PREP-3SG SG-eye one only*

‘It is better for you to enter into life with one eye [than to have two eyes and be thrown into fiery hell].’ (Matthew 18:9)

(6.32) *Na Kornilius a xalum fa-tateax=e pa-na mataut-an ... ART Cornelius 3SG see ADV-strong=3SG PREP-3SG afraid-NMLZ*

‘Cornelius stared at him intently in fear.’ (Acts 10:4)

(6.33) *La vung aave a rabuna ri lisan-maan a mu rabuna*

**LOC night that ART people 3PL bring-come ART PL people**

*pa-na vovau saat xe si Yesus. PREP-3SG spirit bad to POSS Jesus*

‘That night, the people brought people with demons to Jesus.’ (Matthew 8:16)

In what is probably a special case of the preceding use, *pa* (in the 3SG form *pana*) is used in forming higher numerals, following the expression denoting the number of tens and preceding the expression denoting the number of units. For example, the expression for ‘twenty four’, illustrated in (6.34), in constructed from *sangafilu taragua* ‘twenty (lit. two tens)’ followed by *pana*, followed by *talafaat* ‘four’.

(6.34) *sangafilu taragua pa-na talafaat*

**ten two PREP-3SG four**

‘twenty four’ (Revelation 4:10)

Another common use of *pa* is to mark the secondary object (the theme or theme-like argument) with ditransitive verb *s*. This includes the verb *tavai* ‘give’, as in (6.35) and (6.36), *faxalit* ‘show’, as in (6.37), *xuus* ‘tell’, as in (6.38), and *fin* ‘ask’, in the sense of ‘ask for’, as in (6.39).

(6.35) *Ne taa tavai nano pa-na maana mo aanabe’ tamo ... 1SG FUT give 2SG PREP-3SG GRTR.PL thing this if*

‘I will give you all these things if ...’ (Matthew 4:9)
(6.36) Ne pi ta faat, taasaxa ne taa tavai nano
1SG never NONSPEC stone but 1SG FUT give 2SG

\[ \text{pa-na xasa mo, ...} \]
PREP-3SG other thing

‘I have no money, but I will give you another thing ...’ (Acts 3:6)

(6.37) E malaanabe' mi taa faxalit a mu rabuna pa-na
and like.this 2PL FUT show ART PL people PREP-3SG

\[ \text{malang si-mi ...} \]
bright POSS-2PL

‘And in the same way, show your light to people, ...’ (Matthew 5:16)

(6.38) Na Yesus a xuus nari pa-na ferawaian paap fulaa laa:
ART Jesus 3SG tell 3PL PREP-3SG speak-NMLZ holy again again

‘Jesus told them another parable:’ (Matthew 13:33)

(6.39) Fin a Piran pa-na maana mo aava no
ask ART big.man PREP-3SG GRTR.PL thing REL 2SG

\[ \text{vubux-an=e} \]
want-TRANS=3SG

‘Ask God for things that you want ...’ (Matthew 7:7)

The causatives of transitive verbs are formally ditransitive in Kara and behave similarly to ordinary ditransitive verbs: the subject of the basic verb is primary object of the causative verb and the object of the basic verb is secondary object of the causative verb, marked with the preposition \( pa \). This is illustrated in (6.40) to (6.42).

(6.40) Ri fa-falax=e pa-na marapi i-na piran e
3PL CAUS-wear=3SG PREP-3SG clothes POSS-3SG big.man and

\[ \text{ri feng fa-'uli=e xe si Pailat.} \]
3PL send CAUS-return=3SG to POSS Pilate

‘They dressed him in elegant clothes (literally: ‘they caused him to wear clothes of God’) and sent him back to Pilate.’ (Luke 23:11)

(6.41) E rao ri fa-num=e pa-na wain aava toxan
and IRREAL 3PL CAUS-drink=3SG PREP-3SG wine REL have

\[ \text{a saxa buk titiwai ...} \]
ART one kind herb

‘They offered him wine mixed with myrrh, [but he did not take it].’ (Mark 15:23)

(6.42) Falet, fa-xalum a mu priis pa-na ta-mi.
go CAUS-see ART PL priest PREP-3SG skin-2PL

‘Go and show yourselves to the priests.’ (Luke 17:14)

Similarly, with verbs meaning ‘to call something something’, the expression denoting the name is marked with \( pa \), as in (6.43) to (6.45).
‘They call this aromatic substance ‘nard’.’ (Mark 14:3)

‘She will give birth to a son and you will name him Jesus, ...’ (Matthew 1:21)

‘... and you will name him John.’ (Luke 1:13)

There are some verbs, like faasot ‘sell’ and fepitaa ‘teach’, which can occur with either three arguments or two arguments. When these verbs occur with two arguments, the sole nonsubject argument is the theme or theme-like argument. Even when monotransitive, these verbs mark the theme or theme-like argument with pa, as in (6.46) and (6.47), just as they mark the theme or theme-like argument in clauses with three arguments with pa.

‘the chairs of those selling doves’ (Matthew 21:12)

‘Now the Pharisees and some of the experts in the law came from Jerusalem to Jesus.’ (Mark 7:1)

Pa in the 3SG form pana is used to introduce clauses which are the theme-like argument (or secondary object) with fin ‘ask’ when used with the meaning ‘ask someone to do something’, as in (6.48).

‘... but those that I have asked to come ...’ (Matthew 22:8)
Another meaning associated with *pa* is ‘about, concerning’, as in (6.50) to (6.52), the first of which contains two occurrences of *pa* in this sense.

(6.50) Taasaxa la-lamon faagut paaliu pa-na mo aanabe’ aava
but REDUP-think strong INTENS PREP-3SG thing this REL

tenia ne fo xuus fa-texaas nami pa-na.
1SG 1SG PERF tell CAUS-know 2PL PREP-3SG

‘Think very hard about these things that I have informed you about.’ (Mark 13:23)

(6.51) ... re fe-xuus a maana rabuna xaves la maana mu
... 3DU together-tell ART GRTR.PL people many LOC GRTR.PL PL

bina xapiak pa-na.
place all PREP-3SG

‘... they told people throughout that entire region about him.’ (Matthew 9:31)

(6.52) ... a malila molava paaliu ri langai pa-na faisok
ART crowd big INTENS 3PL hear PREP-3SG act

na Yesus a vil=e e voxo ri savat fa-xuvul.
ART Jesus 3SG do=3SG and so 3PL come ADV-with

‘... a very large crowd heard about the things Jesus had done and so they came together.’ (Mark 3:8)

*Pa* is also used as a marker of duration with temporal expressions, as in (6.53) to (6.55).

(6.53) Nane fo toxan a giis-an aanabe’ pa-na mariaas
3SG PERF have ART sick-NMLZ this PREP-3SG year

sangafilu saxa pa-na taragua.
one PREP-3SG two

ten one PREP-3SG

‘She had had this sickness for twelve years.’ (Mark 5:25)

(6.54) E na Yesus a falfaal pa-na yaan sangafilu talafaat
and ART Jesus 3SG fast PREP-3SG day ten four

xurul e fe-lagai.
whole and INCH-hungry

‘Jesus fasted forty days and forty nights and became famished.’ (Matthew 4:2)

(6.55) E maam waan pave pa-na nu yaan.
and 1EXCL.PL be.at there PREP-3SG PAUC day

‘And we stayed there for some days.’ (Acts 16:12)
Pa (in the 3SG form pana) combines with nominalizations of verbs following the verb tangpat ‘begin’ to express the meaning ‘begin to’, as in (6.56) and (6.57).

(6.56) ... e nane nai e tangpat pa-na fapist-aan nari.
and 3SG sit and begin PREP-3SG teach-NMLZ 3PL
‘... and he sat down and began to teach them.’ (John 8:2)

(6.57) ... na Jesus a tangpat pa-na xuus fa-matavis-aan=a
ART Jesus 3SG begin PREP-3SG tell ADV-clear-NMLZ=ART
mu fefeng si-na o a Piran a vubuk rao
3PL disciple POSS-3SG COMP ART big.man 3SG want IRREAL
i taa laak xe Jerusalem.
3SG.INCOMPL FUT enter to Jerusalem
‘... Jesus began to tell his disciples clearly that God wanted him to go to Jerusalem.’ (Matthew 16:21)

Complements of the verb taxapus ‘stop’ are similar, as in (6.58).

(6.58) Ri fo maat e i taa pife taxapus pa-na
3PL PERF die and 3SG.INCOMPL FUT NEG stop PREP-3SG
taangiis-an si-na.
weep-NMLZ POSS-3SG
‘They had died and she would not stop her weeping.’ (Matthew 2:18)

While the preposition xa(a) is the one generally used to express benefactive meaning, the preposition pa is occasionally used with this meaning, as in (6.59) and (6.60). It is not clear what, if anything, determines the choice between xa(a) and pa used benefactively.

(6.59) Feng tapin et nari talo ri taa laak la nu bina
send away away 3PL so.that 3PL FUT enter LOC PAUC place
faasilak xena maraan fangan-an pa-ri xa.
near PURP obtain eat-NMLZ PREP-3PL REFL/RECIP
‘Send them away so that they can go into the villages and buy food for themselves.’ (Matthew 14:15)

(6.60) ... na Krais a maat pa-taara mu rabuna saat.
ART Christ 3SG die PREP-1INCL.PL PL people bad
‘... Christ died for us sinners.’ (Romans 5:6)

6.2.4. se ‘second argument with semantically bivalent stative verbs’

The most common use of the preposition se is to mark the second argument of semantically bivalent stative verbs, as in (6.61) to (6.68).
(6.61) **Mi masam se-na mo ne fo vil=e se-mi?**

2PL **understand** PREP-3SG thing 1SG PERF do=3SG PREP-2PL

‘Do you understand what I have done for you?’ (John 13:12)

(6.62) ... nano no taa kuus faa-talatul o no pife texaas

2SG 2SG FUT say times-three COMP 2SG NEG know

**se-ga.**

**PREP-1SG**

‘... you will say three times that you do not know me.’ (Matthew 26:34)

(6.63) Xenaso mi taxa la-lamon faa-xaves se-na marapi?

why 2PL CONTIN **REDUP-think** times-many **PREP-3SG** clothes

‘Why do you worry about clothing?’ (Matthew 6:28)

(6.64) **A paamua ve a vungut se-na fufu-na wain aave,**

ART first TOPIC 3SG **not.know** **PREP-3SG** source-3SG wine that

**taasaxa mu sisiak ri texaas.**

but PL servant 3PL know

‘The head steward did not know the source of the wine, but the servants knew.’ (John 2:9)

(6.65) **Taasaxa mu Ferasi ri namkai se-rutul xapiak.**

but PL Pharisee 3PL **believe** **PREP-3TRIAL** all

‘[The Sadducees say there is no resurrection, or angel, or spirit,] but the Pharisees believe in all three.’ (Acts 23:8)

(6.66) ... **ri ipul faagut paaliu se-na gut-an si Yesus.**

3PL **amazed** strong INTENS **PREP-3SG** strong-NMLZ POSS Jesus

‘... they were astonished at the power of Jesus.’ (Mark 5:42)

(6.67) ... **senaso na Herot a mataut se Jon.**

because ART Herod 3SG **afraid** **PREP** John

‘... because Herod stood in awe of John.’ (Mark 6:20)

(6.68) **Tamo mataa taa mangil se-ga e se-na ferawai-an**

if man FUT ashamed **PREP-1SG** and **PREP-3SG** speak-NMLZ

**si-ak, a Natu-na Mataa i taa**

POSS-1SG ART son-3SG man 3SG.INCOMPL FUT

**mangil-an=e vaxa ...**

ashamed-TRANS=3SG also

‘If a man is ashamed of me and my words, the Son of Man will be ashamed of him ...’ (Luke 9:26)

Most of the bivalent stative verbs that mark their second argument with se are verbs denoting psychological states; however one that is not is malaan ‘be like’, illustrated in (6.69).
While the English verb *honour* is not obviously a stative verb, the Kara verb *suai* which corresponds to *honour* apparently is, since it marks its second argument with *se*, as in (6.70).

(6.70) **Suai se nina-mi e tama-mi.**

*honour PREP mother-2PL and father-2PL*

‘Honour your father and mother’ (Matthew 15:4)

A related use of the preposition *se* is to mark noun phrases to which something is being compared, similar in meaning to *than* in English, as in (6.71) to (6.73).

(6.71) **A kam i-na wai mastaat a pema-modak se-na**

*ART seed POSS-3SG tree mustard 3SG COMPAR-small PREP-3SG*

*xasano buk kam ...
other kind seed*

‘The mustard seed is smaller than other kinds of seeds.’ (Matthew 13:32)

(6.72) **E nami mi pe-lalava se-na mu maanu ...**

*and 2PL 2PL COMPAR-big PREP-3SG PL bird*

‘You are much more valuable than the birds [in the eyes of God]!’ (Luke 12:24)

(6.73) **E nane fe xel fa-xuvul a xasa-no vovau saat pisiguak**

*and 3SG go.and call CAUS-with ART other-PL spirit bad seven*

*aava ri pema-mosaat paaliu se-na ...
REL 3PL COMPAR-bad INTENS PREP-3SG*

‘And he went and called together the seven other bad spirits which were worse than him ...’ (Luke 11:26)

This use could also be considered an instance of marking the second argument of bivalent verbs with *se*, since when adjectives are interpreted comparatively, the thing being compared to is, in a sense, a second semantic argument of a stative verb.

While this use of *se* in comparative constructions is typically governed by adjectives bearing the comparative prefix (§4.2.12), as in (6.71) to (6.73), sometimes the adjective occurs in its simple noncomparative form, as in (6.74) and (6.75).

(6.74) **a mataa aave a faagut se-ga**

*ART man REL 3SG strong PREP-1SG*

‘a man who is more powerful than me’ (Mark 1:7)
(6.75) *Mi lamon o nari, ri vupuno temasaat se-na xasanofuna*  
2PL think COMP 3PL 3PL guilty much PREP-3SG other.PL  

*aava ri waan pe Jerusalem, bo?*  
REL 3PL be.at at Jerusalem Q  

‘Do you think they were worse offenders than the others who live in Jerusalem?’  
(Luke 13:4)

There are a number of other less common uses of *se*. Like the preposition *pa* (see (6.50) to (6.52) above), *se* can mean ‘about, concerning’, as in (6.76) to (6.78).

(6.76) ... *rī ferawai faa-xaves se-na mu Judā ti*  
3PL speak times-many PREP-3SG PL Jew from  

*Judia, ...*  
Judea  

‘[the Jews from the Greek regions] spoke often about the Jews from Judea ...’ (Acts 6:1)

(6.77) ... *e mui a mu rabūna xapiak pe Sirīa ri texaas*  
and then ART PL people all at Syria 3 PL know  

*se-na e ...*  
PREP-3SG and  

‘... and then all the people in Syria know about him ...’ (Matthew 4:24)

(6.78) *Xenaso mi taxa la-lamon faa-xaves se-na marāpi?*  
why 2 PL CONTIN HABIT-think times-many PREP-3SG clothes  

‘Why do you worry about clothing?’ (Matthew 6:28)

It is not clear what governs the choice between *se* and *pa* with this meaning, but *pa* rather than *se* is normally used when the verb is already transitive, as in (6.79).

(6.79) *Muta xuus fa-texaas ta mataa pa-na.*  
PROHIB tell CAUS-know NONSPEC man PREP-3SG  

‘Don’t inform any man about it.’ (Matthew 9:30)

Another more minor use of *se* corresponds to English *from* in expressions like *release someone from*, *separate someone from*, as in (6.80) to (6.82).

(6.80) ... *a vuputkai sī Moses pife fexaas se-na mulūs*  
ART command POSS Moses NEG able PREP-3SG release  

*mulūs tapīn nāmī se-na mu vil-aan-a saat xapiak*  
release away 2PL PREP-3SG PL do-NMLZ-3SG bad all  

*sī-mī, ...*  
POSS-2PL  

‘... the commandments of Moses cannot forgive you (literally ‘release you from’) all your bad deeds (all your sins) ...’ (Acts 13:38)
Who will separate us from the love of Christ?’ (Romans 8:35)

‘... do not prevent the taking of any of your clothes either.’ (Luke 6:29)

6.2.5. \(xa\sim xaa\) ‘for (benefactive)’

The benefactive preposition sometimes occurs with the form \(xa\) and other times with the form \(xaa\). There does not appear to be any semantic or grammatical differences between these. In (6.83) this preposition appears in the form \(xaa\), plus the 1SG suffix -nak, while in (6.84) it appears in the form \(xa\), with the same suffix -nak.

She has done a good service for me.’ (Mark 14:6)

‘This voice has not come for my benefit but for yours.’ (John 12:30)

The preceding example also contains the 2PL form \(xami\).

As with other inflecting prepositions, the bare form \(xa\) is used with proper noun phrases, as in (6.85), while the form bearing the 3SG suffix -na is used when there is no noun phrase object and the object is 3SG, as in (6.86), or when there is a common noun phrase following it, even if plural, as in (6.87).

God can raise up children for Abraham from these stones!’ (Matthew 3:9)

So they prepared a dinner for him.’ (John 12:2)
(6.87)  *Mi pife lamon o a mo roxo paaliu tamo*

2PL. NEG think COMP ART thing good INTENS if

\[\text{saxa mataa i taa maat xa-na mu rabuna xapiak.} \]

one 3SG.INCOMPL FUT die for-3SG PL people all

‘You do not realize that it is a better thing if one man dies for all the people.’  (John 11:50)

When the object is 3PL but there is no noun phrase following the preposition, the form *xari* is used, as in (6.88).

(6.88)  *Naak maam taa fe maraan bret xa-ri xapiak bo?*

surely 1EXCL.PL FUT go.and obtain bread for-3PL all Q

‘Surely, we have to go and obtain bread for all of them, don’t we?’  (Luke 9:13)

Example (6.89) contains four instances of *xa*, one inflected for a 2TRIAL object, one inflected for a 2SG object, and the other two uninflected forms preceding proper nouns.

(6.89)  *Ai Memai, nemaatul taxa waan, a roxo naak*

INTERJ lord 1EXCL.TRIAL CONTIN be.at 3SG right surely

\[\text{maatul taa vesan a sawat talatul xa-mutul;} \]

1EXCL.TRIAL FUT make ART shelter three for-2TRIAL

\[\text{saxa xaa-num, saxa xa Ilaija e saxa xa Moses.} \]

one for-2SG one for Elijah and one for Moses.

‘[So Peter said to Jesus,] Rabbi, it is good for us to be here. Let us make three shelters - one for you, one for Elijah, and one for Moses.’  (Mark 9:5)

6.2.6. *xulu* ‘on’

The preposition *xulu* ‘on’ is illustrated in (6.90) to (6.92).

(6.90)  *Xenaso no kawaasan a maart pa-na tivan-aan-a*

why 2SG destroy ART ointment PREP-3SG pour-NMLZ-3SG

\[\text{xulu Yesus?} \]

on Jesus

‘Why do you waste this ointment by pouring it on Jesus?’  (Mark 14:4)

(6.91)  ... e taxa sangas xulu-na laman e rau i

and CONTIN walk ON-3SG sea and IRREAL 3SG.INCOMPL

\[\text{taa paaliu nari.} \]

FUT pass 3PL

‘.. he was walking on the sea and wanted to pass by them.’  (Mark 6:48)

(6.92)  ... a malang i-na laam a lang xulu-m.

ART light POSS-3SG lamp 3SG shine ON-2SG

‘... the light of a lamp shines on you.’  (Luke 11:36)
Like the other positional locative prepositions, the general locative preposition *la*, *pe* ‘at’ and *lana* ‘in’, *xulu* can be preceded by *xe* ‘to’, as in (6.93), and *ti* ‘from’, as in (6.94).

(6.93) ... *put aava na Yesus a feng nari xe xulu-na.*

mountain REL ART Jesus 3SG send 3PL to ON-3SG

‘[So the eleven disciples went to Galilee to] the mountain that Jesus had sent them to.’

(literally ‘the mountain that Jesus had sent them to on it’) (Matthew 28:16)

(6.94) ... *me taa saf tapin a pof ti xulu-na ka-me.*

2DU FUT wipe away ART dust from ON-3SG feet-2DU

‘... shake the dust off your feet.’ (Mark 6:11)

But unlike these other positional locative prepositions, *xulu* is an inflecting preposition.

### 6.2.7. no ‘in front of’

The preposition *no* means ‘in front of’, as in (6.95) and (6.96).

(6.95) *Tamasiak e no tigina la no-na rabuna.*

get up and 2SG stand LOC in.front.of-3SG people

‘Get up and stand in front of the people.’ (Mark 3:3)

(6.96) ... *e fala fataapus xe si Pol nare Sailas e*

... and run quickly to POSS Paul 3DU Silas and

*a poxo radakui la no-re.*

3SG fall tremble LOC in.front.of-3DU

‘... and ran immediately to Paul and Silas, and fell down trembling in front of them.’

(Acts 16:29)

*No* is always preceded by the general locative preposition *la*. This raises the question whether *no* should be considered a noun meaning ‘the front’ rather than a preposition. However, it inflects like a preposition, rather than a noun (§3.6), for example in taking the 1SG suffix *-ga*, as in (6.97).

(6.97) ... *a mataa pa-na marapi pasak paaliu a tigina*

ART man PREP-3SG clothes white INTENS 3SG stand

*fa-‘ipul la no-ga*

ADV-amazed LOC in.front.of-1SG

‘... a man in shining clothing stood before me’ (Acts 10:30)

### 6.2.8. xase ‘against, from’

The most frequent meaning of *xase* in the texts is ‘against’, as in (6.98) and (6.99).
(6.98) *Tiis fa-roxoi=au xase-na mu xaiyaas si-ak.*
judge ADV-good=1SG **against-3SG** PL enemy POSS-1SG
‘Judge me well against my adversaries.’ (Luke 18:3)

(6.99) *Natu-k, xenaso no vil-ai malaave xase-maame?*
child-1SG why 2SG do-INTRANS in.that.way **against-1EXCL.PL**
‘Child, why have you treated us like this?’ (Luke 2:48)

It can also mean ‘from’, as in (6.100) and (6.101).

(6.100) *Ne texaas o a gut-an fo falet xase-ga.*
1SG know COMP ART strong-NMLZ PERF go from-1SG
‘I know that power has gone out from me.’ (Luke 8:46)

(6.101) *... nane savat paamua si Maria Mekdala aava nane fo*
3SG come first POSS Mary Magdalene REL 3SG PERF
*gei tapin a mu voyau saat pisiguak xase-na.*
cast.out away ART PL spirit bad seven from-3SG
‘... he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, from whom he had driven out seven
demons.’ (Mark 16:9)

The preposition *ti* (§6.3.5), illustrated in (6.102), also means ‘from’, but *xase* generally takes a human object while *ti* always takes a nonhuman object.

(6.102) *... o nane ve a mataa ti Nasaret.*
COMP 3SG be 3SG man from Nazareth
‘[People will say] that he is a man from Nazareth.’ (Matthew 2:23)

6.2.9. *lapaa* ‘under’

The preposition *lapaa* ‘under’ is illustrated in (6.103) and (6.104).

(6.103) *... ne timin a mu xaiyaas si-im lapaa-na ka-am.*
1SG put ART PL enemy POSS-2SG **under-3SG** feet-2SG
‘[Sit at my right hand, until] I put your enemies under your feet’ (Matthew 22:44)

(6.104) *E vaxa mu rabuna ri taa pife fa-ram a laam*
and also PL people 3PL FUT NEG CAUS-burn ART lamp
*si-ri e fun=e lapaa-na bi o lana vuk i-na*
POSS-3PL and hide=3SG **under-3SG** basket o in jar POSS-3SG
*xariu, bo?*
bamboo Q
‘Will people light their lamp and hide it under a basket or in a jar?’ (Matthew 5:15)

Most occurrences of *lapaa* in the texts examined occur with the 3SG suffix -*na*, since this is the form when the object is a common noun phrase and most occurrences of *lapaa* in the texts
examined are with common noun phrases. However, it can occur with other suffixes, as in (6.105) where it occurs with the 1SG suffix -ga.

(6.105) Tamo ta mataa taa laak lapaa-ga, ...
if NONSPEC man FUT enter under-1SG
‘If anyone enters through me, ...’ (John 10:9)

6.2.10. lami ‘behind, after’

The preposition lami can be used spatially to mean ‘behind’, as in (6.106) and (6.107).

(6.106) A tefin aave a sangas-maan lami Yesus e maa
ART woman that 3SG walk-come behind Jesus and come.and

    tao a iti-na marapi si-na e ...
touch ART side-3SG clothes POSS-3SG and

‘That woman walked up behind Jesus and touched the edge of his cloak, and...’
(Luke 8:44)

(6.107) E na ‘Hel’ aava bina i-na fakasanam-an, a savat
and ART hell REL place POSS-3SG harm-NMLZ 3SG come

    faasilak lami-na.
near after-3SG

‘And Hades came right behind him.’ (Revelation 6:8)

More commonly in the texts, lami has the temporal meaning ‘after’, as in (6.108) and (6.109).

(6.108) ... lami-na yaan i-na mu lagaf-an aave, a ngaas
after-3SG day POSS-3SG PL difficult-NMLZ that ART sun

    i tafe suk.
3SG.INCOMPL become.FUT dark

‘... after the time of the suffering, the sun will become dark.’ (Matthew 24:29)

(6.109) Lami-na fulun saxa, ...
after-3SG moon one

‘After one month, ...’ (Luke 1:23)

In its temporal use, lami is often followed by nominalizations, either an-nominalizations (§4.2.7), as in (6.110) and (6.111), or transitive aan-nominalizations (§4.2.8), as in (6.112).

(6.110) Lami-na savat-an si-re, re fenung xe si-na Piran
after-3SG come-NMLZ POSS-3DU 3DU pray to POSS-3SG big.man

‘After they arrived, they prayed to God ...’ (Acts 8:15)
(6.111) *Lami-na falet-an si-na ro fefeng si Jon,*
after-3SG go-NMLZ POSS-3SG DU disciple POSS John

\[
\text{na Yesus a ferawai xe si-na malila pa Jon.}
\]

\[
\text{ART Jesus 3 SG speak to POSS-3SG crowd PREP John}
\]

‘When John’s messengers had gone, Jesus began to speak to the crowds about John.’
(Luke 7:24)

(6.112) *Lami-na saaxan-aan nari, a mu matalava ri fasei*

after-3SG beat-NMLZ 3PL ART PL leader 3PL order

\[
\text{faagut-an nari o ri muta fepitaa fulaa pa-na}
\]

\[
\text{strong-TRANS 3PL COMP 3PL PROHIB teach again PREP-3SG}
\]

\[
\text{isi Yesus ...}
\]

\[
\text{name Jesus}
\]

‘After the beating of them, the leaders ordered them not to teach again in the name of Jesus ...’ (Acts 5:40)

Example (6.113) illustrates *lami* inflected for 1SG.

(6.113) *A mataa aava savat lami-ak i taa ...*

ART man REL come after-1SG 3SG.INCOMPL FUT

‘A man who comes after me will ...’ (John 1:30)

6.3. Noninflecting prepositions

6.3.1. *la* ‘general locative’

The preposition *la* is a noninflecting preposition with general locative meaning, illustrated in (6.114) and (6.115).

(6.114) ... *saxa-no kam ri poxo la salan e ...*

INDEF-PL seed 3PL fall LOC path and

‘[And as he sowed,] some seeds fell along the path, and ...’ (Matthew 13:4)

(6.115) ... *e nane fasuf nari la Raarum Jordan.*

and 3SG baptize 3PL LOC water Jordan

‘... and he baptized them in the Jordan River.’ (Matthew 3:6)

By itself, it can correspond to various English prepositions, such as *at, in, on,* and *along.*

It often combines with the preposition *xe* ‘to’, following *xe,* as in (6.116) and (6.117).
‘... [he told his disciples] to go to the other side of the lake.’ (Matthew 8:18)

‘Then Jesus and his disciples went to the villages of Caesarea Philippi.’ (Mark 8:27)

‘And the people from Ephesus and from the other places in Asia heard him.’ (Acts 19:26)

‘This is Jesus, from Nazareth in Galilee.’ (Matthew 21:11)

‘... and they left that place during the middle of the same night to go to Egypt.’ (Matthew 2:14)

‘... and on three Sabbath days he spoke with them.’ (Acts 17:2)
6.3.2. *lana* ‘in’

The preposition *lana* ‘in’ is illustrated in (6.122) and (6.123).

(6.122) ... e re ta’ulan na tama-re *lana* xaati xuvul
and 3DU leave ART father-3DU in boat with

\[\text{pa-na mu sisiak si-ri e re usi na Yesus.}\]
PREP-3SG PL slave POSS-3PL and 3DU follow ART Jesus

‘and they left their father Zebedee in the boat with the hired men and followed Jesus.’  (Mark 1:20)

(6.123) A mu vio xapiak ri fala sivi ti la xasing i-na
ART PL pig all 3PL run down from LOC side POSS-3SG

\[\text{put xe *lana* raarum aave e ...}\]
mountain to in water that and

‘The pigs all rushed down the steep slope into the lake and [drowned in the water].’  
(Matthew 8:32)

The form of *lana* looks as if it is form of *la*, with the -na as the 3SG suffix that occurs on inflecting prepositions. But while this may be the case diachronically, it is not a form of *la* synchronically. With inflecting prepositions, the bare preposition is used with proper noun phrases while the preposition with the suffix -na is used with common noun phrases. But this does not describe the alternation between *la* and *lana*. Most of the examples above with *la* occur with a common noun phrase and conversely, *lana* sometimes occurs with proper nouns denoting places, as in (6.124).

(6.124) E a ro-vaat si-na re falet e re fe laak
and ART DU-man POSS-3SG 3DU go and 3DU go and enter

\[\text{*lana* Jerusalem e ...}\]
in Jerusalem and

‘And his two disciples left and went into Jerusalem ...’  (Mark 14:16)

The difference between *la* and *lana* is that *la* has general locative meaning (‘at’, ‘in’, ‘on’, ‘along’) while *lana* specifically means ‘in’. For example, in (6.123) above, *lana* combines with *raarum* ‘water’ and the meaning is specifically ‘in the water’. The same is true of (6.125) and the eight other occurrences of *lana* before *raarum* ‘water’ in the texts examined.

(6.125) ... e nane fasuf nari *lana* *Raarum* Jordan.
and 3SG baptize 3PL in water Jordan

‘... and he was baptizing them in the Jordan River.’  (Mark 1:5)

Conversely, in most cases where *la* is used with *raarum* ‘water’, the meaning is more general locative rather than the more specific ‘in’, as in (6.126) and (6.127).
‘Then Jesus came to the Jordan River from Galilee so that John could baptize him.’  
(Matthew 3:13)

‘... go to the lake and throw out a hook.’  (Matthew 17:27)

On the other hand, there are a few instances where la is used where the meaning does seem to be ‘in’, as in (6.128), which is the verse in Luke corresponding to the verse from the Gospel of Matthew in (6.123) above, but in the Gospel of Luke, la is used instead of lana.

Perhaps because the general locative meaning of la includes ‘in’, it is possible to use either la or lana when the situation denoted involves something being in something.

It is common for lana to occur in combination with the prepositions xe ‘to’ and ti ‘from’, following them, as we saw above with la. Example (6.123) above illustrates lana occurring with xe, as does (6.129).

‘Every tree that does not bear good fruit will be cut down and thrown into the fire.’  
(Matthew 7:19)

Example (6.130) illustrates lana occurring with ti ‘from’.

‘You take food from the field that you did not sow, and ...’  (Matthew 25:24)
Although *lana* is a distinct preposition and not a form of the general locative preposition *la*, there are three respects in which it behaves as if it were a form of *la*, three ways in which it behaves like the forms of inflecting prepositions ending in the 3SG suffix -*na*. The first of these is that *lana* can occur without a nominal object. It is otherwise the case that noninflecting prepositions cannot take pronominal objects and cannot occur without a nominal object. Inflecting prepositions, in contrast, can occur with -*na* without a nominal object, as in (6.131), where the preposition *pana* bears the 3SG suffix -*na* but does not occur with a nominal object and is interpreted as having a 3SG pronominal object (‘about him’).

(6.131) ... re fe-xuus a maana rabuna xaves la
... 3DU INCH-tell ART GRTR.PL people many LOC

maana mu bina xapiak pa-na.
GRTR.PL PL place all PREP-3SG

‘... they told people throughout that entire region about him.’ (Matthew 9:31)

*Lana* is similar, as illustrated in (6.132), where it means ‘into it’.

(6.132) ... layaan me taa savat lana, me taa xalum a fomirak
when 2DU FUT come in 2DU FUT see ART small

‘donki’ aava ri pi na-nai xulu-na lunai.
donkey REL 3PL never REDUP-sit ON-3SG still

‘... as soon as you enter it, you will find a colt that has never been ridden.’ (Mark 11:2)

This is apparently not possible with *la* or other noninflecting prepositions; it is apparently not possible for these prepositions to occur without a nominal object. And significantly, when *lana* is used without a nominal object, it does not specifically mean ‘in’, but has more general locative meaning, like *la*. For example, in (6.133), the last clause means ‘they will come to it’, where it means that they will come and be *at* the wedding banquet, not *in* the wedding banquet.

(6.133) E nane fin a saxa-no rabuna o la yaan fatak
and 3SG ask ART INDEF-PL people COMP LOC day straight

ri taa filimaan xe lana.
3PL FUT come to in

‘[The kingdom of heaven is like this: There was a king who was preparing a wedding banquet for his son.] And he asked some people to come to it on the designated (literally ‘straight’) day.’ (Matthew 22:2)

Similarly, (6.134) is talking about a fig tree and the speaker will put manure *at* the fig tree, not *in* it.
(6.134)  ... e ne taa xaf fa-kalivan a funa e ne taa
and 1SG FUT dig ADV-surround ART base and 1SG FUT
timin a xawa lana.
put ART manure in

‘I will dig around its base and put manure on it.’  (Luke 13:8)

What this means is that lana behaves as an inflected form of la for the purposes of this construction.38

A second way in which lana also behaves as if it is an inflected form of la arises in relative clauses. As discussed in §5.8.3, the head of a relative clause can function as the object of a preposition in the relative clause only if the preposition is an inflecting preposition. But this is also possible with lana, though not with la or other noninflecting prepositions. For example, in (6.135), the head of the relative clause, nobina ‘place’, is functioning as the object of the preposition lana.

(6.135)  E ri laak xe la nobina aava lak taxa mati lana.
and 3PL enter to LOC place REL child CONTIN lie in

‘And they entered the room where the child was’ (literally ‘the place that the child was lying in’)  (Mark 5:40)

The fact that lana is the only noninflecting preposition that can be used in relative clauses where the head of the relative clause functions as object of the preposition is analogous to the fact that it is the only noninflecting preposition that can be used pronominally, without a noun phrase following it. And, as with pronominal uses, lana appears not to mean ‘in’ specifically, but has more general locative meaning when the head of a relative clause functions as its object. For example, in (6.136), they are not arriving into or heading into the place by boat, but arriving at it or heading to it.

(6.136)  ... e fataapus paaliu ri savat la bina aava rao
and quickly INTENS 3PL come LOC place REL IRREAL
ri ung lana.
3PL arrive in

‘[Then they wanted to take him into the boat,] and immediately they came to the land where they had been heading.’  (John 6:21)

And in (6.137), just as the path goes to the place, so too the speaker is apparently going to the place, not into it.

(6.137)  Mi texaas se-na salan xe la bina aava ne taa
2PL know PREP-3SG path to LOC place REL 1SG FUT
falet xe lana.
go to in

‘And you know the way to the place I am going to.’  (John 14:4)

38 The situation is somewhat analogous to modal auxiliaries in English, where, for example, would no longer functions in general as the past tense of will except as far as agreement of tenses in concerned (He says that he will come, He said that he would come).
The third way in which *lana* behaves like an inflected form is that it undergoes a process of reduction before the nonspecific article *ta* that otherwise only forms of prepositions inflected for 3SG undergo (see §5.1.3). In (6.138), for example, we see that *pa-na* ‘PREP-3SG’ reduces to *pan’ before *ta*, and (6.139) and (6.140) illustrate the same with *lana* reducing to *lan’*.

(6.138) Layaan nane xalum na Pita nare Jon re taxa laak
when 3SG see ART Peter 3DU John 3DU CONTIN enter

vaxa, nane fin nare pa-n’ ta faat.
also 3SG ask 3DU PREP-3SG NONSPEC stone

‘When he saw Peter and John about to go into the temple courts, he asked them for money.’ (Acts 3:3)

(6.139) Muta falet xe lan’ ta bina si-na mu rabuna aava
PROHIB go to in NONSPEC place POSS-3SG PL people REL

ri pife Juda ...
3PL NEG Jews

‘Do not go to Gentile regions ...’ (Literally: ‘Do not go to any places of people who are not Jews’) (Matthew 10:5)

(6.140) Pa-na mariaas xaves nane pi falak ta nemarapi e
PREP-3SG year many 3SG never wear NONSPEC clothes and

pife taagul lan’ ta saxa lifu.
NEG stay in any one house

‘For a long time this man had worn no clothes and had not lived in a house, but among the tombs.’ (Luke 8:27)

Not only does this illustrate a way in which *lana* behaves as if it is an inflected preposition with suffix -*na*, but it further illustrates a way in which it a form of *la* in that there are no instances in the texts of the preposition *la* occurring before the nonspecific article *ta*.

Despite these ways in which *lana* behaves as if it were an inflected form of *la*, it otherwise does not behave as a form of *la*, in lacking any other inflected forms, in having a different meaning from *la*, and in occurring before proper noun phrases, something that is not possible with 3SG forms of true inflecting prepositions.

6.3.3. *pe* ‘at (larger places)’

The preposition *pe* is somewhat like the general locative preposition *la*, but is used with location at larger places, like regions, as in (6.141) and (6.142).

(6.141) Taara pi xa-xalum ta mo malaanabe’ pe Israel.
1INCL.PL never HABIT-see NONSPEC thing like this at Israel

‘We have never seen anything like this in Israel.’ (Matthew 9:33)
And the people from Ephesus and from the other places in Asia heard him.' (Acts 19:26)

Pe is used by itself only with proper nouns denoting places, as in the two preceding examples. When used with common noun phrases, it combines with some other positional locative prepositions, like the general locative preposition la, as in (6.143) and (6.144), lana ‘in’, as in (6.145), xulu ‘on’, as in (6.146), and lami ‘behind’, as in (6.147).

... and he will be thrown down into the sea.' (Mark 9:42)

‘But your Father in Heaven knows that you want these things.’ (Matthew 6:32)

‘But my kingdom is in a place far away.’ (John 18:36)

‘[The place become dark and the disciples were traveling on the boat in the middle of the Sea of Galilee.] And Jesus was on the mountain.’ (Mark 6:47)

‘So they seized the man’s son, killed him, and threw him behind the vineyard.’ (Mark 12:8)

But like other positional locative prepositions, pe can be preceded by xe ‘to’ or ti ‘from’, as in (6.147) and (6.148).

‘Then people were going to him from Jerusalem and ...’ (Matthew 3:5)
When the noun phrase following *pe* is a common noun phrase, *pe* must be followed by another positional locative preposition as well, as it is in (6.147) above and in (6.149), where we get a sequence of three prepositions.

(6.149) *Na Yesus a laak xe pe la lifu lotu e ...*
   ART Jesus 3SG enter to at LOC house worship and
   ‘Jesus entered the temple area and ...’ (Matthew 21:12)

6.3.4. *xe* ‘to’

The preposition *xe* ‘to’ is illustrated in (6.150) and (6.151).

(6.150) *E nane ta'ulan a bina aapave e falet xe Nasaret, ...
   and 3SG leave ART town that and go to Nazareth
   ‘And he left that place and went to Nazareth, ...’ (Mark 6:1)

(6.151) *... ri ta'ulan a bina Betani rao ri taa ulaa fulaa fulaa xe Jerusalem ...
   3PL leave ART place Bethany IRREAL 3PL FUT return back
   xe Jerusalem ...
   to Jerusalem
   ‘... they left Bethany to go back to Jerusalem ...’ (Mark 11:12)

Like the preposition *pe*, *xe* combines directly with a noun phrase only if that noun phrase is a proper noun denoting a place, as in the two preceding examples. When it occurs with a common noun phrase, as in (6.152) and (6.153), it must combine with another preposition, often a positional locative preposition like the general locative preposition *la*, as in (6.152), *lana* ‘in’, as in (6.153), or *xulu* ‘on’, as in (6.154).

(6.152) *Na Yesus e mu fefeng si-na ri falet xe la ...
   ART Jesus and PL disciple POSS-3SG 3PL go to LOC
   maana mu bina faasilak se Sesaria Filipai.
   GRTR.PL PAUC place near PREP Caesarea Philippi
   ‘Then Jesus and his disciples went to the villages of Caesarea Philippi.’ (Mark 8:27)

(6.153) *E ta wai aava pife fa-savat a xalana roxo ...
   and NONSPEC tree REL NEG CAUS-come ART fruit good
   i taa tei tapin-an xe lana fata.
   3SG.INCOMPL FUT chop.down throw-PASS to in fire
   ‘Every tree that does not bear good fruit will be cut down and thrown into the fire.’
   (Matthew 7:19)

(6.154) *... put aava na Yesus a feng nari xe xulu-na.
   mountain REL ART Jesus 3SG send 3PL to ON-3SG
   ‘[So the eleven disciples went to Galilee to] the mountain that Jesus had sent them to.’ (literally ‘the mountain that Jesus had sent them to on it’) (Matthew 28:16)
The preposition *xe* can also combine with *pe* ‘at (larger place)’, but if the object is a common noun phrase, there must be a third preposition, a positional locative preposition, following *pe*, as in (6.155), where *pe* is followed by the general locative preposition *la*, and (6.156), where *pe* is followed by *lami* ‘behind’.

(6.155)  
...  *e ulaa xe pe la* fufubina si-na.  
and return to at hometown POSS-3SG  
‘... and he returned to his hometown.’  (Matthew 13:54)

(6.156)  
*E ri yot a lak si-na mataa e ri punux=e*  
and 3PL seize ART child POSS-3SG man and 3PL kill=3SG  
*e ri tapin=e xe pe lami-na uma.*  
and 3PL throw=3SG to at behind-3SG field  
‘So they seized the man’s son, killed him, and threw him behind the vineyard.’  (Mark 12:8)

*Xe* also combines with the adverb *pave* ‘there’ to express the meaning ‘to there’, as in (6.157).

(6.157)  
*E voxo ne falet xe pave e ne fe susuuf e*  
and so 1SG go to there and 1SG go and wash and  
*naboxo ne fexaxaas se-na kaalum.*  
now 1SG able PREP-3SG look  
‘And so I went there and washed, and was able to see.’  (John 9:11)

*Xe* cannot occur directly with a human object noun phrase. In order to express ‘to a person’, it is necessary to use the appropriate form of the possessive preposition *si* after *xe* and before the object noun phrase, as in (6.158) and (6.159) (see as well §6.2.1).

(6.158)  
*E lana mif-an a Piran a xuus fa-texaas nari*  
and in dream-NMLZ ART big.man 3SG tell CAUS-know 3PL  
*o ri muta ulaa xe si Herot.*  
COMP 3PL PROHIB return to POSS Herod  
‘And in a dream, God warned them that they should not return to Herod.’  (Matthew 2:12)

(6.159)  
*E ri fenung xe si-na Piran pa-na fenung-an modus*  
and 3PL pray to POSS-3SG big.man PREP-3SG pray-NMLZ long  
*paaliu talo ...*  
INTENS so.that  
‘And they pray to God with very long prayers so that ...’  (Mark 12:40)

Similarly, in order to express the meaning ‘to a person’ where that person is referred to pronominally, *xe* is followed by the appropriately inflected form of the preposition *si*, as in (6.160) and (6.161).
(6.160) *E mui nane ulaa-maan xe si-rutul e a kuus,*
and then 3SG return-come to POSS-3TRIAL and 3SG say
‘And then he returned to them and said,’ (Matthew 26:45)

(6.161) ... *a Piran a lisan a lagasai i-na kaaxup-an*
ART big.man 3SG bring ART news POSS-3SG be.saved-NMLZ
*x xe si-taara.*
to POSS-1INCL.PL
‘... God has brought the message of salvation to us.’ (Acts 13:26)

6.3.5. *ti* ‘from’

The preposition *ti*, illustrated in (6.162) to (6.165) means ‘from’.

(6.162) *Nenia ne fo sivi-maan ti la xunavata.*
1SG 1SG PERF descend-come from LOC heaven
‘I have come down from heaven.’ (John 6:42)

(6.163) *No siak a fangan-an ti lana uma aava no pife*
2SG take ART eat-NMLZ from in field REL 2SG NEG
  xapis=e e ... sow=3SG and
‘You take food from the field that you did not sow, and ...’ (Matthew 25:24)

(6.164) ... *me taa saf tapin a pof ti xulu-na ka-me.*
2DU FUT wipe away ART dust from ON-3SG feet-2DU
‘... shake the dust off your feet.’ (Mark 6:11)

(6.165) ... *ri filimaan ti faa?*
3PL come from where
‘... where have they come from?’ (Revelation 7:13)

Like the preposition *pe* ‘at (larger place)’ and *xe* ‘to’, when *ti* occurs with a common noun phrase, it always combines with a positional locative preposition, such as the general locative preposition *la, lana* ‘in’, or *xulu* ‘on’, as illustrated in (6.162) to (6.164) above. It combines directly with a noun phrase only if the noun phrase is a proper noun, as in (6.166) and (6.167).

(6.166) ... *nane savat si-ri aava ri fiuna sangas xuvul pa-na*
3SG come POSS-3PL REL 3PL HABIT walk with PREP-3SG
*ti Galili xe Jerusalem.*
from Galilee to Jerusalem
‘... he appeared to those who had accompanied him from Galilee to Jerusalem.’ (Acts 13:31)
[Now the Pharisees and some of the experts in the law] came from Jerusalem to Jesus.’ (Mark 7:1)

‘[Now the Pharisees and some of the experts in the law] came from Jerusalem to Jesus.’ (Mark 7:1)

‘Father, if you send us away from these men, ...’ (Matthew 8:31)

The preposition *xena* forms prepositional phrases indicating purpose, as in (6.169) and (6.170).

‘So they made preparations for the feast of Passover.’ (Mark 14:16)

‘Smart people will build a new fence for a new field.’ (Mark 2:22)

Note that while *xena* is translated as ‘for’ in the English sentence glosses in the preceding two examples, it is not a benefactive marker. In (6.170), for example, they are not building a new fence for the benefit of the field; rather the field is part of their purpose for building a fence.

The preposition *xena* occurs more frequently as an adverbial subordinator, introducing purpose clauses, as in (6.171) (§8.2.11).

‘After the two days he left them to go (north) to Galilee.’ (John 4:43)

However, as discussed in §4.2.8, it often occurs with *aan*-nominalizations when the dependent verb is transitive, as in (6.172) and (6.173); since these are nominalizations, *xena* is a preposition in this use rather than an adverbial subordinator.

6.3.6. *xena* ‘purpose’

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‘Then Barnabas departed for Tarsus to look for Saul,’ (Acts 11:25)

‘And others who always do things in order to please only themselves ...’ (Romans 2:8)

Paamuin looks like a preposition in that it combines with a noun phrase following it and is always preceded by a verb that it appears to modify. However, it behaves like a verb in that it can be followed by strong pronouns, like nami ‘2PL’ in (6.174), and by noun phrases that occur with an article, like na Yesus ‘Jesus’ in (6.175), neither of which is otherwise possible with prepositions. It can also occur with the 3SG object clitic =e, as in (6.176), something which is also not possible with any other preposition.
One might try to analyse *paamuin* in (6.176) as an adverb modifying the verb. However, it is otherwise not possible for an object noun phrase or object clitic to occur after an adverb following an intransitive verb.

There is also a form *paamuina* illustrated in (6.177) and (6.178).

(6.177) *A yaan aanabe’ ve paamuin=a vapis-an si Jon.*

‘This day was before the imprisonment of John.’ (John 3:24)

(6.178) *Taasaxa Ferasi aave a xalum na Yesus pife xamak but Pharisee that 3 SG see ART Jesus NEG wash a ma-na paamuin=a fangan-an e a ipul.*

‘But the Pharisee saw that Jesus did not wash his hands before eating and was astonished.’ (Luke 11:38)

Whenever *paamuina* occurs, it is followed by a common noun phrase lacking the common article; in (6.177), *vipsan* ‘imprisonment’ is a nominalization, and nominalizations always behave as common nouns in Kara. One might attribute this to the fact that articles are always missing after prepositions. However, as noted above, the proper article is not missing after the shorter form *paamuin*. I therefore analyse the final /a/ in *paamuina* as the common article that goes with the common noun phrase following it.\(^{39}\) This parallels the analysis I have proposed for some instances of *aan*-nominalizations (§4.2.8), in which I have analysed the final /a/ in some instances as the common article, as in (6.179).

(6.179) *Muta mataut-an a rabuna aava ri fexaxaas se-na*  

‘Do not be afraid of people who are able to kill only the body of a man ...’ (Luke 12:4)

Analysing the final /a/ in *paamuina* as the common article means either that *paamuin* is a verb (as suggested above) or that it is unusual as a preposition in Kara in occurring before articles.

A further argument for treating the final /a/ in *paamuina* as the common article is that *paamuin* also functions as an adverbial subordinator with the same meaning ‘before’ (§8.2.4) and it also occurs in the form *paamuina* when followed by a common noun phrase, as in (6.180).

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\(^{39}\) I follow the representations used by the translators of the New Testament in representing the common article as cliticized onto the preposition. An alternative possibility is that it should not be considered part of the same phonological word as *paamuin*. 

There are instances in the texts of *paamuin* plus *a* written as two words, as in (6.181).

(6.181) ... *senaso no taa falet paamuin a* Memai xena  
because 2SG FUT go before ART Lord PURP  
afaigotan-aan=a salan xa-na.  
prepare-NMLZ=ART path for-3SG  
‘... for you will go before the Lord to prepare a way for him.’  (Luke 1:76)

It is not clear whether there is any significance to the representation of *paamuina* as one word or two words.

The word *paamuin* also functions as an adverb meaning ‘ahead’, as in (6.182), and in this function never combines with a common article following it. In this example, *paamuin* is followed by *a ro fefeng taragua* ‘two disciples’, which is the object of *feng* ‘send’.

(6.182) ... *na Yesus a feng paamuin a ro fefeng taragua.*  
ART Jesus 3SG send ahead ART DU disciple two  
‘... Jesus sent two of his disciples ahead.’  (Mark 11:1)

6.3.8. *fefexaxaas* ‘until, as far as’

The preposition *fefexaxaas* means ‘as far as’ spatially, as in (6.183), or ‘until’ temporally, as in (6.184).

(6.183) *Ri falet fefexaxaas Fonisia, Saipras e na Antiaak e ...*  
3PL go until Phoenicia Cyprus and ART Antioch and  
‘They went as far as Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Antioch, and ...’  (Acts 11:19)

(6.184) ... *ti la yaan aave fefexaxaas a luluux-an si-na*  
from LOC day that until ART be.born-NMLZ POSS-3SG  
Mataa Failai.  
man Christ  
‘... from that day until the birth of Christ.’  (Matthew 1:17)

*Fefexaxaas* is unique among prepositions in allowing an article to follow it, as in (6.184) and (6.185), though note the absence of the proper article *na* following *fefexaxaas* in (6.183).

(6.185) *fefexaxaas a fa-talatul-aan-a yaan*  
until ART CAUS-three-NMLZ-3SG day  
‘[So give orders to secure the tomb] until the third day.’  (Matthew 27:64)
Fefexaxaas also functions as an adverbial subordinator meaning ‘until’ (§8.2.5).

6.3.9. faasilak ‘near’

It is not clear whether the word faasilak ‘near’, illustrated in (6.186) and (6.187), should be considered a preposition or not.

(6.186) E nane fe nai faasilak la ka Jesus xena langai and 3SG go.and sit near LOC feet Jesus PURP hear

a maana ferawai-an si-na.
ART GRTR.PL speak-NMLZ POSS-3SG

‘She sat near Jesus’ feet in order to heard what he said.’ (Luke 10:39)

(6.187) Layaan na Jesus xuvul pa-na mu fefeng si-na when ART Jesus with PREP-3SG PL disciple POSS-3SG

ri filimaan faasilak la bina Jerusalem ...
3PL come near LOC place Jerusalem

‘When Jesus and his disciples approached Jerusalem ...’ (Matthew 21:1)

More commonly, faasilak is used without a complement, either modifying a verb, as in (6.188), or modifying a noun, as in (6.189).

(6.188) E layaan a mu rabuna aava ri taxa tigina faasilak and when ART PL people REL 3PL CONTIN stand near

ri langai=e, ri fe-ferawai ...
3PL hear=3SG 3PL RECIP-speak

‘And when some of the people standing nearby heard him, they said to each other, ...
’ (Mark 15:35)

(6.189) Feng tapin et nari talo ri taa laak la send away away 3PL so.that 3PL FUT enter LOC

nu bina faasilak xena ...
PAUC place near PURP

‘Send them away so that they can go into the villages to [buy food for themselves].’
(Matthew 14:15)

There are cases where faasilak would appear to be a verb rather than a preposition. Although it is most commonly followed by the general locative preposition la when it takes a complement (as in (6.186) and (6.187) above), it also sometimes occurs with the common article a following it, as in (6.190) and (6.191), unlike prepositions, and sometimes is followed by a form of the preposition se, unlike a preposition and like semantically bivalent stative verbs (§7.9), as in (6.192) and (6.193).
Whenever *faasilak* has an object which is human or a proper noun phrase denoting a place, its object is marked with the preposition *se*, as in the last two examples. While this can be taken as evidence that it is a verb, an alternative account would be to say that *faasilak* is a preposition and just as the preposition *xe* ‘to’ must occur with the inflecting preposition *si* whenever its object is human, analogously *faasilak* must occur with the inflecting preposition *se* whenever its object is human.

A further way in which *faasilak* behaves like a verb is that it can occur with preverbal particles (§7.7), something that only verbs otherwise do. In (6.194), *faasilak* follows the preverbal particle *ti* ‘stand and’ (§7.7.4.3), although in this example *faasilak* occurs without a complement.

Similarly, *faasilak* follows the continuative and perfect preverbal particles *taxa* and *fo* in (6.195) and (6.196), like a verb.
‘... you will know that the kingdom of God is near.’  (Luke 21:31)

And in (6.197) and (6.198), \textit{faasilak} behaves like a verb in being preceded by a weak subject pronoun, again something that prepositions otherwise do not allow.

‘... because the tomb was nearby.’  (John 19:42)

‘Now a feast of the Jews was near ...’  (John 7:2)

There is more than one way to interpret the above data. One is that the word \textit{faasilak} is sometimes a preposition and sometimes a verb (and sometimes an adverb). The other is that it is intermediate between being a preposition and being a verb.\footnote{The possibility that some of the instances of \textit{faasilak} are calques on the English should not be discounted.} I suspect that the former is the correct analysis, but the situation remains unclear.

\subsection*{6.3.10. \textit{xuvul} ‘with’ (comitative)}

The word class of \textit{xuvul} ‘with’ is unclear, like \textit{faasilak}, the word discussed in the preceding section. However, while one might analyse \textit{faasilak} as sometimes a verb and sometimes a preposition, this possibility does not arise with \textit{xuvul}. Unlike both verbs and prepositions, \textit{xuvul} is never followed by a noun phrase. Rather, it occurs either as an adverb meaning ‘together’, as in (6.199) and (6.200), or in a construction in which it combines with a prepositional phrase with the preposition \textit{pa}, where the meaning of \textit{xuvul pa} is ‘with’ in a comitative sense, as in (6.201) and (6.202).

‘But they has not yet lain together.’  (Matthew 1:18)

‘All who believed were together and ...’  (Acts 2:44)
... I will eat with my disciples in order to signal the day of Passover.’ (Mark 14:14)

‘... and he begins to beat his fellow slaves] and to eat and drink with drunkards,’
(Matthew 24:49)

In its use with pa, xuvul might be a verb meaning ‘to accompany’.

xuvul can be causativized with the prefix fa- (§4.2.4), unlike clear instances of prepositions, where the resultant verb can further undergo nominalization with the suffix -aan, as in (6.203).

‘... in order to collect money for yourself.’ (Matthew 6:24)

However, there are a few cases of verbs being formed by causativization of a nonverb, like fa-isin ‘CAUS-name’, i.e. ‘to give a name to’, so the possibility of causativizing xuvul provides no convincing evidence that xuvul is a verb.

On the other hand, xuvul also occurs with the inchoative prefix fe- and the intransitive suffix -ai, as in (6.204). This is otherwise only possible with verbs.

‘... and he will be united with his wife, and the two will become one flesh.’
(Matthew 19:5)

One argument that xuvul is not a verb is that when in predicate position xuvul pa occurs with the locative copula waan, as in (6.205) and (6.206). There are no instances of xuvul appearing in predicate position without waan, perhaps surprising if it is a verb.

‘the people who were with him’ (Matthew 8:10)
(6.206) \( \ldots \text{ri waan xuvul pa-na saxa-no lutefin e na Maria,} \)
\[3\text{PL be.at with PREP-3SG INDEF-PL woman.PL and ART Mary} \]
\[na \text{ nina Yesus, e a mu ti-na} \]
\[\text{ART mother Jesus and ART PL sibling.same-3SG} \]
‘... they were with some women and Mary, the mother of Jesus, and his brothers ...’
(Acts 1:14)

The word class of xuvul thus remains unclear. In fact, the very question of what its word class is may be misguided, since it occurs in a construction with pa, and the word class of words in constructions and idioms is often indeterminate.

6.4. Combinations of prepositions

Scattered throughout the discussion above are various observations about combinations of prepositions. In this section, I discuss how one can subcategorize prepositions on the basis of what other prepositions they can combine with.

The first subclass is prepositions that do not occur as the first preposition in a combination of two prepositions. This includes se (§6.2.4), pa (§6.2.3), i ‘POSS’ (§6.2.2), paamuin(a) ‘before’ (§6.3.7), xa(a) ‘benefactive’ (§6.2.5), xase ‘from, against’ (§6.2.8), and xena ‘purpose’ (§6.3.6).

The second subclass of prepositions are those which cannot combine directly with a common noun phrase but must first combine with a positional locative preposition. This includes pe ‘at (larger places)’ (§6.3.3), xe ‘to’ (§6.3.4), and ti ‘from’ (§6.3.5). Pe is different from xe and ti in that it can co-occur with xe and ti, following these, but, if the object is a common noun phrase, there must be a third preposition, one expressing positional location. And xe is different from pe and ti in that it can be followed by the possessive preposition si.

The third subclass are those positional locative prepositions which satisfy the requirement for the second subclass that they must be followed by a positional locative preposition; this includes the general locative preposition la (§6.3.1), lana ‘in’ (§6.3.2), lami ‘behind’ (§6.2.10), lapaa ‘under’ (§6.2.9), and xulu ‘on’ (§6.2.6).

The remaining prepositions have unique combinatorial possibilities. The preposition no ‘in front of’ is unique in that it must be preceded by the general locative preposition la. The possessive preposition si is also unique in that it must follow xe before human objects. If faasilak ‘near’ (§6.3.9) is a preposition, it can precede la, as in (6.207).

(6.207) \( A \text{ mu rabuna ri falet xe si-na ti pe Jerusalem} \)
\[\text{ART PL people 3PL go to POSS-3SG from at Jerusalem} \]
\[e \text{ a mu bina pe Judia e ti pe la mu} \]
\[\text{and ART PL place at Judea and from at LOC PL} \]
\[bina \text{ faasilak la Raarum Jordan.} \]
\[\text{place near LOC water Jordan} \]
‘Then people were going to him from Jerusalem and from places in Judea and from the regions near to the River Jordan.’ (Matthew 3:5)
6.5. Directional words in prepositional phrases

A typological oddity in Kara is the optional use of directional words in prepositional phrases. This includes, at least, the terms for the four cardinal directions, *puaa* ‘north’, *pul* ‘south’, *paa* ‘east’, and *kol* ‘west’.\(^{41}\) These words occur in prepositional phrases following the preposition and preceding the object of the preposition, so that the general structure of prepositional phrases (ignoring the possibility of combining prepositions) is Preposition + (Directional Word) + Noun Phrase. Examples are given in (6.208) and (6.209).

(6.208) *A nu-tu-vaat pišaxa aanabe’ vaxa ri falet xe puaa*

\(\text{ART PAUC-PL-person six this also 3PL go to north}\)

*Sesaria xuvel pa-ga e ... Caesarea with PREP-1SG and ‘These six men also went north to Caesarea with me, and ...’ (Acts 11:12)*

(6.209) *E bak nane sivi xe kol Kapanam, ... \(\text{and then 3SG descend to west Capernaum}\) ‘So he went down west to Capernaum, ...’ (Luke 4:31)*

The preposition *xe* ‘to’ is the most common one in the texts to occur with a directional word, as in the two preceding examples. Since *xe* occurs with a verb of motion, the directional word apparently indicates the direction of motion towards the location denoted by the object of the preposition. For example, in (6.209), the movement towards Capernaum was apparently westward. Note that in the English glosses, it is necessary to place the directional word outside the prepositional phrase, unlike Kara.

Two other prepositions which occur in this construction are *ti* ‘from’ and *pe* ‘at’, as in (6.210) and (6.211).

(6.210) *Xel na Saimon, aava ri xali=e pa Pita, ti pul*

\(\text{call ART Simon REL 3PL call=3SG PREP Peter from south}\)

Jaapa.

Jaapa

‘Therefore summon Simon, who is called Peter, from Jaapa (in the south).’ (Acts 10:32)

(6.211) *E mui, na Baanabas a ta’ulan nari xena seng-aan na Sol pe kol Taasus.\(\text{ART Saul at west Tarsus}\) ‘Then Barnabas left them to look for Saul in Tarsus in the west.’ (Acts 11:25)

\(^{41}\) It is not clear exactly what these directional words mean in ordinary Kara. From what we know about other Oceanic languages, they probably have meanings that are more accurately ‘inland/landwards’, ‘seawards’, and the two directions parallel to the shore. However, in the context of their occurrence in the Bible translation, they appear to be used in a way closer to the cardinal direction terms.
Note that in (6.210), the direction represented by the directional word is the direction from (not to) the location denoted by the object of the preposition. And in (6.211), where the preposition pe ‘at’ does not itself involve motion, the direction represented by the directional word involves the direction of movement by the verb ta‘ulan ‘leave’ in the higher clause.

Note that the three prepositions involved in this construction with directional words, xe ‘to’, ti ‘from’ and pe ‘at (larger place)’ are the three prepositions which require a positional locative preposition when the object is a common noun phrase. The examples given so far all involve ones where the object of the preposition is a proper noun phrase. When the object is a common noun phrase in this construction, a positional locative preposition in addition is required. This positional locative preposition follows the directional word, so that the general structure of such prepositional phrases is Prep + Directional Word + Positional Locative Prep + Noun Phrase. Examples of prepositional phrases of this sort are given in (6.212), where the positional locative preposition is the general locative preposition la, and (6.213), where the second preposition is lana ‘in’.

(6.212)  

E mui na Yesus e mu fefeng si-na, ri sivi  
and then ART Jesus and PL disciple POSS-3SG 3PL go.down  
exe puaa la saxa bina Saidan e ri falet ulaa ...  
to north LOC one place Sidon and 3PL go return  
‘Then Jesus and his disciples went out again north to a place Sidon and they returned.’ (Mark 7:31)

There are two other words that occur in this construction, laa’ui ‘up’ and lapi ‘down’, as in (6.214) and (6.215).

(6.214)  

... nane ta‘ulan nari e a xel fa-lax-an  
3SG leave 3PL and 3SG call CAUS-go.up-PASS to up  
exe laa’ui la xunavata.  
LOC heaven  
‘... he left them and was summoned up to heaven.’ (Luke 24:51)

(6.215)  

Layaan rutul langai a ling aave rutul mataut temasaat  
when 3TRIAL hear ART voice that 3TRIAL afraid much  
e rutul pexo turung xe lapi la xavala.  
and 3TRIAL fall kneel to down LOC ground  
‘When they heard the voice, they were overwhelmed with fear and fell kneeling to the ground.’ (Matthew 17:6)

Example (6.216) contains both laa’ui ‘up’ and lapi ‘down’ in prepositional phrases.
... ri fala ti laa'ui xulu-na put xe lapi la raarum  
3PL run from up ON-3SG mountain to down LOC water  
e ri fe-xarak.  
and 3PL together-drown  

‘[... and the herd of pigs] ran down from above on the mountain into the lake and drowned.’ (Luke 8:33)  

It is apparently possible for a prepositional phrase to contain two directional words, as in (6.217), where both paa ‘east’ and laa'ui ‘up’ occur. This example also contains puaa ‘north’ in a prepositional phrase.  

When he arrived at Caesarea, he went up east to Jerusalem and greeted those who believed and then went down north to Antioch.’ (Acts 18:22)  

The directional words can occur with prepositions without any nominal object, as in (6.218), where they look like they are nominal, functioning as objects of the preposition.  

‘I tell you, many will come from the east and west ...’ (Matthew 8:11)  

6.6. Three analyses of articles and prepositions  

Throughout this description of Kara, I have assumed a particular analysis of the proper and common articles. There are two alternative analyses of these articles, however. In this section, I discuss these two alternative analyses and compare them to the one assumed throughout this work. Because one of the two alternative analyses treats the proper and common articles as prepositions rather than articles and because the other alternative involves a different analysis of prepositions, these analyses are discussed in this chapter. I will conclude that all three analyses explain facts that the other two fail to explain but that there are problems with all three analyses. I will argue that some of the facts that one or another of these three analyses would account for are probably best seen as synchronic anomalies that are best explained diachronically.  

The analysis assumed throughout this description, which I will refer to as Analysis 1 in what follows, makes the assumptions listed in (6.219).
(6.219) a. The proper and common articles are articles, not prepositions.
b. The proper and common articles are always absent after all prepositions, both inflecting and noninflecting, except for the preposition *fefexaxaas* ‘until, as far as’.
c. The nonspecific article *ta* does occur following prepositions.
d. The proper and common articles are always absent from possessor noun phrases following inalienably possessed nouns.
e. Inflecting prepositions take the form with the 3SG suffix -na before common noun phrases, whether those common noun phrases are singular or plural.
f. Inflecting prepositions take a reduced form of the 3SG suffix, just -n rather than -na, before the nonspecific article *ta*.

If we ignore the preposition *fefexaxaas* ‘until, as far as’, which is different from other prepositions in allowing articles after it, then, since the proper and common articles never occur after a preposition, they are in complementary distribution with prepositions. Because these articles do not occur after prepositions, they have a fairly restricted distribution, being found (with a few exceptions to be mentioned shortly) only on subjects and objects. This leads to Analysis 2: these articles are really prepositions marking subjects and objects, with one form of the preposition used to mark proper noun phrases, the other to mark common noun phrases. In (6.220), for example, the word *na* marks *Yesus* ‘Jesus’ as a proper noun phrase functioning as subject or object, while the word *a* following *feng* ‘send’ marks *mu yaamut sangafili saxa pana taragua aanabe’* ‘these twelve disciples’ as a common noun phrase functioning as subject or object.

(6.220) *Na Yesus a feng a mu yaamut sangafili saxa*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ART} & \quad \text{Jesus} & 3SG & \quad \text{send} & 3SG & \quad \text{ART} & \quad \text{PL} & \quad \text{disciple} & 10 & \text{one} \\
& \quad \text{PREP-3SG} & \quad \text{two} & \quad \text{this} & \quad \text{and} \\
\text{pa-na} & \quad \text{taragua} & \quad \text{aanabe’} & \quad \text{e} & \quad \text{...} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Jesus sent out these twelve disciples and ...’ (Matthew 10:5)

While Analysis 1 is the one that familiarity with other languages, including those most closely related to Kara, might lead one to adopt, it is not clear how a child learning Kara would ever come up with such an analysis: since the proper and common articles have the same distribution as prepositions, what would ever lead them to analyse these words as anything other than prepositions? What would ever lead them to an analysis in which these words are always deleted or absent after prepositions rather than being prepositions themselves. It is true that having adpositions that mark a noun phrase as either a subject or an object are not common crosslinguistically, this has little bearing on what analysis children learning Kara would adopt.42

Under Analysis 1, it is necessary to stipulate that the proper and common articles do not occur on possessor noun phrases following inalienably possessed nouns, as in (6.221), where the proper article is absent from both occurrences of *Yesus* ‘Jesus’, both occurrences following inalienably possessed nouns.

42 Martin Haspelmath has brought to my attention the fact that Retuarã (Strom 1992), a Tucanoan language spoken in Colombia, does have a postpositional clitic that marks both subjects and objects.
‘Then one day, Jesus’ mother and his brothers came.’  (Mark 3:31)

Under Analysis 2, however, this follows directly from the fact that these articles are really prepositions marking subjects and objects: since possessors are not subjects or objects, we would not expect to find the proper and common articles on possessors.

If the articles are really prepositions marking subjects and objects, then since it is otherwise the case that prepositions that allow first and second person subjects are inflecting prepositions, we might expect the articles to inflect the way that inflecting prepositions do. For example, we might expect the proper article *na* to have a 2PL form *nami*, used when the subject is 2PL. And this is correct: what are analysed as strong pronouns under Analysis 1, like *nami*, are analysed as inflected forms of the subject/object preposition *na* under Analysis 2. And this would account for the fact that the strong pronouns are restricted, by and large, to subject and object.

There are still, however, complications for Analysis 2. The first of these is that not all the strong pronouns are formed by adding a suffix to the stem *na*. Examine again Table 6.2 listing the forms of the strong pronouns.

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<th>Trial</th>
<th>Pl</th>
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<td>nemaame</td>
<td>nemaatul</td>
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<td>netaare</td>
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<td>nano</td>
<td>name</td>
<td>namutul</td>
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<td>nane</td>
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<td>int</td>
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Table 6.2: Strong pronouns

The 3SG strong pronoun *nane*, for example, seems to add a suffix *-ne* to *na*, where we would expect instead a suffix *-na*, yielding a form *nana*. However, we can simply analyse this as an irregular. As discussed in §3.6, a number of inflecting prepositions have irregular forms. We can similarly treat the 1SG strong pronoun *nenia* as an irregular form. A number of the strong pronouns have a stem *ne* rather than *na*: *nemaam* ‘1EXCL.PL’, *nemaame* ‘1EXCL.DU’, *nemaatul* ‘1EXCL.TRIAL’, *netaara* ‘1INCL.PL’, and *netaare* ‘1INCL.DU’. But, apart from the irregular 1SG form *nenia*, whether the stem is *na* or *ne* is predictable phonologically by a disharmony rule, with *ne* occurring when the next vowel is /a/, *na* when the next vowel is not /a/.

Similarly, the word *nase’* ‘who’, illustrated in (6.222), is analysed as an interrogative pronoun under Analysis 1 (see §5.12.3) but is analysed as the interrogative form of the subject/object preposition *na* (see §3.6) under Analysis 2.

(6.222)  
*Nase’ sip nano?*  
who beat 2SG

‘Who hit you?’  (Matthew 26:68)
The common article a would, under Analysis 2, be a noninflecting preposition. It would be unique in Kara, however, in being a preposition which can occur with human objects but which cannot inflect. However, we might explain this by saying that a does not inflect since it does not occur with pronominal objects because pronominal reference would always be coded by the proper article rather than the common article, which could in turn be explained in terms of the fact that pronouns share semantic properties with proper nouns that they do not share with common nouns, such as the fact that they directly refer to things, while common nouns denote kinds.

There are two syntactic environments where articles appear other than subject or object position and which present a possible problem for Analysis 2. The first of these is appositional noun phrases, as in (6.223) and (6.224). In (6.223), na Yaakop ‘Jacob’ is in apposition to buaara ‘out ancestor’. The noun buaara does not occur with an article because it is the object of the preposition saena. Yet Yaakop does occur with the article na, despite the fact that it is in apposition to buaara, which is not a subject or object. If na is a preposition marking subjects and object, as Analysis 2 claims, then it is surprising that Yaakop occurs with an article, since it is not a subject or object and is in apposition to a noun phrase which is not a subject or object.

(6.223) Nano no matalava molava se-na bu-taara na Yaakop
2SG 2SG leader big PREP-3SG ancestor-INCL.PL ART Jacob

aava tavai netaara pa-na raakaaf aanabe’, bo?
REL give 1 INCL.PL PREP-3SG well this Q

‘Are you a greater leader than our ancestor Jacob, who gave us this well?’ (John 4:12)

Example (6.224) is similar. In this case, na Marta ‘Martha’, is in apposition to tina ‘sibling of same sex’, which is the second conjunct of the noun phrase Maria narie tina, which is object of the preposition si.

(6.224) ... e nane ve ti Betani, a bina si Maria
and 3SG be from Bethany ART place POSS Mary

narie ti-na na Marta.
2DU sibling.same-3SG ART Martha

‘... and he was from Bethany, the village of Mary and her sister Martha.’ (John 11:1)

Perhaps, though, we might explain this as reflecting the use of default case in caseless environments, like apposition. Note how in English, a pronoun in apposition to a subject occurs in default object form when it is in apposition to a subject, as shown in (6.225).

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43 I will continue to refer to na and a as articles in this discussion, with the understanding that these words are not articles under Analysis 2.

44 Note also that tina ‘sibling of same sex’ lacks an article in (6.224) not because the noun phrase it is a conjunct of is the object of a preposition but because the second conjunct of a noun phrase conjoined with the 3DU pronoun nare ~ narie always lacks an article (§5.13.2).

45 Example (6.225) would be more natural with namely preceding us, but all that matters for present purposes is that it is at least possible to have this example without namely.
The people who care most about what happens, us, have the least influence on the results.

One type of noun phrase where articles are used which is more difficult to explain away under Analysis 2 is the last conjunct in conjoined noun phrases conjoined with e `and’."""", illustrated by in (6.226).

(6.226) senaso ri mu bu Abraham, Aisaak e na Yaakov.

because 3PL PL descendant Abraham Isaac and ART Jacob

‘because they are the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.’  (Romans 11:28)

The first conjunct in (6.226), Abraham, lacks an article because the entire conjoined noun phrase is the possessor of the inalienably possessed noun bu ‘descendant’. The second conjunct, Aisaak, lacks an article because only the first and last conjuncts in a conjoined noun phrase ever occur with an article. But the occurrence of an article on the third conjunct na Yaakov is difficult to explain if na is really a preposition marking subjects or objects, since Yaakov in this example is neither, but is rather the third conjunct of a noun phrase functioning as a possessor.

How would we account for the presence of articles on the final conjunct under Analysis 1? We would apparently have to say that the absence of articles following prepositions and inalienably possessed nouns reflects an adjacency constraint: the article is absent if it would be immediately adjacent to the preposition or possessum noun. If the article is marking a later conjunct, it is not immediately adjacent to the preposition or possessum noun. Such an account is odd, to say the least.

Both Analysis 1 and Analysis 2 thus have their own strengths and shortcomings. However, there is a third possible analysis of articles, which I will call Analysis 3. It more closely resembles the analysis of prepositions that Volker (1998) proposes for the adjacent language Nalik. It takes as its point of departure an odd fact about Kara that remains an unexplained anomaly under both Analysis 1 and Analysis 2. Namely, as discussed in §5.1.3, when the nonspecific article ta is preceded by an inflected preposition, we get a reduced form of the preposition; instead of a form ending in -na, we find a shorter form -n, illustrated by xulun’ in (6.227), where the Bible translators use the symbol <'> to indicate that it is a contracted form of xuluna.

(6.227)... e tamu a faat naang i taa poxo

and if ART stone same 3SG.INCOMPL FUT fall

xulun’ ta mataa, i taa mimit=e e e ...

on-3SG NONSPEC man 3SG.INCOMPL FUT crush=3SG and

‘... and if the same stone falls on any man, it will crush him and ...’  (Matthew 21:44)

Under Analysis 3, however, the form xulun is not a contracted form of xuluna. Rather, it is analysed as a distinct form that is used before common noun phrases (while the form xulu would be used before proper noun phrases). Under Analysis 3, the form xuluna is analysed as a sequence of the preposition xulun and the common article a. For example, what is represented as xulun-na ivin ‘on-3SG bed’ in (6.228) would, under Analysis 3, be analysed as in (6.229), where the /a/ is not analysed as part of a suffix -na but as a separate word, the common article a.
A proponent of Analysis 3 could argue that a child learning Kara exposed to *xulun ta ivin* and *xuluna ivin*, when they elsewhere are aware of *ta* versus *a* as the two articles that occur with common noun phrases, is unlikely to analyse the final /a/ on *xuluna* as part of that word but are much more likely to analyse it as the common article, since that would mean that *a* and *ta* were patterning the same way.\(^{46}\) One might respond to this argument by saying that the child learning Kara is also exposed to instances of *xuluna* where it is not followed by a noun phrase, as in (6.230), where the /a/ is clearly part of a 3SG suffix -na and not the common article.

Why, one might ask, would children analyse the /a/ in *xuluna ivin* in (6.229) as a separate word, but the /a/ in *xuluna* in (6.230) as part of that word?

I should point out that there are two other cases where I have analysed an /a/ that the Bible translators treated as part of the end of a word as really being an instance of the common article. As discussed in §4.2.8, while the final /a/ in *punuxaana* in (6.231) is the 3SG object suffix that occurs on *aan*-nominalizations, the final /a/ in *punuxaana* in (6.232) is best analysed as the common article that goes with the noun phrase that follows. The basis for this is that the common article *a* never occurs on noun phrases following *aan*-nominalizations that end in /a/, as in (6.232), where *punuxaana* is followed by the noun phrase *mataa* ‘man’, which lacks an article.

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\(^{46}\) This argument assumes, however, that the assignment of word and phrase stress in *xulun ta ivin* and *xuluna ivin* are the same. I do not know whether this is the case, but my understanding from the discussion of stress in Schlie and Schlie (1993) is that in both cases the /a/ would be unstressed. However, there might be a difference in phrase stress predicted by the two analyses.
(6.232) ... *Lami-na punux-aan=a mataa a fexaxaas se-na*
  after-3SG kill-NMLZ=ART man 3SG able PREP-3SG
  
  tapin fa-sivi-aan-a xe ...
  throw CAUS-go.down-NMLZ-3SG to
  
  ‘... after killing a man, he is able to throw him down to ...’  (Luke 12:5)

Contrast (6.232) with (6.233), where we get *punuxaan* without a final /a/ before a noun phrase marked with the proper article *na*, and with (6.234) where we get *fasavataan* ‘produce’ without a final /a/ before the nonspecific article *ta*.

(6.233) *La paanen lolof a mu paamua priis xu vul pa-na mu*
  LOC morning early ART PL first priest with PREP-3SG PL

  *matalava ri la-lamon pa-na punux-aan na Yesus.*
  leader 3PL INCH-think PREP-3SG kill-NMLZ ART Jesus

  ‘When it was early in the morning, the chief priests and the elders thought about killing Jesus.’  (Matthew 27:1)

(6.234) *Lavaxa, nane texaas o nane pife fexaxaas se-na*
  then 3SG know COMP 3SG NEG able PREP-3SG

  *fa-savat-aan ta lak senaso ...*
  CAUS-come-NMLZ NONSPEC child because

  ‘He knew that he was not able to produce any children because ...’  (Romans 4:19)

I also analyse the final /a/ in *paamuina* in (6.235) as the common article (see §6.3.7).

(6.235) ... *nane fo fasuf=au pa-na mo lalas paamuin=a*
  then 3SG PERF anoint=1SG PREP-3SG thing aromatic before=ART

  *xaxaaafai-an si-ak.*
  bury-NMLZ POSS-1SG

  ‘... she anointed my body before my burial.’  (Mark 14:8)

The situation with inflecting prepositions is similar. We get a form ending in /a/ before noun phrases missing an article, a form ending in /a/ where there is no noun phrase following (which is interpreted as having a 3SG object), and a form without the final /a/ before the specific article *ta*. The only difference between inflecting prepositions and *aan*-nominalizations is that when inflecting prepositions occur with a proper noun phrase, the article does not occur and the preposition occurs in a form that lacks not only the final /a/, but the preceding /n/ as well. For example, with the *aan*-nominalization in (6.233), we get a form *punuxaan*, without the final /a/, followed by the proper article *na*. When the preposition *si*, for example, occurs in the same context, as in (6.236), we get *si Yesus* rather than *sin na Yesus*. 
‘... and they placed Jesus’ cross on his back for him to carry it.’ (Luke 23:26)

There are two facts that Analysis 3 would explain that are unexplained under the other two analyses. The first of these is that while inflecting prepositions ending in -na are specifically 3SG when there is no noun phrase following, as in (6.230) above, they are not specifically singular when there is a noun phrase following, as in (6.237).

(6.237) a mu matalava si-na mu Juda
   ART PL leader POSS-3SG PL Jews
   ‘the leaders of the Jews’ (Mark 12:13)

Under Analysis 3, the final /a/ in forms like sina in (6.237) is really the common article, so the occurrence with a plural noun phrase is expected since the common article a is not specifically singular.

Analysis 3 would also explain the fact that in conjoined phrases following a preposition, the article is missing from the first conjunct but is still present with the last conjunct, as in (6.238), where there is no article on the first conjunct tang lifu lotu ‘temple’ following the preposition ina, but there is on the second conjunct a ivin faraaman sina Piran ‘the altar’.47

(6.238) Mi punuk na Sekaraia la palou i-na tang lifu lotu
   2PL kill ART Zecharia LOC middle POSS-3SG huge house worship
   e a ivin i-na fa-raam-an si-na Piran.
   and ART table POSS-3SG CAUS-burn-NMLZ POSS-3SG big.man
   ‘You killed Zechariah between the temple and the altar.’ (Matthew 23:35)

Under Analysis 3, the final /a/ in ina is actually the common article for the first conjunct. Hence both conjuncts would occur with the common article and the apparent absence of an article from the first conjunct would be explained.

An immediate problem with this argument, however, is that the absence of an article with the first conjunct also applies to proper nouns phrases, as in (6.239).

(6.239) a Piran si Abrahem, Aisaak e na Yaakop
   ART big.man POSS Abraham Isaac and ART Jacob
   ‘the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob’ (Acts 3:13)

Analysis 3 would have to say that proper articles are absent only from the first conjunct of a conjoined noun phrase but that common articles are present. This removes much of the attractiveness of Analysis 3.

Furthermore, Analysis 3 would have to say that inflecting prepositions have two forms, a form with a suffix -n before common noun phrases and a form without that suffix before proper noun phrases. It would also have to say that this suffix also appears before common

47 I represent the form ina in (6.238) as it would be represented under Analysis 1. Under Analysis 3, it would be represented as in a ‘POSS ART’.
noun phrases after inalienably possessed nouns, as in (6.240), where Analysis 3 would analyse the final /a/ on tamana as the common article for the noun phrase that follows it, meaning that the /n/ in tamana would be a suffix that appears on inalienably possessed nouns before a common noun phrase.

(6.240) E nane va tama-na mu rabuna aava ri vuputuk vaxa.
   and 3SG be father-3SG PL people REL 3PL circumcise also
   ‘And he is the father of people who are circumcised as well.’ (Romans 4:12)

In short, while Analysis 3 would explain some otherwise anomalous facts, it is overall no better than the first two analyses.

We are left then with three analyses none of which is ideal. What are we to conclude from this? Part of what I think is going on here is that some of the facts that Analysis 3 would explain may not provide an argument for this analysis synchronically but are nevertheless not accidental in the sense that they are probably fossil remains of patterns in an earlier stage of the language. The reduced forms of prepositions that occur before the nonspecific article ta may in fact represent unreduced forms at an earlier stage of the language. Prepositions in the neighbouring language Nalik also have a form ending in /n/ alternating with a form without the /n/, just as Analysis 3 posits for Kara, although Volker (1998) describes the contrast between the two forms as phonologically conditioned in Nalik, the form with /n/ occurring before words beginning with a vowel. However, almost all instances that Volker cites of the forms ending in /n/ occurring before a vowel are in fact preceding the common article a, just as Analysis 3 posits for Kara. Furthermore, contrary to Volker’s claim, some of the Nalik examples show forms ending in /n/ before words beginning in a consonant. So it is not clear how different Nalik is from Kara in this respect. But if these reduced forms in Kara represent fossil remains of forms ending in /n/ from an earlier stage, the synchronic analysis apparently is one where these reduced forms idiosyncratically occur now only with the nonspecific article ta. The final /a/ in forms ending in /na/ may historically be the common article, but these forms ending in /na/ have now been reanalysed as the 3SG forms of prepositions. The fact that that these forms ending in /na/ occur before plural objects is synchronically now an oddity, but may reflect the fact that the final /a/ was originally the common article, which occurs with both singular and plural noun phrases. And the fact that the first conjunct in conjoined noun phrases functioning as objects of prepositions is missing its article may have arisen because the final /a/ before common noun phrases was originally the common article, but the facts have been reanalysed as a general rule that was extended to conjoined noun phrases where the first conjunct is a proper noun phrase. In other words, all of the facts supporting Analysis 3 would be synchronic idiosyncrasies but reflect the fact that something like Analysis 3 was the correct analysis at an earlier stage of the language.

What then of the choice between Analyses 1 and 2? The problem with Analysis 1 is that it posits a distinction between articles and prepositions for which there is no basis in the data, since both appear at the beginning of noun phrases. Two problems with Analysis 2 were noted, one, the fact that the articles occur on appositional noun phrases, the other that the articles occur on the last conjunct of conjoined noun phrases. There is little question that Analysis 1 was the correct analysis at an earlier stage of the language. If Analysis 2 is now the correct analysis, what has happened is that what were articles at an earlier stage of the language were reanalysed as prepositions when a tendency for articles to be missing after prepositions to become a rigid constraint. In the neighbouring language Tigak (Beaumont 1979), many of the prepositions do not allow an article following them, and judging from examples, the article is more often absent even after prepositions that allow them. The two problems with Analysis 2 could be explained diachronically: both facts noted above would
simply reflect earlier stages of the language where the articles were not prepositions. The problem with Analysis 1 seems more severe in that it is far from clear that it is even learnable. This leads me to tentatively propose that Analysis 2 is the best analysis. However, because there is room for debate about this and because Analysis 1 is the analysis that first comes to mind from the perspective of other languages, I have assumed that analysis in this descriptions.
7 Clause structure

7.1. Introduction

The general structure of verbal clauses in Kara is as follows:

\[
\text{Clause} = \text{Subject} + \text{Verbal Complex} + \text{Manner Adverb} + \text{Object} + \begin{cases} \text{Prepositional Phrase} \\ \text{Other Adverb} \end{cases}
\]

More than one manner adverb, other adverb, or prepositional phrase is allowed. The only obligatory element is the verbal complex. The verbal complex, consists of the weak subject pronouns, various preverbal particles, most of which occur between the weak subject pronoun and the verb, and the verb, followed occasionally by a second verb. The weak subject pronouns are discussed in §3.1. I discuss preverbal particles in §7.7.

Example (7.1) illustrates the five basic components of clauses. The verbal complex in (7.1) illustrates the three basic components of the verbal complex: \textit{ri} ‘3PL’ is a weak subject pronoun; \textit{taa} ‘future’ is a preverbal particle; and \textit{kas} ‘open’ is the verb.

\[(7.1) \quad \ldots [\text{mu sisiak si-na}] [ri taa kas] fa-tapusan \]
\[ \quad \text{[ART PL servant POSS-3SG]} \quad \text{[3PL FUT open]} \quad \text{ADV-quick} \]
\[ \quad \text{SUBJECT} \quad \text{VERBAL COMPLEX} \quad \text{MANNER ADV} \]
\[ [a mata-na lifu] [xe si-na]. \]
\[ \quad \text{[ART eye-3SG house]} \quad \text{[to POSS-3SG]} \]
\[ \quad \text{OBJECT} \quad \text{PP} \]

‘... his servants will open the door quickly for him.’ (Luke 12:36)

Sections 7.2 to 7.7 deal with various constituents of clauses. The remaining sections deal with four specific types of clauses.

7.2. Subjects and objects

Subjects precede the verb, both in intransitive clauses, as in (7.2) and (7.3), and in transitive clauses, as in (7.4) and (7.5). The last two examples also illustrate objects following the verb.
(7.2) ... *mu* *fefeng* *si-na* *ri* *maa* *savat.*
   PL disciple POSS-3SG 3PL come.and come
   ‘... his disciples came.’ (Matthew 5:1)

(7.3) *A lak* *si-im* fo maat xong;
   ART child POSS-2SG PERF die ??
   ‘Your daughter has died.’ (Mark 5:35)

(7.4) *Na Yesus* a xalum a namkai-an *si-ri* e ...
   ART Jesus 3SG see ART believe-NMLZ POSS-3PL and
   ‘Jesus saw their faith and ...’ (Mark 2:5)

(7.5) *Nane* xalum *na* *Yesus* i taxa sangas-maan lasuun ...
   3SG see ART Jesus 3SG.INCOMPL CONTIN walk-come far
   ‘He saw Jesus walking far away ...’ (Mark 5:6)

Strong pronouns functioning as subject and object occur in the same positions as nominal subjects and objects, subjects before the verb and objects after the verb (or following a manner adverb, if there is one). This is illustrated by the transitive subject in (7.5), the intransitive subject in (7.6) and the object in (7.7).

(7.6) *E voxo* *nane* falet e fe su-suuf ...
   and so 3SG go and go.and REDUP-wash
   ‘And so he went away and washed, ...’ (John 9:7)

(7.7) *Ne fasuf* *nami* pa-na raarum ...
   1SG baptize 2PL PREP-3SG water ...
   ‘I baptize you with water’ (Matthew 3:11)

Note that subjects are not obligatory, as in (7.7), where the word ne ‘1SG’ in (7.7) is a weak subject pronoun (§3.1) that I am analysing as part of the verbal complex and therefore not in subject position. The example in (7.8) illustrates a strong pronoun *nenia* ‘1SG’ in subject position, a weak pronoun ne ‘1SG’ in the verbal complex, and a strong pronoun *nami* ‘2PL’ in object position.

(7.8) *Taasaxa* *nenia* ne xuus *nami* ...
   but 1SG 1SG tell 2PL
   ‘But I say to you, ...’ (Matthew 5:34)

Object clitics (§3.3) occur in the same syntactic position as object noun phrases, following the verb, as in (7.9), or, if there is a manner adverb, following the manner adverb, as in (7.10), though in both cases, they attach phonologically to the end of the preceding word.

(7.9) *Ne taa* *fa-bas=e* pa-na Vovau si-ak e ...
   1SG FUT CAUS-full=3SG PREP-3SG spirit POSS-1SG and
   ‘I will fill him with my spirit and ...’ (Matthew 12:18)

(7.10) *Na Kornilius* a xalum *fa-tateax=e* pa-na mataut-an ...
   ART Cornelius 3SG see ADV-strong=3SG PREP-3SG afraid-NMLZ
   ‘Cornelius stared at him intently in fear.’ (Acts 10:4)
If there is a degree word modifying the manner adverb, the object clitic attaches to that degree word, as in (7.11).

(7.11) No fo sui fa-roxo\textsc{\textsubscript{a}} paaliu-an=e.
\hspace*{1em}2SG PERF reply ADV-good INTENS-TRANS=3SG
‘You have answered very correctly.’ (Luke 10:28)

7.3. Prepositional phrases

Prepositional phrases follow the verb, and the object if there is one, as illustrated in (7.7) above by \textit{pana raarum} ‘with water’, and in (7.12) by \textit{ti la faxuvul ina maana roxoyan sina} ‘from his good treasury’.

(7.12) \[A\] \textit{mataa roxo} \[a\] \textit{lisan} \[a\] \textit{maana roxo-yan} \[ti\]
\hspace*{0.5em}ART man good 3SG bring ART GRTR.PL good-NMLZ PP ...
\hspace*{1em}la \ fa-xuvul-an \ i-na \ maana \ roxo-yan \ si-na].
\hspace*{1em}LOC CAUS-be.with-NMLZ POSS-3SG GRTR.PL good-NMLZ POSS-3SG ... PP
‘The good person brings good things out of his good treasury.’ (Matthew 12:35)

Note that prepositional phrases can consist of just a preposition, inflected for its object, like \textit{xamutul} ‘for you (TRIAL)’ in (7.13).

(7.13) ... \textit{maatul taa vesan a sawat talatul} \textit{xa-mutul};
\hspace*{0.5em}1EXC.TRIAL FUT make ART shelter three \textit{for-2TRIAL}.
‘... let us make three shelters for the three of you;’ (Mark 9:5)

One can have multiple prepositional phrases, as in (7.14), where there are two prepositional phrases modifying the verb, namely \textit{ti la xasing ina put} ‘from the side of the mountain’ and \textit{xe lana raarum aave} ‘into the water’.

(7.14) \textit{A} \textit{mu vio xapiak ri fala sivi} \textit{[ti la xasing}
\hspace*{1em}ART PL pig all 3PL run go.down [from LOC side
\hspace*{1em}i-na \ put]} \[xe \ lana \ raarum \ aave]\ e ... 
\hspace*{1em}POSS-3SG mountain] [to in water that] and
‘The pigs all rushed down the steep slope into the lake and [drowned in the water].’
(Mark 8:32)

Similarly, (7.15) has two prepositional phrases, \textit{xa Abraham} ‘for Abraham’ and \textit{pana mu faat aanabe} ‘with these stones’.
... a Piran a fexaxas se-na fa-savat a rafulak
ART big.man 3SG able PREP-3SG CAUS-come ART child.PL
[xa Abraham] [pa-na mu faat aanabe']!
[for Abraham] [PREP-3SG PL stone this]

‘... God can raise up children for Abraham from these stones!’ (Matthew 3:9)

7.4. Adverbs

There are two types of adverbs in Kara, distinguished by their position in the clause. The first type, represented primarily by manner adverbs, immediately follow the verb, preceding an object noun phrase if there is one, as in (7.16) to (7.18).

(7.16) A maana rabuna ri taxa falim fa-tateak na Jon ...
ART GRTR.PL people 3PL CONTIN watch ADV-strong ART Jon
‘The people watched John closely ...’ (Luke 3:15)

(7.17) No fo faxatang fa-roxoi a maana mo modak nabe' ...
2SG PERF look.after ADV-good ART GRTR.PL thing small here
‘You have looked after these small things well...’ (Matthew 25:21)

(7.18) Taasaxa a lak tomexaan si vasaa Pol a
but ART child male POSS sibling.oppos Paul 3SG

langai kasam a ferawai-an si-ri.
hear quiet ART speak-NMLZ POSS-3PL.

‘But the son of Paul’s sister overheard what they said.’ (Acts 23:16)

Most adverbs that occur between the verb and the object are manner adverbs beginning with the adverb prefix fa- (deriving them from adjectives or verbs). An exception is vulan ‘always’, as in (7.19).

(7.19) Senaso ne taxa vil vulan a maana mo
because 1SG CONTIN do always ART GRTR.PL thing

xena fa-faamamaas=e.
PURP CAUS-happy=3SG

‘Because I always do those things in order to please him.’ (John 8:29)

Like nominal objects, the object clitics =e ‘3SG’ and =au ‘1SG’ follow an adverb following the verb, attaching to the adverb, as in (7.20) to (7.23).

(7.20) Na Kornilius a xalum fa-tateax=e pa-na mataut-an ...
ART Cornelius 3SG see ADV-strong=3SG PREP-3SG afraid-NMLZ
‘Cornelius stared at him intently in fear.’ (Acts 10:4)
(7.21) ... no taa yuuf fa-lak fa-tapusan=e, bo?
   2 SG FUT pull CAUS-go.up ADV-quick=3 SG Q
   ‘... will you quickly pull him up?’ (Luke 14:5)

(7.22) Tiis fa-roxoi=au xase-na mu xaiyaas si-ak.
   judge ADV-good=1 SG against-3 SG PL enemy POSS-1 SG
   ‘Judge me well against my adversaries.’ (Luke 18:3)

(7.23) Ne texaas o no fiuna langai vulan=au, ...
   1 SG know COMP 2 SG HABIT hear always=1 SG
   ‘I know that you always listen to me, ...’ (John 11:42)

The second type of adverb, mostly not manner adverbs, are ones that always seem to
follow rather than precede the object. This includes the locative demonstrative adverbs pave
‘there’, as in (7.24) and (7.25), and nabe’ ‘here’, as in (7.26).

(7.24) E nane pife vil a maana mo fa-ipul pave senaso
   and 3 SG NEG do ART GRTR.PL thing CAUS-amazed there because
   ri pife namkai se-na.
   3 PL NEG believe PREP-3 SG
   ‘And he did not do many miracles there because they did not believe him.’ (Matthew
   13:58)

(7.25) ... e voxo re famati a vipin i Yesus pave ...
   and so 3 DU put ART body POSS Jesus there
   ‘And so they placed Jesus’ body there.’ (John 19:42)

(7.26) Tamo no vubux-an=e ne taa vesan a sawat talatul
   if 2 SG want-TRANS=3 SG 1 SG FUT make ART shelter three
   nabe’ ...
   here
   ‘If you want, I will make three shelters here ...’ (Matthew 17:4)

And just as nominal objects precede these adverbs, object clitics precede these adverbs,
attaching to the verb, as in (7.27), in contrast to their attaching to manner adverbs following
the verb, as in (7.20) to (7.23) above.

(7.27) ... taasaxa mi pife yot=au pave.
   but 2 PL NEG grab=1 SG there
   ‘... but you did not arrest me there.’ (Mark 14:49)

The adverbial interrogative words faa ‘where’ and malaafa ‘how’ also follow object noun
phrases, as in (7.28) and (7.29).

(7.28) Nane siak a texaas-an molava faa?
   3 SG take ART know-NMLZ big where
   ‘Where did he get such wisdom?’ (Matthew 13:54)
(7.29) *Nane vil a maana mo fa-'ipul malaafaa?*

3SG do ART GRTR.PL thing CAUS-amazed how

‘How does he perform miracles?’ (Matthew 13:54)

Other examples of adverbs following object noun phrases or object clitics are given in (7.30) to (7.34).

(7.30) ... no taa faaxolus-an=au faatalatul.

2SG FUT deny-TRANS=1SG three.times

‘... you will deny me three times.’ (Luke 22:61)

(7.31) *Tavai=au monabe’ mon, pa-na putu Jon I-na*

give=1SG immediately only PREP-3SG head John POSS-3SG

Fasuf-an xulu-na “plet”.

baptize-NMLZ ON-3SG plate

‘Give me the head of John the Baptist immediately on a platter.’ (Matthew 14:8)

(7.32) ... *e mi pife taraxali=au lunai?*

and 2 PL NEG recognize=1SG still

‘... and you still do not recognize me?’ (John 14:9)

(7.33) ... *e nane fapiti nari malaan:*

and 3SG teach 3 PL thus

‘Then he began to teach them by saying:’ (Matthew 5:2)

(7.34) *E na Yesus a fataxapin a xuuskuus aave malaanabe’:*

and ART Jesus 3 SG finish ART story that like.this

‘And Jesus finished the story like this:’ (Matthew 20:16)

Example (7.35), illustrates both types of adverbs in the same clause: the adverb *fatateak ‘ADV-strong’* precedes the object *a xaati* ‘the boat’ while the adverb *pave ‘there’* follows it.

(7.35) ... *e pis fa-tateak a xaati pave.*

and tie ADV-strong ART boat there

‘... and tied the boat firmly there.’ (Mark 6:53)

As discussed in §4.2.3, some postverbal adverbs occur with the transitivizing suffix -an when followed by an object noun phrase or object clitic, as in (7.36) to (7.38).

(7.36) *Ne fo xuus fa-xaves-an nami xo!*

1SG PERF tell ADV-many-TRANS 2 PL TOPIC

‘I have told you many times.’ (John 8:25)

(7.37) *xena fa-maat fa-tapus-an narutul*

PURP CAUS-die ADV-quick-TRANS 3TRIAL

‘[and so the Jews asked Pilate that the soldiers break their legs] in order to cause them to die quickly [so that they could take away their bodies].’ (John 19:31)
The adverb *fulaa* ‘back, again’ sometimes precedes and sometimes follows the object. In (7.39) it follows the object noun phrase *a xasa rofetinan* ‘two other brothers’.

(7.39) ... *e xalum a xasa ro-fetinan* *fulaa* ...
and see ART other DU-RECIP.sibling.same again
‘[He went on a short time later] and saw two other brothers again, ...’ (Matthew 4:21)

And in (7.40) it follows the object clitic *=e* ‘3SG’.

(7.40) *E mui a tefin aave a xalum=* *e fulaa* *e* ...
and then ART woman that 3SG see=3SG again
‘And then the slave girl saw him again ...’ (Mark 14:69)

However, in (7.41), it precedes the object, occurring with the transitivizing suffix *-an*.

(7.41) *E nane fin* *ful-an* *nari* ...
and 3SG ask again-TRANS 3PL
‘And he asked them again ...’ (Mark 8:29)

And in (7.42), it precedes the object clitic *=e*, contrasting clearly with (7.40), where the same verb *xalum* ‘see’ is involved, but where the object clitic occurs on the verb.

(7.42) ... *o ri taa pife xalum* *fulan=* *e*.
COMP 3PL FUT NEG see again=3SG
‘... that they would not see him again.’ (Acts 20:38)

Similarly, *faatalatul* ‘three times’ follows its object in (7.30) above, but precedes the object clitic in (7.43).

(7.43) *Na Pita a mamaxus senaso na Yesus a fin*
ART Peter 3SG troubled because ART Jesus 3SG ask
*faa-talatul-an* *=e*
*times-three-TRANS=3SG*
‘Peter was distressed because Jesus asked him three times ...’ (John 21:17)

7.5. Degree words

7.5.1. The degree words *paaliu*, *faagut*, and *temasaat*

There are three words that can be used as degree words with intensifying meaning, modifying adjectives. These are *paaliu*, illustrated in (7.44) to (7.46), *faagut*, illustrated in (7.47) to (7.49), and *temasaat*, illustrated in (7.50) to (7.52). It is not clear how these three words differ in meaning, though they exhibit some syntactic differences, as discussed below.
(7.44) *E ri fe-mataut paaliu e ...*
and 3PL INCH-afraid INTENS and
‘They became very afraid ...’ (Mark 4:41)

(7.45) *Senaso a faat aave a molava paaliu.*
because ART stone that 3SG big INTENS
‘Because that stone is very large.’ (Mark 16:3)

(7.46) *... a maana maanu aanabe’ ri modak paaliu ...*
ART GRTR.PL bird this 3PL small INTENS
‘... these birds are very small ...’ (Luke 12:6)

(7.47) *... nane marala faagut.*
3SG angry strong
‘[When Herod realized that he had been tricked by the wise men], he became very angry.’ (Matthew 2:16)

(7.48) *... senaso rutul mataut faagut.*
because 3TRIAL afraid strong
‘... because they were very afraid.’ (Mark 16:8)

(7.49) *A gut-an si-na a molava faagut...*
ART strong-NMLZ POSS-3SG 3SG big strong
‘His power was very great ...’ (Mark 5:4)

(7.50) *Layaan rutul langai a ling aave rutul mataut temasaat*
when 3TRIAL hear ART voice that 3TRIAL afraid much
*e rutul poxo turung xe lapi la xavala.*
and 3TRIAL fall kneel to down LOC ground
‘When they heard the voice, they were overwhelmed with fear and fell kneeling to the ground.’ (Matthew 17:6)

(7.51) *Layaan a mu fefeng ri xalum=e ri faamamaas temasaat.*
when ART PL disciple 3PL see=3SG 3PL happy much
‘When the disciples saw him, they were very happy.’ (John 20:20)

(7.52) *... ne texaas o a falet-an si-taara i taa*
1SG know COMP ART go-NMLZ POSS-1INCL.PL 3SG.INCOMPL FUT
*lagaf temasaat ...*
difficult much
‘... I know that our voyage will be very difficult ...’ (Acts 27:10)

I gloss *paaliu* as ‘INTENS’, since its only function appears to be as an intensifier. I gloss *faagut* as ‘strong’ since it can occur by itself as an adjective with this meaning, as in (7.53) and (7.54).
(7.53)  a mataa aave a faagut se-ga
    ART man REL 3SG strong PREP-1SG
‘a man who is more powerful than me’ (Mark 1:7)

(7.54)  ... layaan a reref faagut taxa fa-gusaang=e.
    when ART wind strong CONTIN CAUS-shake=3SG
‘... when a fierce wind shakes it.’ (Revelation 6:13)

Faagut can also modify nonstative verbs, with a meaning like ‘strongly’, as in (7.55) and (7.56).

(7.55)  E nane fenung faagut xe si Yesus malaan ...
    and 3SG pray strong to POSS Jesus thus
‘He begged Jesus urgently, ...’ (Mark 5:23)

(7.56)  ... e a marapi si-na fe-rarapak faagut malaan
    and ART clothes POSS-3SG INCH-shine strong like
    se-na yaamit.
    PREP-3SG lightning
‘... and his clothes began to shine brightly, like lightning.’ (Luke 9:29)

I gloss temasaat as ‘much’ since in addition to modifying adjectives, it can modify nonstative verbs with this meaning, as in (7.57) and (7.58).

(7.57)  ... e fangan e num xuvul pa-na rabuna aava
    and eat and drink with PREP-3SG people REL
    ri nu-num temasaat.
    3PL HABIT-drink much
‘[and he begins to beat his fellow slaves] and to eat and drink with drunkards,’
    (Matthew 24:49)

(7.58)  taasaxa ri la-lamon temasaat pa-na mo ti la
    but 3PL HABIT-think much PREP-3SG thing from LOC
    xavala ...
    ground
‘But they think a lot about things from the world ...’ (Mark 4:19)

There is one occurrence of temasaat as a main predicate, given in (7.59) (this example also shows temasaat modifying a nonstative verb, sivi ‘go down’).

(7.59)  A xavala pife temasaat xulu-na e pife sivi temasaat
    ART ground NEG much ON-3SG and NEG go.down much
    lapia e ...
    down and
‘The soil was not much and did not go down much and ...’ (Mark 4:5)
In addition to modifying adjectives serving as predicates, *paaliu* and *temasaat* also occur as modifiers of attributive adjectives; there are no instances of *faagut* in this function. Examples illustrating *paaliu* in this function are given in (7.60) to (7.62).

(7.60)  
\[
\text{E ri fenung xe si-na Piran pa-na fenung-an modus}
\]
\[
\text{paaliu talo } \ldots
\]
\[
\text{INTENS so.that}
\]

‘And they pray to God with very long prayers so that ...’ (Mark 12:40)

(7.61)  
\[
\text{pa-na faat lava paaliu}
\]
\[
\text{PREP-3SG stone big INTENS}
\]

‘with a very large stone’ (Matthew 18:6)

(7.62)  
\[
\text{... fo vil a maana mo roxo paaliu pa-ga e } \ldots
\]
\[
\text{PERF do ART GRTR.PL thing good INTENS PREP-1SG and}
\]

‘[because he who is mighty] has done very good things for me ...’ (Luke 1:49)

An example of *temasaat* modifying an attributive adjective is given in (7.63).

(7.63)  
\[
\text{a reref molava temasaat}
\]
\[
\text{ART wind big much}
\]

‘a very strong wind’ (Acts 27:14)

*Paaliu* and *temasaat* can also modify adverbs modifying verbs; again there are no instances of *faagut* in this function. Examples illustrating this for *paaliu* are given in (7.64) to (7.67).

(7.64)  
\[
\text{E a ferawai fa-lava paaliu e kuus, } \ldots
\]
\[
\text{and 3SG speak ADV-big INTENS and say}
\]

‘She spoke very loudly and said ...’ (Luke 1:42)

(7.65)  
\[
\text{... e a tigina fa-tateak paaliu senaso nane}
\]
\[
\text{and 3SG stand ADV-strong INTENS because 3SG}
\]
\[
\text{vesan fa-roxo}=e.
\]
\[
\text{make CAUS-good=3SG}
\]

‘... and it [the house] stood very strongly because he made it well.’ (Luke 6:48)

(7.66)  
\[
\text{E mui nane sivi xe puaa Nasaret xuvul pa-re}
\]
\[
\text{and then 3SG go.down to north Nazareth with PREP-3DU}
\]
\[
\text{e a langai fa-roxo paaliu si-re.}
\]
\[
\text{and 3SG hear ADV-good INTENS POSS-3DU}
\]

‘Then he went down with them to Nazareth, and heard them very well (i.e. was obedient to them).’ (Luke 2:51)
Examples of temasaat modifying adverbs are given in (7.68) and (7.69) (in the first of them modifying faagut, here functioning as an adverb).

(7.68) Nane taxa usi netaara e i taxa xukulai
3SG CONTIN follow 1INCL.PL and 3SG.INCOMPL CONTIN shout

faagut temasaat.
strong much

‘She followed us and shouted very loudly.’ (Matthew 15:23)

(7.69) Nane kaalum laak xe laa’ui e xalum na Abrahem nare
3SG look enter to up and see ART Abraham 3DU

Lasarus re taxa waan lasuun temasaat.
Lazarus 3DU CONTIN be.at far much

‘He looked up and saw Abraham and Lazarus very far off.’ (Luke 16:23)

Paaliu can also modify directional words (§6.4), as in (7.70).

(7.70) A rabuna ti Jerusalem, ti Idumia e ti lu
ART people from Jerusalem from Idumea and from MID.DISTANCE

paa paaliu se Jordan e ...
est INTENS PREP Jordan and

‘People from Jerusalem, from Idumea, and from further east than the Jordan River, and ...’ (Mark 3:8)

Paaliu and temasaat can also be used in comparative constructions, with the object of comparison marked with the preposition se (§6.2.4); again there are no instances of this possibility for faagut. Examples of paaliu in this function are given in (7.71) and (7.72).

(7.71) E nane fe xel fa-xuvul a xasa-no vovau saat pisiguak and 3SG go.and call CAUS-with ART other-PL spirit bad seven

aava ri pema-mosaat paaliu se-na ...
REL 3PL COMPAR-bad INTENS PREP-3SG

‘And he went and called together the seven other bad spirits which were worse than him ...’ (Luke 11:26)

(7.72) a maana vovau pisiguak aava ri saat paaliu se-na
ART GTR.PL spirit seven REL 3PL bad INTENS PREP-3SG

‘seven spirits more evil than it’ (Matthew 12:45)
An example of *temasaat* in the comparative construction is given in (7.73).

(7.73) ... *taasaxa muta siak ta faat a moxaves temasaat*
but PROHIB take NONSPEC stone 3SG many much

*se-na vuputkai a kuus pa-na.*
PREP-3SG command 3SG say PREP-3SG

‘... but don’t collect more money than the law says to.’ (Luke 3:13)

*Paaliu* can further modify *faagut* and *temasaat*, apparently further intensifying them. In this function *paaliu* follows *faagut* and *temasaat*. Examples of *paaliu* modifying *faagut* are given in (7.74) and (7.75).

(7.74) ... *ri ipul faagut paaliu se-na gut-an si Yesus.*
3PL amazed strong INTENS PREP-3SG strong-NMLZ POSS Jesus

‘... they were astonished at the power of Jesus.’ (Mark 5:42)

(7.75) *Taasaxa la-lamon faagut paaliu pa-na mo aanabe’ aava nenia, ne fo xuus fa-texaas nami pa-na.*
but REDUP-think strong INTENS PREP-3SG thing this REL

1SG 1SG PERF tell CAUS-know 2PL PREP-3SG

‘Think very hard about these things that I have informed you about.’ (Mark 13:23)

Examples of *paaliu* modifying *temasaat* are given in (7.76) and (7.77).

(7.76) *E ri xaves temasaat paaliu.*
and 3PL many very INTENS

‘They were very many.’ (Revelation 5:11)

(7.77) *A vilau i-ga a mamaxus temasaat paaliu ...*
ART heart POSS-1SG 3SG troubled much INTENS

‘My soul is deeply grieved, ...’ (Mark 14:34)

### 7.5.2. Degree words with the transitivizing suffix

As discussed in §4.2.3, the three degree words occur with the transitivizing suffix *-an* when they are followed by an object noun phrase or object clitic, as in (7.78) to (7.81), even when the degree word is modifying an adverb that is modifying a verb (rather than directly modifying the verb), as in the last two of these examples.

(7.78) ... *senaso name taxa faisok xena siak faat mon e*
because 3SG CONTIN act PURP take stone only and

*pife muluk temasaat-an a mu sipsip.*
NEG have.mercy much-TRANS ART PL sheep

‘... because he is a hired hand and is not concerned about the sheep.’ (John 10:13)
(7.79) Mi fe seng faagut-an a lak aave ...
2PL go.and look.for strong-TRANS ART child that
‘Go and look carefully for the child.’ (Matthew 2:8)

(7.80) mu Ferasi aava ri usi fatak paaliu-an a mu
PL Pharisee REL 3PL follow straight INTENS-TRANS ART PL

vuputkai i-na lotu si-na Piran.
command POSS-3SG worship POSS-3SG big.man
‘the Pharisees who follow very strictly the laws of the worship of God.’ (Acts 26:5)

(7.81) A lifu aave ri fa-maus fa-roxoi paaliu-an=e
ART house that 3PL CAUS-wear ADV-good INTENS-TRANS=3SG

pa-na maana faat roxo e ...
PREP-3SG GRTR.PL stone good and
‘That house, they adorned it with fine stones and ...’ (Luke 21:5)

See §4.2.3 for further discussion.

7.6. Multi-verb predicates

The predicate can consist of a sequence of verbs, as in (7.82), where the verb fala ‘run’ and the verb sivi ‘go down’ combine to form a two-word predicate with the meaning ‘run down’.

(7.82) A mu vio xapiak ri fala sivi ti la xasing
ART PL pig all 3PL run go.down from LOC side

i-na put xe lana raarum aave e ...
POSS-3SG mountain to in water that and
‘The pigs all rushed down the steep slope into the lake and [drowned in the water].’
(Matthew 8:32)

Further examples are given in (7.83) to (7.86), in this case with transitive verbs. If there is an object clitic, it appears only on the second verb, as in the first three examples.

(7.83) ... e ri finis fakasanam=e.
and 3PL beat harm=3SG
‘... and they flogged him severely.’ (John 19:1)

(7.84) ... i taa yuuf fa-lax=e ti lana vaa'ul, bo?
3SG.INCOMPL FUT pull CAUS-go.up=3SG from in hole Q
‘and he will pull it up from the hole?’ (Matthew 12:11)

(7.85) ... xena tapin fa-dui=e lapi ...
PURP throw CAUS-go.down=3SG down
‘... in order to throw him down ...’ (Luke 4:29)
The two verbs in this construction apparently must share not only the same subject, but must be both intransitive or both transitive, and if transitive, must share the same object. For example, in (7.82) above, *fala* 'run' combines with *sivi* 'go down', both intransitive verbs, while in (7.86), *xamak* 'wash' and *fapasak* 'cause to be white' are both transitive, sharing not only the same subject, but also the same object.

In fact, in general, verbal suffixes (§4.2) occur only on the second verb in two-verb predicates. For example, the passive suffix (see §4.2.2) occurs only on the second verb in (7.87) and (7.88).

(7.87) ... *nane ta'ulan nari e a xel fa-lax-an xe laa'ui*

_3SG leave 3PL and 3SG call CAUS-go.up-PASS to up_

`... he left them and was summoned up to heaven.’ (Luke 24:51)

(7.88) ... *e i taa tapin fa-dui-an pe la laman.*

_and 3SG.INCOMPL FUT throw CAUS-go.down-PASS at LOC sea_

`... and he will be thrown down into the sea.’ (Mark 9:42)

The same is true for the general nominalizing suffix -an (see §4.2.3), as in (7.89) and (7.90).

(7.89) ... *a kuus faatul-ai-an si-na mu rabuna a*

_ART say praise-INTRANS-NMLZ POSS-3SG PL people 3SG_

*pe-lalava se-na kuus faatul-ai-an si-na Piran.*

_COMPAR-big PREP-3SG say praise-INTRANS-NMLZ POSS-3SG big.man

 `[People think that] praise from men is more important than praise from God.’ (John 12:43)

(7.90) ... *nane fexaxaas se-na sinuf-an a kuus*

_3SG able PREP-3SG run.away-TRANS ART say_

*fakali-maan-an aave.

swear-come-NMLZ that_

`... he is able to escape that oath.’ (Matthew 23:16)

It is also true for the transitive nominalization suffix -aan (see §4.2.8), as in (7.91) and (7.92).48

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48 When used as a main verb and as the first verb in two-verb predications, as in (7.85) and (7.88), _tapin_ means ‘throw’. But when used as the second verb in a two-verb predicate, as in (7.91), it adds the more general meaning ‘away’ to the first verb.
‘After the release [from prison] of the two of them, Paul and Silas went to Lydia’s house and ...’ (Acts 16:40)

‘... after killing a man, he is able to throw him down to ...’ (Luke 12:5)

### 7.7. Preverbal particles

There is a closed set of grammatical particles which precede the verb, all of which follow the weak subject pronoun, except for *rao* ‘irrealis’, which precedes the weak subject pronoun. These are listed in Table 7.1 and discussed further in the rest of this section. Most of them are grouped into semantic categories in the discussion that follows: §7.7.1 discusses non-future aspectual particles; §7.7.2 discusses future particles; §7.7.3 discusses negative particles; and §7.7.4 discusses associated motion particles.
7.7.1. Non-future tense and aspect preverbal particles

7.7.1.1. fo ‘perfect’

The particle fo, illustrated in in (7.93) to (7.96), correlates strongly with the use of a perfect in the English translations, implying a past or present state resulting from an earlier event.

(7.93) Nane fo vil a mo roxo xaa-nak.
3SG PERF do ART thing good for-1SG
‘She has done a good service for me.’ (Mark 14:6)

(7.94) Layaan a maana mo fo faigot-an-an ...
when ART GRTR.PL thing PERF prepare-TRANS-PASS
‘When the things had been prepared ...’ (Matthew 22:3)

(7.95) Nenia ne fo sivi-maan ti la xunavata.
1SG 1SG PERF descend-come from LOC heaven
‘I have come down from heaven.’ (John 6:42)

(7.96) Layaan a Ferasi naang aava fo xel na Jesus
when ART Pharisee same REL PERF call ART Jesus
xe la lifu si-na ...
to LOC house POSS-3SG
‘Now when the Pharisee who had invited Jesus to his house ...’ (Luke 7:39)
In some cases, the English translation does not use a perfect, as in (7.97).

(7.97) ... senaso ri fo bai-an=au paamuin ri
because 3PL PERF not.want-TRANS=1SG before 3PL

bai-an nami.
not.want-TRANS 2PL

‘... because they hated me before they hated you.’ (John 15:18)

While it is not clear that the first clause in this example involves a state resulting from an earlier event, it does at least involve a state. Exactly why the perfect is used in examples like these is not clear.

7.7.1.2. taxa ‘continuative’

The particle taxa indicates a continuing act or state, as in (7.98) to (7.100), often occurring where the English translation uses the progressive.

(7.98) ... a tefin a pife maat, i taxa matef mon.
ART woman 3SG NEG die 3SG.INCOMPL CONTIN sleep only
‘The woman did not die, she is only sleeping.’ (Luke 8:52)

(7.99) Layaan i taxa fenung a xa-kaalum-an i-na
when 3SG.INCOMPL CONTIN pray ART HABIT-look-NMLZ POSS-3SG

nonau i-na a puk ...
face POSS-3SG 3SG turn

‘As he was praying, the appearance of his face changed ...’ (Luke 9:29)

(7.100) Mi taxa seng nase’?
2PL CONTIN look.for who
‘Who are you looking for?’ (John 18:4)

Example (7.101) contains two occurrences of taxa.

(7.101) Rutul taxa waan xulu-na xaati e rutul taxa
3TRIAL CONTIN be.at ON-3SG boat and 3TRIAL CONTIN

faigot-an a vana si-rutul.
prepare-TRANS ART net POSS-3TRIAL

‘They were in a boat, mending their nets.’ (Matthew 4:21)

Note that the first occurrence in (7.101) does not correspond to a progressive in the English translation, but does involve a continuing state.

The continuative particle is the only non-future particle which requires the use of the incomplete 3SG weak subject pronoun i (§3.1.3) when the subject is 3SG, as in (7.98) and (7.99) above.
7.7.1.3. *fuuna* ‘habitual’

The habitual particle *fuuna* is illustrated in (7.102) to (7.104); there are two occurrences in (7.104).

(7.102) *Xenaso nemaam e mu Ferasi maam *fuuna* falfaal
why 1EXCL.PL and PL Pharisee 1EXCL.PL HABIT fast

    *faa-xaves* ... times-many

‘Why do we and the Pharisees fast often ...?’ (Matthew 9:14)

(7.103) *E nane* *fuuna* ngan a sakawa e vevoi.
and 3SG HABIT eat ART locust and honey

‘And his diet consisted of locusts and wild honey.’ (Matthew 3:4)

(7.104) *Nane toxan a giis-an la putu-na e* *fuuna* *gaga e*
3SG have ART sick-NMLZ LOC head-3SG and HABIT crazy and

    *maana yaan* *fuuna* poxo xe lana fata o raarum.
GRTR.PL day HABIT fall to in fire or water

‘He has a sickness in his head and he is crazy and he often falls into the fire or the water.’ (Matthew 17:15)

*Fuuna* often co-occurs with the adverb *vulai ~ vulan* ‘always’, as in (7.105) and (7.106).

(7.105) *Ne texaas o no* *fuuna* langai vul-an=au, ... 1SG know COMP 2SG HABIT hear always-TRANS=1SG

‘I knew that you always listen to me, ...’ (John 11:42)

(7.106) *E xasanofuna aava ri* *fuuna* *vil* *vul-an a maana*
and others.PL REL 3PL HABIT do always-TRANS ART GRTR.PL

    *mo xena fa-faamamaas-aan=a ta-ri mon* ...
thing PURP CAUS-happy-NMLZ=ART skin-3PL only

‘And others who always do things in order to please only themselves ...’ (Romans 2:8)

In addition to the preverbal particle *fuuna*, there is also a morphological process using reduplication that I have tentatively also labeled habitual (§4.2.11), illustrated in (7.107); it is not clear how these two constructions differ, though *fuuna* is more clearly habitual and seems never to be negative, unlike the reduplication process, which is usually negative, occurring with the preverbal particle *pi* ‘never’.

(7.107) *Mi pi* *la-langai* a ling i-na e *mi pi*
2PL never HABIT-hear ART voice POSS-3SG and 2PL never

    *xa-xalum* a *vipin* i-na.
HABIT-see ART body POSS-3SG

‘You people have never heard his voice nor seen his form at any time,’ (John 5:37)
7.7.1.4. *tamu* ‘previous state’

The function of the particle *tamu* is not entirely clear, primarily because there are relatively few examples. However, it appears to mark states that were previously the case but no longer are. For example, in (7.108), *tamu* occurs in a relative clause ‘who had been lost’ (referring to a sheep) but the clause in which this is embedded refers to finding the sheep that had been lost.

(7.108) ... *i* taa faamamaas paaliu layaan *a* tingin a saxa aava *tamu* milung.  
3SG.INCOMPL FUT happy INTENS when 3SG find ART one REL PREV.STATE lost  
‘... [he] will be very happy when he finds the one who had been lost.’ (Matthew 18:13)

Example (7.109) contains five occurrences of *tamu*, all consistent with the idea that marks states that are no longer the case.

(7.109) *A mu* rabuna aava ri *tamu* piif ri kaalum fulaa;  
ART PLUR people REL 3PL PREV.STATE blind 3PL see again  
a mu rabuna aava ri *tamu* maalapen ri sangas;  
ART PLUR people REL 3PL PREV.STATE lame 3PL walk  
nari aava tari *tamu* tapak ri roxo paaliu; nari  
3PL REL skin-3PL PREV.STATE leprosy 3PL good INTENS 3PL  
aava ri *tamu* vaang, ri langai; nari aava ri  
REL 3PL PREV.STATE deaf 3PL hear 3PL REL 3PL  
*tamu* maat ri to fa-’ulaa e a mu valagof  
PREV.STATE die 3PL live ADV-return and ART PLUR poor  
ri taxa langai a Lagasai Roxo.  
3PL CONTIN hear 3SG news good  
‘The blind see, the lame walk, lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, and the poor hear the good news.’ (Matthew 11:5)

The first occurrence of *tamu* in (7.109) is in ‘the blind see’, or more accurately ‘those who had been blind now see’. The next three occurrences of *tamu* in (7.109) are similar: ‘those who were lame now walk’, ‘those who were lepers are now cleansed’, and ‘those who were deaf now hear’. The fifth occurrence is in ‘those who had died now live again’; while the verb *maat* normally means ‘die’, it could just as easily be construed as a stative verb meaning ‘dead’. Significantly, the last clause in this set *a mu valagof* ‘the poor’ does not use *tamu*; but this seems to be because they are still poor, unlike the five previous sets of people who are no longer in their previous state.
7.7.2. Future preverbal particles

7.7.2.1. taa ‘future’

The future particle taa is illustrated in (7.110) and (7.111).

(7.110)  
... e  no  taa  sisiak  si-na  mon.
and  2SG  FUT  servant  POSS-3SG  only
‘... and you will only be his servant.’  (Matthew 4:10)

(7.111)  
Ne  taa  tavai  nano  pa-na  maana  mo  aanabe’  tamo ...
1SG  FUT  give  2SG  PREP-3SG  GRTR.PL  thing  this  if
‘I will give you all these things if ...’  (Matthew 4:9)

The examples in (7.112) and (7.113) each contain two occurrences of taa.

(7.112)  
E  no  taa  kuus  malaan  faa-talatul  paamuin=a  pura
and  2SG  FUT  speak  thus  times-three  before=ART  chicken
i  taa  rawei  faa-taragua.
3SG.INCOMPL  FUT  make.sound  times-two
‘You will speak this way three times before a rooster crows twice.’  (Mark 14:30)

(7.113)  
... e  tamo  a  faat  naang  i  taa  poxo
and  if  ART  stone  same  3SG.INCOMPL  FUT  fall
xulu-n’  ta  mataa  i  taa  mimit=e  e  ...
on-3SG  NONSPEC  man  3SG.INCOMPL  FUT  crush=3SG  and
‘... and if the same stone falls on any man, it will crush him and ...’  (Matthew 21:44)

The future particle is also used where English uses must, should, or have to, as in (7.114) to (7.116).

(7.114)  
Naak  maam  taa  fe  maraan  bret  xa-ri  xapiak  bo?
surely  1EXCL.PL  FUT  go.and  obtain  bread  for-3PL  all  Q
‘Surely, we have to go and obtain bread for all of them, don’t we?’  (Luke 9:13)

(7.115)  
... o  maam  taa  waan  bang  a  xasafuna?
or  1EXCL.PL  FUT  be.at  wait  ART  another
‘... or should we wait for another?’  (Matthew 11:3)

(7.116)  
... lavaxa  na  ti-na  mataa  aava  fo  maat
then  ART  sibling.same-3SG  man  REL  PERF  die
i  taa  tamai  si-na  tefin  aave ...
3SG.INCOMPL  FUT  marry  POSS-3SG  woman  that
‘... then the brother of the man who died must marry that woman ...’  (Mark 12:19)
It is used in result clauses referring to the future, as in (7.117) and (7.118).

(7.117) *Feng tapin et nari talo ri taa laak la*

send away away 3PL so.that 3PL FUT enter LOC

\[\text{nu bina faasilak xena }\]

PAUC place near PURP

‘Send them away so that they can go into the villages to [buy food for themselves].’

(Matthew 14:15)

(7.118) *... e layaan mi fo tingin=e mi maa xuus=au*

and when 2PL PERF find=3SG 2PL come.and tell=1SG

\[\text{talo nenia sait ne taa fe nangus=e. }\]

so.that 1SG also 1SG FUT go.and worship=3SG

‘... and when you find him, inform me so that I can go and worship him as well.’

(Matthew 2:8)

It is sometimes used in imperative clauses, as in (7.119) and (7.120).

(7.119) *Mutul taa waan pavefefexaxaas ...*

2TRIAL FUT be.at there until

‘Stay there until ...’ (Matthew 2:13)

(7.120) *... me taa saf tapin a pof ti xulu-na ka-me.*

2DU FUT wipe away ART dust from ON-3SG feet-2DU

‘... shake the dust off your feet.’ (Mark 6:11)

It is used in hortative contexts, as in (7.121) and (7.122).

(7.121) *Taara taa falet xe la paxasing i-na laman.*

1INCL.PL FUT go to LOC side POSS-3SG sea

‘Let’s go across to the other side of the lake.’ (Mark 4:35)

(7.122) *Taare taa ulaa xe la nu bina aava taare fo ...*

1INCL.DU FUT go to LOC PAUC town REL 1INCL.DU PERF

‘Let’s go to every town where we ...’ (Acts 15:36)

It is used in indirect commands, as in (7.123) and (7.124).

(7.123) *... o ri taa falet fatak xe la xasa paxasing*

COMP 3PL FUT go straight to LOC other side

\[\text{i-na raarum. }\]

POSS-3SG water

‘... [he told his disciples] to go to the other side of the lake.’ (Matthew 8:18)
(7.124) ... nane fo xuus a mu rabuna si-na o
3SG PERF tell ART PL people POSS-3SG COMP
ri taa tao na Jon e pis fa-waan=e la
3PL FUT hold ART John and tie CAUS-be.at=3SG LOC
bina i-na vipis-an.
place POSS-3SG be.tied-NMLZ
‘... he told his men to arrest John and put him in prison.’  (Matthew 14:3)

7.7.2.2. tamaa ‘may’

The particle tamaa is used to indicate future possibility, as in (7.125) and (7.126).

(7.125) Ne bai feng tapin nari pa-na ri lagai senaso ri
1SG not.want send away 3PL PREP-3SG 3PL hungry because 3PL
   tamaa maat la falet-an si-ri.
   may die LOC go-NMLZ POSS-3PL
   ‘I don’t want to send them away hungry since they may faint on the way.’  (Matthew 15:32)

(7.126) Piau, layaan mi put a latan mi tamaa put
no when 2PL pull.up ART weeds 2PL may pull.up
   a kam roxo aava fo boak vaxa.
   ART seed good REL PERF grow also
   ‘No, when you pull up the weeds, you may pull up the good seeds that have grown as well.’  (Matthew 13:29)

Tamaa is common after ulau ‘lest, in case’, as in (7.127) and (7.128).

(7.127) Fakaxup netaara ulaa taara tamaa xarak!
save 1INCL.PL lest 1INCL.PL may drown
   ‘Save us lest we die!’  (Matthew 8:25)

(7.128) Taasaxa ri kuus o ri taa pife vil=e lana yaan
but 3PL say COMP 3PL FUT NEG do=3SG in day
   i-na fenamo ulaa mu rabuna ri tamaa marala
   POSS-3SG feast lest PL people 3PL may angry
   e fevis.
   and fight
   ‘But they said that they would not do it on the day of the feast lest the people be angry and fight.’  (Matthew 26:5)

Note that tamaa ‘may’ has scope over both verbs in this last example; in general, both weak subject pronouns and preverbal particles are sometimes repeated before a second verb and sometimes are not, as in this example.
7.7.2.3. *tafo* ‘would have’

The particle *tafo* is used before the verb in the apodos of a counterfactual conditional, as in (7.129) and (7.130).

(7.129) ... *tamo a maana mo fa-'ipul aava mi fo xalum=e*
if ART GRTR.PL thing CAUS-amazed REL 2PL PERF see=3SG

*ri fo savat pe la ro bina Tair e Saidan, a mu*
3PL PERF come at LOC DUAL place Tyre and Sidon ART PL

*rabuna saat pave ri *tafo* fa-lak a marapi*
people bad there 3PL would.have CAUS-go.up ART clothes

*maxata e tapalan a vebit i-na fata la putu-ri ...*
black and spread ART ashes POSS-3SG fire LOC head-3PL

‘If the miracles you have seen had happened in Tyre and Sidon, the sinners there would have worn black clothes and spread ashes on their heads ...’ (Matthew 11:21)

(7.130) *Tamo a mataa tafu-na lifu fo texaas se-na yaan*
if ART man owner-3SG house PERF know PREP-3SG day

*a mataa i-na fenau i taa fili-maan*
ART man POSS-3SG steal 3SG.INCOMPL FUT come-come

*i *tafo* kaalum vot-ai e ti*
3SG.INCOMPL would.have look block-INTRANS and stand.and

*vot-an a mataa i-na fenau se-na laak la*
block-TRANS ART man POSS-3SG steal PREP-3SG enter LOC

*lifu si-na.*
house POSS-3SG

‘If the owner of the house had known at what time the thief would coming, he would have been alert and would have prevented the thief from entering his house.’ (Matthew 24:43)

Note again that the preverbal particle in this example has scope over two verbs.

In (7.131), *tafo* occurs in a sentence which is not formally a conditional sentence, but still has the meaning ‘would have’.

(7.131) *E na Pariat, a memai ti Rom nane *tafo* mulus*
and ART Pilate ART lord from Rome 3SG would.have release

*tapin=e, taasaxa mi bai.*
away=3SG but 2PL not.want

‘And Pilate, the leader from Rome, would have released him, but you did not want [him to].’ (Acts 3:13)
7.7.2.4. tafe ‘become (future)’

The preverbal particle tafe has the meaning ‘will become’, as in (7.132) and (7.133).

(7.132)  
*E senaso a saat-an si-na rabuna tafe*
and because ART bad-NMLZ POSS-3SG people **become.FUT**

* molava ... *

‘And because lawlessness will increase ...’  (Matthew 24:12)

(7.133)  
*... lami-na yaan i-na mu lagaf-an aave, a ngaas*
after-3SG day POSS-3SG PL difficult-NMLZ that ART sun

*i tafe suk.*

3SG.INCOMPL become.FUT dark

‘... after the time of the suffering, the sun will become dark.’  (Matthew 24:29)

Most of the occurrences of tafe are before adjectives, as in the two preceding examples, and its meaning is clearly ‘will become’ in these cases. Its meaning is less clear when it combines with verbs, as in (7.134) and (7.135).

(7.134)  
*Feng tapin et a maana mu rabuna aanabe’ talo ri*
send away away ART GRTR.PL PL people this so.that 3PL

* tafe seng fangan-an e ... *

become.FUT look.for eat-NMLZ and

‘Send these people away, so they can look for food and ...’  (Luke 9:12)

(7.135)  
*Memai, ne tafe xaaf-an na tama-ang xalak*
Lord 1SG **become.FUT** bury-TRANS ART father-1SG if.you.please

*e mui ne taa usi nano.*

and then 1SG FUT follow 2SG

‘Lord, first let me go and bury my father and then I will follow you.’  (Luke 9:59)

I suspect that tafe is derived from the two preverbal particles taa ‘future’ and fe ‘go and’ (see §7.7.4.2); this is consistent with the two preceding examples (‘will go and look for’ and ‘will go and bury’). However, one does get taa followed by fe as separate words, as in (7.136).

(7.136)  
*layaan mi fo tingin=e mi maa xuus=au*
when 2PL PERF find=3SG 2PL come.and tell=1SG

*talo nenia sait ne taa fe nangus=e.*
so.that 1SG also 1SG FUT go.and worship=3SG

‘When you have found him, come and inform me so that I can go and worship him as well.’  (Matthew 2:8)
7.7.3. The negative preverbal particles

7.7.3.1. *pife* ‘not’

*Pife* is the standard way of negating a clause, as in (7.137) to (7.139).

(7.137) ... *a tefin a pife maat, i taxa matef mon.*
   ART woman 3SG NEG die 3SG.INCOMPL CONTIN sleep only
   ‘The woman did not die, she is only sleeping.’ (Luke 8:52)

(7.138) ... *nano no taa kuus faa-talatul o no pife texaas se-ga.*
   2SG 2SG FUT say times-three COMP 2SG NEG know
   PREP-1SG
   ‘... you will say three times that you do not know me.’ (Matthew 26:34)

(7.139) *E tamo no pife faxatang fa-roxoj a mo si-na xasafuna ...*
   and if 2SG NEG look.after ADV-good ART thing
   POSS-3SG another
   ‘And if you don’t take good care of someone else’s property, ...’ (Luke 16:12)

As discussed in §7.10, *pife* is also used with nominal predicates; the copula *ve ~ va*, which is optional in affirmative clauses with nominal predicates, is not used in such clauses, as in (7.140).

(7.140) *Nemaam mu Juda, maam pera-roxo se-ri aava ri pife Juda, bo?*
   1EXCL.PL PL Jew 1EXCL.PL COMPAR-good PREP-3PL REL
   3PL NEG Jew Q
   ‘Are we Jews better than those who are not Jews?’ (Romans 3:9)

The interjection meaning ‘no’ is *piau*, as in (7.141).

(7.141) *Piau, layaan mi put a latan mi tamaa put no when 2PL pull.up ART weeds 2PL FUT.IRR pull.up a kam roxo aava fo boak vaxa.*
   ART seed good REL PERF grow also
   ‘No, when you pull up the weeds, you may pull up the good seeds that have grown as well.’ (Matthew 13:29)

The word *piau* also functions as a verb meaning ‘not have’, as in (7.142) and (7.143).
Despite being morphologically simpler than the general negative particle *pife, pi* has the more specific meaning ‘never’, as in (7.144) to (7.146).

(7.144) *Nami mu rabuna mi pi namkai e ...*  
2PL PL people 2PL never believe and  
‘You people never believe and ...’ (Matthew 17:17)

(7.145) *Taara pi xa-xalum ta mo malaanabe' pe Israel.*  
1INCL.PL never HABIT-see NONSPEC thing like.this at Israel  
‘We have never seen anything like this in Israel.’ (Matthew 9:33)

(7.146) *E i taa pi nu-num a raarum tateak o ...*  
and 3SG.INCOMPL FUT never HABIT-drink ART water strong or  
xasano mo malaan e ...  
other thing like and  
‘And he must never drink wine or other things like it ...’ (Luke 1:14)

The particle *pi* is often accompanied by the reduplicated habitual form of the verb, as in the last two examples.

7.7.3.3. *muta* ‘prohibitive, should not’

The particle *muta* functions as a prohibitive (negative imperative) marker, as in (7.147) to (7.149).

(7.147) *Muta tiis a xasanofuna talo no taa pife tiis-an.*  
PROHIB judge ART other.PL so.that 2SG FUT NEG judge-PASS  
‘Do not judge others so that you will not be judged.’ (Matthew 7:1)

(7.148) *Muta tavai a mu piu pa-na mo motaap.*  
PROHIB give ART PL dog PREP-3SG thing holy  
‘Do not give what is holy to dogs.’ (Matthew 7:6)
(7.149) **Muta** mataut-an a rabuna aava ri fexaxaas se-na

PROHIB afraid-TRANS ART people REL 3PL able PREP-3SG

\[
\text{punux-aan=a ta-na mataa mon } ...
\]

\[
\text{kill-NMLZ=ART skin-3SG man only}
\]

‘Do not be afraid of people who are able to kill only the body of a man ...’ (Luke 12:4)

*Muta* is also used with third person subjects to mean ‘should not’, as in (7.150) and (7.151).

(7.150) **E lana mif-an a Piran a xuus fa-texaas nari**

and in dream-NMLZ ART big.man 3SG tell CAUS-know 3PL

\[
\text{o ri } \text{muta ulaa xe si Herot.}
\]

COMP 3PL PROHIB return to POSS Herod

‘And in a dream, God warned them that they should not return to Herod.’ (Matthew 2:12)

(7.151) **E tamo ta mataa i taxa tigina xulu-na**

and if NONSPEC man 3SG.INCOMPL CONTIN stand ON-3SG

\[
\text{lifu i } \text{muta sivi xe lana } ...
\]

house 3SG.INCOMPL PROHIB go.down to in

‘And if a man stands on the roof of the house, he must not come down and go inside ...

’ (Mark 13:15)

7.7.3.4. *muneta* ‘must not’

There is another, less common, preverbal particle *muneta* which also has prohibitive meaning, illustrated in (7.152) and (7.153). It is not clear how it differs in meaning from *muta*.

(7.152) **Muneta** taangiis!

must.not weep

‘Stop weeping!’ (Revelation 5:5)

(7.153) **Na Yesus a ferawai faagut xe si-ri xapiak o ri**

ART Jesus 3SG speak strong to POSS-3PL all COMP 3PL

\[
\text{taa muneta xuus fa-texaas a mu rabuna pa-na.}
\]

FUT must.not speak CAUS-know ART PL people PREP-3SG

‘Jesus ordered them all not to tell the people about it.’ (Mark 7:36)

7.7.3.5. *bai* ‘not want’

It is not obvious whether *bai* ‘not want’ is a verb or a preverbal particle (an issue that also arises with *buk* ‘want’; see §7.7.5). Syntactically, it occurs in the same position as preverbal
particles, following weak subject pronouns and immediately preceding a verb, as in (7.154) and (7.155).

(7.154) Ne bai feng tapin nari pa-na ri lagai senaso ri
1SG not.want send away 3PL PREP-3SG 3PL hungry because 3PL

tamaa maat la falet-an si-rt.
FUT.IRR die LOC go-NMLZ POSS-3PL

‘I don’t want to send them away hungry since they may faint on the way.’ (Matthew 15:32)

(7.155) ... nane bai falet xe Jerusalem senaso a mataut.
3SG not.want go to Jerusalem because 3SG afraid

‘... he did not want to go to Jerusalem because he was afraid.’ (Matthew 2:22)

There are arguments, however, for considering bai a verb. Namely, unlike other preverbal particles (including buk ‘want’), bai can occur with some verbal affixes. In (7.156), it occurs with the transitivizing suffix -an, to yield a verb baian ‘not like’.

(7.156) a maana rabuna aava ri bai-an a Piran
ART GRTR.PL people REL 3PL not.want-TRANS ART big.man

‘people who hate God’ (Matthew 11:12)

In (7.157), it occurs both with the transitivizing suffix -an and with the reciprocal prefix fe.

(7.157) Ri taa pet lisan nari xa e fe-bai-an
3PL FUT betray bring 3PL REFL/RECIP and RECIP-not.want-TRANS

nari.
3PL

‘Then many will be led into sin, and they will betray one another and hate one another.’ (Matthew 24:10)

7.7.4. The associated motion preverbal particles

There are three preverbal particles which indicate motion (or position) immediately preceding or simultaneous with the time of the event of the verb. These are maa ‘come and’, fe ‘go and’ and ti ‘stand and’.

7.7.4.1. maa ‘come and’

The preverbal particle maa indicates motion towards the deictic centre (the speaker or the primary character in a narrative passage), as in (7.158) and (7.159), often best glossed as ‘come and’.

(7.158) Me maa usi=au e ...
2DU come.and follow=1SG and

‘Follow me and ... ‘ (Matthew 4:19)
Example (7.160) contains both maa ‘come and’ and fe ‘go and’ (§7.7.4.2).

Maa often accompanies the verb savat ‘come’, as in (7.161) and (7.162); how this might differ from savat without maa is unclear.

The verbal suffix -maan (§4.2.10) conveys a somewhat similar meaning, as in (7.163) (which also contains an instance of maa).

The difference between the suffix -maan and the preverbal particle maa seems to be that with the suffix -maan, the event of coming is simultaneous with the event denoted by the verb, while with maa, the event of coming immediately precedes the event denoted by the verb. In (7.163), for example, the motion of coming with falamaan is simultaneous with the event of running, while with maa turung, the motion of coming precedes the kneeling. The other examples of maa above involve sequential events, as does (7.164).
... some seeds fell along the path, and the birds came and devoured them.’
(Matthew 13:4)

7.7.4.2. fe ‘go and’

The preverbal particle fe, illustrated in (7.165) to (7.167), is similar to the preverbal particle maa except that it denotes motion away from the deictic centre.

(7.165) A mu fefeng si-na ri fe fa-para=ye e ...
ART PL disciple POSS-3SG 3PL go.and CAUS-wake.up=3SG and
‘His disciples went and woke him up and ...’ (Matthew 8:25)

(7.166) Mi fe seng faagut-an a lak aave ...
2PL go.and look.for strong-TRANS ART child that
‘Go and look carefully for the child.’ (Matthew 2:8)

(7.167) E voxo ne mataut se-ma e ne fe fun
and so 1SG afraid PREP-2SG and 1SG go.and hide
ART stone POSS-2SG in hole
‘And so I was afraid of you, and I went and hid your money in a hole in the ground.’
(Matthew 25:25)

As with maa, the motion away from the deictic centre immediately precedes the event denoted by the verb. There is no verbal suffix corresponding to -maan to indicate simultaneous motion away from the deictic centre (see §7.7.4.1).

7.7.4.3. ti ‘stand and’

The third associated motion preverbal particle ti ‘stand and’ does not involve motion, but is nevertheless in paradigmatic opposition to the associated motion particles maa and fe. Examples illustrating ti are given in (7.168) to (7.170).

(7.168) ... xa-na mu rabuna xaves aanabe’ aava ri taxa ti
for-3SG PL people many this REL 3PL CONTIN stand.and
langai, ...
hear
‘... for the sake of the many people standing listening...’ (John 11:42)
(7.169) Saxa mataa ti Mesidonia a ti fenung xe si-na
one man from Macedonia 3SG stand and beg to POSS-3SG
malaan ...
thus

‘A man from Macedonian was standing there urging him,’ (Acts 16:9)

(7.170) E saxanofuna aava ri ti faasilak, ri langai=e ...
and some.PL REL 3PL stand and near 3PL hear=3SG

‘And some who were standing nearby heard him and ...’ (Matthew 27:47)

Unlike maa and fe, the particle ti does not denote an event of standing preceding the event denoted by the verb, but simultaneous standing. This also means that it refers to a state of standing, not an event of standing up.

7.7.5. The preverbal particle buk ‘want’

The preverbal particle buk ‘want’ is illustrated in (7.171) and (7.172).

(7.171) Na Herot a buk punuk na Jon taasaxa ...
ART Herod 3SG want kill ART John but

‘Herod wanted to kill John but ...’ (Matthew 14:5)

(7.172) ... taasaxa mi buk xalum a mo fa-‘ipul.
but 2PL want see ART thing CAUS-amazed

‘... but you want to see miracle.’ (Matthew 12:39)

I classify buk as a preverbal particle rather than a verb because it has the same distribution as other preverbal particles, occurring between weak subject pronouns and the verb. Unlike its negative counterpart bai, buk does not occur with any verbal morphology. Nor are there any cases where it combines with another preverbal particle, an odd distribution if it were a verb.

There are two words for ‘want’ in Kara; one is buk and the other is vubuk. Buk is used for “same subject” wants, corresponding to English want to do something, as in the two preceding examples. For different subject wants, corresponding to English want someone to do something, the verb vubuk is used, along with a complement clause introduced by the complementizer o (see §8.2.1), as in (7.173) and (7.174), or with a clause lacking the complementizer o but with the irrealis preverbal particle rao (§7.7.7), as in (7.175).

(7.173) ... maam vubuk o no taa vil a mo fa-‘ipul.
1EXCL.PL want COMP 2SG FUT do ART thing CAUS-amazed

‘... we want you to perform a miracle.’ (Matthew 12:38)

(7.174) No vubuk o maam taa faigotan a fangan-an xena
2SG want COMP 1EXCL.PL FUT prepare ART eat-NMLZ PURP

Fenamo i-na Paaliu-an xa-num faa?
feast POSS-3SG pass-NMLZ for-2SG where

‘Where do you want us to prepare for you to eat the Passover?’ (Matthew 26:17)
The word *vubuk*, unlike *buk*, is clearly a verb. Apart from appearing in the same syntactic context as other complement-taking verbs, it also occurs with verbal morphology, such as the transitivizing suffix 

\[ -an \] (when it takes a nominal object as opposed to a clausal complement), as in (7.176).

\[(7.176)\]   

\[ \text{Layaan ta mataa a vubux-an a mo si-im,} \]  
when NONSPEC man 3SG want-TRANS ART thing POSS-2SG  
\[ \text{muta kuus o piau.} \]  
PROHIB say COMP no  

‘When a man wants something of yours, do not refuse.’  (Matthew 5:42)

There is one construction in which *buk* behaves more like a verb. In this construction it occurs with the particle *rao* (§7.7.7), as in (7.177).

\[(7.177)\]   

\[ \text{... e ri buk rao ri taa ferawai xuvul pa-ma.} \]  
and 3PL want IRREAL 3PL FUT speak with PREP-2SG  
\[ \text{‘... and they want to speak with you.’} \]  
(Matthew 12:47)

Since there are two weak subject pronouns *ri* ‘3PL’ in (7.177), one preceding *buk*, the other preceding *taa ferawai* ‘will speak’, the most natural analysis is one where *buk* is a verb, taking a complement clause marked with *rao*.

### 7.7.6. The preverbal particles *lo* and *mo*

There are two preverbal particles whose function is not clear. The first of these, *lo*, always co-occurs with another preverbal particle that precedes it, as in (7.178) to (7.180).

\[(7.178)\]   

\[ \text{... mu Juda ri taxa lo seng=e e ...} \]  
PL Jew 3PL CONTIN ?? look.for=3SG and  
\[ \text{‘... the Jewish leaders were looking for him and ...’} \]  
(John 7:11)

\[(7.179)\]   

\[ \text{Muta lo fa-sorak a mataa i-na fepitaa.} \]  
PROHIB ?? CAUS-trouble ART man POSS-3SG teach  
\[ \text{‘Do not trouble the teacher any longer.’} \]  
(Luke 8:49)

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49 The draft dictionary provided to me by Perry Schlie lists a particle *lo* with the meaning ‘have done this in the past’. This does not seem to fit, however, the examples cited here.
The second preverbal particle whose function is unclear is mo, illustrated in (7.181) and (7.182).

(7.181) A mu kuus fanai-an si-na Piran aava mu rabuna
ART PL say promise-NMLZ POSS-3SG big.man REL PL people
i-na kuus fatuxai ri fo mo kuus-an=e, ...
POSS-3SG say prophecy 3PL PERF ?? say-TRANS=3SG

‘The promises of God that the prophets talked about ...’ (Acts 3:25)

(7.182) ... nari ri taa siak a maasax-an malaan se-na
3PL 3PL FUT take ART suffer-NMLZ like PREP-3SG
vil-aan-a a rabuna ri mo vil=e se Yesus.
do-NMLZ-3SG ART people 3PL ?? do=3SG PREP Jesus

‘... they will take the suffering like the things that the people did to Jesus.’ (Acts 5:41)

7.7.7. Particles that occur between the subject and the weak subject pronoun

There are a small number of words that occur between the subject noun phrase and the weak subject pronoun. Some words that appear in this position in the texts examined are words that occur so infrequently that their function is unclear. Others are possible calques on the English, like vulai ‘always’ (English is fairly unusual crosslinguistically in normally placing an adverb meaning ‘always’ between the subject and the verb). In this section, I restrict discussion to two words that occur in this position.

7.7.7.1. rao ‘irrealis’

Clauses with the particle rao have future meaning, but in what might described as an irrealis sense: it is used in a variety of contexts referring to the future where the event only may happen, where there is in general no prediction that it actually will happen. My glossing it ‘irrealis’ is at best a crude way to characterize its meaning.

Rao is used in two different ways: in some cases, its use is triggered by other words with irrealis implications, while in other cases, there is no word triggering the use of rao. Examples illustrating the first of these possibilities are given in (7.183) to (7.188). Note that in none of these contexts is rao obligatory; what conditions the occasions when it is used in these contexts are not clear. In (7.183), its use is triggered by buk ‘want’.

(7.183) ... e ri buk rao ri taa ferawai xuvul pa-ma.
and 3PL want IRREAL 3PL FUT speak with PREP-2SG
‘... and they want to speak with you.’ (Matthew 12:47)
In (7.184), its use is triggered by *layaan* ‘when’ interpreted habitually (and thus not denoting a specific actual event).

(7.184)  
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Ri pife usi a vil-aan-a si-\textit{taara} layaan \textit{rao}} \\
&\text{3PL NEG follow ART do-NMLZ-3SG POSS-1INCL.PL when IRREAL}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{ri fangan e ri pife xamak a ma-\textit{ri}.} \\
&\text{3PL eat and 3PL NEG wash ART hand-3PL}
\end{align*}
\]

‘They do not follow our traditions when they eat and they do not wash their hands.’  
(Matthew 15:2)

In (7.185), its use is triggered by *faasilak* ‘near, almost’.

(7.185)  
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{A lak tefin si-ak faasilak \textit{rao} i maat.} \\
&\text{ART child female POSS-1SG near IRREAL 3SG.INCOMPL die}
\end{align*}
\]

‘My daughter is near death.’  (Mark 5:23)

In (7.186), its use is triggered by *tamo* ‘if’.

(7.186)  
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Tamo ta saxa mataa \textit{rao} i taa fenau ...} \\
&\text{if NONSPEC one man IRREAL 3SG.INCOMPL FUT steal}
\end{align*}
\]

‘If a man steals ...’  (Mark 3:27)

In (7.187) and (7.188), *rao* occurs in indirect commands, its use triggered by the higher verbs *fin* ‘ask’, in the sense of ‘ask someone to’, and *xuus* ‘tell’, in the sense of ‘tell someone to’.

(7.187)  
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{... a fin na Yesus \textit{rao} i taa falet xuuvul} \\
&\text{3SG ask ART Jesus IRREAL 3SG.INCOMPL FUT go with}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{pa-na. PREP-3SG}
\end{align*}
\]

‘[the man who had been demon-possessed] asked Jesus to go with him.’  (Mark 5:18)

(7.188)  
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{... e mui a xuus a mu fefeng \textit{rao} ri taa} \\
&\text{and then 3SG tell ART PL disciple IRREAL 3PL FUT}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{tavai a mu rabuna pa-na sait. give ART PL people PREP-3SG also}
\end{align*}
\]

‘... and then he told his disciples to give these to the people as well.’  (Mark 8:7)

*Rao* triggers the incompletive 3SG weak subject pronoun *i* when the subject is 3SG, like future particles and the continuative particle, as in (7.185) to (7.187) above.  
Examples in which there is nothing in the grammatical context that triggers the use of *rao*, and *rao* is the sole indication of irrealis status, are given in (7.189) to (7.191).
(7.189) E rao ri fa-num=e pa-na wain aava toxan
and IRREAL 3PL CAUS-drink=3SG PREP-3SG wine REL have

a saxa buk titiwai ...
ART one small.amount herb

‘They offered him wine mixed with myrrh, [but he did not take it].’ (Mark 15:23)

(7.190) ... ri ta’ulan a bina Betani rao ri taa ulaa fulaa
3PL leave ART place Bethany IRREAL 3PL FUT return back

xe Jerusalem ...
to Jerusalem

‘...they left Bethany to go back to Jerusalem ...’ (Mark 11:12)

(7.191) ... e taxa sangas xulu-na laman e rao i
and CONTIN walk ON-3SG sea and IRREAL 3SG.INCOMPL

taa paaliu nari.
FUT pass 3PL

‘..he was walking on the sea and wanted to pass by them.’ (Mark 6:48)

Rao also occurs in why-questions, as in (7.192) and (7.193), which are not really irrealis.

(7.192) ... xenaso rao me fe-sopan name?
why IRREAL 2DU RECIP-hurt 2PL

‘Why are you hurting one another?’ (Acts 7:26)

(7.193) Xenaso mi rao mi fulung=au?
why 2PL IRREAL 2PL test=1SG

‘Why are you testing me?’ (Matthew 22:18)

7.7.7.2. The particle xo

A second particle which occurs between the subject noun phrase and the weak subject
pronoun is xo, whose function is not clear from examples in the New Testament. However,
the draft dictionary shared with me by Perry Schlie characterizes its function as ‘highlights a
topic, introduces a change of topic’. Examples are given in (7.194) to (7.197).

(7.194) Na Yesus xo maa savat la Raarum Jordan ti
ART Jesus TOPIC come.and come LOC water Jordan from

Galili talo na Jon i taa fasuf=e.
Galilee so.that ART John 3SG.INCOMPL FUT baptize=3SG

‘Then Jesus came to the Jordan River from Galilee so that John could baptize him.’
(Matthew 3:13)
(7.195) *E mui na Setan a ta’ulan=e e a mu angelo* 
and later *ART Satan 3SG leave=3SG and ART PLUR angel*

```
xo ri maa savat si-na e ri xavang=e.
TOPIC 3PL come.and come POSS-3SG and 3PL help=3SG
```

‘Then the devil left him, and angels came and began ministering to his needs.’
(Matthew 4:11)

(7.196) *La leaaf a mu fefeng xo ri maa savat*
*LOC evening ART PLUR disciple TOPIC 3PL come.and come*

```
si-na e ri xuus=e ... 
POSS-3SG and 3PL speak=3SG ... 
```

‘In the evening, his disciples came to him saying ...’ (Matthew 14:15)

(7.197) *... e layaan na nina-na e mu ti-na xo*
*and when ART mother-3SG and PL sibling.same-3SG TOPIC*

```
ri savat xena xalum-aan-a ri pife fexaxaas se-na laak
3PL come PURP see-NMLZ-3SG 3PL NEG able PREP-3SG enter
soxot=e. INTENS=3SG
```

‘... and when his mother and his brothers came to him, they could not get near him.’
(Luke 8:19)

7.7.8. Combinations of preverbal particles

There are very few combinations of preverbal particles in the texts examined. Three of the combinations I have found have *taa* ‘future’ as the first preverbal particle, followed by *pife* ‘not’, *pi* ‘never’, or *fe* ‘go and’, as in (7.198) to (7.200).

(7.198) *... na Tama-mi i taa pife lamon tapin*
*ART father-2 PL 3SG.INCOMPL FUT NEG think away*

```
a vil-aan-a saat si-mi.
ART do-NMLZ-3SG bad POSS-2PL
```

‘[But if you do not forgive others,] your Father will not forgive your sins.’
(Matthew 6:15)

(7.199) *E i taa pi nu-num a raarum tateak o*
*and 3SG.INCOMPL FUT never HABIT-drink ART water strong or*

```
xasano mo malaan e ... 
other thing like and 
```

‘And he must never drink wine or other things like it ...’ (Luke 1:14)

(7.200) *Naak maam taa fe maraan bret xa-ri xapiak bo?*
*surely 1EXCL.PL FUT go.and obtain bread for-3PL all Q*

‘Surely, we have to go and obtain bread for all of them, don’t we?’ (Luke 9:13)
In (7.201), the perfect particle *fo* occurs with the preverbal particle *ti* ‘stand and’.

(7.201)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{Na Yesus a langai o nari, ri} & \text{*fo*} & \text{ti}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{ART Jesus 3SG hear COMP 3PL 3PL PERF stand.and}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{vot-an a mataa aave e ...}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{block-TRANS ART man that and}
\end{array}
\]

‘Jesus heard that they had thrown [??] the man out and ...’  (John 9:35)

Other combinations not represented in the texts examined are probably possible, such as *fo* ‘perfect’ and *maa* ‘come and’.

### 7.8. Semantically trivalent clauses

Kara allows at most one object per clause (either a noun phrase or an object clitic). Semantically trivalent clauses typically express the more theme-like argument in a prepositional phrase marked with the preposition *pa*, as in (7.202) and (7.203) (see also §6.2.3).

(7.202)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{Ne taa tavai nano} & \text{pa-na} & \text{maana mo aanabe'}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
1SG FUT give 2SG PREP-3SG GRTR.PL thing this if
\end{array}
\]

‘I will give you all these things if ...’  (Matthew 4:9)

(7.203)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{Falet, fa-xalum a mu priis pa-na ta-mi.}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{go CAUS-see ART PL priest PREP-3SG skin-2PL}
\end{array}
\]

‘Go and show yourselves to the priests.’  (Luke 17:14)

This applies not only to the sorts of clauses standardly considered ditransitive, but also to the verb *xali* ‘to call someone or something something’, as in (7.204), where name occurs in a prepositional phrase with the preposition *pa* (§6.2.3).

(7.204)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{Ri xali a mo lalas aanabe'} & \text{pa-na} & \text{Naart.}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
3PL call ART thing aromatic this PREP-3SG nard
\end{array}
\]

‘They call this aromatic substance ‘nard’.’  (Mark 14:3)

### 7.9. Semantically bivalent intransitive clauses

Semantically bivalent stative verbs are not transitive in Kara. Rather, their second argument is marked with the preposition *se* (see §6.2.4), as in (7.205) to (7.208); this is the basic use of this preposition. For example, in (7.205), the second semantic argument with *texaas* ‘know’, is not an object of the verb, but is marked with the preposition *se*.

(7.205)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{Mi texaas se-na xakalay-an aava kuus malaan:}
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
2PL know PREP-3SG write-NMLZ REL say thus
\end{array}
\]

‘You know the writings which say ...’  (Matthew 5:43)
Some of these verbs also allow transitivization by the transitivizing suffix -an (§4.2.3). The resultant verbs are normal transitive verbs, treating their second argument as an object of the verb, without the use of a preposition, as in (7.209), where mataut ‘afraid’, the same verb as in (7.207), has been transitivized to matautan ‘afraid of’.

Similarly, while the first occurrence of mangil ‘ashamed’ in (7.210) combines with se, the second occurrence is transitivized with -an.

It is not clear why mangil might be used in these two ways in this example.

### 7.10. Clauses with nominal predicates

An optional copula word ve ~ va is used in clauses with nominal predicates, as in (7.211) to (7.214).
(7.211) *Nami ve mi mu rabuna saat.*
2PL be 2PL PL people bad
‘You are bad people.’  (Matthew 16:4)

(7.212) *A ro mata-mi ve re ro laam xena fa-malang*
ART DUAL eye-2PL be 3DU DUAL lamp PURP CAUS-light
a ta-mi.
ART SKIN-2PL
‘Your eyes are the lamps for lighting your body.’  (Matthew 6:22)

(7.213) *A mu rabuna aava ri usi a ferawai-an si-na*
ART PL people REL 3PL follow ART speak-NMLZ POSS-3SG
Piran, nari ve ri mu ti-ak e vasaa-k
dig.man 3PL be 3PL PL sibling.same-1SG and sibling.oppos-1SG
e nina-ang!
and mother-1SG
‘For whoever does the will of God, they are my brother and sister and mother.’
(Mark 3:35)

(7.214) *Tamo nano ve no Natu-na Piran, ...*
if 2SG be 2SG Son-3SG dig.man
‘If you are the Son of God, [command these stones to become bread].’  (Matthew 4:3)

There are a few peculiarities in these clauses, however. The first is that these clauses contain weak subject pronouns which follow the copula rather than precede it, namely *ri ‘3PL’* in (7.213), *no ‘2SG’* in (7.214) and *mi ‘2PL’* in (7.211). As discussed further below, this suggests that the copula is not a verb.

A second peculiarity is that when the subject is pronominal, the strong pronouns are obligatory, as in (7.211) and (7.214). This contrasts with the fact that strong pronouns as subject are otherwise always optional.

The third peculiarity is that a nominal predicate never occurs with the common article *a*. In (7.211) and (7.212), one might expect the common article *a*, but it is absent. The kin term *natuna ‘son’* in (7.214) might elsewhere occur with either the proper article or the common article, but kin terms never occur with the common article when they are nominal predicates; the same applies to (7.213). The proper article, on the other hand, does occur with nominal predicates that are proper names, as in (7.215) and (7.216).

(7.215) *... e a xaiyaas aava xapis a latan, nane ve na Setan.*
and ART enemy REL sow ART weeds 3SG be ART Satan.
‘... and the enemy who sows weeds is the devil.’  (Matthew 13:39)

(7.216) *Nenia ve na Gebriel e ...*
1SG be ART Gabriel and
‘I am Gabriel and ...’  (Luke 1:19)
In addition, while there are cases where there is no article with a kin term, as in (7.214) above, it is also possible for kin terms as predicates to occur with the proper article, as in (7.217) and (7.218).

(7.217) Na Abraham ve na tama-taara.
   ART Abraham be ART father-1INCL.PL
   ‘Abraham is our father.’ (Matthew 3:9)

(7.218) Naak nane ve na Natu Devit, bo?
   surely 3SG be ART son David Q
   ‘Could he be the Son of David?’ (Matthew 12:23)

When the predicate is a proper noun phrase, however, there is never any weak subject pronoun. We do not get the 1SG weak subject pronoun ne in (7.216) above, for example. And as with common noun phrases as predicates, when the subject of a clause with a proper noun phrase as predicate is pronominal, the strong pronoun is apparently obligatory, as in (7.215), (7.216), and (7.217) above.

It is not immediately obvious whether the weak subject pronoun forms a constituent with the predicate noun phrase, the way articles do; it might simply follow the copula and precede the nominal predicate without forming a constituent with the nominal predicate. However, evidence that the weak subject pronoun does indeed form a constituent with the nominal predicate is provided by nominal predicates involving conjoined noun phrases, where the weak subject pronoun can precede both conjuncts. In (7.219), for example, the 1SG weak subject pronoun ne occurs at the beginning of both conjuncts, ne Ferasi ‘a Pharisee’ and ne lak sina saxa Ferasi ‘a son of a Pharisee’.

(7.219) Mu fetinan, nenia ve ne Ferasi e
   PL sibling.same.RECIP 1SG be 1SG Pharisee and
   ne lak si-na saxa Ferasi.
   1SG child POSS-3SG one Pharisee
   ‘Brothers, I am a Pharisee and a son of a Pharisee.’ (Acts 23:6)

Similarly, in (7.220), the weak subject pronoun ri ‘3PL’ occurs before both conjuncts, vovau ‘spirit’ and toyan ‘life’.

(7.220) A mu vapaling aava ne fo xuus nami pa-na,
   ART PL word REL 1SG PERF tell 2PL PREP-3SG
   nari ve ri vovau e ri toy-an xa-na mataa.
   3PL be 3PL spirit and 3PL live-NMLZ for-3SG man
   ‘The words that I have spoken to you are spirit and are life for man.’ (John 6:63)

The fact that nominal predicates are introduced by either the proper article or a weak subject pronoun raises the question of whether the weak subject pronoun is somehow occurring in article position. An alternative view is that the weak subject pronouns simply mark predicates, whether those predicates be nominal or verbal. Under this view, the absence of the common article could be seen as reflecting the fact that nominal predicates involving common nouns are less referential than nominal predicates involving proper nouns or noun phrases in other positions.
The examples above of nominal predicates do not include cases where the nominal predicate is a common noun phrase and the subject is 3SG, as in (7.221) and (7.222).

(7.221)  Nabe’ ve a vuputkai si-ak:  
this be 3SG command POSS-1SG  
‘This is my command.’  (John 15:17)

(7.222)  ... o nane ve a mataa ti Nasare.  
COMP 3SG be 3SG man from Nazareth  
‘[People will say] that he is a man from Nazareth.’  (Matthew 2:23)

It is not immediately obvious whether the a that follows ve 'be' in (7.221) and (7.222) is the common article a or the 3SG weak subject pronoun a. On the one hand, since it is followed by a common noun, it looks like the common article. On the other hand, since we have seen that common noun phrases functioning as nominal predicates occur with weak subject pronouns when the subject is anything other than 3SG, it would make sense that these are weak subject pronouns. An additional reason for analysing them as weak subject pronouns rather than as common articles is that the weak subject pronoun is specifically singular while the common article is not specified for number and when common noun phrases functioning as nominal predicates begin with the word a, they are always singular (whereas if they are plural, they will occur with ri).

For this reason, these occurrences of a with nominal predicates are glossed as ‘3SG’ throughout this work.

The copula ve occasionally occurs in an alternative form va, as in (7.16), where va occur twice.

(7.223)  A uma lava va xavala e a kam roxo va mu rabuna  
ART field big be ground and ART seed good be PL people  
    aava ri waan la fatataganan si-na Piran.  
REL 3PL be.at LOC kingdom POSS-3SG big.man  
‘The field is the world and the good seed are the people of the kingdom of God.’  
(Matthew 13:38)

It is not clear what, if anything, governs the choice between ve and va. However, one important difference between ve and va is that va is never followed by the 3SG weak subject pronoun a, while ve is always followed by a when preceding a singular common noun phrase functioning as predicate. This might suggest that we analyse va as a contraction of ve plus the 3SG weak subject pronoun. There are a number of problems with such an analysis, however. First, va occurs before plural nominal predicates, like mu rabuna ‘people’ in (7.223); as noted above, the 3SG weak subject pronoun does not occur before plural predicates. Second, we get va preceding non-3SG weak subject pronouns, as in (7.224), where it is followed by the 1SG

---

50 There is one exception to this in the texts, given in (i).

(i)  E nase’ ve a mu tau-ga?  
and who be 3SG PL neighbour-1SG  
‘And who are my neighbours?’  (Luke 10:29)

Perhaps this example is an error.
weak subject pronoun *ne*; under the analysis in which *va* is a contraction of *ve* and *a*, we would thus have two weak subject pronouns, differing in person and/or number.

(7.224) ... *e nenia va ne saxa aava mi taxa seng=e.*
        and 1SG be 1SG one REL 2PL CONTIN look.for=3SG
‘I am the one that you are looking for.’ (John 18:8)

Third, *va* occurs before the interrogative pronoun *nase’,* as in (7.225); it is apparently not possible for a weak subject pronoun to precede *nase’* in predicate position.

(7.225) *Nenia va nase’?*
        1SG be who

And fourth, *va* appears before prepositional phrase predicates, as in (7.226) and (7.227); as will be discussed in §7.11, weak subject pronouns do not occur before prepositional phrase predicates.

(7.226) ... *nari va xa-taara xapiak.*
        3PL be for-1INCL.PL all
‘... they are for all of us.’ (Acts 3:25)

(7.227) ... *senaso a fatataganan si-na Piran va si-ri.*
        because ART kingdom POSS-3SG big.man be POSS-3PL
‘... for the kingdom of heaven belongs to them.’ (Matthew 5:10)

We are apparently forced to simply say that the 3SG weak subject pronoun is not used after the copula when it occurs in the form *va*. It is possible, however, that *va* arose historically as a contraction of *ve* and *a* but later became generalized to occur in other syntactic contexts. (See §5.8.6 for a somewhat parallel situation with the relative word *aava*. Both the common article *a* and the weak subject pronoun *a* are obligatorily absent after *aava*. I suggest that this may have arisen due to a contraction of the demonstrative *aave* and the common article *a* or the weak subject pronoun *a*. But similar to the situation with the copula *va*, this will not work as a synchronic account.)

The copula *ve ~ va* is actually optional. When it is absent, however, we still get the same pattern as when the copula is present, with the weak subject pronoun preceding the predicate noun phrase, as in (7.228) and (7.229).

(7.228) *A rabuna aanabe’ ri mu Juda.*
        ART people this 3PL PL Jews
‘These men are Jews.’ (Acts 16:20)

(7.229) *Nare re ro yaamut si-na Piran e ...*
        3DU 3DU DUAL apostle POSS-3SG big.man and
‘They are apostles of God and ...’ (Romans 16:7)

In (7.230), both clauses have a weak subject pronoun preceding the predicate noun phrase, *no 2SG’ in the first clause, *maam ‘1EXCL.PL’ in the second clause.
Predicate nominals can also occur with preverbal particles, as in (7.231) and (7.232), where the nominal predicate is preceded by the future particle *taa*. When there is a preverbal particle, the copula is absent.

(7.231) \[ \ldots \ a \ tefin \ aave \ i \ taa \ tefin \ si-se'? \]
\[
\text{ART} \ 
\text{woman} \ 
\text{that} \ 
\text{3SG.INCOMPL} \ 
\text{FUT} \ 
\text{woman} \ 
\text{POSS-INTER} \\
\ldots \ 
\text{whose wife will that woman be?} \ 
\text{(Matthew 22:28)} \\
\]

(7.232) \[ \ldots \ e \ no \ taa \ sisiak \ si-na \ mon. \]
\[
\text{and} \ 
\text{2SG} \ 
\text{FUT} \ 
\text{servant} \ 
\text{POSS-3SG} \ 
\text{only} \\
\ldots \ 
\text{and you will only be his servant.} \ 
\text{(Matthew 4:10)} \\
\]

In (7.233), the nominal predicate *ria* ‘blood’ occurs with the preverbal particle *tafe* ‘become.FUT’.

(7.233) \[ E \ nare, \ re \ toxan \ a \ gut-an \ xena \ xul \ a \ raarum \]
\[
\text{and} \ 
\text{3DU} \ 
\text{3DU} \ 
\text{have} \ 
\text{ART} \ 
\text{strong-NMLZ} \ 
\text{PURP} \ 
\text{change} \ 
\text{ART} \ 
\text{water} \\
\text{3SG.INCOMPL} \ 
\text{become.FUT} \ 
\text{blood} \\
\text{They have the power to turn the water to blood.’} \ 
\text{(Revelation 11:6)} \\
\]

As with verbal predicates, nominal predicates are negated with the preverbal particle *pife*, as in (7.234) and (7.235). The copula is absent in clauses with *pife*, as it is with other preverbal particles.

(7.234) \[ Nenia, \ ne \ pife \ Mataa \ Failai \ si-na \ Piran \ aava \ mi \ taxa \]
\[
\text{1SG} \ 
\text{1SG} \ 
\text{NEG} \ 
\text{man} \ 
\text{Christ} \ 
\text{POSS-3SG} \ 
\text{big.man} \ 
\text{REL} \ 
\text{2PL} \ 
\text{CONTIN} \\
\text{waan} \ 
\text{bang}=e. \ 
\text{be.at} \ 
\text{wait}=3SG \\
\text{‘I am not the Christ of God that you are waiting for.’} \ 
\text{(Acts 13:25)} \\
\]

(7.235) \[ Tamo \ nane \ pife \ mataa \ saat, \ ... \]
\[
\text{if} \ 
\text{3SG} \ 
\text{NEG} \ 
\text{man} \ 
\text{bad} \\
\text{‘If he were not a criminal, ...’} \ 
\text{(John 18:30)} \\
\]

Note that in predicate nominal clauses with a preverbal particle, the structure of the predicate is the same as in verbal clauses, with a weak subject pronoun followed by the preverbal particle, followed by the noun. This contrasts with predicate nominal clauses with a copula, which have a structure unlike verbal predicates, with the copula followed by the weak subject pronoun.
The word ve ~ va also functions as kind of topic marker. See §7.10 for arguments that its use with predicate nominals is not simply a topic marker. It is quite possible that the copula is a grammaticization from its use as a topic marker. The form of ve resembles a component of demonstratives (e.g. aave ‘that’, pave ‘there’), so ve was likely originally some sort of demonstrative.

There are instances of nominal predicates apparently preceding the copula, as in (7.236) to (7.239).

(7.236) A rongan ve!
3SG ghost be
‘[When the disciples saw him walking on the water they were terrified and said,]
“It’s a ghost!”’ (Matthew 14:26)

(7.237) Kaalum, a Mataa Failai ve!
look 3SG man Christ be
‘Look, here is the Christ!’ (Matthew 24:23)

(7.238) A Memai ve!
3SG LORD be
‘It is the Lord!’ (John 21:7)

(7.239) Siax=e e ngan=e, a vipin si-ak ve.
take=3SG and eat=3SG ART body POSS-1SG be
‘Take, eat, this is my body.’ (Matthew 26:26)

What all these examples have in common is that they are presentative: there is no other overt subject and the referent of the subject is determined by the physical context. It is possible that what appears to be a nominal predicate is actually grammatically the subject in these examples.51

7.11. Clauses with prepositional phrase predicates

There are two constructions in Kara for prepositional phrase predicates. In one construction the prepositional phrases functioning as predicates occur with the copula ve ~ va, but without weak subject pronouns, as in (7.240) to (7.243).

(7.240) A yaan aanabe’ ve paamuin=a vapis-an si Jon.
ART day this be before=ART be.tied-NMLZ POSS John
‘This day was before the imprisonment of John.’ (John 3:24)

51 I gloss the word a that occurs with the nominal predicate in these examples as 3SG on the assumption that these noun phrases are predicates and not subjects. If they are subjects, these instances of a would be instances of the common article a, not the weak subject pronoun. We would need to see what happens with plural noun phrases in this position to decide. If a also occurs with plural noun phrases in this position, then that would be an argument that a is the common article and that these noun phrases are subjects.
The second construction employs the locative copula *waan* rather than the copula *ve ~ va*, as in (7.244) and (7.245). This is the usual construction when the predicate expresses a location.

(7.244) *Taasaxa, lak tuaan va taxa waan la uma.*

‘Now his older son was in the field.’ (Luke 15:25)

(7.245) *A vave-se’ e a isi-se’ taxa waan xulu-na*

‘Whose image and whose name is on this stone?’ (Matthew 22:20)

Locative adverbs similarly follow the locative copula *waan*, as in (7.246) and (7.247).

(7.246) *Mutul taa waan pave fefexaxaas a yaan ne xuus*

‘Stay there until I tell you.’ (Matthew 2:13)

(7.247) *Kaalum, na nina-am e mu ti-am ri taxa waan lamalei e ... be.at outside and*

‘Look, your mother and your brothers are outside and [wanting to speak to you.]’ (Matthew 12:47)

*Waan* is also used with comitative predicates marked with *xuvul pa* ‘with’ (§6.2.3), as in (7.248) and (7.249).

(7.248) *mu rabuna aava ri waan xuvul pa-na*

‘the people who were with him’ (Matthew 8:10)
The locative copula *waan* is clearly a verb (in contrast to the copula *ve ~ va*) in that it can occur with preverbal particles, as in (7.244) and (7.245) above, where it occurs with the continuative preverbal particle *taxa*, and (7.246), where it occurs with the future particle *taa*. 

(Acts 1:14)
In this chapter, I examine two aspects of sentence structure, first, interrogative sentences and second, sentences containing more than one clause.

8.1. Interrogative sentences

8.1.1. Polar questions

Polar questions are most often marked with the sentence-final particle *bo*, as in (8.1) to (8.3).

(8.1) *Nano ve no paamua king si-na mu Juda, bo?*  
2SG be 2SG first king POSS-3SG PL Jew Q  
‘Are you the king of the Jews?’ (Matthew 27:11)

(8.2) *Mi fo masam pa-na maana mo aanabe’ bo?*  
2PL PERF understand PREP-3SG GRTR.PL thing this Q  
‘Have you understood all these things?’ (Matthew 13:51)

(8.3) *Me namkai o ne fexaxaas se-na vil fa-roxoi name, bo?*  
2DU believe COMP 1SG able PREP-3SG do CAUS-good  
2DU Q  
‘Do you believe that I am able to do good things for you?’ (Matthew 9:28)

But they are sometimes unmarked, having the same form as the corresponding declarative sentence, as in (8.4) to (8.6) (although these might be distinct in intonation from the corresponding declarative sentences).

(8.4) *Nano, no Ilaija?*  
2SG 2SG Elijah  
‘Are you Elijah?’ (John 1:21)

(8.5) *Mi masam se-na mo ne fo vil=e se-mi?*  
2PL understand PREP-3SG thing 1SG PERF do=3SG PREP-2PL  
‘Do you understand what I have done for you?’ (John 13:12)
A roxo tamo a saxa mataa i taa ta’ulan tapin
3SG good if ART one man 3SG.INCOMPL FUT leave away

a tefin si-na?
ART woman POSS-3SG

‘Is it lawful for a man to divorce his wife?’ (Mark 10:2)

It is not clear what conditions the use versus absence of the particle bo. Bo does seem to be used more often with leading questions (including rhetorical questions), where the speaker expects an answer ‘yes’, as in (8.7) to (8.9).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(8.7)</th>
<th>Nenia sang ne vesan a maana mo xapiak aanabe’ bo?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG alone 1SG make ART GRTR.PL thing all this Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Did my hand not make all these things?’ (Acts 7:50)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(8.8)</th>
<th>Mi texaas vaxa se-na xuuskuus pa Ilaija aava waan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2PL know also PREP-3SG story PREP Elijah REL be.at</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lana Xakalayan Taap, bo?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in writing sacred Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Do you not know the story of Elijah in the Scriptures?’ (Romans 11:2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(8.9)</th>
<th>A toy-an si-mi a molava se-na fangan-an e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ART live-NMLZ POSS-2PL 3SG big PREP-3SG eat-NMLZ and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a ta-mi a molava se-na marapi, bo?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART skin-2PL 3SG big PREP-3SG clothes Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Aren’t your lives worth more than food and your bodies more than clothing?’ (Matthew 6:25)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But for many instances of bo, there is little reason to think that the speaker expects a ‘yes’ answer, such as, perhaps, (8.1) to (8.3) above and (8.10).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(8.10)</th>
<th>No savat xena kawaasan xapin nemaam, bo?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2SG come PURP destroy completely 1EXCL.PL Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Have you come to destroy us?’ (Luke 4:34)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are also instances of questions like (8.11) where the speaker would seem to assume a ‘yes’ answer where bo is not used.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(8.11)</th>
<th>Tuuna no vubux-an=au?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>true 2SG want-TRANS=1SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Do you love me’ (John 21:17)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And in (8.12), bo is used when the expected answer appears to be ‘no’.
8.1.2. Content questions

8.1.2.1. nase’ ‘who’ and so ‘what’

The interrogative pronoun nase’ ‘who’ is illustrated in (8.13) to (8.15).

(8.13)  
\[ \text{Mi taxa seng nase’?} \]
\[ 2\text{PL CONTIN look for who} \]
‘Who are you looking for?’  (John 18:4)

Most occurrences of nase’ in the texts are one of two types: either they are functioning as subjects and occur in sentence-initial position, as in (8.13), or they are functioning as nominal predicates and occur in sentence-final position, as in (8.14). The only examples where it functions as object are (8.15) and other almost identical examples with the same verb seng ‘look for’; in these examples, nase’ occurs in object position. The apparent conclusion is that nase’ occurs in situ, the position in which noninterrogative noun phrases of the same function would occur.

The word so ‘what’, illustrated in (8.16) and (8.17), is not a pronoun, but a noun, since it occurs with the common article a.\(^{52}\)

(8.14)  
\[ \text{Mi falet xena xalum a so’?} \]
\[ 2\text{PL go PURP see ART what} \]
‘What did you go out to see?’  (Matthew 11:8)

(8.16)  
\[ \text{A mu rabuna ti tanin, ri malaan se-na so’?} \]
\[ 3\text{SG PLUR people from today 3PL like PREP-3SG what} \]
‘To what should I compare this generation?’  (literally ‘What are the people from today like?’)  (Matthew 11:16)

\(^{52}\) The absence of the common article in (8.17) is reflects the general rule that the common and proper articles are absent following a preposition (§5.1.4).
Noun phrases containing so appear in in situ position, like nase’.

In the texts examined, what-questions often take the form ‘which thing’, using the adnominal expression a so ta ‘which’ (§8.1.2.6) plus the noun mo ‘thing’, as in (8.18).

(8.18) Maam taa toxan a so ta mo?
I EXCL.PL FUT have ART what NONSPEC thing
‘What will we have?’ (Matthew 19:27)

The majority of questions in the text examined which use this construction place the interrogative noun phrase at the beginning of the sentence, as in (8.19).

(8.19) A so ta mo me vubuk rao ne taa vil=e pa-me?
ART what NONSPEC thing 2DU want IRREAL 1SG FUT do=3SG PREP-2DU
‘What do you want me to do for you?’ (Matthew 20:32)

It is possible that the high frequency of this word order may reflect influence of English. See §5.12.3 for more discussion of nase’ and so.

8.1.2.2. faa ‘where’

The interrogative adverb for ‘where’ is faa, illustrated in (8.20) and (8.21).

(8.20) A Mataa Failai i taa lux-an faa?
ART man Christ 3SG.INCOMPL FUT give.birth.to-PASS where
‘Where will the Christ be born?’ (Matthew 2:4)

(8.21) Nane siak a texas-an molava faa?
3 SG take ART know-NMLZ big where
‘Where did he get such wisdom?’ (Matthew 13:54)

Faa can occur as the object of a preposition, as in (8.22) and (8.23).

(8.22) A xasanofuna ri paan xe faa?
ART other.PL 3 PL go to where
‘Where did the others go?’ (Luke 17:17)

(8.23) ... ri filimaan ti faa?
3 PL come from where
‘... where have they come from?’ (Revelation 7:13)

Faa occurs in postverbal position, as in the above examples.
8.1.2.3. *senasou, xenaso* ‘why’

There are two words for ‘why’, *senasou*, illustrated in (8.24) and (8.25), and *xenaso*, illustrated in (8.26) and (8.27).

(8.24) **Senasou** mutul fo fili-maan?
   *why* 2TRIAL PERF come-come
   ‘Why have you come?’ (Acts 10:21)

(8.25) *Mu* Israel, **senasou** mi xalum fa-tateak nemaatul?
   PL Israel *why* 2PL see ADV-strong EXCL.TRIAL
   ‘Israelites, why do you stare at us?’ (Acts 3:12)

(8.26) **Xenaso** mi taxa la-lamon faa-xaves se-na marapi?
   *why* 2PL CONTIN REDUP-think times-many PREP-3SG clothes
   ‘Why do you worry about clothing?’ (Matthew 6:28)

(8.27) **Xenaso** a mataa aanabe’ a kuus fa-saat malaan?
   *why* ART man this 3 SG say CAUS-bad thus
   ‘Why does this man speak badly this way?’ (Mark 2:7)

Both of these words are consistently sentence-initial, except for cases where they are preceded by vocative expressions, like *mu Israel* ‘Israelites’ in (8.25).

It is not clear what conditions the choice between *senasou* and *xenaso*. Etymologically, *senasou* consists of the preposition *sena* plus the word *so* ‘what’ plus an additional *u* (there is a word *senaso* meaning ‘because’). The preposition *se* (of which *sena* is a form) has a number of uses but most commonly marks the second argument of bivalent stative verbs (§6.2.4). *Xenaso* consists of the preposition *xena* ‘for (in the sense of purpose)’ plus *so* ‘what’, a natural way to express ‘why’.

8.1.2.4. *malaafaa* ‘how’

The word *malaafaa* expresses the meaning ‘how’, as in (8.28) and (8.29).

(8.28) *Nane* vil a maana mo fa-‘ipul **malaafaa**?
   3SG do ART GRTR.PL thing CAUS-amazed *how*
   ‘How does he perform miracles?’ (Matthew 13:54)

(8.29) *A* wai xakaap a maiyang fa-‘ipul **malaafaa**?
   ART tree fig 3SG dry.up ADV-amazed *how*
   ‘How did the fig tree wither so quickly?’ (Matthew 21:20)

As in many languages, the word for ‘how’ is used with the complements of verbs meaning ‘say’ and ‘think’, saying literally ‘how did you say’ for ‘what did you say’, as in (8.30) and (8.31).

(8.30) *No* kuus **malaafaa** se-na mataa aapave ...
   2SG say *how* PREP-3SG man that
   ‘What do you say about him, ...?’ (John 9:17)
(8.31) Mi lamon malaafaa se-na Mataa Failai?
2PL think how PREP-3SG man Christ
‘What do you think about the Christ?’ (Matthew 22:42)

The word malaafaa normally follows the verb (and object if there is one), as in the above examples, but occasionally occurs in sentence-initial position in the texts.

8.1.2.5. laso ta yaan ‘when’

The meaning ‘when’ is expressed periphrastically, with laso ta yaan, literally ‘on what day, at what time’, as in (8.32) and (8.33).

(8.32) ... la-so ta yaan no fo savat nabe’?
LOC-what NONSPEC day 2SG PERF come here
‘Rabbi, when did you get here?’ (John 6:25)

(8.33) La-so ta yaan a lak si-ak fo savat fa-roxo?
LOC-what NONSPEC day ART child POSS-1SG PERF come ADV-good
‘When did my child become well?’ (John 4:52)

All occurrences in the texts are sentence-initial.

8.1.2.6. a so ta ‘which’ (adnominal modifier)

The expression a so ta is used to convey the meaning ‘which’ as a nominal modifier, as in (8.34), preceding the noun.

(8.34) ... a so ta fefasai-an lana vuputkai
ART what NONSPEC order-NMLZ in command
a pe-lalava?
ART COMPAR-big
‘[Teacher,] which commandment in the law is the greatest?’ (Matthew 22:36)

8.1.2.7. talivisan ‘how many’

Talivisan ‘how many’ follows the noun it modifies, as in (8.35) and (8.36).

(8.35) Mi toxan a bret talivisan?
2PL have ART bread how many
‘How many loaves do you have?’ (Matthew 15:34)

(8.36) Memai, a mu rabuna talivisan ri taa fakaxup-an?
Lord ART PL people how many 3PL FUT save-PASS
‘Lord, how many people will be saved?’ (Luke 13:23)
The noun phrase containing *talivisan* occurs in the position in which a corresponding noninterrogative noun phrase would occur in: in (8.35) *a bret talivisan* ‘how many loaves’ occurs in object position after the verb, while in (8.36) *a mu rabuna talivisan* ‘how many people’ occurs in subject position before the verb.

This word occurs in the same position within the noun phrase as numerals, following adjectives, as in (8.37), but preceding the modifier *xapiak* ‘all’, as in (8.38) (see §5.5).

(8.37)  ... *mi tifi a bi molava talivisan*?
  2PL fill ART basket big how many
  ‘[When I broke the seven loaves for the four thousand,] how many large baskets did you pick up?’ (Mark 8:20)

(8.38)  *Nane texaas se-na fui talivisan xapiak i taxa*
  3SG know PREP-3SG hair how many all 3SG.INCOMPL CONTIN
  waan la putu-mi.
  be.at LOC head-2PL
  ‘He knows how many hairs are on your head.’ (Luke 12:7)

It is difficult to gloss (8.38) in a way that captures the meaning of *xapiak* ‘all’, since English does not allow *all* and *how many* to co-occur; the meaning is more loosely expressed by ‘He knows how many all the hairs on your head are’. Example (8.38) is actually an indirect question, an embedded content question.

8.1.2.8. -se’, ise’, sise’ ‘whose’

Interrogative possessors are expressed by the interrogative suffix -se’, attached to the noun in the case of inalienable possession (§3.5, §5.7.1), as in (8.39), or to the possessive prepositions *si* and *i* (§5.7.2 to §5.7.4), as in (8.40) and (8.41).

(8.39)  ... *a tefin aave i taa naasa-se’ tuuna*?
  ART woman that 3SG.INCOMPL FUT wife-INTER true
  ‘... whose wife will the woman be?’ (Luke 20:33)

(8.40)  *Mi langai a fepitai-an si-se’ ...?*
  2PL hear ART teach-NMLZ POSS-INTER
  ‘Whose teaching did you hear?’ (Acts 19:3)

(8.41)  *No taxa vil a maana mo aanabe’ lapaa-na*
  2SG CONTIN do ART GRTR.PL thing this under-3SG
  *tateax-an i-se’?*
  strong-NMLZ POSS-INTER
  ‘By whose authority are you doing these things?’ (Matthew 21:23)
8.2. Subordinate clauses.

All words marking subordinate clauses occur at the beginning of the clause. Table 8.1 is a list of such words.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>complementizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>layaan</td>
<td>when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lamina</td>
<td>after</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paamuin, paamuina yaan</td>
<td>before</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fefexaxaas</td>
<td>until</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamo</td>
<td>if</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naapalan</td>
<td>although, even if</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulaa</td>
<td>lest, in case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>senaso</td>
<td>because</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talo</td>
<td>so that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xena</td>
<td>in order to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sena</td>
<td>(able) to</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.1: Subordinators

8.2.1. Complement clauses

Complement clauses are marked with the complementizer o, as in (8.42) to (8.47).

(8.42) Ne texaas o no fiuna langai vulan=au, ...
1SG know COMP 2SG HABIT hear always=1SG
‘I knew that you always listen to me, ...’ (John 11:42)

(8.43) Taasaxa ri kuus o ri taa pife vil=e lana yaan
but 3PL say COMP 3PL FUT NEG do=3SG in day
i-na fenamo ulaa mu rabuna ri tamaa marala
POSS-3SG feast lest PL people 3PL FUT.IRR angry

e fevis.
and fight

‘But they said that they would not do it on the day of the feast lest the people be angry and fight.’ (Matthew 26:5)

(8.44) E lana mif-an a Piran a xuus fa-texaas nari
and in dream-NMLZ ART big.man 3SG tell CAUS-know 3PL

o ri muta ulaa xe si Herot.
COMP 3PL PROHIB return to POSS Herod

‘And in a dream, God warned them that they should not return to Herod.’ (Matthew 2:12)
(8.45) *A mataa aanabe’ a lamon o nane ve a Piran!*

This man thinks that he is God.’ (Matthew 9:3)

(8.46) ... *netara aava taara namkai o a Piran a*

‘... we who believe that God raised Jesus ...’ (Romans 4:24)

(8.47) *E mui ri masam o a pife ferawai pa-na ...

‘Then they understood that he was not speaking about ...’ (Matthew 16:12)

Indirect commands are most commonly expressed with the complementizer *o*, as in (8.48).

(8.48) ... *nane fo xuus a mu rabuna si-na o*

‘... he told his men to arrest John and put him in prison’ (Matthew 14:3)

The complementizer *o* is also used with clausal complements of nominalizations of verbs, as in (8.49), where the complement clause *o ri taa pife xalu=u fulane* ‘that they would not see him again’ modifies the noun *paferawai* ‘speak’.

(8.49) *A mo aava fa-mamaxus paaliu-an nari ve a*

‘The thing that especially troubled them was his statement that they would not see him again.’ (Acts 20:38)

8.2.2. *layaan* ‘when’

The subordinator *layaan* introduces *when*-clauses, as in (8.50).

(8.50) *Layaan a maana mo fo faigot-an-an ...

‘When the things had been prepared ...’ (Matthew 22:3)

The time of the event in the *layaan*-clause can precede the event of the main clause, as in (8.50), or be simultaneous, as in (8.51).
‘As he was praying, the appearance of his face changed ...’ (Luke 9:29)

The word *layaan* is transparently derived from the general locative preposition *la* plus *yaan* ‘day, time’.

### 8.2.3. *lamina* ‘after’

The word *lamina* is strictly speaking a preposition, formally the 3SG form of the preposition *lami* ‘behind, after’. But it combines with nominalizations of verbs to give the semantic equivalent of *after*-clauses, as in (8.52) and (8.53).

(8.52)  
*Lami-na falet-an si-ri ...*  
*after-3SG go-NMLZ POSS-3PL*  
‘After they had gone, ...’ (Matthew 2:13)

(8.53)  
*Lami-na maat-an si Stefan, ...*  
*after-3SG die-NMLZ POSS Stephen*  
‘After Stephen died, ...’ (Acts 11:19)

With intransitive verbs, *aan*-nominalizations are used (§4.2.7), as in (8.52) and (8.53). With transitive verbs, transitive *aan*-nominalizations are used (§4.2.8), as in (8.54) to (8.56).

(8.54)  
*Lami-na siaux-aan=a xavil i-na bret nane tamasiak*  
*after-3SG take-NMLZ=ART pieces POSS-3SG bread 3SG get up*  
*e falet.*  
and go  
‘After he took pieces of bread, he got up and left.’ (John 13:30)

(8.55)  
*Lami-na yot-aan na Pita nane timin=e lana lifu*  
*after-3SG seize-NMLZ ART Peter 3SG put=3SG in house*  
i-na *vipis-an.*  
POSS-3SG be.tied-NMLZ  
‘After seizing Peter, he put him in prison.’ (Acts 12:4)

(8.56)  
... *nemaam xo maam fangan e num xuvul pa-na*  
1EXCL.PL TOPIC 1EXCL.PL eat and drink with PREP-3SG  
*lami-na fatatoi fa-*′uli-aan-a ti la maat-an.*  
*after-3SG raise CAUS-return-NMLZ-3SG from LOC die-NMLZ*  
‘... we ate and drank with him after the raising of him from the dead.’ (Acts 10:41)
8.2.4. \textit{paamuin}, \textit{paamuina yaan} ‘before’

There are a number of related expressions which occur occasionally introducing clauses with the meaning ‘before’. In (8.57) and (8.58), the word \textit{paamuin} (which also functions as a preposition (§6.3.7)) is used.

(8.57) \textit{Paamuin} \textit{na} Filip \textit{fe} xel \textit{nano} ne fo xalum \textit{nano} before ART Philip go.and call 2SG 1SG PERF see 2SG

\textit{no taxa nai lapaa-na wai xakaap.}

2SG CONTIN sit under-3SG tree fig

‘Before Philip called you, I saw you sitting under the fig tree.’  (John 1:48)

(8.58) ... senaso \textit{ri} fo bai-an=au \textit{paamuin} \textit{ri} because 3PL PERF not.want-TRANS=1SG before 3PL

\textit{bai-an nami.}

not.want-TRANS 2PL

‘... because they hated me before they hated you.’  (John 15:18)

When \textit{paamuin} occurs before a common noun phrase functioning as subject of the before-clause, the form \textit{paamuina} is used, as in (8.59).

(8.59) \textit{E} no taa kuus malaan faa-talatul \textit{paamuin=a} pura and 2SG FUT speak thus times-three before=ART chicken

\textit{i taa rawei faa-taragua.}

3SG.INCOMPL FUT make.sound times-two

‘You will speak this way three times before a rooster crows twice.’  (Mark 14:30)

As shown in (8.59), I analyse \textit{paamuina} as \textit{paamuin} plus the common article \textit{a} that goes with the common noun phrase that immediately follows, since that common noun phrase is always lacking the common article after \textit{paamuina}. As discussed in §6.3.7, the same process occurs with the preposition \textit{paamuin}: it often occurs in the form \textit{paamuina}, followed by a common noun phrase lacking the common article.

More common than \textit{paamuin} as an adverbial subordinator, however, is the expression \textit{paamuina yaan}, literally ‘before the day/time’, as in (8.60) and (8.61).

(8.60) ... \textit{paamuin=a yaan} \textit{mi} fin=e pa-na. before=ART day 2PL ask=3SG PREP-3SG

‘[Do not be like them, for your Father knows what you need] before you ask him for it.’  (Matthew 6:8)

(8.61) \textit{A} maana no mo aanabe’ \textit{ri} taa savat \textit{paamuin=a yaan}

ART GRTR.PL thing this 3PL FUT come before=ART day

\textit{a mu rabuna xapiak ti tanin, ri taa maat.}

ART PL people all from today 3PL FUT die

‘These things will not happen before all the people from today have died.’  (Matthew 24:34)
8.2.5. **fefexaxaas** ‘until’

The word *fefexaxaas* (which also functions as a preposition, see §6.3.8) introduces clauses with the meaning ‘until’, as in (8.62) and (8.63).

(8.62)  

\[Taasaxa \text{ mi } \text{ taa waan la } \text{ bina } \text{ fefexaxaas } \text{ a } \text{ gut-an}\]
\[but \quad 2\text{PL} \quad \text{FUT} \quad \text{be.at} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{place} \quad \text{until} \quad \text{ART} \quad \text{strong-NMLZ}\]
\[ti \quad \text{laa'ui} \quad i \quad \text{taa} \quad \text{sivi-maan} \quad \text{xulu-mi}.\]
\[from \quad \text{up} \quad 3\text{SG.INCOMPL} \quad \text{FUT} \quad \text{descend-come} \quad \text{ON-2PL}\]

‘But stay in the city until the power from above descends upon you.’ (Luke 24:49)

(8.63)  

\[Ri \quad \text{sangas} \quad \text{la} \quad \text{xurunusa} \quad \text{xurul} \quad \text{fefexaxaas} \quad \text{ri} \quad \text{savat} \quad \text{pe} \quad \text{Pafo}\]
\[3\text{PL} \quad \text{walk} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{island} \quad \text{whole} \quad \text{until} \quad 3\text{PL} \quad \text{come} \quad \text{at} \quad \text{Paphos}\]

‘They walked over the whole island until they came to Paphos.’ (Acts 13:6)

More commonly *fefexaas*, like *paamuin* ‘before’, combines with *a yaan* ‘the day/time’, as in (8.64) and (8.65).

(8.64)  

\[Taasaxa \quad \text{nane} \quad \text{pife} \quad \text{mati} \quad \text{xuvul} \quad \text{pa-na} \quad \text{fefexaxaas} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{yaan}\]
\[but \quad 3\text{SG} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{lie} \quad \text{with} \quad \text{PREP-3SG} \quad \text{until} \quad \text{ART} \quad \text{day}\]
\[nane \quad \text{luk} \quad a \quad \text{lak} \quad \text{tomexaan} \quad \text{aave}.\]
\[3\text{SG} \quad \text{give.birth} \quad \text{ART} \quad \text{child} \quad \text{male} \quad \text{that}\]

‘But he did not have marital relations with her until she gave birth to the son.’  
(Matthew 1:25)

(8.65)  

\[\text{fefexaxaas} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{yaan} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{Piran} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{tavai} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{Moses}\]
\[\text{until} \quad \text{ART} \quad \text{day} \quad \text{ART} \quad \text{big.man} \quad 3\text{SG} \quad \text{give} \quad \text{ART} \quad \text{Moses}\]
\[pa-na \quad \text{mu} \quad \text{vuputkai} \quad \text{si-na}\]
\[\text{PREP-3SG} \quad \text{PL} \quad \text{command} \quad \text{POSS-3SG}\]

‘until God gave Moses his commandments’  
(Romans 5:14)

8.2.6. **Conditional clauses with tamo** ‘if’

Conditional clauses are introduced by the word *tamo* ‘if’, as in (8.66) to (8.68).

(8.66)  

\[E \quad \text{tamo} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{mataa} \quad i \quad \text{taxa} \quad \text{tigina} \quad \text{xulu-na}\]
\[and \quad \text{if} \quad \text{NONSPEC} \quad \text{man} \quad 3\text{SG.INCOMPL} \quad \text{CONTIN} \quad \text{stand} \quad \text{ON-3SG}\]
\[\text{lifu} \quad i \quad \text{muta} \quad \text{sivi} \quad \text{xe} \quad \text{lana} \quad \ldots\]
\[\text{house} \quad 3\text{SG.INCOMPL} \quad \text{PROHIB} \quad \text{go.down} \quad \text{to} \quad \text{in}\]

‘And if a man stands on the roof of the house, he must not come down and go inside \ldots’  
(Mark 13:15)
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(8.67) ... e tamo a faat naang i taa poxo
and if ART stone same 3SG.INCOMPL FUT fall
xulu-n’ ta mataa i taa mimit=e e e ...
on-3SG NONSPEC man 3SG.INCOMPL FUT crush=3SG and
‘... and if the same stone falls on any man, it will crush him and ...’ (Matthew 21:44)

(8.68) Tamo nano ve no Natu-na Piran, ...
if 2SG be 2 SG Son-3SG big.man
‘If you are the Son of God, [command these stones to become bread].’ (Matthew 4:3)

There is no special form for the protasis clause of counterfactual conditionals, but the preverbal particle tafo ‘would have’ (§7.7.2.3) is often used in the apodosis, as in (8.69) and (8.70).

(8.69) E tamo a maana mo fa’ipul aava mi fo xalum=e,
and if ART GRTR.PL thing amazing REL 2PL PERF see=3SG
ri fo savat pe la bina Sodom, tanin nari tafo
3PL PERF come at LOC place Sodom today 3PL would.have
waan lunai.
be.at still
‘And if the miracles that you have seen had been done in Sodom, they would have continued to this day.’ (Matthew 11:23)

(8.70) Tamo Piran pa-na Gut-an Xapiak a pife ta’ulan a
if big.man PREP-3SG strong-NMLZ all 3SG NEG leave ART
saxa-nu bu-taara, taara tafo malit malaan
INDEF-PAUC ancestor-1INCL.PL 1PL.INCL would.have lose like
xe-na rabuna pe la ro bina Sodom e Gomora ...
PREP-3SG people at LOC DU place Sodom and Gomorrah
‘If the Lord of armies had not left our descendants, we would have lost like the people in Sodom and Gomorrah ...’ (Romans 9:29)

However, tafo is not always used in the apodosis of counterfactual conditionals, as in (8.71), though this example is puzzling in that the future particle taa occurs in the apodosis, despite the lack of future meaning.

(8.71) Tamo nane pife mataa saat, maam taa pife lisan-maan=e
if 3SG NEG man bad 1EXCL.PL FUT NEG bring-come=3SG
xe si-im.
to POSS-2SG
‘If he were not a criminal, we would not have handed him over to you.’ (John 18:30)
8.2.7. *naapalaan* ‘although, even if’

One meaning of the subordinator *naapalaan* is ‘although’, as in (8.72) and (8.73).

(8.72) *Naapalaan mi xalum a mo aanabe’ mi pife xul although 2PL see ART thing this 2PL NEG change a lamon-an si-mi ...
ART think-NMLZ POSS-2PL

‘Although you saw this, you did not later change your minds and ...’ (Matthew 21:32)

(8.73) *Mu fetinan, naapalaan ne pife bilai fa-saat xe PL sibling.same.RECIP although 1SG NEG do ADV-bad to si-na mu rabuna si-taara ...
POSS-3SG PL people POSS-1INCL.PL

‘Brothers, although I had done nothing against our people ...’ (Acts 28:17)

The meaning of *naapalaan* subsumes the related sense ‘even if’ (which is semantically similar to ‘although’, but lacks the presupposition that the proposition in the clause is true), as in (8.74) and (8.75).

(8.74) ... *naapalaan mi bai namkai se-ga, namkai se-na although 2PL not.want believe PREP-1SG believe PREP-3SG mu faisok ...
PL act

‘... even if you do not believe me, believe the deeds, ...’ (John 10:38)

(8.75) *Nenia, ne taa pife ta’ulan nano naapalaan a xasanofuna 1SG 1SG FUT NEG leave 2SG although ART other.PL

xapiak ri taa ta’ulan nano! all 3PL FUT leave 2SG

‘I will never leave you, even if everyone else leaves you.’ (Matthew 26:33)

With the meaning ‘even if’, *naapalan* sometimes combines with the conditional word *tamo*, as in (8.76).

(8.76) *Ne taa pife kuus malaan naapalaan tamo ne taa maat 1SG FUT NEG say thus although if 1SG FUT die

xuvul pa-ma.
with PREP-2SG

‘I will never deny you even if I must die with you.’ (Matthew 26:35)

8.2.8. *ulaa* ‘lest, in case’

The subordinator *ulaa* means ‘lest’ or ‘in case of’, illustrated in (8.77) and (8.78).
‘But they said that they would not do it on the day of the feast lest the people be angry and fight.’ (Matthew 26:5)

‘Save us lest we die!’ (Matthew 8:25)

‘And in a dream, God warned them that they should not return to Herod.’ (Matthew 2:12)

The subordinator senaso, illustrated in (8.80) and (8.81), introduces because-clauses.

‘... and it [the house] stood very strongly because he made it well.’ (Luke 6:48)

‘I don’t want to send them away hungry since they may faint on the way.’ (Matthew 15:32)

Senaso appears to be derived from sena ‘PREP-3SG’ plus so ‘what’.
8.2.10. *talo* ‘so that’

The subordinator *talo* ‘so that’ introduces purpose clauses where the subject of the clause is different from the subject of the matrix clause, as in (8.82) and (8.83).

(8.82) ... *e layaan mi fo tingin=e mi maa xuus=au*  
and when 2PL PERF find=3SG 2PL come and tell=1SG

*talo* nenia sait ne taa fe nangus=e.  
so.that 1SG also 1SG FUT go and worship=3SG

‘... and when you find him, inform me so that I can go and worship him as well.’  
(Matthew 2:8)

(8.83) *Feng tapin et nari talo ri taa laak la*  
send away away 3PL so.that 3PL FUT enter LOC

nu bina faasilak xena ...  
PAUC place near PURP

‘Send them away so that they can go into the villages to [buy food for themselves].’  
(Matthew 14:15)

When the subject of the subordinate clause is the same as the subject of the matrix clause, the word *xena* is normally used (see next section) rather than *talo*. However, (8.84) is an exception to this in that the subject of the *talo*-clause is the same as the subject of the matrix clause.53

(8.84) *Muta tiis a xasanofuna talo no taa pife tiis-an.*  
PROHIB judge ART other so.that 2SG FUT NEG judge-PASS

‘Do not judge so that you will not be judged.’  
(Matthew 7:1)

8.2.11. *xena* ‘in order to’

The word *xena* introduces purpose clauses, as in (8.85) and (8.86).

(8.85) ... *e rutul ta'ulan a bina pave la xunavung naang*  
and 3TRIAL leave ART region there LOC midnight same

*xena* falet xe pe Isip.  
PURP go to at Egypt

‘... and they left that place during the middle of the same night to go to Egypt.’  
(Matthew 2:14)

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53 Note that English *Do not judge in order not to be judged* has perhaps as a preferred reading one where the scope of the negative is the subordinator (i.e. you should judge for some other reason). The same may apply to Kara as well or perhaps the use of *talo* in (8.84) is a calque on the English.
These purpose clauses always lack a subject noun phrase and a weak subject pronoun and the implicit subject is always the same as the subject of the matrix clause.

The previous two examples involve purpose clauses where the verb is intransitive. When the verb is transitive, two possibilities are found. One possibility is that the verb in the purpose clause will be an aan-nominalization (see §4.2.8), as in (8.87) to (8.89).

(8.87) *E mui, na Baanabas a ta’ulan nari xena*
and then ART Barnabas 3 SG leave 3 PL

*seng-aan na Sol pe kol Taasus.*

‘Then Barnabas left them to look for Saul in Tarsus in the west.’ (Acts 11:25)

(8.88) *E xasanofuna aava ri fuuna vil vulan a maana mo*
and others.PL REL 3 PL HABIT do always ART GRTR.PL thing

*xena fa-faamamaas-aan=a ta-ri mon ...*

‘And others who always do things in order to please only themselves ...’ (Romans 2:8)

(8.89) *Mi pife fexaxaas se-na faisok lapaa-na Piran e la*
2 PL NEG able PREP-3 SG act under-3 SG big.man and LOC

*yaan naang faisok xena fa-xuvul-aan=a faat xaa-num*
day same act PURP CAUS-with-NMLZ=ART stone for-2 SG

*xa.*

‘You cannot serve God and at the same time act in order to collect money for yourself.’ (Matthew 6:24)

The second possibility is that the verb in the purpose clause will be an ordinary (non-nominalized) verb, as in (8.90) to (8.92) (as it always is if the verb in the purpose clause is intransitive, as in (8.98) and (8.85) above).

(8.90) *Mi falet xena xalum a so?*
2 PL go PURP see ART what

‘What did you go out to see?’ (Matthew 11:8)
(8.91) Man, taara taa punux=e xena siak a maana mo come! 1INCL.PL FUT kill=3SG PURP take ART GRTR.PL thing xapiak si-na.
all POSS-3SG ‘Come, let’s kill him in order to take all his things!’ (Matthew 21:38)

(8.92) Mi lamon o ne savat-maan xena lisan a luai-an, bo?
2PL think COMP 1SG come-come PURP bring ART calm-NMLZ Q ‘Do you think I have come to bring peace?’ (Luke 12:51)

It is not clear what conditions the choice between these two possibilities. One factor, however, is that when the object is pronominal 3SG, the nominalization is generally used, as in (8.93) and (8.94), though there are exceptions, like (8.95).

(8.93) E nane xel a xasa ro-vaat e a feng nare and 3SG call ART other DU-man and 3SG send 3DU xe si Memai xena fin-aan-a ...
to POSS Lord PURP ask-NMLZ-3SG ‘And he called two other men and sent them to the Lord in order to ask him …’ (Luke 7:18)

(8.94) ... e ri timin a bolo si Yesus la mi-na xena and 3PL put ART cross POSS Jesus LOC back-3SG PURP yaas-aan-a.
carry-NMLZ-3SG ‘... and they placed Jesus’ cross on his back for him to carry it.’ (Luke 23:26)

(8.95) ... e a tang malila ri savat xena xalum=e. and ART huge crowd 3PL come PURP see=3SG ‘... and a large crowd came to see him.’ (John 12:9)

Contrast (8.95) with (8.96) where the same verb xalum ‘see’ is used, but with the aan-nominalization.

(8.96) ... e layaan na nina-na e mu ti-na xo and when ART mother-3SG and PL sibling.same-3SG TOPIC ri savat xena xalum-aan-a ri pife fexaxaas se-na laak 3PL come PURP see-NMLZ-3SG 3PL NEG able PREP-3SG enter soxot=e.
INTENS=3SG ‘... and when his mother and his brothers came to him, they could not get near him.’ (Luke 8:19)

And (8.97) contains two instances of xena, both followed by forms of kawaasan ‘destroy’, but while the first occurrence is a finite verb, the second one is a nominalization.
(8.97) Muta lamon o ne fo savat xena kawaasan a mu
PROHIB think COMP 1SG PERF come PURP destroy ART PL
vuputkai o ferawai-an si-na mu rabuna i-na kuus
command or speak-NMLZ POSS-3SG PL people POSS-3SG say
fatuxai, ne pife savat xena kawaasan-aan nari ...
prophesy 1SG NEG come PURP destroy-NMLZ 3PL

‘Do not think that I have come to abolish the laws or the things said by the prophets ...
’ (Matthew 5:17)

The word *xena* also occurs as a preposition, as in (8.98) (§6.3.6).

(8.98) ... ne fo siak fati a mataa aanabe’
1SG PERF take choose? ART man this

xena sisiak si-ak.
PURP servant POSS-1SG

‘... I have chosen this man as my servant.’ (Matthew 12:18)

8.2.12. *sena* complements with *fexaxaas* ‘able’

The verb *fexaxaas* ‘able’ takes complement clauses introduced by *sena*, as in (8.99) to (8.102). The form *sena* is the 3sg form of the preposition *se*, whose basic function is to mark the second semantic argument of bivalent stative verbs (§6.2.4).

(8.99) ... e a mataa fexaxaas se-na kaalum fa-roxo.
and ART man able PREP-3SG look ADV-good

‘... and the man was able to see clearly.’ (Mark 8:25)

(8.100) ... mi pife fexaxaas se-na ferawai pa-na mo roxo
2PL NEG able PREP-3SG speak PREP-3SG thing good

senaso mi rabuna saat.
because 2PL people bad

‘... you cannot say anything good because you are evil people.’ (Matthew 12:34)

(8.101) Layaan ri vil malaane ri pife fexaxaas se-na yuuf
when 3PL do this.way 3PL NEG able PREP-3SG pull

fa-lak a vana aave senaso a mu din lana ri
CAUS-go.up ART net that because ART PL fish in 3PL

xaves paaliu.
many INTENS

‘When they did this, they were not able to pull up the net because the fish were many.’ (John 21:6)
The verb in *sena*-complements of *fexaxaas* occurs either as a finite verb, as in the four preceding examples, or as an *aan*-nominalization, as in (8.103) and (8.104).

(8.102)  
\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{Na } & \text{ Jesus sang mon a } \text{ fexaxaas se-na } \text{ lamon tapin} \\
\text{ART } & \text{ alone only 3SG able PREP-3SG think away} \\
\text{a mu vil-aan-a saat si-mi.} \\
\text{ART } & \text{ do-NMLZ-3SG bad POSS-2PL} \\
\end{align*} \]  
‘Only Jesus is able to forgive your sins.’ (Acts 13:38)

The principles governing the form of verbs after *fexaxaas sena* are the same as those with purpose clauses introduced by *xena* (§8.2.11): intransitive verbs are always ordinary verb forms, as in (8.99) and (8.100), while transitive verbs are either finite verb forms, as in (8.101) and (8.102), or *aan*-nominalizations, as in (8.103) and (8.104). As with *xena*, it is not clear what conditions the choice between these two options.
Appendix 1: Possible calques

In this appendix, I list a number of examples that are possibly if not probably calques on the English. These examples employ structures which are not common crosslinguistically but which are found in English, suggesting that they are calques. However, it is quite possible that some, or even many, of these are not calques.54

Appendix 1.1: A tenth

In (A-1.1), the word fasangafiluaana is the ordinal form of the word for ‘ten’, i.e. ‘tenth’ (see §4.2.13). But here it is used to denote the fraction ‘one tenth’. This is almost certainly a calque.55 Apart from the rarity of using ordinal words for fractions, most languages lack terms for fractions (other than, perhaps, ‘half’).

(A-1.1) Senaso mi fuuna ta-tavai xe si-na Piran pa-na
because 2PL HABIT HABIT-give to POSS-3SG big.man PREP-3SG
fa-sangafilu-aan-a maana mo modak ti la uma ...
CAUS-ten-NMLZ-3SG GRTR.PL thing small from LOC field
‘Because you give a tenth of small things from the field ...’ (Luke 11:42)

Appendix 1.2: Interrogative pronouns as relative pronouns

The translation frequently uses the interrogative pronoun nase’ ‘who’ in translations of English free relatives, as in (A-1.2) (though it also usually combines with ta ‘nonspecific’ and mataa ‘man’).

(A-1.2) Nase’ ta mataa pife tigina xuvul pa-ga, nane taxa
who any man NEG stand with PREP-1SG 3SG CONTIN
gilis=au.
reject=1SG
‘Whoever is not with me is against me, ...’ (Matthew 12:30)

But Indo-European languages are unusual crosslinguistically in using the same forms both as interrogative pronouns and as relative pronouns, so this is a likely calque.

54 John Lynch has pointed out to me that some of these calques, if they are calques, may really be calques on Tok Pisin rather than English.
55 This example is also unusual in marking the recipient with tavai ‘give’ with the preposition xe ‘to’; recipients of tavai are almost always simply objects of the verb, without a preposition.
Appendix 1.3: *ta* ‘any’

The nonspecific article *ta* (§5.1.3) is used throughout the texts in the same set of contexts where English uses ‘any’, after negatives, as in (A-1.3), in questions, as in (A-1.4), and in conditional clauses, as in (A-1.5).

(A-1.3) ... o ri piau ta bret.  
COMP 3PL not.have NONSPEC bread  
‘[So they began to discuss with one another] that they did not have any bread.’  
(Mark 8:16)

(A-1.4) Ai, a fexaas ta mo roxo i taa savat  
INTERJ 3SG able NONSPEC thing good 3SG.INCOMPL FUT come  
ti Nasaret?  
from Nazareth  
‘Can anything good come out of Nazareth?’  
(John 1:46)

(A-1.5) Tamo ta mataa taa laak lapaa-ga, ...  
if any man FUT enter under-1SG  
‘If anyone enters through me, ...’  
(John 10:9)

Some of these uses may be calques.

Appendix 1.4: Uses of *saxa* ‘one’

The word *saxa* functions as the word for ‘one’ in the sense of a numeral (§5.2.5). However, the translation often uses *saxa* in contexts where English uses *one*, not as a numeral, but as a pronoun, as in (A-1.6) and (A-1.7)

(A-1.6) ... none a saxa aava mi vubux-an=e.  
3SG ART one REL 2PL want-TRANS=3SG  
‘... he is the one that you want.’  
(Matthew 26:48)

(A-1.7) Muta mati xuvul pa-na saxa aava fo tamai.  
PROHIB lie with PREP-3SG one REL PERF marry  
‘Do not lie with one who has married.’ (i.e. ‘Do not commit adultery)  
(Matthew 5:27)

The use of the numeral for ‘one’ in this way is not common crosslinguistically. The example in (A-1.8) is a probable calque, not only in using *saxa* for ‘one’ in the pronominal sense, but also in using *ta* ‘any’ plus *saxa* ‘one’ for ‘anyone’.

(A-1.8) E tamo ta saxa taa xuus faagutan nano pa-na  
and if any one FUT speak strongly 2SG PREP-3SG  
yaaas-aan=a mo matafan si-na ...  
carry-NMLZ=3SG thing heavy POSS-3SG  
‘And if anyone forces you to carry his heavy things ...’  
(Matthew 5:41)
Appendix 1.5: Prepositional calques

There are frequent uses of prepositions in ways that look like calques. These are mostly cases where a Kara preposition is used with a sense that is distinct from its usual sense and where the corresponding English preposition also has the same two senses but where I believe that English is somewhat unusual in using the same preposition to express both senses. An example is the use of *lana* ‘in’ for ‘in three days’ in (A-1.9).

(A-1.9)  ... e no taa vesan fa-'uli=e  *lana* yaan talatul, ...
        and 2SG FUT make CAUS-return=3SG in day three
        ‘[Aha! You who has said that you will destroy the temple and] rebuild it in three
days, ...’ (Mark 15:29)

The use of *for* in English *difficult for someone to do something* is not benefactive, but (A-1.10) uses the benefactive preposition *xa* ‘for’ in this context.

(A-1.10)  *A lagaf* paaliu *xa-na* mataa aava toxan a *fufanaian*
          3SG difficult INTENS *for-3SG* man REL have ART money
          xaves xena laak lana fatataganan *si-na* Piran,
          many PURP enter in kingdom POSS-3SG big.man
          ‘It is very hard for the rich to enter the kingdom of God!’ (Mark 10:23)

Similarly, the two instances of *xa* ‘for’ in (A-1.11) corresponds to a use of *for* in English that is not benefactive, in the expression *one’s love for something*.

(A-1.11)  *Saimon, natu* Jon, a tuuna o a *vubux-an-an*
        Simon son John 3SG true COMP ART love-TRANS-NMLZ
        *si-im xa-nak* a molava *se-na* *vubux-an-an*
        POSS-2SG *for-1SG* 3SG big PREP-3SG want-TRANS-NMLZ
        *si-im xa-na* maana xasano *mo?*
        POSS-2SG *for-3SG* GRTR.PL other thing
        ‘Simon, son of John, is your love for me greater than your love for other things?’
        (John 21:15)

The use of *under* in the English gloss for (A-1.12) is metaphorical; the use of *lapaa* ‘under’ in the Kara may thus be a calque.

(A-1.12)  *No taxa vil a maana mo aanabe’ lapaa-na*
        2SG CONTIN do ART GRTR.PL thing this *under-3SG*
        *tateax-an i-se’?*
        strong-NMLZ POSS-INTER
        ‘By whose authority are you doing these things?’ (Matthew 21:23)
Appendix 1.6: Use of xena ‘purpose’

The word xena introduces purpose constructions (§8.2.11). However, the translations occasionally use xena to mark constructions which do not involve purpose. A number of these uses are ones with meanings that English expresses by the use of infinitives (as it does to express purpose), where most other languages would not use the same construction as that used for purpose. In (A-1.13), for example, xena is used in a non-purpose sense in the translation of English power to.

(A-1.13) E nare, re toxan a gut-an xena xul a raarum and 3DU 3DU have ART strong-NMLZ PURP change ART water

\[ i \] tafe ria.
3SG.INCOMPL become.FUT blood

‘They have the power to turn the water to blood.’ (Revelation 11:6)

In (A-1.14), xena is used to translate what in the English is the English word to marking the infinitival complement of the noun desire.

(A-1.14) Nabe' a fufu-na vubux-an-an tateak si-ak xena xuus this 3SG base-3SG want-TRANS-NMLZ strong POSS-1SG PURP tell

fa-texaas nami pe Rom vaxa pa-na Lagasai Roxo CAUS-know 2PL at Rome also PREP-3SG news good

se Yesus.
PREP Jesus

‘This is the reason for my strong desire to preach the gospel to you who are in Rome.’ (Romans 1:15)

In (A-1.15), for example, xena is used where English uses an infinitival relative clause, which does not involve purpose.

(A-1.15) Matalava, ne piau ta mataa xena xavang leader 1SG not.have any man PURP help

fa-dui=au lana raarum layaan ...
CAUS-go.down=1SG in water when

‘Sir, I don’t have any man to help lower me into the pool when ...’ (John 5:7)

And in (A-1.16), xena corresponds to the infinitive marker in the English difficult to.

(A-1.16) A lagaf paaliu xa-na mataa aava toxan a fafanaian 3SG difficult INTENS for-3SG man REL have ART money

xaves xena laak lana fatatagaman si-na Piran.
many PURP enter in kingdom POSS-3SG big.man

‘It is very hard for the rich to enter the kingdom of God!’ (Mark 10:23)
Appendix 1.7: Conditional *tamo* used for ‘whether’

English allows the word that marks conditional clauses, *if*, to mark indirect polar questions (where it means ‘whether’). While this is fairly unusual outside European languages, the Kara translations do the same with the conditional word *tamo*, as in (A-1.17).

(A-1.17)  ... *e voxo ne fin=ε* *tamo* *i* *taa laak xe*
          and so 1SG ask=3SG *if* 3SG.INCOMPL FUT enter to
          *paa Jerusalem xena tigina la bina i-na tiis-an*
          east Jerusalem PURP stand LOC place POSS-3SG judge-NMLZ

          *pave, there*
          ‘... and so I asked him if he would to go to Jerusalem to be tried there.’ (Acts 25:20)

Appendix 1.8: Conditional ‘and’

English idiosyncratically allows the use of sentences of the form ‘A and B’ where the intended meaning is ‘If A, then B’. Example (A-1.18) from Kara does the same.

(A-1.18)  ... *se-seng e mi taa tingin=ε, HABIT-seek and 2PL FUT find=3SG*
          ‘... seek, and you will find.’ (Luke 11:9)

Appendix 1.9: *xapiak* ‘all’ in preverbal position

In (A-1.19), the word *xapiak* ‘all’ appears in a position following a weak subject pronoun and before the verb, a position in which only a small set of preverbal particles can appear in (§7.7). It is unusual for a word meaning ‘all’ to appear in such a position in Kara, but its position mirrors the word order in the English.

(A-1.19)  *Maam xapiak taxa waan nabe*.  
          1EXCL.PL all CONTIN be.at this
          ‘We all are here.’ (Acts 16:28)
Appendix 2: Sample text:  
The story of the birth of Jesus.  
Matthew 1:18 to 2:16

(1:18) A luluux-an si Yesus Krais a savat malaan:  
ART give birth to-NMLZ POSS Jesus Christ 3SG come thus

na nina-na, na Maria, ri fo fakali-maan=e  
ART mother-3SG ART Mary 3PL PERF signal-come=3SG

rao i taa tamai si Yosep. Taasaxa re  
IRREAL 3SG.INCOMPL FUT marry POSS Joseph but 3DU

pife mati xu vul lunai e nane texaas o a tiva  
NEG lie together still and 3SG know COMP 3SG pregnant

se-na gut-an si-na Vovau Xaradak.  
PREP-3SG strong-NMLZ POSS-3SG spirit straight

‘Now the birth of Jesus Christ happened this way. His mother Mary was engaged to Joseph. But they had not yet lain together and she knew that she was pregnant through the Holy Spirit.’

(1:19) Na Yosep aava na lava-na, a mataa xaradak paaliu  
ART Joseph REL ART husband-3SG 3SG man straight INTENS

and 3SG not.want CAUS-ashamed ART Mary LOC eye-3SG PL

rabuna. E voxo nane lamon o i taa laxao  
people and so 3SG think COMP 3SG.INCOMPL FUT ??

kasam a kuus fanai-an i-na tamai-an si-re.  
quiet ART say promise POSS-3SG marry-NMLZ POSS-3DU

‘Joseph, her husband to be, was a righteous man, and he did not want to disgrace her, he intended to divorce her privately.’

(1:20) Na Yosep fo lamon xo pa-na mo aanabe’ taasaxa lana  
ART Joseph PERF think TOPIC PREP-3SG thing this but in

dream-NMLZ ART angel POSS-3SG big.man 3SG come POSS-3SG and

a kuus, “Yosep, lak si Devit, muta lamon faa-xaves  
3SG say Joseph child POSS David PROHIB think times-many

pa-na tamai-an si-me Maria senaso a Vovau  
PREP-3SG marry-NMLZ POSS-2DU Mary because ART spirit
‘Joseph contemplated this, but in a dream, an angel of the Lord appeared to him and said, “Joseph, son of David, do not be afraid to take Mary as your wife, because the Holy Spirit came to her and she is pregnant from Him.’

(1:21) I taa luk a lak tomexaan e no taa
3SG.INCOMPL FUT give.birth ART child male and 2SG FUT
xali=e pa Yesus senaso i taa fakaxup a
call=3SG PREP Jesus because 3SG.INCOMPL FUT save ART
mu rabuna si-na xase-na vil-aan-a saat si-ri.”
PL people POSS-3SG from-3SG do-NMLZ-3SG bad POSS-3PL
‘She will give birth to a son and you will name him Jesus, because he will save his people from their sins.’

(1:22) A maana mo xapiak aanabe’ ri savat xena faxalit
ART GRTR.PL thing all this 3PL come PURP show
fa-matavas-aan=a ferawai-an aava Piran a kuus
CAUS-clear-NMLZ=3SG speak-NMLZ REL big.man 3SG say
pa-na la ngusu-na mu rabuna i-na kuus fatuxai
PREP-3SG LOC mouth-3SG PL people POSS-3SG say prophesy
si-na.
POSS-3SG
‘This all happened in order to show clearly the things that God said through the mouth of his prophets.’

(1:23) Ri kuus malaan: “Langai, a tefin palau aava pife mati
3PL say thus hear ART woman of.no.value REL NEG lie
xuvul pa-na saxa mataa lunai, i taa tiva e
with PREP-3SG one man still 3SG.INCOMPL FUT pregnant and
i taa luk a lak tomexaan e ri taa
3SG.INCOMPL FUT give.birth ART child male and 3PL FUT
xali=e pa Imaanuel.” (A malasuf i-na isin aanabe’
call=3SG PREP Emmanuel ART meaning POSS-3SG name this
a malaan: Piran taxa waan xuvul pa-taara.)
3SG thus big.man CONTIN be.at with PREP-1INCL.PL
‘They said ‘Listen! The virgin will conceive and bear a son, and they will call him Emmanuel, which means ‘God with us’.”

(1:24) Layaan na Yosep a para ti la matef-an si-na,
when ART Joseph 3SG wake.up from LOC sleep-NMLZ POSS-3SG
nane usi a fefasai-an aava angelo si-na Memai a
3SG follow ART order-NMLZ REL angel POSS-3SG Lord 3SG
xuus=e pa-na. E nane xel na Maria e lisan=e
tell=3SG PREP-3SG and 3SG call ART Mary and bring=3SG
xe la lifu si-na e i taa tefin si-na,
to LOC house POSS-3SG and 3SG INCOMPL FUT woman POSS-3SG
‘When Joseph awoke from sleep he did what the angel of the Lord told him. And he
called Mary and brought her to his house she would be his wife,’
(1:25) taasaxa nane pife mati xuvul pa-na fefexaxaa a yaan nane
but 3SG NEG lie with PREP-3SG until ART day 3SG
luk a lak tomexaan aave. E nane xali=e pa
give.birth ART child male that and 3SG call=3SG PREP
Yesus. Jesus
‘but he did not have marital relations with her until she gave birth to a son. And he
named him Jesus.’
(2:1) Na Yesus a luxan pe la bina Betlihem lana bina
ART Jesus 3SG give.birth-PASS at LOC place Bethlehem in place
lava Judia layaan na Herot a paamuian a mu Israel.
big Judea when ART Herod 3SG leader ART PL Israel
Lami-na luluux-an si-na saxano rabuna pa-na
after-3SG give.birth-NMLZ POSS-3SG some people PREP-3SG
texaas-an ti paa lasuun paaliu ri filimaan xe pe
know-NMLZ from east far INTENS 3PL come to at
Jerusalem
Jerusalem
‘After Jesus was born in Bethlehem in Judea, in the time of King Herod, wise men
from the East came to Jerusalem’
(2:2) e ri fi-ai, “A popo aava paamua king si-na mu
and 3PL ask-INTRANS ART infant REL first king POSS-3SG PL.
Juda, fo lux-an faa? Maam xalum a vapara
Jew PERF give.birth.to-PASS where 1EXCL.PL see ART star
aava fafali-maan a savat-an si-na la nobina
REL signal-come ART come-NMLZ POSS-3SG LOC place
si-maam e maam filimaan xena nangus-aan-a.”
POSS-1PL.EXCL and 1EXCL.PL come PURP worship-NMLZ-3SG
‘saying, “Where is the one who is born king of the Jews? For we saw his star when it
rose and have come to worship him.”’
(2:3) Layaan na Herot aava paamua king, a langai pa-na, nane
when ART Herod REL first king 3SG hear PREP-3SG 3SG
e maana rabuna pe Jerusalem vaxa ri la-lamon
and GRTR.PL people at Jerusalem also 3PL REDUP-think
faa-xaves se-na.
times-many PREP-3SG
‘When King Herod heard this, he and the people of Jerusalem were alarmed.’

(2:4) Nane xel fa-xuvul a mu memai priis e mu rabuna
3SG call CAUS-with ART PL lord priest and PL people
i-na fepitaas pana vupukai i fin nari, “A Mataa
POSS-3SG teach PREP-3SG command and ask 3PL ART man
Failai i taa lux-an faa?”
Christ 3SG.INCOMPL FUT give.birth.to-PASS where
‘After assembling all the chief priests and experts in the law, he asked them where the
Christ was to be born.’

(2:5) E ri sui=e, “Pe Judia la bina Betlihem, senaso a
and 3PL reply-3SG at Judea LOC place Bethlehem because ART
mataa i-na kuus fatuxai a kala malaan:
man POSS-3SG say prophecy 3SG write thus
“In Bethlehem of Judea,” they said, “for it is written this way by the prophet:”

(2:6) E nano, Betlihem aava waan la nobina si Juda, no bina
and 2SG Bethlehem REL be.at LOC place POSS Judah 2SG place
modak taasaxa mu rabuna xapiak ri taa pipe maluf nano
small but PL people all 3PL FUT NEG forget 2SG
senaso saxa paamua lava aava i taa paamuan a
because one first big REL 3SG.INCOMPL FUT lead ART
mu rabuna si-ak, a mu Israel, i taa
PL people POSS-1SG ART PL Israel 3SG.INCOMPL FUT
lux-an move.”
give.birth.to-PASS that
“And you, Bethlehem, in the land of Judah, are a small place, but all the people will
not forget you, for a great leader who will lead my people, the people of Israel,
will be born here.”

(2:7) Lumui, na Herot a xel fun a mu rabuna pa-na
then ART Herod 3SG call hide ART PL people PREP-3SG
texaas-an xena fin nari pa-na so ta yaan a vapara
know-NMLZ PURP ask 3PL PREP-3SG what any day ART star
‘Then Herod privately summoned the wise men and determined from them when the star had appeared.’

(2:8) E mui nane feng nari xe pe Betlihem e a xuus nari, and then 3 SG send 3 PL to at Bethlehem and 3 SG tell 3 PL

‘Mi fe seng faagut-an a lak aave e layaan 2 PL go.and look for strong TRANS ART child that and when

mi fo tingin=e mi maa xuus=au talo nenia 2 PL PERF find=3 SG 2 PL come and tell=1 SG so.that 1 SG

sait ne taa fe nangus=e.’
also 1 SG FUT go and worship=3 SG

‘He sent them to Bethlehem and said, “Go and look carefully for the child. When you find him, inform me so that I can go and worship him as well.”’

(2:9-10) E voxo lana falet-an si-ri ri xalum ful-an a and so in go NMLZ POSS 3 PL see again TRANS ART

vapara naang aava savat pe paa e ri bas paaliu pa-na star same REL come at east and 3 PL full INTENS PREP 3 SG

faamamaas-an. A vapara aave a paamuian nari e fe happy NMLZ ART star that 3 SG lead 3 PL and go and

waan fatak laa’ui xulu-na lifu aava lak taxa waan be at straight above ON 3 SG house REL child CONTIN be at
lana.

‘And so, on their trip, they saw again the same star which appeared in the east and they were full of happiness. The star led them and went until it was directly above the house which the child was in.’

(2:11) Layaan ri laak la lifu aave ri xalum a lak xuuvul when 3 PL enter LOC house that 3 PL see ART child with

pa nina-na, na Maria. E ri bukaak e ri nangus PREP mother 3 SG ART Mary and 3 PL kneel and 3 PL worship

a lak aave. E mui ri kas a fafanaian si-ri e ART child that and then 3 PL open ART money POSS 3 PL and

ri ta-tavai xe si-na lak pa-na ‘gol’, e vebit 3 PL REDUP give to POSS 3 SG child PREP 3 SG gold and ashes

pa-na las-an roxo e a vulut pana las-an PREP 3 SG smell NMLZ good and 3 SG sap PREP 3 SG smell NMLZ
roxo aava ri xali=e pa-na ‘mur’.
good REL 3PL call=3SG PREP-3SG myrrh

‘As they came into the house and saw the child with Mary his mother, they bowed
down and worshiped him. They opened their treasure boxes and gave him gifts
of gold, frankincense, and myrrh.’

(2:12) E lana mif-an a Piran a xuus fa-texas na-nari
and in dream-NMLZ ART big.man 3SG tell CAUS-know 3PL
o ri muta ulaa xe si Herot. E voxo ri usi
COMP 3PL PROHIB return to POSS Herod and so 3PL follow
a salan patak xe la bina si-ri.
ART path other to LOC place POSS-3PL

‘After being warned in a dream not to return to Herod, they went back by another
route to their own country.’

(2:13) Lami-na falet-an si-ri a saxa angelo si-na Memai a
after-3SG go-NMLZ POSS-3PL ART one angel POSS-3SG lord 3SG
savat si Yosep lana mif-an e a kuus, “Na Herot
come POSS Joseph in dream-NMLZ and 3SG say ART Herod
i taa feng a rabuna si-na xena
3SG.INCOMPL FUT send ART people POSS-3SG PURP
seng-aan=a lak talo ri taa punux=e. Tamasiak xo,
look.for-NMLZ=ART child so.that 3PL FUT kill=3SG get.up TOPIC
siak a lak xuul pa nina-na e mutul sinuf xe
take ART child with PREP mother-3SG and 2TRIAL run.away to
pe Isip. Mutul taa waan pave fefexaaas a yaan ne
PREP Egypt 2TRIAL FUT be.at there until ART day 1SG
xuus namutul pa-na.”
tell 2TRIAL PREP-3SG

‘After they had gone, an angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream and said,
“Herod will send his men to look for the child so that they may kill him. Get up,
take the child and his mother and flee to Egypt. Stay there until I tell you.”’

(2:14) Na Yosep a tamasiak e a xel a ro-fenan si-na
ART Joseph 3SG get.up and 3SG call ART DU-?? POSS-3SG
e rutul ta’ulan a bina pave la xunayung naang xena
and 3TRIAL leave ART place there LOC midnight same PURP
falet xe pe Isip.
go to at Egypt

‘Then Joseph got up, took the child and his mother during the night to go to Egypt.’
(2:15) Nane waan pave fefexaxaas a yaan i-na maat-an si 3SG be.at there until ART day POSS-3SG die-NMLZ POSS Herot. A maana mo aanabe' a savat xena fa-matavas Herod ART GRTR.PL thing this 3SG come PURP CAUS-clear a ferawai-an si-na Memai la ngusu-na mataa i-na ART speak-NMLZ POSS-3SG Lord LOC mouth-3SG man POSS-3SG kuus fatuxai. A kuus malaan: “Ne fo xel a Lak say prophecy 3SG say thus 1SG PERF call ART child Tomexaan si-ak ti pe Isip.” male POSS-1SG from PREP Egypt

‘He stayed there until Herod died. These things happened in order to fulfill the word of the Lord from the mouths of the prophets. He said “I have called my Son out of Egypt.”’

(2:16) Layaan na Herot a texaas o mu rabuna pa-na when ART Herod 3SG know COMP PL people PREP-3SG texaas-an ti paa ri fo bit nane, nane marala faagut. know-NMLZ from east 3PL PERF lie 3SG 3SG angry strong E nane fasei faagut-an a mu rabuna i-na rawen and 3SG order strong-TRANS ART PL people POSS-3SG war si-na o ri taa punuk a mu rafulak tomexaan POSS-3SG COMP 3PL FUT kill ART PL child.PL male aava ri toxan a mariaas taragua e lapia e ri REL 3PL have ART year two and down and 3PL waan pe Betlihem e la mu bina faasilak. Nane lamon be.at at Bethlehem and LOC PL place near 3SG think o i taa vil malaane senaso a rabuna COMP 3SG.INCOMPL FUT do this.way because ART people pa-na texaas-an ri fo xuus=e pa-na so ta PREP-3SG know-NMLZ 3PL PERF tell=3SG PREP-3SG what any yaan a vapara fo savat. day ART star PERF come

‘When Herod realized that he had been tricked by the wise men, he became enraged. He sent men to kill all the children in Bethlehem and throughout the surrounding region from the age of two and under, according to the time he had learned from the wise men.’
References


