A Grammar of Tinrin (New Caledonia)

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A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
of the Australian National University.

June 1990
Declaration

Except where otherwise indicated this thesis is my own work.

Midori OSUMI
June 1990
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my deep gratitude to many people who gave me invaluable assistance and encouragement during the preparation of this thesis.

I am greatly indebted to the people of Petit Couli, Grand Couli, Sarramea and Lafoa who welcomed me into their place and provided immense help in various ways. Some have since died (marked †).

I do not know how I can properly acknowledge my debt to my informant Mr Eibo Emmanuel Holéro†. Since the first day we met, he has devotedly co-operated in our painstaking work. He had unfailing interest, patience and willingness to teach me his language, which his people first believed that 'a foreigner' could not possibly learn by any means. He taught me not only his language but also many things about life. He was particularly knowledgeable of the half-vanishing traditions and culture of his people, which gave me a great deal of help and inspiration in writing a grammar of Tinrin.

My sincere thanks go also to his wife Clarisse, his sons Edmond and Patrick, and their families, for their encouragement and hospitality; to Ms Haeba Pime†, Mr Thomas Hambwewi†, Ms Eugenie Holéro and other people for letting me record their interesting narrations and conversations, to Mr Tito Farino and his family for their having me in their family at Ile des Pins.

I am very grateful to Mr and Mrs Victor Vaudor of Lafoa, for their continued hospitality and friendship throughout the period of my second and third field trips. They and their family welcomed me into their midst and provided every possible comfort and assistance.

A number of other people also helped me in various ways. Dr Dorothy Shineberg, Dr Michel Aufray, Mr Hnangan Adrien of the Institut Culturel Mélanésien, Ms Marie-Claire Beccalossi of the South Pacific Commission and Mr Jean Marie Tjibaou† encouraged me to study a New Caledonian language. Mr Leopold Jorédié first introduced me to the family I stayed with in Petit Couli. Miss Louise Vaudor, Mr Roger Brunelet†, Dr Jacky Itlis and Dr Jean François Dupon of O.R.S.T.O.M., Ms Katsuko LeBait, Mr Daniel LeRidourd extended their help and friendship in New Caledonia; Ms Bess Flores helped me to access articles and books of the South Pacific Commissom in Noumea. Mr Colin Plowman helped me with various problems during my study in Canberra. My deep thanks to all of them.
My cordial thanks go to Professor Bob Dixon, Dr Bill Foley and Dr Karl Rensch for their supervision. Their guidance and critical insights have been highly valued. Dr Avery Andrews read the final draft and Dr Phil Rose read the chapter on phonetics and phonology. Other members of the department also provided useful suggestions.

Mr Gi-Hyun Shin, Mr Chuck Grimes, Ms Ling Matsay, Mr Rob Hurle and Mr Michael Rensch helped me with various computer problems. Ms Catriona Vigor revised my English, and Ms Rose Butt improved the style, giving me many useful suggestions.

For financial support in my first year at the Australian National University, I am indebted to Kyoritsu Women's Junior College in Tokyo and the research grant from Shigaku Kenshu Kai. They first gave me a chance to pursue my interest in studying at the Australian National University. An A.N.U. Ph.D Scholarship enabled me to continue my study at A.N.U. and complete this thesis.

Midori Osumi

Canberra,

June 1990.
ABSTRACT

This dissertation presents an analysis of the phonology, morphology and syntax of Tinrin, one of the least investigated New Caledonian languages. The language is spoken by about 400 people in the Lafoa area in the southern part of New Caledonia.

The analysis has been undertaken with materials obtained in nine months of field work conducted in Petit Couli, Lafoa and Noumea, New Caledonia.

Chapter 1 provides background information on the language and a brief description about some dialectal variations. Some data I collected from the last speaker of the Tinrin in Ile des Pins is presented here.

Chapter 2 discusses the phonology of Tinrin. A phoneme inventory comprising 30 consonants and 14 vowels (6 of which are nasal) is established, and phonotactics, stress, intonation, phonological processes and the morphophonemic rules are discussed. At the end of this chapter, proposals are made for an orthography employed in the rest of the thesis.

Chapter 3 deals with word classes; the morpho-syntactic definition of each grammatical category, the relationship between these categories, and the multiple functions of some words are discussed.

The morphological description presented in Chapters 4 and 5 examines systematic word formation, the use of various affixes and other processes. The functions of individual nominal prefixes are described in Chapter 4. In Chapter 5, the correlation of some nouns /verbs with classificatory prefixes is discussed. A summary table illustrates the extensive use of classificatory prefixes and their combination with various verbal stems.

Chapters 6 through 8 analyse the syntactic structure of Tinrin. Chapter 6 describes the structure of the nominal phrase including various possessive constructions, and Chapter 7 the verb phrase. The functions of tense-aspect markers and verbal modifiers are described, and combination and word order among them are examined. Verb serialization and linked verb constructions are also discussed in this chapter.

Syntax on the clause/sentence level is discussed in Chapter 8. Various clause types, including complementation, relative clauses, adverbial clauses, and emphatic constructions are described. Topicalisation, pseudo-passive and passive constructions are also discussed, and it is argued that they form a continuum along the active-passive polarity.

A basic kinship terminology and an illustrative text are included at the end of the thesis.
RESUME*

Cette thèse doctorale présente une analyse de la phonologie, la morphologie et de la syntaxe du Tinrin, une des langues les moins étudiées de la Nouvelle Calédonie. La langue est parlée par environ quatre cents personnes dans la région de Lafoa dans la partie sud de la Nouvelle Calédonie.

L'analyse a été entreprise avec des matériaux obtenus, lors d'un travail de terrain de neuf mois mené à Petit Couli, à Lafoa et à Nouméa en Nouvelle Calédonie.

Le chapitre premier fournit les informations fondamentales sur la langue et une brève description de quelques variantes dialectales. Quelques données présentées ici ont été obtenues auprès du dernier locuteur de Tinrin, à l'Ile des Pins.

Le deuxième chapitre discute la phonologie du Tinrin. Un inventaire des phonèmes comprenant trente consonnes et quatorze voyelles (dont six nasales) est établi et les phonotactiques, les accents d'intensité, l'intonations, les processus phonologiques et les règles morphophonémiques sont discutées. A la fin du chapitre il est fait des propositions pour l'orthographie employée dans le reste de la thèse.

Le chapitre trois concerne la classification des mots, la définition morpho-syntaxique de chaque catégorie grammaticale, et les relations entre ces catégories.

La description morphologique présentée dans les chapitres quatre et cinque examine la formation systématique des mots, l'utilisation de différents affixes et autres processus. Les fonctions des préfixes nominaux individuels sont décrites dans le chapitre quatre. Dans le chapitre cinq la corrélation de quelques noms ou verbes qui ont des préfixes classificatoires sont discutées. Un tableau résumé illustre la large utilisation de préfixes classificatoires et leurs combinaisons avec leurs différentes racines verbales.

Les chapitres six à huit analysent la structure syntaxique du Tinrin. Le chapitre six décrit la structure des expressions nominales, et le chapitre sept celle de la phrase verbale. Les fonctions de marqueurs de temps et d'aspects et celles des modificateurs verbaux sont décrits, et les combinaisons et l'ordre des mots à l'intérieur de ces combinaisons sont examinées. Les sérialisations des verbes et les constructions de verbes liées sont aussi discutées dans ce chapitre.

La syntaxe au niveau des clauses ou des phrases est discutée dans le chapitre huit. Les différents types de clauses comprenant les phénomènes de complémentarité, les clauses relatives, les clauses adverbiales et les constructions emphatiques sont décrites. La topicalisation, les constructions pseudo-passives et passives sont aussi discutées, et il est soutenu qu'elles forment un continuum le long d'un axe de polarité actif-passif.

Une terminologie de parenté de base et plusieurs textes illustratifs sont inclus à la fin de la thèse.

*I have included this abstract in French because among French speakers there is a considerable amount of interest in this thesis, which was awarded fourth prize in Concours Thèse-Pac 1988.*
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PROH  prohibitive
PROX  proximate deixis
PST   past
PURP  purposive
Q     question
QF    quantifier
RC    relative clause
REF   referential
R.PST remote past
S     nominal subject
/sentence
s     subject pronoun
sm    subject marker
sg    singular
SU    subject
SUP   superior
T     time
TA    tense-aspect (marker)
tr    transitive
V     verb/vowel
VP    verb phrase
1     first person
2     second person
3     third person
*     ungrammatical sentence
[ ]   phonetic transcription
//    phonemic transcription
—     morpheme boundary
( )   optional
Map 1: Location of New Caledonia in the South-West Pacific
Map 2: The languages of New Caledonia
(reproduced from: Haudricourt, A.G., J.C.Rivierre, F.Rivierre, C.Moyse-Faurie and J.de la Fontinelle 1979)
Map 3: Southern New Caledonia; area where Tinrin is spoken
Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 General Background of the Language

Tinrin [θθɪθɪ] is a Melanesian language spoken in the southern part of New Caledonia. New Caledonia is located in the south west of the Pacific Ocean, 1500 km from the Australian coast (Map 1). It consists of the mainland, three Loyalty Islands, and a few uninhabited islands, lying within 163 - 168 E. long. and 19 - 23 S. lat. (The total land area covers 19,103 km\(^2\).)

New Caledonia is a French overseas territory, with a population of about 145,000. The ethnic distribution of the inhabitants is: about 62,000 Melanesians, 54,000 Europeans (mainly French), 17,500 people from Tahiti and Wallis Islands, 11,500 Indonesians and others (Census April, 1983).

New Caledonia’s economy is largely dependent on the nickel industry. It is the third largest producer in the world; but recently, because of political unrest, many of the nickel mines have been closed.

New Caledonia shows a remarkable linguistic diversification both in phonology and syntax (Haudricourt 1971; Ozanne-Rivierre & Moyse-Faurie 1983). Twenty-eight different languages belonging to the Oceanic branch of the Austronesian language family have been identified (Rivierre 1981).

These languages have remained quite distinct, despite the island’s relatively small size and its lack of pronounced natural boundaries. There have also been contacts and intermarriages among clans speaking different languages, so that the linguistic diversification cannot be considered a result of tribal isolation. As a consequence of this contact, Melanesian people have often become bilingual or trilingual; there is no one native language which enjoys particular prestige.

The New Caledonian languages are notable for their aberrant nature (Grace 1973:49; Pawley 1972:4) within the Austronesian language family. The data on New Caledonian languages is still too poor to allow one to make any positive statement on subgrouping. In Lynch and Tryon (1985:41) the southern Vanuatu languages are included in a subgroup called Central-Eastern Oceanic (an expansion of the original Eastern Oceanic subgroup), and the languages in New Caledonia (including the Loyalty Islands) are assumed to be the closest relatives of them.
Grace (1973), in his attempt to compare lexicons between Xārācùù and a reconstructed proto-language (proto-Oceanic), together with Tinrin of Grand Couli, suggested that a lot of disyllabic words in the proto-language were reduced to monosyllabic words in these languages, which resulted in a great loss of information about proto forms, as well as created a great number of homonyms (Grace 1973).

The aim of this thesis is to provide a thorough description of the grammar of Tinrin. This has never been done before, and for this reason I refrain from a historical or comparative study, and refer to comparative evidence or reconstructions only to the extent that they can contribute to the descriptive analysis.

Since the islands were colonized by the French, the native population has often been dispersed from its traditional dwelling place, which is called tro erre in Tinrin meaning "real place". (I will refer to this place by the term 'reserve'.) Some Kanak people (native Melanesians) moved to villages where both French and Kanak people live together, and now people often change between places. There are the Kanak people who live in Noumea but come back to the reserve when they run out of money or food to live on; on the other hand, there are the Kanak people who temporarily leave the reserve in order to earn money in villages or nickel mines, because their life-style has changed and they want to buy European food and products. It is more often the women in a reserve who cultivate the land and make a living. Men go fishing and hunting for deer, wild pigs and flying foxes, although the hunting is not as easy now as before: the hunting ground is limited, and the amount of game available is very much reduced.

Although some languages have survived remarkably in spite of the small number of speakers, there is a general trend for younger Kanak people to speak more in French these days, as a result of the mixing with French settlers and with speakers of other languages, and thorough French education. Children in general have less opportunity to learn their parents' language, as French is often spoken even within families. Some languages that have already disappeared (e.g. Waamwang de Voh), or have only a few remaining speakers who would more often speak in another neighboring language (e.g. Arhö; Rivierre 1981).

1.2. Tinrin and its Dialectal Variation

Tinrin belongs to the southern language group among New Caledonian languages, according to Haudricourt’s classification of them (Haudricourt 1971: 372.). Typologically it is characterised by VOS word order, prepositions and right-branching.

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1 Homonymy of grammatical forms is fairly widespread in Tinrin, and often makes Tinrin clauses extremely difficult to analyse, especially when taken out of their context. One particle nrâ, for example, serves as 1) 3sg pronoun subject form, 2) subject marker, 3) past tense marker, 4) link morpheme in link nouns, 5) preposition to mark possessive, 6) progressive marker, 7) contrafactual or obligation marker.

2 Leenhardt recorded 18 speakers of Nerè (Zichè, Central New Caledonia) in 1939 and this language is still spoken at present (J-C Rivierre 1981).
It is difficult to estimate the number of Tinrin speakers, as its speakers often live in a community where other languages (French or Xâракùù) are also spoken. Moreover, Tinrin appears to be spoken less than ever before; there may be around 500 people who know the language, but not all are necessarily fluent speakers. Probably there would be around 400 full Tinrin speakers.

It is mainly spoken in the reserves of Petit Couli and Grand Couli; in Lafoa, Katrikoin, Pocquereux and Sarramea, the speakers of Tinrin are dispersed and mixed with speakers of Xâракùù. Tinrin speakers are often bilingual with Xâракùù. There is also a closely related language Ha Mea in the Kouaoua area (Méchin, Méa Mébara and Fachin), with about 300 speakers (Rivierre 1981).

Tinrin is one of the least investigated languages in New Caledonia. Most Tinrin speakers are bilingual to some extent with either Xâракùù (language of Canala) or Ajie (language of Houailou). These two languages have traditionally been transcribed by missionaries, and have been studied in comparative detail (A. Colomb 1888, M. Leenhardt 1946, G. Grace 1975, A.G. Haudricourt et al. 1979, C. Moyse-Faurie and M-A. Néchéro-Jorédié 1986, etc). Tinrin alone has been left unresearched - G. Grace’s Grand Couli Dictionary (1976) is the only known work published on it to date.

G. Grace notes in the introduction to his dictionary that the language spoken in Grand Couli is a levelled dialect (of Tinrin and Mea languages) resulting from Tiri (Tinrin) and Mea people being thrown together in the same reserve after the suppression of a revolt in 1878-9. People in Petit Couli speak a similar language, although the difference between individuals is quite large depending on the place their parents came from, or the people with whom they are brought up, etc.

In the revolt of 1878 many Tinrin people were either killed or deported to Ile des Pins: this is one reason why there are not many Tinrin speakers left. A dialectal form of Tinrin long survived on Ile des Pins; however, Thomas Hambwewi, whom I met in Ile des Pins was the last speaker of Tinrin there in 1987 (he has since died).

It is beyond the scope of this study to investigate in detail the dialectal variations found within Tinrin. I will briefly note in the following some linguistic differences that I observed between the language of my informant Eibo who mainly lived in Lafoa and whose father originally came from Farino (where Kanaks lived before the revolt) and those in Grand Couli and Ile des Pins.

1.2.1. Grand Couli

Grand Couli (107 people in the census 1974) is the nearest reserve only 1 kilometer from Petit Couli (56 people in the census 1974). During my stay in Petit Couli for three months in 1983-4 I had occasion to visit Grand Couli. As there was a church in Grand

---

3 200 whites died in the fighting, with perhaps 1200 Melanesians dead. Another 1000 or so were deported to Tahiti, Ile des Pins and other offshore islands (The Daily Mirror, June 2, 1988).
Couli, and not in Petit Couli, people in Petit Couli went to mass in the church in Grand Couli during the Christmas season; and there was a (very small) shop only in Grand Couli. People from both reserves visited each other quite casually from time to time.

Though the language spoken in these two adjacent reserves is basically the same, I noticed sometimes slight dialectal differences, which were mainly phonological and rarely lexical. No grammatical differences were observed.

The comparison which follows is mainly based on words found in the Grace’s dictionary which have been checked by my informant. I have also added my own observations from the people of Grand Couli with whom I had contact.

As for the question whether the phonological system differs between these two dialects, it is difficult to say as I have not done any serious investigation of Grand Couli pronunciation. The phonological chart presented by Grace in fact shows quite a difference, especially from the vowels that I propose in the next chapter.

Grace distinguished 10 oral and 8 nasal vowels, whereas I distinguish 8 oral (one of which is marginal) and 6 nasal vowels. However, Grace expresses his uncertainty about vowels /i/ and /a/, suggesting the possibility that those vowels have gone to /ə/.

(Grace’s /ə/ roughly corresponds to my /ə/ [w].) These differences may be due to the lapse of time as the language is changing quite rapidly. It is very likely that two sounds, which were distinct before, are now pronounced in the same way or in free variation. (Vowels in Tinrin which I distinguish in the next chapter have a wide range of phonetic realisation).

Two different pronunciations are listed below: in the left column are pronunciations used by my informant, from Lafoa; and in the right, pronunciations used in Grand Couli. It is not possible to say at this stage which pronunciation reflects the diachronically older pronunciation, or whether there are any borrowings from neighboring dialects involved. No simple generalization can be made, either, on the sound correspondences. The sound shifts listed are rather sporadic and inconsistent among words, and one phoneme sometimes corresponds to several phonemes in the other.

/fw/ in Lafoa often corresponds to /f/ in Grand Couli, but not always. *fwi* "to do, make" is pronounced similarly in both variants. (Grand Couli variant has another word for "to make, do", too, which will be listed later.)

With regard to vowels, those in Lafoa tend to be higher than those in Grand Couli, but again, we cannot generalise it. It is also worth noting that pronunciations or words listed under Lafoa and Grand Couli are not always mutually exclusive. In Grand Couli, both pronunciations or words are often heard without changed meanings.

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4 Although the dictionary was published only twelve years ago, my informant indicated many words in it to be either obsolete or completely unknown, and I do not think this is entirely due to the dialectal difference.
Lafoa | Grand Couli
-----|-----------------|
fw - f | tafwirri | tafirri | "to obey" |
| fwrri | firri | "to hear" |
| fwi | fidri | "be tight, having no leaks" |
| fwa | fa | "to rain, sprout" |
| f - fw | nrifa | nrifwa | "now, today, later" |
| f - p | foodre | poodre | "ear" |
| v - m | hâvânr | hâmànre | "be new" |
| pw - p | pwirri | pirrirri | "fast" |
| | pò | "to land, shine upon" |
| k - kw/g | fiko | fikwa /figi | "to go away" |
| k - gh | kevi | ghevi | "1plexc" |
| | komu | ghomu | "1dlexc" |
| | kou | ghou | "2dl" |
| gh - k | ghe | ke(i) | "from" |
| Ø - k | anrù | kanrù | (= Xârâcùù) "to carry in a sling; a hook for picking fruit" |
| gh - Ø | agho | ao | "shoulder harness" |
| g - gh | mwâge | mwâghe | "to play" |
| | dighe | "fish, bec de cane" |
| h/hw - gh | tôhôe/tôhwee | tôghôe | "tree, gommier" |
| g - Ø | mwâgi | mwâî | "again, to redo" |
| h - Ø | nrîharre | nrîarre | "season" |
| | wiû | "the sling" |
| w - Ø | fowoo | fôoo | "to separate, share with" |
| gw - g | pôfagwâ | pôfagô | "to loosen by twisting" |
| t - d | torro | dorra | "giant clam" |
| | tiga | dighe | "fish, bec de cane" |
| d - dh | dada | dhadha | "very (white)" |
| dr - r | hârrîdro | hârrîro | "earthworm" |
| i - e | doirri | doerri | "bird, rail" |
| | fi | fe | "to go" |
| | vae | "after" |
| i - ò | tidra | tôdra | "shell bracelet" |
| u - o | nrù | nrîo | "forest" |
| | jarru | jarro | "to tell riddles" |
| ua - oo | harruadra | harroodra | "ceremonial garden for yams" |
uä-ö nräjuä nräjö "to hide"
ii-ee hü ee "to creep"
o-u moofadrö muutfadrö "gift, souvenir"
o-ù nrödrödhorri nrödrödhùri "to recall"
o-ü hojo hüjü "cricket"
o-a torro dorra "giant clam"
o-ö dorrarru drörru "tree, Erythrina peuplier" urruö "butterfly"
ô-a wò fônrî wa "fruit, drop (of liquid)"
arröö fanrawa "river"
fwôtra fwatra "water"
pôpônrö(w)ô papanrewò "year"
pwôgarra pwagarra "be surprised" "European, white person"
ô-è wèjö wejë "nose"
ô-a ôrrômeewor amrapee "eye"
e-a merrö marröö "parrot fish"
pwârâwe pwärâwe "a series of waves"
mwâébee mwälbea "a rectangular house"
nremü nramü "belt"
e-ô ertrërrë ôtrërrë "to bury, plant with hands"
e-ë wânëtu wâëtu "to dam up water"
ê-â drëëwëwë drâwâ "sand"
dinrérrë dinråârë "to lick"
hêrrëjùù hârråjùù "Canala"
êä-ë hwëâ hwë "to appear"
ê-ô hêrrë hó "to choose"
a-ù wadrö wùdrö "be small"
a-e dadôrrö dedôrrö "to hurt the foot by swinging it against a pointed object"
varahae verahae "how"
a-ë madrë mèdrë "citrus (general)"
kasuadra kasuedra "the mud dauber wasp"
â-ôô drânrü drôônrü "wasp"
â-ô hävenîâ hôvenîâ "all together"
warrâbù wôrrôbù "maternal uncle"
âû-ôô nrâûra nrôôra "except"
In the following are listed different lexical items used in the two variants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lafoa</th>
<th>Grand Couli</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nominals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>auné</td>
<td>aviné</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bètrújú</td>
<td>wòwiraa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drôdréewê</td>
<td>wòdréewê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fadi</td>
<td>fâi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foarròó</td>
<td>hwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hêêra</td>
<td>hêrêhara/hââra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hêrrêkari</td>
<td>hêrrêwê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hùarrì</td>
<td>pôôwe (=Xarâcùù)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ìgà</td>
<td>ìpee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ìpee is used</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with bad connotation)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kò</td>
<td>trevò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mea</td>
<td>hôro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mèdrôrrò</td>
<td>pwê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nôdréerrê</td>
<td>êôdréerrê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nôrhêê</td>
<td>nôrîhêê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nômîwâmîwâ</td>
<td>nômînwâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nunnùu</td>
<td>acaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ponê</td>
<td>pwêmwaaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwe</td>
<td>guru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ri</td>
<td>ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rô</td>
<td>nôro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiri</td>
<td>mwîhâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trôrrôdrî</td>
<td>kûtûrdî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tòrrô</td>
<td>pûgôrô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>truùu</td>
<td>hudûru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vae</td>
<td>tawauru (=Xarâcùù)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warrabù</td>
<td>kanreëa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tawauru=Xarâcùù)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verbs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>danra</td>
<td>fare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ferri</td>
<td>sûverre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fwi</td>
<td>gôrrô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haa</td>
<td>ôê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idri</td>
<td>îvô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nôrrì</td>
<td>habo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saghe</td>
<td>waghe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trarrì</td>
<td>hwee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tôphôsevirro</td>
<td>tôpwasirro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tôrrôpee</td>
<td>errîpee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiría</td>
<td>pwâria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tapwasirro=Xarâcùù)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adverb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hûdrô</td>
<td>mèèdrôrrô</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

verbs: danra "to exchange goods"
ferri "to lean against something"
fwi "to make, do"
haa "to fish"
idri "be born"
nôrrì "to give"
saghe "to throw stones at"
trarrì "to lack, not exist"
tôphôsevirro "to stir"
tôrrôpee "to illuminate"
wiría "to split something with a blunt instrument"

adverb: hûdrô "fast"
1.2.2. Ile des Pins

As the revolt in 1878-9 was centred around Lafoa, many Tinrin speakers were killed; several hundreds who were caught were deported to Ile des Pins. Descendants of these people grouped together and continued to speak their language.

Although Tinrin was noted as being still spoken in a dialectal form there by Rivierre (1981), it has now virtually died out, with only one speaker left. This last speaker of Tinrin, Thomas Hambwewi (whose language I will briefly note in this section) said that he could converse daily in Tinrin with several people until about 5 years ago. Unfortunately all have died (Thomas also died last year), and younger people have not learned the language, but speak Kwényi, the language of Ile des Pins.

Thomas Hambwewi, around 70 years of age in 1986 when I met him, was born in Ile des Pins, but his father came from Moindou. He lived in a village called Vao (people deported are all put in Vao), which is called 'la mission' as there is a church there.

I recorded a narration of about 40 minutes from him, and a conversation between him and my chief informant Elbo Emmanuel Holéro. In this narration, Thomas explained that Tinrin people deported to the island lived in a confined area and the grand chief (of the island) did not allow them to marry the women there lest their 'secret message (tradition)' should be revealed to Tinrin people.

In the following are some notes on dialectal differences observed.

There are passages from time to time in which my informant did not really understand what Thomas said or meant. It is more the different vocabulary, or different expressions which were used, rather than the pronunciation that marked the dialect.

It is difficult to tell whether the form spoken in Ile des Pins is the older form which survived there, or a later development, but my informant sometimes pointed out that the expression used by Thomas was the archaic expression used in Lafoa, and probably the form spoken in Ile des Pins preserves more of the older form of Tinrin.

<pronunciation>

The first three pronunciations of Ile des Pins are also heard in Grand Couli.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Lafoa</th>
<th>Ile des Pins</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>g - Ø</td>
<td>mwâgi</td>
<td>mwâï</td>
<td>&quot;again&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gh - k</td>
<td>ghe</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>&quot;from&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f - fw</td>
<td>nrifa</td>
<td>nrifwa</td>
<td>&quot;now&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø - h</td>
<td>mea</td>
<td>meeha</td>
<td>&quot;Mea&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>â - Ø</td>
<td>ânrâha</td>
<td>nrâha</td>
<td>&quot;here&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<lexical items>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lafoa</th>
<th>Ile des Pins</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>drae mwā</td>
<td>nrīmwā &quot;that's right&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gēe/nrōōtū</td>
<td>nrōōtū &quot;grandmother&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hawi</td>
<td>suu &quot;to talk&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(also used in Grand Couli)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiretū</td>
<td>hōharru &quot;right (hand)&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hōverrua</td>
<td>&quot;to drop down, lose&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(obsolete in Lafoa)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hwai</td>
<td>hi &quot;perhaps&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(hi ae fwōtra &quot;perhaps 4 years&quot;)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nrōō-nrī</td>
<td>nrōō-nrī/nrōō drae &quot;a long time&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nrōrrō</td>
<td>sōrrō &quot;only&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(used also in Lafoa rarely)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nrūnru</td>
<td>nrōō-nrī/nrōō drae &quot;grandfather&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saau</td>
<td>saa moo u &quot;once&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trōa</td>
<td>hwēā &quot;to arrive&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(means &quot;to appear&quot; in Lafoa)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>si &quot;very&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(obsolete in Lafoa)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

nrōō is a tense aspect marker. It is also used as an attribute, meaning "be old"; therefore, nrōō drae in the above list (seventh and ninth) literally means "old thing". In Ile des Pins, nrōō drae means either "a long time" or "grandfather or elderly people" together with nrōō-nrī. Eibō noted that he used to call his father (or grandfather) nrōō drae, but this expression is no longer used in Lafoa. It is replaced by nrūnru which may be a loan word from Xārācūū nānū which is a vocative form for "grandfather". In Lafoa, another term for grandfather mwarua is also used but less frequently, which must be a borrowing from Ajīē mwarua "grandfather".

For grandmother, nrōōtū is still used, but rarely, in Lafoa. Again, the term gēe (which may be the borrowing from Xārācūū gēe, vocative form for "grandmother") is generally used in Lafoa.

Determiners which are used for the definite singular noun, wa and moo, are used in both variants of Tinrin. However, it seems that in Lafoa wa is used more often, but in Ile des Pins moo is preferred: e.g. moo guha nrā ri (DET, language, POSS, 1plinc) "this language of ours".

hīdrō vôō which is used in Lafoa to mean "to reveal something hidden", is used in Ile des Pins just to mean "to say (something) in general". kare in Lafoa is used to mean "to run", whereas in Ile des Pins it means "go (down, up, around)".

The preposition ghāi is often used in Ile des Pins to mark "comitative". In the following sentences, it occurs in the position where in Lafoa a comitative pronoun, (kevi in these cases) would be used instead.
(1) kevi re ha nř̕ guha kudei
1plexc HAB speak with language Ile des Pins
ghai rri
with 3pl
"We always speak in the language of Ile des Pins with them."

(2) kevi fi ghai pwerre māo kudei
1plexc go with several men Ile des Pins
"We went with several men of Ile des Pins."

In the following Ile des Pins sentence, the preposition vai "after, to" is used, where in Lafoa a comitative pronoun (here, nrorri "3pl") would be used instead.

(3) rria hava hajū vai mērrē viē ghe
3pl DEF I.PST marry after pl women from
ānrāha
here
"They have married women from here.

The following pairs of expressions indicate the difference in the sentence constructions between the two variants. Examples (a) were taken from Thomas’ stories and examples (b) were provided by my informant Eibo. The sentence (4a) is not grammatical in Lafoa.

(4a) nř̕ trarrī saa trarrī mōrro
3sg lack one lack alive
"There is no one alive." (lit. ?It lacks one, lacks alive.)"

(4b) nř̕ trarrī saa mwā nř̕ mōrro
3sg lack one that 3sg alive
"There is no one alive." (lit. It lacks one who is alive.)
This can be also, nř̕ trarrī a mōrro (3sg,lack,AT,alive)

Ile des Pins language prefers an extra nominal phrases as evidenced by the following examples:

(5a) nř̕ hērrē a taa gi rō
3sg substance AT bad with 1sg
"It is bad to me." (lit. ?It is something bad to me.)

(5b) nř̕ taa gi rō
3sg bad with 1sg
"It is bad to me."

(6a) nř̕ truu ūū-nř̕ ghe ānrāmwā
3sg stay origin-3sg from there
"He is from there." (lit. ?He stays at its origin from there.)

(6b) nř̕ treanrū ghe ānrāmwā
3sg person from there
"He is (the person) from there."

In the following sentence (7a) locative preposition ru and complementizer dō is used instead of purposive preposition nř̕ and complementizer bee in (7b).
nrā mùrrù nrā wa erre ha ru òò
3sg small sm DET place PROX L CMPZ

truu nrā ri ru nrī
stay POSS 1plinc L 3sg
"This place is small for us living in it." (lit. This place is small at the place of our staying in it.)

nrā mùrrù nrā wa erre ha nrō bee
3sg small sm DET place PROX for CMPZ

truu nrā ri ru nrī
stay POSS 1plinc L 3sg
"This place is small for our living in it."

In the following sentence of Ile des Pins, drō "on" is used instead of ghegi "since":

mērō viē bēērrī nrā see mwaa drō nrō
pl women old 3sg NEG long on for

bee vajū nrā rri
CMPZ die POSS 3pl
"Old women, it is not long since they died."(lit. Old women, it is not long on their dying.)

mērō viē bēērrī nrā see mwaa ghegi
pl women old 3sg NEG long since

bee vajū nrā rri
CMPZ die POSS 3pl
"Old women, it is not long since they died."(lit. Old women, it is not long since their dying.)

1.3. Field Methods

I conducted field work in 1983-4, in 1985 and in 1986-7 for about three months each, and spent a total of nine and a half months in New Caledonia.

Upon my first arrival in New Caledonia, I spent approximately a month in Noumea in order to get some information on the Lafoa area and to find a way in which to start my research on the Tinrin language. I met several people who gave me useful advice and encouragement for the project5, but there were also people who warned me that the political situation was getting very delicate and it was not a good idea for 'a tiny woman' like myself to live in a reserve with Kanak people.

I learned that in Lafoa (which is a village where French and Kanak people are living together) people normally communicate in French, while Tinrin is not spoken except in a very limited circle. Therefore, I decided to live in a reserve near Lafoa called Petit Couli where Tinrin was supposed to be spoken by about 50 Kanak people.

It was not very easy, but I eventually found a family living in Petit Couli who would accept me, and so started my life there in December 1983.

5 Mr Jean Marie Tjibaou, then the vice president of the Territorial Congress, was one of them. He was a great Kanak leader of the independence movement, and was assassinated in May, 1989.
For the first few weeks, I tried to collect basic vocabulary and expressions from anybody available in Petit Couli or in Grand Couli, the adjacent reserve. I soon realised that people say different things, with quite different pronunciations (to my ear); the variation between individuals and between two reserves seemed quite large. I thought I should find an individual informant to avoid confusion, as the dialectal survey could be done only after the language had been thoroughly analysed.

After having tried to work with a few people, I met my principal informant Ei'bo. Unlike other men, who were quick to understand but tended to say anything to impress me, Ei'bo took more time in understanding, but was more prudent. Soon, he gained a great interest and understanding in what I was trying to do and has devoted himself to our work ever since.

We first communicated through French. My French was very poor at the beginning, but the Kanak people showed a great sympathy for that, maybe because French was not their own language either. My informant could sometimes not express things in French either, so that we built up our mutual understanding more in Tinrin as I learned it later on.

In this first trip, I mainly concentrated on getting adjusted to the new environment, tried to learn their habits and customs, and joined other people's routine work (such as picking edible leaves, collecting firewood, cooking, etc). I gained in this period a lot of practical knowledge of their life, especially through Eibo’s wife.

When I found time to sit with my informant on the mat under a niaouli tree, I went through the basic vocabulary and tried to do some grammatical elicitation in order to get an idea on its phonology and its basic sentence structure. I also recorded several stories narrated by him and by his wife.

I returned to New Caledonia for a second field trip in June, 1985. This time, I stayed in Lafoa, as my informant was then living there by himself. Although the routine life in Lafoa seemed to be the same as before, there was a tense atmosphere after several serious political clashes which took place in Dec. 1984 - Jan. 1985. The difference in the political view among people was sometimes serious, and even affected family relationships. In addition, the area around Lafoa was known as an active place for political unrest.

I spent most of the day with my informant. As he was in ill-health, I tried to help him with his daily chores, while I practised the language, and gained as much information as possible on the language from the conversation between us.

Unlike the first time when I visited, I had already a basic knowledge of the language with lots of hypotheses to verify, so that the cooperative work advanced very well, although I had to revise my vowel chart several times as my informant changed his mind on vowels at different meetings. I noticed that Kanak people often said 'yes' when
asked something such as "are these two words pronounced differently?", even when they were homophones. What is worse, when I tested them, they would say, "that is the word A, another is B", as if they were minimal pairs. Their reason for taking this kind of attitude seems to be that they have the general habit of 'not insisting' and accepting what other people say. They generally also do not reflect about language, or any other issue which is not useful in their lives. Although Eibo was willing to help me, he never understood why I had to worry about such a thing as whether [ɔ] and [ɔ] contrast or not. After I noticed this, I became more careful, and checked the same thing again (a couple of weeks or a month later) in order to find out whether there was consistency in what the informant said.

From time to time we visited the nearby reserves, Petit Couli, Grand Couli and Sarramea, and talked with people there. It amused him very much to see people's astonishment when they heard Tinrin from a stranger. I recorded on tape a very interesting narration by an old woman in Grand Couli, as well as conversations between Eibo and other people. These materials were transcribed and translated with the help of Eibo.

After I wrote up a full first draft of my thesis on the data I collected in my first and second trip, I returned for the third time to do final checking on hypotheses, to clarify some dubious points, and to find some missing grammatical facts.

I stayed in Lafoa again, and did a very productive study during the first half of my stay.

I took Eibo to Ile des Pins with me in order to find out how many people (descendents from the people who were deported there in the revolt of 1878-9) still spoke Tinrin, and what the Tinrin was like there. I found there the last speaker of Tinrin, Mr Thomas Hambwewi.

The island is governed by a grand chief Vendegou, and Kanak customs seemed to remain strong there. I met the grand chief, accompanied by Tito Farino, the son of Eibo's father's deported brother. When I offered him a 'coutume' (ceremonial souvenir, normally several sticks of tobacco, sugar, money - a few notes and coins, etc. placed on a material for a sarong ), he returned the compliment with a very long ceremonial discourse (in French!) after the tradition. He was amazingly eloquent and the discourse contained the expression that I was officially accepted by his tribe, and from that time on I would be always welcome to live with them.

Thomas, who was a blind old man of about 70, let me record his narration about himself, his parents and the things he heard when he was a child. His Tinrin was amazingly fluent. Eibo helped me to compare his language with that of Tinrin in Lafoa area (cf. 1.2.2).
My informant fell seriously ill after our return from Ile des Pins, and was hospitalised in Noumea. However, he wanted to continue our work on the language. I moved to Noumea, and tried to accompany him in the hospital as much as I could. When he was feeling better, we chatted in the language, and discussed some unclear points on the language.

I had to return to Australia when he was still in hospital. Now he lives with his son's family, still fighting against his sickness. He is the person who was most looking forward to hearing that our work was finally accomplished in this thesis.

In the grammar that follows, most examples are taken from either free speech in conversation or from taped stories and dialogues as mentioned above.

Finally, no one is more aware than the author that this is not the last word on the grammar of Tinrin. As will be mentioned in the chapters that follow, there are a number of topics which could be investigated further, e.g. the question of homonymy and polysemy, possessive constructions, prepositions, verb serialization and passive constructions. Within the time available for this Ph.D it has not been possible to undertake a full comparative study of the relation between Tinrin and genetically related languages.

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Eibo died in January 1990 after the main body of the thesis had been written.
Chapter 2

PHONOLOGY

2.1 Vowels

We can recognize 8 oral vowels (of which the phonemic status of e is dubious) and 6 nasal vowels in Tinrin. Oral vowels are distinguished at three degrees of opening and three positions, while nasal vowels have only two degrees of opening.

Vowel length is phonologically significant; and long vowels will be noted by duplication of vowels. Short vowels are set out in Table 2.1. Phonetic values in terms of the International Phonetic Alphabet are placed in square brackets where they differ from the orthographic symbol.

The orthography that I employ in the examples in the other chapters and in the corpus will be discussed at the end of this chapter.

Table 2.1

Vowel Phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>oral</th>
<th></th>
<th>nasal</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>front</td>
<td>central</td>
<td>back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the consonants do not form any clusters in Tinrin (cf.2.2), vowels quite commonly occur in sequence.

Before nasal or prenasalised consonants, oral and nasal vowels are neutralised in favour of nasal vowels except in slow and deliberate speech. /e/ in this environment realises as [ɨ], and /o/ realises as [ɔ].

The vowel quality of /i/ does not differ noticeably from the cardinal vowel [i]. /e/ is realised as a quite close front vowel.

The phonemic status of /e/, realised as [e], is doubtful. The occurrence of this segment is very limited, and it is often interchangeable with /a/. Only one example to show the contrast between low and mid front vowels is found in the following pair with long vowels:

/ee/ /ee/ "grandmother"  /gee/ "to lie"
There are people who distinguish /-vae/ "after" from /vae/ "oar", but generally the former varies between /-vae/ and /-vai/ and the latter is often replaced by /vae/.

Probably the contrast between /e/ and /e/ has been weakened by the fact that in the nasal environment mentioned above, /e/ and /e/ are neutralised with /ɛ/, which in turn triggered - in non nasal environment - the neutralisation of /e/ and /e/ in favour of /e/. As a result of the merging of /e/ into /e/, the pronunciation [ɛ] now seems to be floating around the phoneme /a/, which is generally realized as a low central vowel, unrounded.

/ŋ/ spans [ŋ], high and fairly back and [i] more central, with no lip rounding.
/ʊ/ is realised as a high back vowel, well rounded.
/ɑ/ is realised as cardinal [o], rounded, and /ɒ/ as [o] slightly rounded. In some words /ɔ/ and /ɒ/ are interchangeable word finally.

The following minimal pairs illustrate the distinctions between short oral vowels:

| /i/  | /mwaɡi/ | "again" | /mwaɡe/ | "to play" |
| /i/  | /wiri/ | "2pl" | /wiru/ | "to cut" |
| /e/  | /ke/ | "2sg" | /ko/ | "to vomit" |
| /u/  | /wa/ | "tree" | /u/ | "yam" |
| /o/  | /Λ/ | "clam" | /o/ | "be real, native" |
| /o/  | /ko/ | "to vomit" | /ko/ | "speach, message" |
| /a/  | /a/ | "to laugh" | /a/ | "pot" |

The qualities of nasal vowels /i, e, u, o/ correspond to those oral vowels /i, e, u, o/.

/ɑ/ has a retracted variety after labio-velarised consonants, e.g. /má/ [mâ] "to urinate";
/mwa/ [mwa] "hut".

/ɔ/ covers rather a wide range phonetically: [ɔ], [ɔ] and [ɔ] are in free variation. There are people who make the distinction between [hɔ] "to sing" and [hɔ] "prefix related to action with the hands". However, this observation does not seem to be consistent and general.

/ɛ/ and /æ/ are interchangeable in many words such as /hâmweɛ/ ~ /hâmwaɪ̯"to hold";
/mwɛɛ/ ~ /mwɛɪ̯"woman". One reason may be that their vowel qualities are quite close to each other. It may also come from the confusion which is occurring with the short vowel /e/, the pronunciation of [e] approaching the phoneme /a/ as explained earlier. /æ/ also varies with /ɛ/ in some words such as /tæb)))), /tɔb)))), /"to tell the story"; /t] unʊ ɔʊ ʊ") to think"; /hapɛ/) ~ /hapɛ/) "to learn".

Nasal vowels are distinguished from oral and from each other by the following minimal pairs:

| /ɛ/  | /jʊ/ | "3sg" | /jɪ/ | "pull out" |
| /ɛ/  | /i/ | "body" | /ɛ/ | "to burn" |
| /i/  | /mi/ | "to fall" | /mɪ/ | "be cold" |
| /e/  | /bɛ/ | "hand" | /be/ | "be dead" |

7 Grace distinguished in his Grand Couli dictionary /hubo/ "short" and /hubo/ "after". However, my informant does not distinguish them. Whether this distinction existed before and has now disappeared or whether this is simply dialectal variation is unknown.
Each of the oral and nasal vowels has a long counterpart which shares the same articulatory features as the short vowels and differs only in duration. The contrast between short and long vowels is illustrated by the following minimal pairs:

- i/i /mi/ "hiccup" /mii/ "watermelon"
- e/ee /pe/ "river fish" /pee/ "to see"
- uuuu /suu/ "be clear" /suum/ "totem"
- ooo /to/ "to matter" /too/ "back, behind"
- a/a /ha/ "to speak" /haa/ "to fish"
- i/i /bi/ "body" /bi/ "to fly, dance"
- e/ee /ne/ "to taste" /nee/ "be proud, arrogant"
- tuu /duu/ "hawk" /duu/ "liver"
- uu /du/ "fish, to release" /du/ "field"
- ooo /o/ "be true, native" /oo/ "the earth, soil"
- a/o /ga/ "colour" /gaa/ "to crawl on the stomach"
- ooo /ha/ "to eat (meat)"

2.2 Consonants

We can recognize 30 consonant phonemes in Tinrin (of which /c, n, k^W/ and /g^W/ have restricted occurrence), as displayed in Table 2.2. All the consonants of Tinrin occur only word initially or medially, and do not form consonant clusters.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant Phonemes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pre-nasalized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuant vl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2.1 Stops

Tinrin stops contrast voiceless and prenasalized, except /c/ which does not have a prenasalized counterpart. Voiceless stops are pronounced with weak aspiration, or none at all.

/c/, palatal voiceless stop, occurs very rarely. It can occur only before front vowels and the low central vowel /a/. The words in which this phoneme occurs may be borrowings from neighbouring languages or English.

e.g. /iace/ "a demon"  /peci/ "paper" (< ? page: English)
/wamlica/ "coconut without water" (< ?wamëcë: Xäräcütu)

There are two pronunciations for "mother": /cici/ and /titi/. In this case, /c/ may be the pronunciation assimilated by the following vowel /i/, in children’s speech. It is difficult to say whether [c] is an allophone of /t/, voiceless apico-dental, as [cici] is the only case I found and normally /t/ is not realised as [c] before front vowels in other words. I cannot supply a minimal pair to distinguish /c/ and /t/ either, because of limited occurrence of /c/.

Other voiceless stops, /p, pw, t, t’, k, kw/ contrast with prenasalized stops where the sequence nasal and homorganic stop occurs within the same syllable, forming a single unit phoneme (Catford 1977: 212). These prenasalized stops are realised as voiced, but the pronunciation of various loan words such as /gika/ (<cigarette) and /§uka/ (<sugar) (i.e. they are not /§iga/ and /§uga/ respectively) suggests that it is not voicing that is considered distinctive but the prenasalization.

The contrast between voiceless and prenasalised stops is illustrated by the following minimal pairs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voiceless</th>
<th>Prenasalized</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p / buu/ &quot;to smell&quot;</td>
<td>/puuw/ &quot;be soft&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pw / puwu/ &quot;turtle&quot;</td>
<td>/pwwu/ &quot;many&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t / daa/ &quot;be bad&quot;</td>
<td>/təa/ &quot;be bad&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’ / jij/ &quot;sugarcane&quot;</td>
<td>/tjj/ &quot;leaf, be humid&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k / gê/ &quot;papaya&quot;</td>
<td>/gê/ &quot;colour&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw / gê/w/ &quot;contest&quot;</td>
<td>/gwwê/ &quot;occupation&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are two types of labials: non velarized /p, b/ and velarized /pw, bw/. Velarized labials (Blust 1981) are distinguished from non-velarized by the simultaneous raising of the back of the tongue towards the velum (secondary articulation). The contrast between /p/ and /pw/ is neutralised before the high back vowels /u, ü/ in favour of non-velarized labials (e.g. /puue/ "fishing net"). The contrast between /b/ and /bw/ is also neutralised before the high and non-front vowels /u, ü, ū, ūr/, in favour of non-velarized labials (e.g./buu/ "soft, ripe"). Before front vowels, on the other hand, velarization of these sounds is very prominent. The following minimal pairs illustrate the contrast between non-velarized and velarized labials:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-Velarized</th>
<th>Velarized</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p / pô/ &quot;to move&quot;</td>
<td>/pôw/ &quot;packet&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b / bê/ &quot;arm&quot;</td>
<td>/bêw/ &quot;many&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Velars also distinguish between labialized and non labialized sounds. Labialized velars /kʷ, gʷ/ are distinguished from non-labialized /k, g/ by the simultaneous rounding of the lips (secondary articulation). The contrast between non labialized and labialized velars is neutralised before vowels that are back or high central /u, ū, u, ʊ, o, ɔ, Ȝ/ (cf.table 2.1), in favour of non labialized velars (e.g. /kʊ/ "smoke", /kʊ/ "message", /gʊ/ "clumsy", /gʊ/ "to move"). Labialized velars occur very rarely, and in most cases they occur in word initial position. When they occur word-medially, they follow a morpheme boundary. It is unclear whether these two phonemes are borrowings from the neighbouring languages or not.

The following minimal and subminimal pairs illustrate the contrast between labialized and non labialized velars:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labialized</th>
<th>Non Labialized</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k/kʷ</td>
<td>/ká/ &quot;papaya&quot; /kʷá/ &quot;contest&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g/gʷ</td>
<td>/gä/ &quot;colour&quot; /gʷä/ &quot;occupation&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ğä/ &quot;to lie&quot;</td>
<td>/ğewe/ &quot;taboo&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dental stops, /t, d/ are realized as apico-dental stops with the point of the tongue touching the back of the upper teeth.

Retroflex stops, /t̚, d̚/ are realized as sublamino-prepalatal stops, which is articulated with the tip of the tongue raised and pointed upwards - almost backwards so that the underblade articulates against the prepalatal zones (Catford 1977:153). When followed by high front vowels, they are slightly palatalized and sometimes sound like the affricates [tʃ , dʒ ].

The following minimal pairs illustrate the contrast between dental and retroflex stops:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>/t̚/ &quot;be big&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>/d̚/ &quot;to hang something&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t̚/ &quot;sugarcane&quot;</td>
<td>/d̚/ &quot;with, a piece&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.2 Continuants

/f/, v/ are realized as a voiceless and a voiced labio-dental fricative. They are distinguished from the labial stops, and from the velarized /fʷ/ as the following minimal pairs illustrate:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voiced</th>
<th>Voiceless</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/f/</td>
<td>/fʊ/ &quot;excrement&quot; /fʊ/ &quot;bourao (Hibiscus tiliaceus)&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/v/</td>
<td>/vʊ/ &quot;kind, type&quot; /pʊ/ &quot;to move&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʊ/</td>
<td>/ʊ/ &quot;IMPN, there&quot; /ba/ &quot;to cultivate&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/f/</td>
<td>/fi/ &quot;to go&quot; /fʰi/ &quot;to do, make&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The contrast between /f/ and /fʰ/ is neutralised before high and non-front vowels /u, ū, u, ʊ/ in favour of /f/ (e.g. /fʊ/ "excrement"); and velarization on /fʰ/ is very prominent when it occurs before front vowels. /fʰ/ occurs only morpheme-initially.

---

8 C.Hagège and A.Haudricourt (1978:177-178) suggest that unvoiced spirants in some southern New Caledonian languages have derived from the series of aspirated stops in the northern languages of New Caledonia.
There is no velarized /vw/, possibly because /v/ and /w/ are too proximate and are assimilated into /w/.

/w/ is realised as a labio-velar approximant, with the back of the tongue being raised towards the soft palate. Some lip-rounding accompanies this movement. /w/ is distinguished from /v/ and the homorganic high vowel /u/ as illustrated by the following minimal pairs:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{w/v} & \quad /\text{wa}^{\text{a}}/ "\text{yet, still}" \quad /\text{va}^{\text{a}}/ "\text{to dodge}"\\
\text{w/u} & \quad /\text{wa}/ "\text{to fall, go down}" \quad /\text{ua}/ "\text{to bear (of fruit tree)}"
\end{align*}
\]

/ð/ is realised as a voiced interdental fricative. This phoneme is rather restricted in occurrence in the lexicon, but as it occurs in morphemes of high frequency such as grammatical morphemes, it is common in speech. In the word /ðoð/ "to drink", /ð/ is interchangeable with /t/, the latter being heard more often among the younger generation. In fact, /ð/ occurs mostly intervocally (with a few exceptions, such as /ðaða/ "very"), which may lead to the suspicion that it is the intervocalic lenited allomorph of /t/.

However, I consider this to be an independent phoneme, as /ð/ is not interchangeable with /t/ or /d/ in words other than /ðoð/: e.g. /eðo/ "even", /eði/ "cousin", /midurwa/ "wild fig", /atado/ "pigeon", /meetð/ "breast".

Because of the restricted occurrence of /ð/, I cannot give minimal pairs to illustrate the contrast between /ð/ and dental stops, but the following subminimal pairs illustrate the distinction.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ð/d} & \quad /eði/ "\text{cousin}" \quad /di/ "\text{fishing line}"\\
/ðoi/ "\text{to recall}" & \quad /doi/ "\text{kind of bird, rail}"
\end{align*}
\]

/j/ is realised as a voiced palatal approximant. When it occurs before front vowels, it is pronounced with greater friction.

The opposition between this phoneme and the homorganic high vowel /i/ is illustrated by the following minimal pair:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{j/i} & \quad /\text{ji-(ria)}/ "\text{to divide (land)}" \quad /\text{i}/ "\text{long time}"
\end{align*}
\]

/g/ is realised as a voiceless sublamino-prepalatal fricative with the tongue tip retroflexed (Catford 1977:158) before vowels other than /i/. Before /i/, it is pronounced as a palato-alveolar fricative.

/h/ is the only phoneme which is pronounced at the apico-alveolar point of articulation. Depending on the speaker, or as a free variation, it is either pronounced as an approximant or trill at the same point of articulation. The approximant pronunciation seems to be employed more among older people.

/t/ is realised as a sublamino-prepalatal flap. The tip of the tongue is lifted up quite far back, and it shoots forward and downward, the underside of the tongue-rim momentarily striking the prepalatal region on the way and ending by flopping down on the the floor of
the mouth (Catford 1977: 129). When it occurs word initially, a slight onglide vowel is sometimes heard.

e.g. /ti/ [t] "3pl"
/Too [To] "to dig with the hand"

The phonological distinction among /r/, /t/, and /d/ will be illustrated in the following minimal pairs:

|r/t| /ri/ "1pl inc" | /t/ "3pl"
|ere/ "food" | /ete/ "habitation"
|d/t| /fimidj/ "be tight" | /fimti/ "to hear"

/h/ has a wide range of phonetic realisations. When it occurs before high front vowel, it is realized as the palatal fricative [ç]. Before high back and central vowels /u, ü, ur, ür/, it is realised as the bilabial fricative [f]. Elsewhere, it varies freely between the glottal fricative [h] and the velar fricative [x]. It is voiceless, and is distinguished from the voiced velar fricative /y/ in the following minimal pair:

/h/y /aho/ "a big cicada" /ayo/ "shoulder bag"

In some words (/kou/ "2dl"; /komu/ "ldlexc" etc.) the pronunciation of /y/ seems to have been replaced by /k/. Due to the lack of evidence, it is difficult to judge whether this is due to the influence of dialectal variation or whether the phoneme /y/ is losing its status in word-initial positions, especially among young people who were brought up in a French speaking environment. In the language of Ajië (adjacent to Tinrin), /k/ and /y/ alternate in some words (especially grammatical words), and the pronunciation of /k/ is attested to be more modern (de la Fontinelle 1975: 57). The distinction between /k/ and /y/ is illustrated by the following minimal pairs:

|k/y| /ke/ "2sg" | /ye/ "from"

/h/w/ is realized as a voiceless labialized velar [ʍ] or velarized bilabial fricative [ʍ].

The contrast between /h/ and its labialized counterpart /h/w/ is neutralized before high and non-front vowels /u, ü, ur, ür/ in favour of /h/ (e.g. /hu/ "weapon", /hururu/ "child"). The distinction between these continuants is further illustrated by the following minimal pairs:

|h/f| /hi/ "to grate" | /fi/ "to go"
|h/k| /ho/ "to eat(meat)" | /ko/ "to vomit"
|h/w| /ha/ "to speak" | /hw/a/ "lever, to lift with a lever"
|y/g| /ayo/ "shoulder bags" | /a go/ "then"
|h/w| /hwa/ "lever, to lift with a lever" | /wa/ "to fall, go down"

2.2.3. Nasals

Labials /m, mw/ are realized with a marked closure of the lips such that one sometimes hears [mm] or [mmw]. The contrast between non-velarised and velarised labials is neutralised before high and non-front vowels /u, ü, ur, ür/, in favour of non velarized
labial (e.g. /muʔu/ "maggot"; /mɬu/ "be cold"). There are people who pronounce mʷ/m as [mʷ] in the context before /uː/ ([amwʷuɾu] "small"), which - /mʷ/ being the archiphoneme before the high central vowel - may be the remnant of ancient opposition of /m/ and /mʷ/ before /uː/, or may be a pronunciation influenced by other dialects. /mʷ/ is realised with greater velarization before front vowels. The contrast between them is illustrated in the following minimal pairs:

\[
m/mʷ \quad /m֑a/ "to urinate" \quad /mʷə/ "house"
\]

They are distinguished from prenasalized stops as in:

\[
m/b \quad /m֑a/ "fontanelle" \quad /b֑a/ "to pull out"
\]

/n/ is realised as an apico-dental nasal. /n/ is realised as a sublamino-prepalatal retroflex nasal. Their distinctiveness is illustrated by the following minimal pairs:

\[
n/d \quad /n֑a/ "vine" \quad /d֑a/ "fishing line"
\]
\[
n/d̆ \quad /n֑a/ "be deep (of water)" \quad /d֑̆a/ "on, the surface"
\]
\[
n/n̥ \quad /n֑e/ "what" \quad /n̥e/ "fire, firewood"
\]
\[
n/ʕ̆ \quad /n֑i/ "to pull out" \quad /ʕ̆i/ "3pl"
\]

/n/, palatal nasal, occurs rarely and is usually found in the initial position. When it occurs after a nasal vowel, it can be reduced to /j/: /n̥ũn̥ũ/ > /n̥ũ ju̥ũ/ "to hide". The contrast between /p/ and dental /n/ is neutralised before front and non-low vowels /i, ɪ, e/ in favour of /n/ (e.g. /ne/ "what"; /ni/ "bow (weapon)").

The phonemic status of this sound is dubious, as in most cases /p/ is replaceable by /n/, in spite of the following minimal pair which my informant claims to be distinct.

\[
p/n \quad /n̥a/ "to gather (sugarcane)" \quad /n֑a/ "bone, juice"
\]

It is distinguished from retroflex as in:

\[
p/ʕ̆ \quad /n̥m̥ʕ̆/ "to cook" \quad /n̥m̥ʕ̆/ "five"
\]

### 2.3. Phonotactics

#### 2.3.1 Syllable and Word Structure

Tinrin words consist of one or more syllables that have the structure:

\[(C)V\]

where C represents any consonant and V is any short or long vowel. The two possibilities allowed by this formula are illustrated in the following examples:

\[
V \quad /a/ "to laugh"
\]
\[
CV \quad /ha/ "to speak"
\]

---

9 In his dictionary, Grace lists /nãwâ/ "kind of fish, mackerel" and /næ𝑒/ "kind of tree, bois de pétrole" in which /p/ occurs before low central and low front vowels.
Many words are monosyllabic, as in the above examples, but disyllabic words are also common. There are some words of more than two syllables, but they often seem to represent sequences of morphemes. The following examples show di-, tri-, and tetrasyllabic words:

- CVCCV /meyi/ "be hot"
- CVCCVCV /mweceG/ "to forget"
- CVCCVCVCV /šuvhehaɽu/ "to like"

2.3.2 Distribution of Phonemes

Although CV is the most usual form of the word, vowels can also begin words. /a/, /o/ and /u/ are commonly heard in initial position.

/el/ never occurs word-initially, and is very rare in other positions, too, as we discussed in the previous section. Nasal vowels are less frequent than oral ones, although in normal, non-deliberate speech, oral vowels are neutralised with nasal vowels before nasal or prenasalised consonants (in favour of nasal vowels). There are no examples of /uw/ in initial or medial position, except the long /uwu/ "yes", and /n uŋ u̯/ "be listless, weak from illness" where the medial /w/ is nasalised in the rapid speech.

Long vowels are less frequent in all positions of the word. They can occur word-initially, but this is rare (e.g. /uru/i/ "to thank", /oope/ "road", /ifade/ "path", /It/ "fly").

Some words have slightly variant forms: either /i/ or /e/ is heard in unstressed syllables of the following words. No semantic significance can be attached to this variation.

- /mejtijo/ ~ /meʃejo/ "sleep"
- /hwai/ ~ /hwe/ "perhaps"
- /hai/ ~ /hae/ "how"
- /dai/ ~ /dae/ "thing"
- /vai/ ~ /vae/ "oar"
- /n ootʃi/ ~ /n ooʃe/ "place"

Any consonant can occur word-initially; but word-medially, /hw/ is very rare, and /gW, pW, fW/ occur only after a morpheme boundary.

/h, n, s/ are the most common consonants, followed by /t, m, t, f/. On the other hand, /c, n, kW, gW/ occur very rarely. /p, kW, gW/ occur word-initially in most cases, whereas /c/ mostly occurs word-medially.

/ð/ is rare in the lexicon, but it occurs in grammatical words which are of high frequency, and so is often heard.

The contrast between all the labio-velarized /pW, bW, fW, mW, kW, gW, hW/ and the non-labio-velarized consonants /p, b, f, m, k, g, h/ is neutralised before certain vowels in favour of non-labio-velarized consonants, as described in the previous section.

In considering the restricted occurrence of the labio-velarized consonants, we can recognize three levels of occurrence: a) very restricted, b) restricted and c) least restricted.
a) /g\textsuperscript{W}, k\textsuperscript{W}/

These consonants can occur only before vowels that are front or low central.

/g\textsuperscript{W}e\textsuperscript{a}/ "taboo" /p\textsuperscript{fag}\textsuperscript{W}\textsuperscript{a}/ "loosen by twisting"
/g\textsuperscript{W}\textsuperscript{a}/ "second shoot from a bulb"
/k\textsuperscript{W}\textsuperscript{a}/ "contest" /t\textsuperscript{\textmu}k\textsuperscript{W}e/ "be wrinkled"
/k\textsuperscript{W}i\textsuperscript{raa}/ "sea fish, carangue"

b) /m\textsuperscript{W}, b\textsuperscript{W}, f\textsuperscript{W}, h\textsuperscript{W}/

These consonants can occur before any vowel except those that are high and non-front (/u, ū, u ū/). However, some people pronounce /a\textsuperscript{m}w\textsuperscript{ra}£\textsuperscript{ra}/ for "be small", while others pronounce /a\textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{\textmu}\textmu\textsuperscript{ra}/ (cf. 2.2.3). More commonly, /m\textsuperscript{W}/ and /m/ are neutralised before /\textmu/ and the archiphoneme is realised as /m/ (as in /a\textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{\textmu}\textsuperscript{ra}/).

/m\textsuperscript{W}\textsuperscript{e}/ "woman" /kum\textsuperscript{W}a\textsuperscript{ra}/ "sweet potato"
/m\textsuperscript{W}e\textsuperscript{\textmu}\textmu\textsuperscript{\textmu}\textsuperscript{\textmu}\textsuperscript{\textmu}\textsuperscript{\textmu}/ "to forget" /m\textsuperscript{W}\textsuperscript{q}\textsuperscript{\textmu}/ "be grey"
/b\textsuperscript{W}a/ "be bald" /b\textsuperscript{W}\textsuperscript{e}/ "many"
/b\textsuperscript{W}\textsuperscript{\textmu}\textsuperscript{\textmu}/ "be clean, cleared" /b\textsuperscript{\textmu}\textsuperscript{\textmu}/ "crab"
/f\textsuperscript{W}a/ "sprout" /f\textsuperscript{W}\textsuperscript{\textmu}/ "year"
/f\textsuperscript{W}i\textsuperscript{\textmu}/ "to listen" /f\textsuperscript{W}\textsuperscript{\textmu}/ "excrement"
/h\textsuperscript{\textmu}\textsuperscript{\textmu}/ "to sell" /h\textsuperscript{\textmu}\textsuperscript{\textmu}/ "to appear"
/h\textsuperscript{\textmu}\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{\textmu}}/ "to chew sugarcane" /h\textsuperscript{\textmu}\textsuperscript{\textmu}\textsuperscript{\textmu}/ "to flee"

/c\textsuperscript{W}, w/  

These two consonants can occur before any vowel except high, back vowels, /u, ū/.

/p\textsuperscript{W}\textsuperscript{\textmu}/ "night" /p\textsuperscript{W}\textsuperscript{\textmu}\textsuperscript{\textmu}/ "be wet"
/p\textsuperscript{W}\textsuperscript{\textmu}/ "much" /p\textsuperscript{W}\textsuperscript{\textmu}/ "turtle"
/p\textsuperscript{W}\textsuperscript{\textmu}\textsuperscript{\textmu}\textsuperscript{\textmu}/ "penis sheath" /w/i\textsuperscript{\textmu}/ "cord"
/n\textsuperscript{\textmu}\textsuperscript{\textmu}/ "coconut" /w\textsuperscript{\textmu}/ "elephant ear taro"
/w\textsuperscript{\textmu}/ "belly, high ground" /w\textsuperscript{\textmu}\textsuperscript{\textmu}/ "to dip water"

Palatal stop /c/ occurs only before front and low central vowels as discussed in the previous section. Palatal nasal /\textmu/ does not occur before front and non-low vowels (2.2.3). Together with /c/, this phoneme is a very marginal segment, as discussed in the previous section.

/\textmu\textsuperscript{\textmu}\textsuperscript{\textmu}/ "to cook" /\textmu\textsuperscript{\textmu}\textsuperscript{\textmu}/ "to open"
/\textmu\textsuperscript{\textmu}\textsuperscript{\textmu}\textsuperscript{\textmu}\textsuperscript{\textmu}\textsuperscript{\textmu}\textsuperscript{\textmu}/ "to lift in the arms"/mi\textsuperscript{\textmu}\textsuperscript{\textmu}\textsuperscript{\textmu}\textsuperscript{\textmu}/ "maniac"

2.3.3. Vowel sequence

Unlike consonants, sequences of vowels across syllable boundaries in Tinrin words are common. In fact, there is a wide range of vowel sequencing possible: /a/ is the most common vowel in sequences; it can follow or precede any other vowel.

/ae/ "four" /ao/ "check" /burua/ "nautilus" /veua/ "whetstone" /\textmu/ "to split"
/\textmu\textsuperscript{\textmu}/ "four" /\textmu\textsuperscript{\textmu}/ "to uncover, unload" /\textmu\textsuperscript{\textmu}/ "wild yam" /\textmu/ "over there" /\textmu/ "youth"
/e/ and /i/ also can combine freely with other vowels, as illustrated in the following:

/ei/ "to scratch" /buebe/ "to kill with a blow"
/wie/ "rain" /teuwe/ "to attach"
/pahe/ "to prop up" /poe/ "kind of tree"
/poe/ "kind of tree"

No examples were found for the sequence of /wo/ , /wa/ /uw/ and /uo/, although /wu/ and /uo/ are seen in the following words:

/puweu/ "dust" /tuwe/ "to put"

Nasal vowels can also form sequences, although they are less common. The opposition of nasal and oral vowels is neutralised before a nasal vowel in favour of nasal vowels. /a/ occurs most often, as in:

/antu/ "fog" /antu/ "to spill"
/waaf/ "hair" /nau/ "fast"
/mwaaf/ "woman" /guu/ "to jump"
/auaf/ "beams" /a/ "where"

One or more of the vowels in a sequence can be long vowels, although they occur less frequently. Following examples illustrate this:

/huue/ "white" /husau/ "sometimes"
/wuwe/ "to thank" /nau/ "to begin"
/bwaaf/ "balloon fish" /waaw/ "to yawn"

2.4. Stress and Rhythm

The stress falls generally on the first syllable in a multisyllabic word. Therefore, it often gives a clue to word boundaries or syntactic relationships between parts of an utterance. For example: some forms (such as oo, bee or a) can function either as a prefix to a noun, or as a complementizer or attribute marker. Their role is clarified by the presence or absence of stress on them. Consider the following examples.

(a)  oo juo nā nī
    place-sit POSS 3sg
    "his chair"

(b)  oo τā bwe nā rī
    CMPZ hit (catch) crab POSS 3pl
    "their catching crabs / the place where they catch crabs"

In example (a), oo is a prefix, integral to the noun, thus receiving stress (as it is the first syllable of the word). In example (b), it is a complementizer, independent from the rest of the phrase, so that no stress is placed on it (as it is a monosyllabic grammatical word).

A stressed syllable is always on a higher pitch than an unstressed syllable. It is often, but not always, louder.
A Tinrin phrase has syllable-timed rhythm, that is, each syllable containing a short vowel has approximately the same duration. This unit is called a mora. A syllable with a long vowel has approximately twice the duration of a short vowel (two moras).

Long vowels are transcribed by duplication of vowels throughout this thesis for the sake of orthography, but they comprise one syllable. When they receive stress, the stress falls on the whole two moras.

Any vowel sequence, however, does not behave as one unit or a diphthong. The stress always falls on the first short or long vowel. Note the difference of the stress assignment on a long vowel versus that on a sequence of two short vowels:

- long vowel:
  - /wåru/ "nape of neck"  /fåtu/ "fog"
  - /hüue/ "white"  /møøwi/ "lung"

- short vowels:
  - /wouru/ "nape of neck"  /fåtu/ "fog"
  - /sårju/ "two"  /veua/ "whetstone"

Stress assignment on words is sometimes modified when those words are combined in a sentence (Ladefoged 1982: 109). Normally verbs, nominals, and adverbs receive primary stress in a sentence; while other elements - conjunctions, prepositions, determiners, pronouns, etc., tend to drop their stresses in a sentence. Even nominals and adverbs sometimes lose or weaken their stresses to secondary stress, depending on the rhythm of the utterance or on their syntactic or semantic relationship with other elements in the same sentence, as demonstrated in the following examples (a) and (b).

Grammatical words, on the other hand, can also acquire stress if they are given special emphasis or are intended to contrast with other words. The placement of stress in the following phrases shows the degree of closeness between elements:

(a)  mëtu dæ mwa
    pl thing M.DIST
    "those things"

(b)  ní pwe†e dää
    T several day
    "sometimes" (lit. at several days)

(c)  ní naa dää mwa
    T piece day M.DIST
    "in those days"

(d)  ní -dj†
    L- wet
    "(in the )swamp"

Examples (a) and (b) both have a quantifier (mëtu and pwe†e) and a common noun (dæ and dää); however, the stress pattern is different. In (a), dæ, which has primary stress, is the head of the nominal phrase, and mëtu is modifying it. In fact, mëtu behaves like an article, especially when it co-occurs with mwa or ha (demonstratives).
In example (b), the primary stress on *pwepe* suggests that *pwepe* and *djāj* are tightly related, forming a single unit (like English *black bird* "a species of bird" with the primary stress on black, contrasting to *black bird* "a bird which is black" with the primary stress on bird).

*nāā* "piece" in example (c) is another quantifier, but functioning here as a modifier in relation to *djāj* "day".

Examples (b), (c) and (d) all use *ŋi* with a locative-temporal sense. However, in (b) and (c) *ŋi* functions as a preposition, so that it does not receive the stress; while *ŋi* in (d) is a prefix to derive a location noun, and the stress falls on it, as it is the first syllable of a noun.

2.5. **Intonation**

Intonation plays an important role in Tinrin in indicating clause types, syntactic links between clauses and various subtle semantic nuances that the speaker wants to express.

There are four basic intonation patterns:

(A) Declarative clauses; content questions; negative imperatives

This intonation pattern is shared among a declarative clause, a content question (8.1.2.1.2), and a negative imperative clause (which uses *savaa* "prohibitive").

It involves the pitch falling from the tonic syllable (the syllable that stands out in a tone group as it carries the major pitch change) (Ladefoged 1982: 99). The tonic accent, which often occurs on the last stressed syllable in a tone group, may occur earlier if a certain word requires emphasis (*Ibid.*).

The intonation pattern is illustrated in the following examples, with pitch levels /1/ lowest, /2/ mid, /3/ higher and /4/ highest.

(9) \[ 2 \quad 2 \quad \boxed{3} \quad 2 \quad 2 \quad 1 \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ke</th>
<th><em>nāā</em></th>
<th>odo</th>
<th>kafe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2sg want</td>
<td>drink coffee</td>
<td>&quot;you want to drink coffee.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The intonation in the above sentence would be modified if the speaker wants to emphasize that you "want" to drink coffee, as in the following.

(9) \[ 2 \quad \boxed{3} \quad 2 \quad 1 \quad 1 \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ke</th>
<th><em>nāā</em></th>
<th>odo</th>
<th>kafe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2sg want</td>
<td>drink coffee</td>
<td>&quot;you want to drink coffee.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Basically, the words which a speaker wants to emphasize are likely to acquire stress and a higher pitch. Words fronted to the sentence initial position by topicalisation normally receive higher pitch. In any case, this pattern of intonation always has the falling contour after the tonic syllable.
< declarative clause >

(10) 1sg go to Noumea today evening "I go to Noumea this evening."

(11) 3sg cut bread with knife sm Tony "Tony cuts bread with the knife."

(12) her husband comes from Saramea "Her husband comes from Saramea."

< content question >

(13) 2sg want eat what "What do you want to eat?"

(14) who 3sg.FUT arrive tomorrow "Who is coming tomorrow?"

(15) where Sonya "Where is Sonya?"

< negative imperative >

(16) PROH go PURP see people bad "Don't go to see bad people."

(B) Imperatives (affirmative)

There are two intonation patterns used for imperative sentences. Negative imperatives which use savaa "prohibitive" follow the intonation pattern of declarative clauses. Imperative sentences which do not use savaa follow a slightly different intonation pattern.

Although this pattern is basically similar to that of a declarative clause, the predicate verb and the last word of the sentence generally receive a stronger stress and a higher pitch, except when the last word is an adjunct to a preceding NP (such as a possessor). However, the pitch on the stressed syllable of the verb in an imperative sentence is not as high as in a polar question, in the next section.
The following examples illustrate this:

(17) wiri f\(\text{\textit{wiri}}\) ro v\(\text{\textit{eharu}}\)
2pl listen 1sg well
"(You all) listen to me carefully."

(18) fi n\(\text{\textit{i}}\) t\(\text{\textit{owo kafe \textit{ruu t\(\text{\textit{e am\textit{aat}}}\)}}\)
go PURP pick coffee at with chief
"Go to pick coffee beans at the chief's place."

(19) h\(\text{\textit{a n\(\text{\textit{i}}\) guha n\(\text{\textit{a ri varaha}}\)}}\)
speak with language POSS 1pl like this
"Speak in our language like this."

(C) Polar questions (without the tag \(e\))

Tinrin polar questions, except those which use the tag \(e\) at the sentence final position, are distinguished from other clause types by intonation (8.1.2.1.1). They have a peak of prominence on the stressed syllable of the predicate, which is marked by a very high pitch. Since the sentence ends with a falling intonation as in a declarative clause, it is often difficult for a non-native speaker to distinguish this type of question from a statement.

The interrogative particle \(yai\) can occur after the predicate verb, the use of which makes it clearer that the clause is a question. This intonation pattern is also shared with some exclamatory expressions.

(20) ke n\(\text{\textit{a\(\text{\textit{a}}\) o\(\text{\textit{oo kafe}}\)}}\)
you want drink coffee
"Do you want to drink coffee?"

(21) ke n\(\text{\textit{a\(\text{\textit{a}}\) o\(\text{\textit{oo kafe ra te\(\text{\textit{c}}}\)}}\)
you want drink coffee or tea
"Do you want to drink coffee or tea?"

(22) n\(\text{\textit{a}}\) e\(\text{\textit{e yai}}\) n\(\text{\textit{a}}\) n\(\text{\textit{o\(\text{\textit{ore}}}\)
sg burn INTER sm place
"Did the place burn down?"

(23) hi t\(\text{\textit{oni n\(\text{\textit{a t\(\text{\textit{oa n\(\text{\textit{a}}}\)}}\)
}
\text{\textit{wonder Tony 3sg arrive today}}
"Is Tony arriving today?"

(D) Tag questions

This type of polar question, which is expressed by simply adding the tag \(e\) after the declarative form of the clause, has a distinct intonation pattern. The tag has a very high pitch, so that the falling intonation of a normal statement is suddenly followed by a sharp
jump of a pitch. This type of question is often used when the speaker expects confirmation of the statement he has made (8.1.2.1.1).

(24)  ka hāra δurium 'wai e?
2sg.PERF eat COMP already Q
"You have already eaten, haven't you?"

(25)  nā fi nī tā bwo pwere t urium e?
3sg go PURP kill crab to sea Q
"He went to the sea to catch crabs, didn't he?"

Apart from the basic intonation patterns described above, there is a level or slightly rising intonation pattern seen at the end of non-final clauses. This provides an expectation that the sentence may be continued.

The same intonation often occurs in narrations, where the speaker anticipates continuing his story. In such cases, it becomes extremely difficult to guess whether the sentence is terminated or not, as Tinrin clauses can be co-ordinated without using conjunctions (unlike English). Sometimes a sentence can only be defined by the syntactic traits or semantic content of adjoining clauses.

Some relative clauses are distinguished from co-ordinated sentences only by a slight difference in the intonation, since Tinrin does not have any explicit marker to indicate a relative clause. This will be discussed in a later chapter (8.3.2).

2.6. Phonological Processes

A number of phonological processes can occur within words or across morpheme boundaries in Tinrin.

2.6.1 Assimilation

(A) Nasalisation

Except in slow, deliberate speech, all vowels are nasalised before nasal or prenasalised consonants/vowels. In most cases, it is very hard to tell whether the vowel before a nasal or prenasalised consonant/vowel was originally oral or nasal.

V > V / __ N
[+nasal] [+nasal or prenasalised]

e.g. /fa-/ "CAUS" + /de/ "hang" > /fāde/ "to hang something up"
    /de-/"swinging/ + /nɔ̃"upside down" > /dēnɔ̃/ "to hang down"

(B) Adjacent vowels

Two adjacent vowels are subject to assimilation to each other in the following words.
The second vowel modifies the first vowel, or makes it identical to the second.

\[ V > V / \_V \]

[-low] [+high]

/\(v\)/ "IMPN" + /ei / "FUT" > /\(ve\)(e)i/ "IMPN FUT"

**<regressive>**

**V1 V2 > V2 V2**

/\(j\)oo/ > /\(j\)oo/ "to sit"

/\(n\)\(\(a\)\)/ "3sg" + /ei / "FUT" > /\(n\)\(\(\(a\)\)/ "3sg FUT"

**<progressive>**

**V1 V2 > V1 V1**

/\(f\)\(\(a\)\)\(\(e\)\)\)/ > /\(f\)\(\(a\)\)\(\(e\)\)/ "to meet"

/\(d\)\(\(a\)\)\(\(e\)\)/ > /\(d\)\(\(a\)\)\(\(e\)\)/ "to encounter"

2.6.2. Elision and conflation

Syncope is a common process in Tinrin. It is illustrated in the following examples, sometimes causing a modification of adjacent vowels. By and large, this happens when two morphemes are combined together to form phonological units.

(A) Deictic demonstratives, \(ha\) "PROX", \(m\)\(w\)\(\(a\)\) "M.DIST" and \(\(p\)\(a\) "DIST" often become proclitic to some location nouns. In this formation, initial vowels of location nouns (mostly identical with the preceding vowels) are elided as follows.

/\(h\)a/ "PROX" + /\(\(a\)\)\(\(r\)\)\(i\)\(\(t\)\)\(\(i\)/ "down there" > /\(h\)\(a\)\(i\)\(\(r\)\)\(i\)\(\(t\)\)\(\(i\)/ "down there"

/\(m\)\(w\)\(\(a\)\)/ "M.DIST" + /\(\(a\)\)\(\(r\)\)\(i\)\(\(t\)\)\(\(i\)\)/ "down there" > /\(m\)\(w\)\(\(a\)\)\(\(r\)\)\(i\)\(\(t\)\)\(\(i\)/ "down there"

/\(\(a\)\)\(\(r\)\)\(a\)/ "DIST" + /\(\(a\)\)\(\(r\)\)\(i\)\(\(u\)\)/ "down there" > /\(\(a\)\)\(\(r\)\)\(i\)\(\(u\)\)/ "down there"

/\(h\)a/ "PROX" + /\(\(a\)\)\(\(r\)\)\(a\)/ "down there" > /\(h\)\(a\)\(\(r\)\)\(a\)/ "down here"

/\(m\)\(w\)\(\(a\)\)/ "M.DIST" + /\(\(a\)\)\(\(r\)\)\(a\)/ "down there" > /\(m\)\(w\)\(\(a\)\)\(\(r\)\)\(a\)/ "down there"

/\(h\)a/ "PROX"+ /\(\(a\)\)\(\(r\)\)\(a\)/ "over there" > /\(h\)\(a\)\(\(r\)\)\(a\)/ "over there"

/\(m\)\(w\)\(\(a\)\)/ "M.DIST" + /\(\(a\)\)\(\(r\)\)\(a\)/ "over there" > /\(m\)\(w\)\(\(a\)\)\(\(r\)\)\(a\)/ "over there"

/\(h\)a/ "PROX" + /\(\(a\)\)\(\(r\)\)\(a\)/ "lower" > /\(h\)\(a\)\(\(r\)\)\(a\)/ "a bit lower"

/\(m\)\(w\)\(\(a\)\)/ "M.DIST" + /\(\(a\)\)\(\(r\)\)\(a\)/ "lower" > /\(m\)\(w\)\(\(a\)\)\(\(r\)\)\(a\)/ "there, down"

/\(\(a\)\)\(\(r\)\)\(a\)/ "DIST" + /\(\(a\)\)\(\(r\)\)\(a\)/ "lower" > /\(\(a\)\)\(\(r\)\)\(a\)/ "down there"

(B) When the following pronouns (subject form) are cliticised to the future marker ei, the intermediate /e/ is often dropped. Similarly, when ke "2sg" is cliticised by the following a "perfect, actual", /e/ is often elided.

/\(t\)i/ "1plinc" + /ei / "FUT" > /\(t\)i(\(e\))i/

/ke/ "2sg" + /ei / "FUT" > /kei/

/\(t\)i/ "3pl" + /ei / "FUT" > /\(t\)i (\(e\))i/

/ke/ "2sg" + /a/ "PERF" > /ke(a)/

(C) When ãe "where?" occurs after the verb ã uu "to stay" or after prepositions such as ruu "at, in" pwere/were "towards" and ye "from", it normally drops its initial vowel and becomes an enclitic to the preceding verb or preposition.(cf. 8.1.2.1.2)
\( \ddot{a} > 0 \): "where?" of the following context

e.g. /\ddot{t} uu/ "to stay" + /\ddot{a}e/ "where?" > /\ddot{t} uu-\ddot{e}/ "to stay where?"

/ruu/ "at, in/ + /\ddot{a}e/ "where?" > /ruu-\ddot{e}/ "at where?"

(D) /w/ tends to be dropped in the combination of following morphemes, sometimes causing a modification of adjacent vowels.

w >0 : in the following morphemes

/wuwa/ "offspring" > /m\ddot{a}o/ "children"

/wuwa/ "sg" + /wu/ "offspring" > /huð(w)u/ or /hoo/ "a child"

(E) When /fwi/ "to do" is combined with vara/aha/ "like this", vari/m\ddot{a}/ "like that", vara/hae/ "how?", they form a phonological unit, and are pronounced as follows:

/f\ddot{w}i/ + /vara/ha/ > /fara/ha/ "to do like this"

/f\ddot{w}i/ + /varami\ddot{a}/ > /faram\ddot{a}/ "to do like that"

(f) When /h\ddot{e}\ddot{t}\ddot{e}/ "impersonal pronoun" is preceded by see/ "negative", they are conflated in a word s\ddot{e}\ddot{t}\ddot{e}:

/see/ + /h\ddot{e}\ddot{t}\ddot{e}/ > /s\ddot{e}\ddot{t}\ddot{e}/

(26) s\ddot{e}\ddot{t}\ddot{e} hara h\ddot{w}a
NEG.IMPN eat EMPH
"People do not eat."

(G) Similarly, /f/ "to go" followed by \ddot{a}e/ "where?" yields fae:

/f\ddot{a}/ + /\ddot{a}e/ > /fae/

(27) ke fae
2sg go where?
"Where do you go?"

Initial consonants of words can also undergo elision. As seen in the following examples, words whose initial consonant tends to drop are often used as a medial element in a fixed expression, and do not bear stress.

(H) When ve/ "to take, for" is used as the middle verb in a compound verb (cf. 5.4) or serialization of verbs (cf. 7.9.1.2), its initial consonant /v/ is often dropped, as in the following examples. h\ddot{a} and p\dddot{t}i in the examples are bound forms.

v > 0 : in ve/"take, for" in the following contexts:

< compound verbs >

/\ddot{t} uu e gw\ddot{a}/ (stay, for, occupation) "to hesitate"

/\ddot{t} uu (v)e gee/" (treat, for, lie) "to suspect"

/h\ddot{o}/ (v)e -pi\ddot{t}i/ (touch-for -firm) "to hang on, not let go"

< serialized verbs >

/ha (v)e nuð\ddot{u}/ (speak, for, wake) "to wake up by speaking to"

/\ddot{t} uu (v)e ha\ddot{u}/ (stay, for, good) "be in order"

/h\ddot{o} (v)e ti/ (sing, for, big) "to sing strongly"
(I)  *w* is often dropped when *w*  "DET" follows *n* "when, at" to form an adverbial phrase.

*wa >0:* in *w*  "DET" in the following context:

(28)  *n* (w)a nää dää mwa
     in DET piece day M.DIST
     "in those days"

(J)  The initial consonant of *yegi* tends to drop when *ye* "from" is compounded with *gi* "at", perhaps because there is another velar sound /g/ in the next syllable.

*γ >0:* in *yegi* "because, out of"

(29)  ke  *η*orgi (γ)egi ne7
      you give because of what
      "Why did you give?"

2.6.3 Glide formation

When *u* "1sg" is cliticised by the future marker *ei*, or perfect marker *a*, either /u/ becomes a homorganic glide, or, the glide is inserted between /u/ and /ei/ or /a/.

/u/ "1sg" + /ei/ "FUT" > /(u) wei/
/u/ "1sg" + /a/ "PERF" > /(u) wa/

2.7. Morphophonemics

(A)  Plural forms of kinship terms and collective nouns for designating a group of kinship members (often prefixed by *η* - "collective ") can be derived from their corresponding dual forms by applying the following rules in the numbered order.

1)  /t/ > /v/
2)  /u(u)/ > /ə/ or C
3)  /u(u)/ > 0 / or /a/
4)  prefix /η/ - to collective nouns

/t/ uof "two men" > /voo/ "men"
/t 1e/ "two women" > /və/ "women"
/t uut uare/ "two siblings of same sex" > /nivovare/ "brothers or sisters"
/t it uare/ "mother and son or daughter" > /nivivare/ "mother and children"
/t uuahere/ "a brother and a sister" > /nivahere/ "brothers and sisters"
/t uvaae/ "two cross cousins" > /nivavae/ "cross cousins"
/t uu uademwā/ "father and a child" > /nivovademwā/ "father and children"
/t uasōe/ "a parent and son in law" > /nivasōe/ "parents and sons in law"
/t uuahere/ "grandfather and grandchild" > /nivahe/ "grandfathers and grandchildren"

(B)  Some classificatory prefixes (5.1.2) can be derived from semantically related action verbs or nouns, by applying the following rules. Vowels except /i/ and /e/ are often modified. With *gü* and *şe*, the nasality is lost in their prefix forms.
1) (C1) V1 (C2) V2 (C3) (V3) > (C1) V1
2) V1V1 (long vowel) > V1
3) ɔ > o or o; ü>ö; ä > ø; ê > e or a
4) h^w > h

examples

/tai/ "be torn up" > /tai-/: /i-dawa/ "to seep through something (as water)"
/wihu/ "hoe" > /wi-/: /wi-rwa/ "to cut in two"
/kiri/ "saw" > /ki-/: /ki-rwa/ "to cut by a saw"
/piqa/ "drill" > /pi-/: /pi-dowa/ "to pierce with a drill"
/teta/ "to tie a knot" > /te-/: /te-betui/ "to tie firmly"
/ei/ "to dig by hand" > /ei-/: /e-ti el/ "to bury, plant"
/kon odxa/ "scissors" > /ko-/: /ko-rwa/ "to cut with scissors"
/poro/ "to rotate" > /po-/: /po-famuwa/ "to turn down the fire"

/koo/ "to vomit" > /ko-/: /ko-rau/ "to vomit something"

/hii/ "to grate, shave" > /hi-/: /hi-mat/ "(shoot) to push, crack the earth"

/hoi/ "to attach" > /ho-/: /ho-via/ "to tie two things together"
/voi/ "to defecate" > /vo-/: /vo-do/ "to have diarrhea"
/gu/ "to move" > /go-/: /go-beeti/ "be adroit, skillful"
/ham wai/ "to touch, hold" > /hai-/: /hai-yai/ "to squeeze something soft in the hand"
/se/ "to throw away" > /sa-/: /sa-ve/ "to stone, hit with the stone";
   /se-pan u/ "to throw away (net)"

/hwora/ "to get away" > /ho-/: /ho-sirwa/ "to take refuge inside something"

(C) /m/ becomes a prenasalised stop /b/ when me "be dead" becomes a bound form and follows another morpheme. It stays me if it is only compounded with another verb (va/ "be sick, dead" + me "be dead" > va/me "be dead, to die"). Sometimes an excrescent vowel /e/ or /a/ is heard before /be/.

/m/ > /b/ in the following words:

/suo/ "to blow" + /me/ "be dead" > /suo-be/ "to extinguish by blowing"
/bu/ "to hit with a stick" + /me/ "be dead" > /bu-be/ "to stun with the blow of a stick"
/pa/ "to hit" + /me/ "be dead" > /pa-be/ "to kill by arrow"
/ta/ "to hit" + /me/ "be dead" > /ta-be/ "to snuff out"
/wi/ "with a stick" + /me/ "be dead" > /wie-be/ "to kill by hitting with a stick"

2.8 Orthography Used for Examples and Texts

Certain phonemes are common among many of New Caledonian languages, including velarised labials and prenasalised stops. A number of digraphs and diacritics are used in place of symbols listed at 2.1 and 2.2, following the practice adopted for other New Caledonian languages, which have some tradition of writing. However, the divergence in phonology among languages in New Caledonia is so great that it is

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10 The Loyalty Islands acquired the tradition of writing through the missionaries, as did some districts in the main Island, such as Houailou.
impossible to adopt any one of the established writing systems as used for other languages when describing Tinrin. Where there are similar sounds in Tinrin that can be described with the same symbols as those of other languages, I have tried to employ them as far as they are adequate. With other sounds, I have either modified the symbols or used other symbols in order to facilitate identification of sounds, and avoid confusion between similar sounds.

The orthographic symbols proposed and used in this study which differ from the symbols used in Table 2.1 and Table 2.2 are given in the following table.

Table 2.3: Proposed Orthographic System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>symbols</th>
<th>phonemes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pw</td>
<td>/pʰw/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bw</td>
<td>/bʰw/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fw</td>
<td>/fʰw/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mw</td>
<td>/mʰw/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw</td>
<td>/kʰw/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gw</td>
<td>/gʰw/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hw</td>
<td>/hʰw/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dh</td>
<td>/ð/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tr</td>
<td>/ʈ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dr</td>
<td>/ɖ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nr</td>
<td>/ɳ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny</td>
<td>/ɲ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rr</td>
<td>/ɭ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>/ʂ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gh</td>
<td>/ɣ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>è</td>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ù</td>
<td>/ʉ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ô</td>
<td>/o/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>î</td>
<td>/ɨ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ê</td>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>å</td>
<td>/ɑ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñ</td>
<td>/ɔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ù</td>
<td>/ʊ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ü</td>
<td>/ʊ/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the nasality of vowels will be generally expressed by the diacritic ^, the symbol u will be employed to express the phoneme /tu/, in order to avoid the possibility of two diacritics on a letter.

Long vowels will be shown by duplication of vowels, following the practice adopted for other New Caledonian languages (e.g. aa for /ɑː/).
Chapter 3

WORD CLASSES

Before looking into the morphological and syntactic structure of the language, we need to identify a number of word classes, based on their distinctive morpho-syntactic characteristics and semantic contents. As we will see later, Tinrin is an isolating language with little allomorphic variation, and word classes are distinguished mainly by syntactic function. According to the criteria described in the following sections, I set up the following basic classes, some of which are further divided into subclasses.

nominal
verb
attribute
preposition
determiner
demonstrative
adverbial
tense-aspect marker
verbal modifier
relator
interjection

It should be noted, however, that the above categorization is applied rather differently in Tinrin to the way it is applied in many European languages. As in other Oceanic languages, words in Tinrin have a great tendency to move between categories. For example, wage is a noun, meaning "flower", but it may also be used as a verb, in which case it means "to bloom". A number of words belong to more than one class, though a majority of words may be assigned to a single class. Multifunctional words will be discussed in a later section.

While recognizing the word classes listed above, we should also be aware that the classes are not clearly distinct from each other, but that some grammatical properties are shared between them. For example, a location noun such as drô- "on, surface" behaves like a locative preposition in expressions such as drô-tave "on the bed," but the same expression also means "the surface of the bed"; drô-mwâ means "on the house" as well as "roof".

3.1. Nominals

Nominals constitute a distinct word class in Tinrin on the basis of their ability to associate with various optional adjuncts (determiner, quantifier, attribute, demonstrative, etc.) to form a NP. A NP (except impersonal pronouns (3.1.1.2) that occur only as
subject pronoun, which is described later) can occur in any of the following syntactic positions:

a) as the nominal subject of the verb, marked by subject marker nrå, agreeing in person and number with the subject pronoun in the predicate
b) as the verbal object
c) as the prepositional object
d) as the head of a predicate

Nominals fall into a number of formally and semantically distinct subclasses, as summarised below.

Table 3.1: Nominal Subclasses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nominal</th>
<th>personal</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quantifier</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessive classifier</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proper</td>
<td></td>
<td>location</td>
<td>time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noun</td>
<td>location/time</td>
<td>free</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>common</td>
<td></td>
<td>bound form</td>
<td>link</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the following sections, I will describe the morpho-syntactic characteristics which distinguish each of these subclasses, together with their semantic content. The morpho-syntactic possibilities of the subclasses of nominals are summarised in the table at the end of this chapter.

3.1.1 Pronouns

The Tinrin pronouns comprise a closed set of personal pronouns and two impersonal pronouns. While personal pronouns make reference to person, number, inclusive/exclusive and case, impersonal pronouns have only one form and are very restricted in their use. Pronouns are classified as nominals because except for impersonal pronouns they exhibit the same grammatical properties as nominals described in 3.1; they differ from the other subclasses of nominals in that only pronouns can occur as a subject pronoun within the verb phrase. Personal pronouns in this position show agreement in person and number with the nominal subject that optionally follows the predicate. On the other hand, impersonal pronouns do not have this cross-referencing function.

3.1.1.1 Personal pronouns

Singular, dual, and plural pronouns are distinguished in first, second and third persons, as in other New Caledonian languages (Ozanne-Rivierre & Moyse-Faurie
They also contrast between inclusive and exclusive (whether or not the addressee is included) in the first person non-singular. Apart from the syntactic properties they share as nominals, they can also occur in the following syntactic constructions:

- as subject pronoun
- as possessive suffix
- as comitative, followed either by a pronoun or a noun phrase.

Semantically, personal pronouns generally refer to humans, but the third person pronoun can refer also to non-human, either animate or inanimate.

When the referent of the third person pronoun is human, the distinction among numbers singular/dual/plural is made, except when the speaker uses honorific plural form when referring to a person to whom he wishes to pay respect. (See 6.1.1 for further discussion.)

When the referent of the third person is non-human, the singular form is commonly used even for dual or plural referents. It is also used as the subject of impersonal verbs, to refer to natural phenomena, etc. The plural form can also occur (though rarely) with impersonal verbs as in example (33) below.

With human referent:

(30) nrâ fi wai nrâ toni
   3sg  go already sm  Tony
   "Tony has gone."

With non-human referent:

(31) nrâ hô nrâ mève
   3sg  sing sm  bird
   "A bird (or birds) sang."

With impersonal verbs:

(32) nrâ fwi nrâ anrôrrô treanrü
   3sg  exist sm  five  people
   "There are five people."

(33) rri bwê nrâ treanrü
   3pl  many sm  people
   "There are many people."

As we see in the following table, there are three distinct forms for the first person singular pronoun, and one or two forms for the other personal pronouns according to the place they occupy in a clause. The forms 1) and 3) fall together for the second and third person singular, and the forms 2) and 3) fall together for the first person dual inclusive and plural inclusive, and the third person dual and plural. The first person dual exclusive and plural exclusive, and the second person dual and plural have only one form.

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Table 3.2: **Personal Pronouns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1) free/focal</th>
<th>2) subject</th>
<th>3) object/possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>nro</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>nrù</td>
<td>ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>nrî</td>
<td>nrâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1dl(inc)</td>
<td>haru</td>
<td>ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1dl(exc)</td>
<td>komu</td>
<td>komu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2dl</td>
<td>kou</td>
<td>kou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3dl</td>
<td>nrorru</td>
<td>rru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl(inc)</td>
<td>hari</td>
<td>ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl(exc)</td>
<td>kevi</td>
<td>kevi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>wiri</td>
<td>wiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>nrorri</td>
<td>rri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1) **free/focal form**

   This form is used a) when a pronoun occurs in a topicalised position - sentence initially; b) when it occurs as a postposed subject, following the subject marker *nrâ*; c) as head of a predicate; d) as comitative followed by another pronoun or a noun phrase; or e) as an emphatic expression as in *nro "me!"*.

2) **subject form**

   This form is used when a pronoun occurs as subject pronoun. It occurs as proclitic to the head of VP, or to a preverbal tense-aspect marker or verbal modifier if there are any.

3) **object/possessive form**

   This form covers verbal object, prepositional object and possessive suffix. The following example has a topicalised subject (*nro "me"*), subject pronoun (*u "I"*) and pronominal object (*nrî "him"*).

   (34)  nro  u  ta  nrî
       1sg  1sg  hit  3sg
   "Me, I hit him."

   When the pronoun occurs as comitative, it is followed either by a pronoun or a noun phrase. It functions like a preposition, so that the phrase introduced by it can be placed either before the subject pronoun as in the following example (35a), between the verb and its post-head modifiers as in (35b), or after those modifiers as in (35c).

   (35a)  komu  nrî  u  fi  pwere  numea
       1dlexc  3sg  1sg  go  to  Noumea
   "With him, I go to Noumea."

   (35b)  u  fi  komu  nrî  pwere  numea
       1sg  go  1dlexc  3sg  to  Noumea
   "I go with him to Noumea."

   (35c)  u  fi  pwere  numea  komu  nrî
       1sg  go  to  Noumea  1dlexc  3sg
   "I go to Noumea with him."
The pronoun used this way often coincides in person, number and inclusivity with the subject of the predicate as in the examples (36a, b, c), but it can be a different pronoun whose referent always includes that of the subject pronoun (not vice versa) as in the above (35a, b, c). The pronoun or the noun phrase following it, in turn, should have the reference included in the meaning of the comitative pronoun.

(36a) hari rri ri hara nraasi
1plinc 3pl 1plinc eat rice
"With them we eat rice."

(36b) ri hara hari rri nraasi
1plinc eat 1plinc 3pl rice
"We eat (with them) rice."

(36c) ri hara nraasi hari rri
1plinc eat rice 1plinc 3pl
"We eat rice with them."

(36d) * ri hara nraasi nrâ hari rri
1plinc eat rice sm 1plinc 3pl

The above mentioned facts, together with the fact that these pronouns are never preceded by the subject marker nrâ when they are postposed shown in the examples (35b, c; 36b, c) and the ungrammatical sentence (36d), indicate that they are not topicalised subject but are oblique.

The second pronoun (e.g. nri in komu nri) having the object form (not free/focal form) also indicates that the first pronoun functions like a comitative preposition.

3.1.1.2 Impersonal pronouns

There are two impersonal pronouns in Tinrin. They are classified as pronouns because they fill the subject pronoun slot.

However, they differ from personal pronouns in many respects. They occur only as subject pronouns - that is, as the first element in the verb phrase. Unlike personal pronouns in this position, they are never followed by a nominal subject. They have no distinction for person or number, but have only one form, hêrê and va respectively. These two impersonal pronouns differ very much both in meaning and in syntactic behaviour. In the following sections, I will briefly discuss these impersonal pronouns in some syntactic constructions.

(A) hêrê

hêrê can be glossed on in French, referring to "someone" or "they": singular or plural number of people - whom the speaker may or may not know. It is used when the speaker does not want to imply a particular person, or when he is not concerned about specifying a referent. Sometimes, hêrê can even be "we", when the speaker is avoiding direct reference and trying not to be involved personally in what is going on.
(37) hērē hōdrō mwā
IMPN burn hut
"Someone burnt the hut./The hut burnt."

If the speaker implies that a particular person burnt the hut, then he will say either:

(38) nrā hōdrō mwā
3sg burn hut
"He burnt the hut."

or,

(39) wa treanrū mwā nrā hōdrō mwā
DET person that 3sg burn hut
"That person burnt the hut."

With its meaning as defocused subject, hērē provides passive like constructions which I will discuss in detail later (cf. hērē constructions 8.1.4.1).

hērē occurs only as subject pronoun, and not as verbal object or anything else. In the following sentence, hērē is the subject pronoun and nrā the tense-aspect marker, meaning "progressive". There is no way to interpret hērē as topicalised subject, and nrā as subject pronoun "3sg".

(40) hērē nrā ta saa poka ārijū
IMPN PROG hit one pig down there
"They (impersonal) are hunting a pig down there."

hērē is a word which sometimes appears quite confusing to non-native speakers, as there are homonyms of it which allow several interpretations for the same expression. hērē can be a verb, meaning "to choose". It can be a bound noun, meaning "contents, essence, product", which is related to a similar form ērrē, "tuber, contents, essence", which is a bound/location noun (3.1.4.2.1; 3.1.4.3.2). The following examples containing hērē allow two interpretations. When hērē is interpreted as an impersonal pronoun, the meanings of these sentences are as glossed.

(41) hērē kari
IMPN hunt
"Someone hunted."

(42) hērē erri
IMPN crawl
"Someone crawled."

(43) hērē hara
IMPN eat
"Someone ate."

(44) hērē odho
IMPN drink
"Someone drank."

All of the above expressions can be interpreted as compound nouns, too. They mean "meat", "bastard", "food" (Grand Couli variant for ħērē "food") and "drink", respectively. In this context, hērē is a bound noun, followed by a verb. The meaning may come from "contents, essence, or product" of "hunting", "crawling", "eating",
"drinking". Expressions which can be interpreted either as a sentence or a NP such as above examples are also often seen in equational sentences (8.1.1.3).

(B) va

Another impersonal pronoun which occurs in subject pronoun slot is va. It can be glossed as English either "it, that" or "there, then". While hērē always implies human and unspecified referent, va generally implies non-human, although it can sometimes refer to humans.

It is often used in a presentative sentence, referring to a particular thing, person or proposition, as in the following examples:

(45) va re radio
IMPN ASS radio
"That must be radio."

(46) va see re nro hwa mwâ nrū hwa
IMPN NEG ASS 1sg EMPH but 2sg EMPH
"It is not me but you."

(47) va see èrrê-havari
IMPN NEG contents-true
"It is not true."

It can also imply time, place or the situation in which the speech is taking place:

(48) va nrōô-nrī nrâ nrî aunê-nrū nrâ
IMPN long time PST when mother-2sg 3sg
trōa ru ânrâha?
arrive L here
"Was it a long time ago when your mother arrived here?"

(49) va nrîrrî-nrī mwâ va saafi kevi
IMPN until when IMPN together 1plexc
hâvenrîâ
all
"It was (like this) until we were all born."

(50) va tro nrorri
IMPN EMPH leave
"Then, leave (it)."

(51) rri nyōrrô mē ə amadrû va
3pl cook come pot ripe(cooked) IMPN
ve mē hēêra
take come food
"They cooked the pot dish, and then brought it."

The above examples (45-49) are equational clauses, while in (50) and (51), va occurs before verbs.

In narrations va is often followed by go "punctual, then".

(52) va go kù
IMPN then finish
"Then, that's the end. All finished."
When *va* is followed by a future particle *ei*, it is assimilated and forms *vei*. (This form is sometimes confusing because the future form of the verb *ve* "take" is also *vei*.)

(53) 
```
  vei      nrî      kaarrô  
IMPN FUT  EVENT tomorrow  
"That will be tomorrow."
```

(54) 
```
  nrî      vei      bêe-truu nrô      nrî      mwâ      nrô  
if  IMPN FUT  NMZ-stay POSS 3sg  M.DIST  3sg  
  harru      good    
"If that will be like that, it will be all right."
```

3.1.2 Quantifiers

The quantifiers are the subclass of nominals which include numerals and indefinite nominals. They normally refer to an indefinite set of referents, although they can also have definite referents in certain contexts (6.2.2).

They are syntactically characterised by occurring as adjuncts preposed to a nominal phrase head, as well as acting as heads themselves. Some of them refer only to non-human referents (including time and place), while others may have either human or non-human reference. Certain combinations of them are possible, as I will discuss later. When they co-occur with other pre-nominal adjuncts, determiners, or attributes such as *hâwûnra* "small", quantifiers normally follow the determiners and precede the attributes.

Tinrin does not have a distinction between countable and uncountable nouns. Consequently, quantifiers have no discrimination concerning them. For example, *mêrrê* "some, many" can occur with either *û* "tree" or *suka* "sugar". Membership of this subclass is restricted to numerals and the following words:

1) *tre* "another (sg)"

This can be used for either a human or non-human referent, and can follow *wa* "the":

```
wa tre treanrû  "that another man".
```

2) *pwerre* "several, others (pl)"

This can be used for either human or non-human referents. It is often used in the meaning of "others" in the comparison with something else. *nrî pwerre drââ* (T, some, day) means "sometimes, from time to time".

3) *mêrrê* "some, many (pl)"

Again, this can be used for either human or non-human referents. When it is used as an adjunct to the head of a NP, the head is often followed by a demonstrative - *ha* "PROX", *mwâ* "M.DIST" or *rra* "DIST": *mêrrê mââo mwâ* (some, men, that) "those people".

It can refer to a big number, but does not necessarily.
4) mwârrü "some, few"

This is used for either human or non-human referents: mwârrü rra "those (people/things)", normally referring to rather small number of things. It can follow saa "one" as in: saa mwârrü bosî "a few months".

5) drorrò "a few, not many"

Again used for either human or non-human referents, it expresses the notion that "there are some, but not many of something."

6) wadrò "trifle, small, scarce"

This is used only for non-human referents, and means "scarcely any". It often follows saa "one" as in: saa wadrò fônrimoo "a tiny history". When it is followed by a clause as in tro saa wadrò nrâ mwâ... (just, one, scarce, that...) it means "scarcely, nearly (I fell down, etc)".

7) werre "a bit"

This is also used for non-human referents. It refers to "a tiny bit of something", and often combines with quantifiers such as saa and nàâ. The order among them is fixed, as in the following example: saa nàâ werre farrawa "a bit of bread"; pwerre nàâ werre kò "several pieces of bits of message".

8) pwöve "small piece, little lump"

This is used for either human or non-human referents. It suggests something small and not flat, as in pwöve â "small piece of wood," pwöve mwë "a tiny woman". Pwô in pwöve may be related to pwô "package".

9) nàâ "a piece, a part (of time, place, etc)"

This is used only for non-human referents. It can refer to various pieces of things including bread, land, time. It can be "a whole" of something as well as a "piece" cut out of something, whether big or small. It is normally preceded by saa "one" or wa "the": saa nàâ farrawa "a piece of bread", saa nàâ nroorre "one piece of place, one time"; wa nàâ drââ mwâ "those days".

10) hire "a strip, a slice, a branch"

This is used for inanimate referents which are rather long, including a road, branch of tree or something sliced long and thin as a fillet of meat, paper, etc. hire can also refer to the arm, as illustrated below.

(55) nrorri hire bê-audrê-nrû
  give branch arm-mother-2sg
  "Help your mother." (lit. Give your mother’s hand) 12

12 The object of ‘give’ is ‘your mother’s hand’ and not ‘your hand’ which would appear in an English equivalent sentence ‘give your hand to mother’ to indicate ‘help your mother.’ This is the same notion used in an expression nrorri e-nrû wî (give, your food, banana) "give your food banana" to indicate "give banana to you". In Nemi (Rivierre and Moyse-Faurie 1983:119), ‘(his) hand’ is used to indicate the
It is often preceded by numerals or wa "DET" : saa hire nrà "a fillet of fish", aurrü hire "two slices", wa hire nroorre mwàro "that strip of land there".

11) fadre "a piece (cut with the grain)"

*fadre* is used to refer to non-human referents, normally "something thin and long", such as paper, plank, or pieces cut with the grain. It can even be used to indicate such things as half a watermelon, which is not really thin and long but is a piece cut lengthways. We should note that this way of cutting seems to be quite significant for Tinrin people as many verbs in Tinrin have the distinct verb stems -ría "(cut, break, etc) along the length", and -rü "(cut, break, etc) across the width."

It is often preceded by saa : saa fadre ü "a piece of timber", saa fadre peci "a piece of paper", saa hire fadre farrawa "a slice of bread".

12) ne "what, which, whatever, something (unspecific)"

This is an interrogative word, referring generally to non-human nouns (e.g. ne nroorre "what place?"). In some contexts, it indicates "something, anything, whatever" (as illustrated in the following sentence); but not when it is used attributively.13

(56) bee-fwi rra ne
NMZ-do DIST something
"(this is) the way of doing things.(lit. that way of doing something)"

It can also refer to human nouns, but it is not seen as polite to employ expressions such as ne treanrü "what people". Another interrogative word, jaa "who" is used more often in such cases. (jaa does not belong to this class of nominals, as it cannot be used as an adjunct to another nominal phrase head.)

13) sau "all, once"

This is also a pre-head verbal modifier, meaning "once". When it is used as adjunct to a noun, it indicates "all". It can also be preposed to a pronoun, as in: sau wiri (all, 2pl) "all of you".

14) anröi "how many"

This is an interrogative word, referring to numbers. It can be used for both human and non-human nouns: anröi treanrü "how many people"; anröi fwötra "how many years".

As can be seen from the above list, wadrö, werre, nàà, hire, fadre and pwòve all refer to "some kind of piece of something." nàà, hire, fadre and probably pwòve share the character of numeral classifiers often seen in Asian and Oceanic languages. They are often preceded by saa "one" and other numerals, indicating the shape of the objects.

---

13 An interrogative word is used this way in Lakhota (Teton Dakota) (Foley & Van Valin 1984: 23); Japanese also has a similar use of an interrogative word.
wadrò and werre are somewhat different. Instead of indicating the shape of the object, wadrò denotes "smallness" or "unsignificance" of the object, and werre indicates that the object is not "a whole" but "a tiny bit or part" of something.

The numerals are built up on the basis of the following forms, consisting of two morphemes: prefix -a- to make cardinal numbers (except in sa-a "one" where -a is a suffix) and a root.

sa-a "one"
a-urrū "two"
a-sirri "three"
a-e "four"
a-nrôrrö "five"
a-môru "ten"

Ordinal numbers are derived by prefixing fa- to the cardinal numbers e.g. fa-aurru "the second"14 (4.1.8). Those ordinal numbers are syntactically treated as common nouns. They do not occur as adjuncts to a nominal phrase head.

When prefix u- is added to a root of the numerals (except in sa-u "once" where -u is a suffix), it indicates the number of times an action is carried out e.g. u-uru "twice". They are also common nouns, as they do not occur as adjuncts to a nominal phrase head except sa-u in 13) above. They also occur as pre-head verbal modifiers.

saa sometimes indicates "each":

(57) saa treanrü nrâ re fwi wake nrâ nrî one person 3sg ASS do work POSS 3sg
"Each does his own work."

With negative, it means "anyone":

(58) rria tro see tramwâ nru saa 3pl DEF EMPH NEG know at all one
treanrü person
"They don’t know anyone."

(59) nrâ trarrî saa mwâ nî môrrö 3sg lack one that 3sg alive
"There is no one living."

saa is used sometimes as a substitute for a common noun referring to a thing or a man, as in the following example:

(60) wara ha ri juo ru nrî mwâ saa one PROX 1plinc sit L 3sg and one

nrâ truurâ ãro tre nrâ truurâ driânrômwâ 3sg stand there another 3sg stand there
"This house where we are sitting in, the one (house) standing there, and another one standing over there..."

14 This prefix may have derived from PAN causative prefix * pa-. The causative prefix to quantifiers indicates multiplication in many Oceanic languages (Pawley 1972:38). The use of its cognates to indicate ordinal numbers is also found in Melanesian languages (Ibid.:45) including Xårâcùù of New Caledonia.
When *saa* follows *tro* "EMPH, real, true", it means "only" or "same". It can even be used attributively to a pronoun as in the following example (61):

(61)    tro  saa  nři  
    EMPH one  3sg
"only him"

(62)    komu  truu  tro  saa  
    1dexc stay EMPH one
"We two are the only one (here)."

(63)    rru  idri  nři  tro  saa  drāā  
    3dl  born at EMPH one  day
"They two were born on the same day."

There is a noun *trőrō*, indicating "two". It does not belong to this subclass of nominal, as it occurs only as NP head. It has a corresponding form *trőd*, which occurs only as an attribute to another NP head.

There is another noun *jaurru* "(not) much", which semantically resembles an indefinite nominal. It has very restricted use in that it does not occur as an adjunct to another nominal head. It always occurs immediately after the verb *trarri* "to lack, not exist" (and therefore is the verbal object) as in the following sentence:

(64)    nrā  trarri  jaurru  (nrā  nraasi)  
    3sg  lack  (not)much  (sm  rice)
"There is not much (rice)."

We should note that *jaurru* may have originated from *aurru* "two", and in some contexts the distinction between *jaurru* and *aurru* is unclear, but the next sentence illustrates the contrast in meaning with (64).

(65)    nrā  trarri  aurru  
    3sg  lack  two
"It lacks two. (Two are missing.)"

The numbers from six to nine are expressed by numbers from one to four added to *a-nrōrō* "five", with the use of *me* "and" as in the following:

a-nrōrō  mē  sa-a  (five and one) "six"
a-nrōrō  mē  a-urru  (five and two) "seven"

The numbers from eleven to nineteen are also expressed by the combination of numbers. *mē* is suppressed between *amōru* "ten" and *anrōrō* "five" as in:

amōru  mē  sa-a  (ten and one) "eleven"
amōru  a-nrōrō  (ten and five) "fifteen"

Twenty is expressed as digits of one person, counting all fingers and toes, and forty as digits of two persons. The numbers in between such as thirty are expressed by a combination of digits of a person and the numbers described above.

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15 The fact that there are no morphologically simple numbers from six to nine is aberrant from the PAN/POC system. Replacing numbers from six to nine by numbers composite of five and one, etc. is also found among North New Guinea languages (Ross 1988:183).

16 The similar counting system is often found in Papuan languages (non-Austronesian), as well as in Melanesian languages e.g. Paamese (Crowley 1982:98).
In fact, Tinrin people did not have a habit of counting big numbers, as we see from the limited numeral vocabulary. When a number exceeds ten, they often used gestures, such as clasping hands, or stretching both arms with hands open and waving forward, meaning "ten". For twenty, they repeat this, or they stand with stretching arms on tip toes. If both hands open and one arm is taken to the chest, it means "fifteen". They can produce big numbers by repeating these gestures, and when they want to remember the numbers, they mark on bark or tie knots on cord for each set of "tens".

When the Tinrin count numbers up to ten with fingers, they start bending from the little finger up to the thumb, then from six, they start opening from the little finger again.

According to my informant, it seems that once the unit for counting big numbers was not always tens. They grouped goods by particular numbers according to the object, such as yams, firewood, etc. following a grouping tradition 17. It might have been six papayas or twenty yams. This tradition has not survived, and nobody can tell just how those customs really worked.

3.1.3 Possessive classifiers

The possessive classifiers are another subclass of nominals consisting of the following seven nominals: e-, ere-, hwee-, odho-, hwile-, êê-, and hêê-.

Each of the possessive classifiers expresses a particular type of socially determined relationship with respect to an entity. Normally the referent of the nominal is possessed by a person designated by a pronominal suffix or by a nominal which directly follows, but in some contexts, it may be something "offered" to the person for his use (cf.6.1.6.2.1).

This type of nominals could be categorised as the noun classifier (Dixon 1986:106-107). However, Tinrin possessive classifiers have features that differ from prototypical noun classifier in several points. Morphologically, Tinrin possessive classifiers are always bound to pronominal or nominal possessors. They function to determine the nature of the possessive relationship, rather than classifying objects.

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17 A similar tradition is often observed in other Pacific islands. In Polynesia, for example, coconuts are traditionally counted in pairs.
For this reason, possessive classifiers often appear in an appositional phrases with another nominal phrase head which is a specifier of the generic possessive classifiers; and the same object can occur in several possessive constructions depending on the nature of the relationship between it and the possessor. I will discuss these constructions along with other types of possessive constructions in 6.1.6.1.2.

Unlike most classifier languages that have some nouns that cannot take a classifier (Ibid:106), any noun in Tinrin can occur with a possessive classifier insofar as the object which a noun refers to can be possessed in some way.

Possessive classifiers are also formally distinguished from other nominals by the fact that they can derive collective nouns by being prefixed with ndi- . This will be discussed later in this section.

Edible and potable possessive classifiers relate to specific verbs depending on the kind of food or drink.18

The following lists the possessive classifiers with their meanings, the nouns that they can refer to, and the related verb if there is one.

1) e-
refers to something (generally starches) to be eaten. It includes yam, taro, manioc, rice, bread, banana, etc. Rice can be referred by ere-, as well as e-. The nominal corresponds to the verb, e "to eat (starches)".

2) ere-
refers to something (generally fruit) to be eaten. It includes oranges, lemons, melon, etc. The verb corresponding to this possessive classifier is hara "to eat (fruit)". Sometimes objects of other eating verbs, ho "to eat (meat)" and e "to eat (starches)" may be expressed by this, too (e.g. nrů ere-nrů "his fish", where nrů is normally referred by hwee- ) . ere- may be the least marked among alimentary possessive classifiers.

3) hwee-
refers to something (generally protein) to be eaten. It includes meat such as deer, pork, flying fox, fish, and eggs, coconuts, etc. The corresponding verb is ho "to eat (meat)".

4) odho-
refers to something potable. Its scope includes water, syrup, coffee, coconut (milk), etc. The corresponding verb is odho "to drink".

18 Food or drink classifiers in Nemi, a New Caledonian language, also have the corresponding verbs (Ozanne-Rivierre & Moyse-Faurie 1983:148); Lynch (1973) claims that possession is largely a verbal phenomenon in Melanesian languages and that many of the possessive morphemes bear a distinct phonological resemblance to related verbs.
5) hwiie-
refers to something (such as sugarcane and bark) to be chewed. It includes sugarcane, bark, chewing gum, etc. It corresponds to the verb hwi "to chew".

6) ēē-
refers to something planted or to be planted. It includes any kind of plants, tubers, seeds, etc. What verb ēē is related to is not so clear as in other possessive classifiers. The verb "to plant" is nrâo. eţërre and têrre also mean "to plant, dig, bury with the hands".

7) hēē-
refers to something that belongs to the possessor by law or custom, etc., or something that is in a manipulative relationship to its owner. This is the most unmarked among possessive classifiers: it refers to almost any kind of belongings, including one's land, one's job, etc. If the possessive relationship with the object is such (e.g. food is possessed in order to be sold), hēē- may be used instead of e-, ere- or hwee-. Thus, it can possibly occur with any noun which occurs with possessive classifiers 1) - 6). There is no verb corresponding to this word.

Ozanne-Rivierre and Moyse-Faurie (1983) notes that in Cêmuhî the preposition tê-n which is used to mark the addressee or the beneficiary, comes from an inalienable noun dê-n "his property, his goods". In Tinrin, hēē- is used similarly, as in the following sentence:

(69) nrâ fi ve hēē-ri nrâ PST
3sg go take(for) POSS-1plinc
"She went away for our benefits." (lit. she went to take our belongings.)

However, the use of hēē for benefactive possession is much more restricted: it retains its nominal meaning and cannot occur in phrases such as * hidrû hēē-nrî (say belonging-3sg) "say to/for the benefit of him."

As mentioned earlier, we can derive collective nouns (cf. 3.1.4.3.1) from possessive classifiers by prefixing nrî-. This is illustrated in the following examples:

nrî-e-nrî (COL-food-3sg) "his food (starches)"
nrî-ere-rô (COL-food-1sg) "my food (fruit)"
nrî-hwee-nrî (COL-meat-3sg) "his food (meat)"
nrî-odho-ri (COL-drink-1plinc) "our drink"
nrî-hwiie-komu (COL-chew-1dlexc) "our (we two excluding you) chews (sugarcane, etc.)"
nrî-ēē-ri (COL-crop-3pl) "their crops"
nrî-hēē-nrî (COL-belonging-2sg) "your belongings"

3.1.4. Nouns

Nouns constitute an open class. They are divided into three subclasses: a) proper nouns, b) location and time nouns c) common nouns, as defined below.
3.1.4.1 Proper nouns

This subclass comprises those nouns which make reference to specific people, animals, institutions, places, etc. by name. They behave grammatically like common nouns, except that they are not preceded by any determiners, quantifiers, or attributes, and are not followed by any demonstratives.

3.1.4.2 Location and time nouns

Location and time nouns are structurally distinguished from other nominals, as they can mark the oblique case without prepositions. Some of them can also occur with prepositions.

This subclass is further divided. Location nouns can occur with one or more prenominal or postnominal adjuncts, whereas time nouns cannot occur with prenominal adjuncts. They can occur only with postnominal adjuncts.

3.1.4.2.1 Location nouns

Location nouns include those which refer to places, except individual names for specific places (cf. proper nouns).

The following examples illustrate the functions of location nouns as locative, subject and verbal object. In example (74) both a prenominal adjunct *drorro* "big" and postnominal adjunct *a harru* "(which is) good" are modifying a location noun *nrùwù*, the head of the nominal phrase.

<locative>

(70) toni nrâ tuo nřf padrêrê-tave
     Tony 3sg put 3sg side-bed
     "Tony put it beside the bed."

(71) ru ta bò nřf-dri
     1dlinc kill crab swamp
     "We two killed crabs in the swamp."

<subject>

(72) nrâ harru nrâ nroorre
     3sg good sm place
     "It is nice here."

(73) nrâ drorri nrâ padrêrê-tave
     3sg straight sm side-bed
     "The side of the bed is straight."

<object>

(74) u jorri drorro nrùwù-mwâ a harru
     1sg see big inside-house AT nice
     "I saw the big nice inside of the house."

Location nouns can be further subdivided into two types: relative location nouns and absolute location nouns.
(A) Relative location nouns

This subclass of location nouns expresses location only with respect to something else, which is expressed either by pronominal suffix or by a directly following nominal phrase. They comprise the location nouns listed below:

- **nrtiwti-** "inside"
- **padrerre-** "side"
- **wò-** "back, side"
- **nrfnawa-** "between"
- **nraamwärrä-** "front"
- **drö-** "surface"
- **tè-** "at, home of"
- **nritteuwiiri-** "middle, half way"
- **niriri-** "edge, at the end"
- **nripoo-** "hollow part"
- **hodri-** "top edge, tip"
- **mee-** "end, edge"
- **ërrë-** "content, inside"
- **nrime-** "face"
- **tröö-** "back"

A relative location noun is morphologically bound to the following nominal as in inalienable possessive constructions (cf. 6.1.6.2.2), except when the following nominal is a coreferential NP in a relative clause and is reduced to zero (8.3.2. example 915a).

They generally mark locative case without prepositions, although they can sometimes be preceded by prepositions. **nrùwù-** "inside", **nrfnawa-** "between" and **tè-** "at (someone's)" may be preceded by **ru** "at, in"; e.g. **ru** **nrùwù-mwä** "in the house", **ruu** **nrfnawa-peci** "between papers", **ru tè-sonya** "at Sonya's".

The last three words in the list, **ërrë-**, **nrime-** and **tröö-** are bound nouns designating body parts, but may also behave as location nouns. The use of body part nouns to indicate location is also found in some other New Caledonian languages such as Iaai (Ozanne-Rivierre & Moyse-Faurie 1983). In the following examples, **nrime-** "face" and **troo-** "back" are used like locative prepositions, meaning respectively "in front of" and "at the back of":

(75) **nrâ** fwi **nrâ** uth **nrime-nrî**
3sg exist sm tree face-3sg
"There is a tree in front of it."

(76) **maamùrrù** rri **nrâ** mwage **tröö-mwä**
children 3pl PROG play back-house
"Children are playing at the back of the house."

**ërrë**, meaning "body in the shell, tuber, content" as a bound noun, marks locative case by the absence of a preposition, but the environment in which it occurs is rather limited. It occurs only with certain verbs in specific contexts - often with adverse effect, as we see in the following examples:

(77) **toni** nrâ sê arröö ërrë-nruî
Tony 3sg throw water content-2sg
"Tony threw water on you (and you became wet)"
Verbs which occur with êrrê seem to be limited with meanings such as "to spit, urinate, throw water, pour water (tîô), defecate, etc." which are the actions that bring certain physical (often negative) effects on the location expressed by the location noun and its adjunct. In the above examples, the locations referred to "got all wet or spoiled."

When the speaker is not concerned whether the place is affected or not, other locative expressions such as ru "in, at" or drô- "surface, on" may be used to indicate a location. The following sentences illustrate this, with locative expressions ruu drô- "at, on" and padrêrrê- "beside":

(81) nrâ mà ru drô-tave
3sg urinate on surface-bed
"He urinated on the bed."

(82) nrâ voi padrêrrê-mwâ
3sg defecate side-house
"He defecated at the side of the house."

Verbs such as tuo "to put" which do not drastically change conditions of the place, do not occur with êrrê.

(83) * u tuo tâ êrrê-borrû
1sg put taro content-bowl
"I put taros in a bowl."

The verb truu "to stay, rest" can occur with êrrê, only if the following nominal phrase refers to some kind of container that is hollow inside. In this case, the referent of the nominal phrase may not be so much affected physically, but it certainly "holds" something in it, which differs from other prepositional phrases which do no more than indicate the location. Compare the following sentences:

(84) nrâ truu êrrê-borrû
3sg stay content-bowl
"It is in the bowl." (the bowl contains it.)

(85) * nrâ truu êrrê-sôbwi
3sg stay content-mat
"It is on the mat. (*the mat contains it.)"

(86) nrâ truu dro-sôbwi
3sg stay surface-mat
"It is on the mat."
(B) Absolute location nouns

Nouns of this subtype are distinguished syntactically from relative location nouns in that they express location by themselves. Unlike relative location nouns they are not followed by a NP specifying the location.

The subtype includes:

a) nouns which refer to places in general such as nroorre "place (all around)", tro-erre "tribal place", giwe "mountain", which mark locative case more often with a preposition.

b) about a dozen nouns derived from non-location nouns by prefixing nri-: e.g. nri-mii "bush-land", nri- ja "clearing", nri-ù "forest", nri-dri "swamp" (cf. 4.1.3.A); these mark locative case with or without a preposition. In the following example, nri-ù marks locative case without a preposition.

(87) rri mwage nri-ù nraw maamùrù
3pl play forest sm children
"Children played in the forest."

c) Interrogative: (â)e "where"

This marks locative case with or without a preposition. When it occurs after a verb truu, or after prepositions ruu "at", ghe "from", pwere "to", the initial vowel d is dropped, and it becomes enclitic (2.6.2).

d) About a dozen nouns prefixed by a- (4.1.2), which refer to general locations. They normally mark locative case without any preposition, but may co-occur with it. e.g.

(88) ka tapiiri (pwere) avá?
2sg DEF look for (toward) down there
"Have you looked down there?"

Location nouns of this type are often combined with deictic demonstratives, ha, mwâ and rra (3.6). These demonstratives either precede or follow the location nouns, to which they are cliticized. These demonstratives modify the meaning of location nouns by defining how the speaker perceives the distance from the object to him or to the addressee, or by adding the information that it is something previously referred to in the conversation.

Deictic demonstratives normally become proclitic to location nouns when they are used as adjuncts to the NP head as in:

moo harijù (man/down there) "the man down there"

In such a case, the first vowel of location nouns is reduced as in: mwâ avá > mwâva (2.6.2).
They become enclitic to the location nouns, normally when they are modifying a VP, as in:

(89) nrā fi ghe mē ārijū-ha
3sg go from come down there-PROX
"He came from down there."

The combined forms include the following words:

- haro/āro-ha "here, there, beside"
- mwāro/āro-mwā "there, that place"
- hāroa/āroa-ha "this high place"
- mwāroa/āroa-mwā "over there"
- harijū/ārijū-ha "down there, down here"
- mwārijū "down there"
- rrarijū/ārijū-rra "down there"
- hava "this place, down here, there"
- mwāva "down there, downstream"
- hajo "here, downstream, a bit lower"
- mwājo "there, downstream"
- rrajo "down there"

Also included in this group are three location nouns: ānrā-ha, ānrā-mwā and ānrā-rra. ānrā- is a bound form to which the demonstratives ha, mwā and rra are cliticised. Their meanings parallel the distinct meaning of each ha, mwā and rra, as explained below.

ānrā-ha) "here, there"

This refers to a place generally near the speaker. The place is often pointed out by hand, and is always visible. It can be the place mid-distant from both speaker and addressee.

ānrā-mwā) "there, over there, that place"

This refers to a place generally near the addressee. It can be a place mid-distant or distant from both speaker and addressee, generally visible, but can also refer to a place that is not visible. The latter would be in the context that the speaker or the addressee cannot see the place referred to "because it is behind the mountain" or the like. However, the speaker knows that the place is just over there: in other words, the place is visible in the speaker's mind.

ānrā-mwā can also be used anaphorically, that is, a speaker can use it to refer to a place already referred in the discourse.

ānrā-rra) "there, that place"

This refers to a distant place from both the speaker and the addressee. It is often used to refer to the specific place the speaker has in mind, often presupposing that the addressee knows which place the speaker is talking about.

3.1.4.2.2 Time nouns

Nouns of this type always refer to time; either a point in time or a duration of time. It can be relative to the time of utterance or to some other time.
Time nouns mark the oblique case with either zero or a preposition rugi "at, on" or nř "at, in".

They include:

a) all time words borrowed from French, such as the hours, days of the week, months and years; these normally mark the oblique case either with zero or a preposition: the preposition seems to be optional.

b) interrogative: ānř "when", which marks the oblique case with zero.

c) words listed below:

   - nřōnnř "a long time, long time ago"
   - kaarrô "tomorrow"
   - huurru "the day after tomorrow"
   - apuurrururu "the day or a couple of days before yesterday"
   - āwù "yesterday"
   - ānṛārra "at that time"
   - ānṛhārrro "a little while before"
   - ānrimwā "the other time, not long time ago"
   - (dri)ānramwā "soon"
   - driāroa "later"
   - drińř "later"
   - mwāroa "next"
   - nrīfā "today, now, later"
   - nrīmwāmwā "now, present"
   - nrīri "until" (this is also a location noun, "edge")

The last item expresses time relative to another time expressed by a NP which follows it, as in: nrirri kaarrô "until tomorrow"

d) time nouns derived from non-time words by prefixing nř- (4.1.3) e.g. nř-meghi "summer", nř-wihove "winter", nř-harre "season", nř-wadrā "in the morning", nř-trdrā "after". This type of time noun normally marks the oblique case by receiving zero-marking.

We should note that the prefix nř- derives time nouns as well as location nouns, and it is homophonous with a temporal preposition nř (3.4.) relating either a point of time or a duration of time "at, in, during". It also functions as a conjunction to introduce a temporal adverbial clause (3.10). These multiple functions of nř sometimes make it hard to distinguish time words from non-time words. However, the crucial point in distinguishing them is that derived time nouns are one grammatical unit, (nř normally carries an accent), having a function of a noun, and nothing can intrude between nř- and the stem of the word. In the case of the prepositional nř- it is possible to insert some adjunct between nř and the noun, as in the following example:

(90) nřā kare nř aurru nřbwerrf-asū
   3sg run for (PREP) two hour
   "He ran for two hours."

3.1.4.2.3 Location and time correlation

As can be seen in the previous sections, a number of words occur as location nouns as well as time nouns: that is, they have both locational and temporal meaning (cf.
demonstratives 3.6). I will list them in the following table to show the location and time correlation in their meanings. I include in the table also some demonstratives, adverbs and verbs which have locational and temporal meanings.

Table 3.3: Location and Time Correlation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(dri)ánrámwā</td>
<td>there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anrī</td>
<td>there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anrimwā</td>
<td>there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>driāroa</td>
<td>over there(higher)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwāroa</td>
<td>there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āroa</td>
<td>there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nroorre</td>
<td>place (all around)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nrirri</td>
<td>edge, end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nrirtròð</td>
<td>on the back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hā (deictic)</td>
<td>here(near speaker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>or mid-distant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwā (deictic)</td>
<td>there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(near addressee or mid-distant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rā (deictic)</td>
<td>there (distant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māāde (adv,</td>
<td>in front of,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb)</td>
<td>go ahead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwaa (verb)</td>
<td>long, far</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hubō (adv)</td>
<td>nearby, back</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>location</th>
<th>time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>there</td>
<td>soon, a bit later</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>the other time, olden time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>later</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>next (bost mwāroa &quot;next month&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>period, time, epoque</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>next</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>until</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>after (when)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>this time, just now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>next time, near future, then</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>then, that time (distant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>before</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>precede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>long time (ago)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>after, later</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.4.3 Common nouns

Common nouns are nouns which are free of all of the syntactic restrictions placed on particular subclasses of nouns previously described.

They can be subdivided in two groups: free form nouns and bound form nouns. This structural classification roughly corresponds to the semantic classification of alienable and inalienable nouns.

3.1.4.3.1 Free form common nouns

Nouns of this subclass constitute an open class, to which the majority of the common nouns belong. They are free forms and are never bound to any other morpheme in a possessive construction. Semantically, a member of this subclass is considered to be an alienable noun: that is, its referent has an existence independent of anything else.

They are morphologically of two types: non-derived nouns and derived nouns. The former includes all the nouns that are not derived from words of other classes (verb, etc.) by nominalizing prefixes.

Number is not normally expressed except for human nouns and kinship terms, in which case it is marked by prefixes or in amalgamated forms (4.1). Animate nouns are marked for numbers by quantifiers or by determiners (6.2.1; 6.2.2). Inanimate nouns
and location/time nouns may also be marked by quantifiers or by determiners, but only rarely. The following table shows the hierarchy of the number markings among pronouns and nouns: the first person pronoun > the second person pronoun > the third person pronoun /human /kinship terms > animate nouns > inanimate /location /time nouns, where the ones on the left have more number markings formally distinct.

Table 3.4: Number Marking on Pronouns and Nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3* /human /kin</th>
<th>animate**</th>
<th>inanimate /location/time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg</td>
<td>sg</td>
<td>sg</td>
<td>sg</td>
<td>sg</td>
<td>sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dl, inc</td>
<td>dl</td>
<td>dl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dl, exc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl, inc</td>
<td>pl</td>
<td>pl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl, exc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* when the referent is inanimate sg is normally used  
** dl and pl are marked by quantifiers or determiners

There are three common nouns often used, drae (sometimes pronounced draa), wara and treanrū. drae and wara are like the English indefinite pronoun "one". They are often followed by one of the deictic demonstratives, ha, mwā and rra to designate "this one, that one, the one over there". Both of them can refer either to a person or a thing, though drae seems to be used more often to refer to a thing.

drae can refer either to singular or plural things, and is often preceded by a determiner such as wa "the (sg)" (e.g. wa drae mwā "that one" and mērrē "pl" (e.g. mērrē drae "those").

wara cannot occur with these determiners. It normally refers to a singular thing or person.

treanrū refers either to person or persons. While another human noun moo refers to a singular man and mwē to a singular woman, treanrū can have either singular or plural, male or female referents. Therefore, it is often used to refer to an indefinite person or people "they, somebody", though it can refer to a specific person. It can be followed by a demonstrative as well as preceded by a determiner, as in wa treanrū mwā (DET, person, M.DIST) "that person".

Derived nouns include all the nouns which are derived from words of other classes, except location and time nouns with the prefix nri- (cf. previous sections).

There is a group of collective nouns which include the derived nouns with nri- "collective, generic" (4.1.3) and ba meaning "crowd". They have plural referents, but they normally agree with the singular pronoun as illustrated in the following:
There is a crowd. (lit. It (crowd) exists.)

The details of the derived nouns will be discussed in the next chapter.

3.1.4.3.2 Bound form common nouns

Bound form common nouns are the nouns that are obligatorily bound to another morpheme. There are two types: bound nouns and link nouns. Nouns of this subclass are semantically considered to be inalienable nouns (cf. 6.1.6 possessive constructions): that is, the referents of these nouns are possessed in some inevitable and inextricable way, which can be kin, body part, or some abstract thing related to human beings (such as idea which is inherently possessed by its thinker). In most cases the possessor has little or no control or choice over the fact of possession.

(A) Bound nouns

Bound nouns are those that are either suffixed by a possessor pronoun or bound to a nominal possessor directly attached to them; or bound to another root, either noun or verb, in a compounding construction, which also is attached directly to the preceding bound noun root. afiraa- "wife", farri- "name" and hi- "leg" in the following examples are bound nouns:

(92) toni nrå sùveharru afiraa-nrî
    Tony 3sg love wife-3sg
    "Tony loves his wife."

(93) ne farri-treanrü
    what name-person
    "What is the name of the person?"

(94) nrå vajü nrå hi-rò
    3sg sick sm leg-1sg
    "My leg is hurting."

This subclass of nouns consists of various inalienable nouns. The following examples have either animate (1-5) or plant/inanimate (6-10) possessors. In the case of nouns with plant/inanimate possessors, the pronominal suffix is limited to the third person. The list below is not exhaustive.
(1) external body parts of an animal or human:

- "head"  
- "mouth"  
- "eye"  
- "leg"  
- "face"  
- "hair"  
- "arm, fin"  
- "body"

(2) internal body parts of an animal or human:

- "heart"  
- "liver"  
- "joint"  
- "stomach"  
- "bone"  
- "bowels"

(3) a secretion or product of the body of an animal or human:

- "saliva"  
- "excrement"  
- "vomitus"  
- "mucus, liquid"  
- "saliva, foam"  
- "snivel"

(4) personal attributes or properties:

- "occupation"  
- "way, manner"  
- "living place, trace"  
- "habitation"  
- "clothes"  
- "lie"

(5) terms for kinship or some human relationship

- "wife"  
- "father"  
- "mother"  
- "elder sibling"  
- "younger sibling"  
- "grandchild"  
- "sibling of different sex"  
- "friend, relative"  
- "teammate, companion"

(6) effect, result, origin of human affairs

- "cause, reason"  
- "the ruins, site"  
- "origin, essence"  
- "effect of speech, magic"

(7) parts of a plant:

- "fruit"  
- "flower"  
- "tuber"  
- "leaf"  
- "root"  
- "spine"  
- "bark"  
- "joint, knot"

(8) a part of some inanimate thing

- "content"  
- "the remains, rest"  
- "rest"

(9) a product of a plant or some inanimate thing

- "smell"  
- "liquid"

(10) a collectivity/genus of something

- "package"  
- "genre, sort"  
- "field"

---

19 *fū* also means "excrement", but it is a free noun, whereas *fwii* is bound to the following possessor.
As mentioned earlier, bound nouns may be bound to another root in a compounding construction. In the following examples, the bound noun is followed by another bound noun or a location noun (the list is not exhaustive):

<bound + bound>

nrifọ-pe- "anus" (<nrifọ- "mouth" + pe- "bum")
virri-hi- "fingernail" (<virri- "shell" + hi- "leg")
wā-ō- "hair on the head" (<wā- "hair" + ō- "head")
wave-bē- "elbow, wrist" (<wave- "joint" + bē- "arm")
ūu-bē- "shoulder" (<ūu- "base, origin" + bē- "arm")
nō-trōđō- "spine" (<nō- "bone" + trōđō- "back")
nō-wōrrō- "sperm" (<nō- "juice" + wōrrō- "penis")

<bound + location + bound>

wā-mee-fwīi- "tail" (<wā- "hair" + mee- "edge" + fwīi "excrement")

There are also morphologically complex bound nouns which involve location nouns as the first element and the bound nouns as the second:

<location + bound>

padrērrē-wējō- "the wings of the nose" (<padrērrē- "side" + wējō "nose")

nrüwü-hi- "sole of foot" (<nrüwü- "inside" + hi- "leg")

The following compound consists of a free form noun as the first and a bound noun as the second element:

fōnrī-bē- "fork of tree"(<fōnrī "river" + bē- "arm")

There are many bound nouns that can occur with both animate and plant/inanimate possessors. They are listed in the following with the two meanings corresponding to the possessor.

Table 3.5

Bound Nouns with Animate and Inanimate Possessors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>animate possessor</th>
<th>plant/inanimate possessor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ō-</td>
<td>head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nrifọ</td>
<td>mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ěrrē</td>
<td>body in the shell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bē-</td>
<td>arm, fin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trōđō</td>
<td>back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hi</td>
<td>leg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nō</td>
<td>bone, bodily liquid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puu</td>
<td>smell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gūwū</td>
<td>body part</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-</td>
<td>body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wave</td>
<td>joint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wii</td>
<td>soul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The words listed above remain bound nouns even when the possessor is not animate. We can explain this by assuming that the primary sense of those nouns is the one on the left, and that the use and meaning with inanimate possessors are the extended or anaphorical ones. This extended use of body part terms is also reported in many other languages (cf. Crowley 1988:15).

(B) Link nouns

Link nouns are those that are obligatorily linked to a pronoun or the head of another nominal phrase with which they are in a possessive relationship by means of the link morpheme -nrä-. This -nrä- is identical in form to the subject form of the third person singular pronoun.

panrea-nrä-nrü (aunt-LINK-2sg) "your aunt"

When the possessor is the first person singular, the link morpheme -nrä- is often suppressed, in which case they appear exactly like bound nouns as illustrated in the following word.

panrea-rö (aunt-lsg) "my aunt"

-nrä- is identical in form to a general possessive preposition. Therefore, link nouns are formally identical to free common nouns followed by a possessive preposition nrä, except with the first person singular possessor. It is difficult to differentiate these two constructions, but I consider the link noun construction as encoding inalienable possession: the link nouns are bound to the possessor nouns by the -nrä-, forming a phonological unit with the primary accent on the first syllable of the link noun (and not on that of the possessor noun), and they cannot be separated from their possessors by any element.

Semantically, the link noun constructions also differ from those using the preposition nrä, because the link nouns refer to things that overlap the same categories as the bound nouns as described below, while the preposition nrä serves to indicate the typical alienable and loose relationship between two entities. This will be further discussed in 6.1.6.2.4.

The membership of this subclass of nouns includes words in the following list. Words in (1-5) have animate possessors, and those in (6-8) have plant/inanimate possessors. In the case of nouns with plant/inanimate possessors the pronominal suffix is limited to the third person.

---

20 For want of a better term, I use 'link noun' to describe a bound form noun which only occurs with the link morpheme -nrä- and a possessor nominal.
21 This link morpheme is similar in form to the construct suffix which is often seen in Micronesian languages (Elbert 1974:36; Topping 1973:222).
(1) external body parts of an animal or human

ao- "cheek"  mirrò- "crest"
ôfaò- "horn (of cow, etc)"  jawe- "tail"
nrî- "shell or skin (of locust)"

(2) internal body parts of an animal or human

mwâ- "brain"  wòù- "bladder, kidney"
wâadrû- "rib"  wii- "tendon"
harra- "string (of meat)"  verrewâwarra- "groin"

(3) a secretion or product of the body of an animal or human

kòfio- "perspiration"  nruâ- "dirt (of body)"
tra- "blood"  tôghîrî- "boil"
hadhu- "wart"

(4) personal attributes or properties:

mòrrò- "life"  födrî- "idea, thought"
îgâ- "dream"  vajû- "sickness, death"

(5) terms for kinship or some human relationship

moo- "husband"  hûwû- "child"
panrea- "aunt"  auvae- "cousin"
pwêdrî- "the youngest of siblings"  edhi- "cousin"
egè- "grandmother"  ave- "chief"

(6) effect or result of human affairs

ahwai- "effect, result"

(7) parts of a plant:

wii- "fibres"  hûwû- "bud, sprout"

(8) a product of some inanimate thing

kû- "smoke"

There are also morphologically complex link noun. Following words are the examples, which involve a bound noun or a location noun as the first and a link noun as the second element:

<bound + link>

wââ-tra- "vein" (<wââ- "root" + tra- "blood")
nrifô-pi- "the opening of vagina" (<nrifô- "mouth" + pi- "vagina")
nô-pi- "liquid from vagina" (nô- "juice" + pi- "vagina")

<location + link>

mee-pi- "clitoris" (<mee- "edge, end" + pi- "vagina")
The following link nouns have the bound noun as the first element but the verb as the second.

\(<\text{bound + verb}>\)

nô-mâ- "urine" (<nô- "liquid" + mâ "to urinate")
nô-tî- "milk" (<nô- "liquid" + tî "to suck")

In the next section we discuss the semantic criteria for distinguishing bound and link nouns. As for the compounded nouns, however, it is formal criteria rather than semantics that determine the nominal category. In the compounds, it is the last element which determines whether the noun is bound or link: that is, if the compound is made up of two elements, and the second element is the bound noun, then the whole word behaves as a bound noun. When the second element is the link noun or the verb (as in the above examples) the whole word itself is a link noun. The first element is always the bound form noun in words of both category, whether it is the location noun or the bound noun (with the exception of fônrî-bê- (river-arm) "fork of tree" in which the first element is a free noun).

Thus, words like "urine" which could be a bound noun from the semantic point of view, is a link noun, as the formal criteria precedes the semantics determining the category of the word.

There are a few link nouns that can occur with both animate and plant/inanimate possessors. They are shown in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Link nouns with Animate and Inanimate Possessors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>animate possessor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wii-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hûwû-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nruâ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(C) Correlation between bound and link nouns

At first glance the inventories of both bound and link nouns in the previous sections do not suggest that the structural distinction between them correlates with semantic factors. In fact, all the subgroups which occur with link nouns (1-8) also occur with bound nouns. However, if we look closely at the words that occur as bound or link nouns we notice some semantic difference between them. In this section, the semantic criteria to categorize nouns into bound and link nouns will be examined.
As far as external body part nouns and parts of a plant or an object are concerned, most of the nouns are expressed as bound nouns. Thirty-three bound nouns occur in my corpus, while there are only five link nouns referring to external body parts. Among those link nouns, only ao- "cheek" refers to a human body part; the others refer to body parts of animals, birds and insects. This suggests that apart from "cheek" human external body parts are expressed as bound nouns. The reason why "cheek" behaves differently from other human body nouns may be that a cheek is just a part of a face, and has no function of its own as a specific body part.

The only words among bound nouns which refer only to animal body parts are nröbi- "fin, tail", virri- "shell" and ërrë- "body in the shell, tuber". nröbi- and virri- share similar meanings to the link nouns jawe- "tail" and nri- "shell or skin". The comparison of these words gives a clear semantic distinction of the two noun categories. nröbi- refers to a fin or tail which is actually an inseparable part integrated into the body shape, as with a snake, lizard or fish, while jawe- refers to tails of quadrupeds, which are visually distinct and cuttable (e.g. dog’s tail). virri- and nri- both refer to shells, but the referent of virri- is a hard one like a sea shell. When it is compounded with ð- "head" (virri-ð-) it refers to a skull. The entity referred by virri- is the part of the body which is essential, forming the main structure of the body or body part totally inseparable from the rest. On the other hand, nri- is one which is rather soft, like a shell of locust which is shed from time to time. Another animal body part which is expressed by a bound noun is ërrë-. ërrë- refers to the body in the shell or tuber like a potato, and again it is the most important and essential body part for the animal or the plant.

Thus, the animal body part nouns which occur as bound nouns all refer to essential and totally inseparable body parts. This fact confirms that the bound noun constructions express the most inalienable possessive relationship. Most of the plant/inanimate parts also occur as bound nouns. The only nouns which are link nouns are wii- "fibre" and hùwù- "bud, sprout". It is understandable that "fibre" is less inalienable, as it is often detached from the plants, and made into a cord. It is more difficult to explain why hùwù- is the link noun. hùwù- "bud" has other meanings: "son" as a kinship term (in which case it still is a link noun), and "a small thing" (when used as a free noun). This word and moo- share the same behaviour: moo- means "man" as a free noun, but can also occur as a link noun meaning "husband". In both cases, the meaning as a free form may be the primary one, extended later on to indicate the kinship or the part of a plant.

Contrary to the external body parts, relatively many nouns referring to internal organs occur as link nouns. These nouns often occur in alienable possessive constructions in other languages (McGregor 1988). This is most likely because these parts are normally invisible and are observed only when their possessor is dead and has been opened up, in which case they are no longer inalienably possessed by the possessor (Crowley 1988:11). Those internal body parts which occur as bound nouns (heart, stomach, liver, bone, joint, bowels) are the organs that are of primary importance and
essentially related to bodily conditions, emotions and feeling. In many Oceanic languages the liver is regarded as the seat of the emotions (Crowley 1988:12); heart, stomach, and bowels are also used to express human mood, in various languages (Koh and Wilkins 1988:9). Bones and joints form the basic structure of the body.

As for body (or plant) products like "saliva, excrement, vomitus, foam (of a fit, etc), snivel, mucus/juice and smell", they belong to bound nouns, while "perspiration, dirt, boil, wart, blood" occur as link nouns. Those of the first group, "saliva, excrement, vomitus, etc." may be considered to be inevitably related or attributable to their possessor, while "perspiration, dirt, boil, wart" are the ones which may not be so personal and just are temporary manifestations of the body (Crowley 1988:9). *fwii-*"excrement" has a free noun equivalent *fi*, which form is used when it is 'separated' from its possessor, or is no more attributable to a person or animal. Apart from this attributability there is no difference in meaning between these two words. "Blood" occurs in an alienable possessive construction also in other languages, as it is generally separated from the body when one sees it. *pwevô* "egg" is not in the list as it normally occurs as a free noun, as it often does in other languages (Mosel 1984:42). This is because the egg is usually separated from the possessor when one sees it, and it is normally regarded as food, which takes an alimentary possessive classifier *hwee-* (see previous section). When one wants to specify the sort of an egg, one uses the link noun construction as in *pwevô-nrā-med* (egg-LINK-chicken) "chicken’s egg".

It is more difficult to find classifying criteria for nouns referring to personal attributes or properties. The possible explanation may be that nouns which occur as link nouns ("life, idea, dream and sickness") are something transient and often vague or abstract, while those which occur as bound nouns ("shade/soul, name, manner, occupation, living place, habitation, fault, lie, clothes") may be regarded as inherent or personal to a human being. "Soul", (*wii-*, also meaning "picture") is considered as the person himself; "occupation" is often pre-determined by the society (by totem or clan, etc.); so are "names and manners", which are non-transferable properties (Mosel 1984:44). "Fault" and "lie" may also be regarded as human propensities. "Living place, habitation, clothes" are the very personal/intimate properties of the possessor.

Link nouns, on the other hand, refer to things that are general phenomena which pass by. All of them can occur as verbs as well, without any morphological derivation, while those of bound nouns cannot.

The relationship of cause-effect is generally inseparable as expressed in bound nouns listed under (6) in the previous section. *ahwai* occurring as a link noun is the derived noun *a-hwai* (meaning "that which follows") from the verb *hwai* "to follow". Nouns denoting "impression or mark" made by someone (or by some body part) or by some activity are inalienably possessed in some languages (Crowley 1988:21); but in Tinrin,
"impression, mark" is indicated by a productive prefix fo- which derives nouns from either nouns or verbs, or other bound morphemes. This prefix is discussed in 4.1.4.

There is a word wii-, which occurs exceptionally in both bound and link noun constructions. When used as a bound noun, it refers to "soul, shade, picture" (and the possessor is normally animate but can be inanimate, as in "the shade of the tree"); but when used as a link noun, it means "fibre, vine, tendon" (the possessor can be either inanimate or animate) as illustrated in the following examples.

(95) u jorri wii-nri ânrâmwâ
1sg see soul-3sg there
"I saw his soul (shade) there."

(96) uei verru wii-nrâ-nrî varaha
1sg FUT plait fibre-LINK-3sg like this
"I will plait its fibres like this."

The above examples show that the bound noun construction is used when the referent is something inherent/inseparable or attributable to the possessor, whereas the link noun construction is used when the referent is something already separated from the possessor and not attributable any more, as fibres are already removed from the possessor, or the speaker is not interested in its former possessor at all. Furthermore, whether the possessor is animate or not does not influence the construction: what matters is the relationship to the possessor.

It is more difficult to find a criterion to divide kinship terms into two subclasses. Bound nouns include most of the basic kinship terms: "father, mother, wife, niece/nephew, daughter, elder sibling, younger sibling, grandchild, and sibling of different sex". Link nouns include "husband" and "child", as well as "cousin, aunt, eldest sibling", and "youngest sibling". "Father" and "mother" can also be expressed by link nouns pava- "father" and titi/-tiri- "mother", in addition to bound nouns. Link nouns seem to suggest more of a social order - command or encouragement relationship - or a non-basic kin relationship.

Several nouns occur both as free nouns and bound/link nouns. moo- "man, husband" and hîwù- "small thing, son, bud" mentioned earlier are among them. When moo- refers to "husband", it cannot occur independently without being related to another nominal phrase head, to which it is phonologically attached. The following examples illustrate this:

(97) wa moo mwâ
DET man M.DIST
"that man"

(98) moo-nrâ-sonya
husband-LINK-Sonya
"Sonya's husband"
Another such noun is *warrabu*. *warrabu* is normally a bound noun, referring to "maternal uncle". It is used as:

(99)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{warrabu-} & \quad \text{rò} \\
\text{uncle-} & \quad \text{1sg} \\
\text{"my (maternal) uncle"}
\end{align*}
\]

(100)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{warrabu-} & \quad \text{toni} \\
\text{uncle-} & \quad \text{Tony} \\
\text{"Tony’s (maternal) uncle"}
\end{align*}
\]

However, *warrabu* can be a free noun, too, in which case it refers to "my uncle", or "a relative of my maternal side". As it is a free noun, it can take a possessive preposition *nrā*, which relates a possessed noun to a possessor in a loose way. In the following example, *warrabu* does not refer to "Tony’s uncle" but in fact "my uncle", who is Tony’s father (Tinrin People often refer to a man or a woman in terms of his or her child). The NP in the slot of the possessor is the name of the son of *warrabu*.

(101)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{warrabu} & \quad \text{nrā} \\
\text{toni} & \quad \text{uncle} \\
\text{POSS} & \quad \text{Tony} \\
\text{"(my) uncle, (father) of Tony"}
\end{align*}
\]

The distinction between those constructions, however, is generally not clear and consistent among Tinrin people. French influence has accelerated the change of the language, and younger people no longer speak the same way as old people do. They tend always to put *nrā* after *warrabu*, meaning an "uncle" of somebody referred by the NP after *nrā*, so that the distinction is disappearing.

There is also a manner of calling the eldest son/brother in the family by *mèti*, and the eldest daughter/sister by *truare*, optionally followed by his/her son or daughter’s name, e.g. *mèti koko* "the eldest brother, who is the father of Coco"; *truare toni* "the eldest sister, who is the mother of Tony". This habit muddles the already confused bound/link/free distinction of *warrabu*, and some people do not put *nrā* when they mean "my uncle, Tony’s father" (i.e.*warrabu toni*) which consequently has the identical form to the bound noun.

Link nouns *nrunru-* "grandfather", *gèè-* "grandmother", *pava-* "father" and *titī/-tiri-* "mother" can be used as vocatives, in which case they occur in free forms.

In Tinrin there is no morphological device to derive free form nouns from bound or link nouns, as in other Oceanic languages such as Tolai and Paamese (Mosel 1983; Crowley 1982:110)

In the following table, the morpho-syntactic features of the subclasses of nominals described so far will be summarised.
Table 3.7

Morpho-syntactic Features of the Subclasses of Nominals

1 independent subject /postposed subject /verbal object
2 can occur with postnominal adjunct except possessor nominal
3 head of stative predicate
4 appositive of NP
5 prepositional object
6 can occur with prenominal adjunct
7 modifier in NP
8 can occur with possessor nominal
9 can derive collective/generic noun by prefixing nrt-
10 head of active predicate
11 verbal subject

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QF</th>
<th>POSS</th>
<th>PROPER</th>
<th>LOC</th>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>COMMON</th>
<th>P.PN</th>
<th>IMPN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ indicates that the subclass meets this condition.
(+) indicates that some of the members of the subclass meet this condition.
- indicates that the condition is not met.
3.2 Verbs

Verbs constitute a distinct word class on the grammatical basis that they can be the head of a verb phrase, being optionally marked by a number of tense-aspect markers and verbal modifiers which either precede or follow them. In the predicate they are always preceded by a pronominal subject which agrees in person and number with the nominal subject (if any). Semantically, they describe actions, processes or states.

Verbs can be divided into a number of subclasses as summarised below. I will describe in the following sections the syntactic and semantic characteristics of each of these subclasses.

Table 3.8: Verb Subclasses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Impersonal</td>
<td>Bound</td>
<td>Reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common</td>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>With prefix fa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free</td>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>With transitive suffix, or vowel change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Active</td>
<td>Others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.1 Impersonal verbs

Impersonal verbs are verbs which take only the impersonal third person singular pronoun, nra, or occasionally plural, rri, as their subject pronoun. They constitute a closed set of verbs expressing ambient states with no obligatory reference to any particular participants. They are subdivided into two subclasses, transitive and intransitive.

3.2.1.1 Transitive

fw i "to amount to", trarri "to lack, not exist" and dura "to suffice, be enough" are impersonal transitive verbs. fwi takes an obligatory object while with trarri and dura the object is optional. These verbs cannot occur with any kind of nominal subject.

a) fwi "to amount to"

fwi also occurs as an impersonal intransitive verb, meaning "to exist" (cf. next section). Furthermore, we should note that fwi can occur as a common verb, meaning "to make, do" (3.2.2.2).

The impersonal subject of fwi "to amount to" refers to a duration of time, length, amount, etc.
In the following example, *aurru fwòtra* is an object of *fwi*, as it is not marked by the subject marker *nrà*.

(102) \( \begin{array}{llll} n r á & f w i & a u r r u & f w o t r a \\ 3 s g & a m o u n t & t o & t w o \ y e a r \\ \end{array} \)

"It is now two years; two years passed." (lit. It amounts to two years.)

b) *trarrí* "to lack, not exist"

*trarrí* is used to express that something does not exist.

(103) \( \begin{array}{llll} n r á & t r a r r í & n r í \\ 3 s g & l a c k & 3 s g \\ \end{array} \)

"He is not there." (lit. It lacks him)

(104) \( \begin{array}{llllll} n r á & t r a r r í & t e r r e & f i & n r á & s i m ò \\ 3 s g & l a c k & m e a n s & g o & P O S S & S i m o n \\ \end{array} \)

"Simon cannot go." (lit. It lacks the means to go of (for) Simon.)

One often uses *trarrí* in a construction: \( A \ \text{nrà} \ \text{trarrí} \ B \ \text{nrà} \ \text{nrf} \) (A, 3sg, lack, B, POSS, 3sg), in order to mean "A does not have B". Here, A is the fronted nominal possessor of B, and is coreferential to *nrf*. This is illustrated in the following example:

(105) \( \begin{array}{llll} t o n i & n r á & t r a r r í & r r o t o & n r á & n r í \\ 3 s g & l a c k & c a r & P O S S & 3 s g \\ \end{array} \)

"Tony does not have a car." (lit. It lacks the car of Tony.)

c) *drù* "to suffice, be enough"

Apart from the meaning of "to suffice, be enough" (example 106), *drù* is also used to express a reality status of the proposition. The meaning ranges quite widely depending on the context. When it occurs with *see* "NEG", it expresses negative possibility/capability (example 107). When it is used affirmatively it can mean "be capable, possible, probable" or "necessary, obligatory" depending on the context (example 108, 109).

(106) \( \begin{array}{llll} n r á & d r ù & (r ò) \\ 3 s g & s u f f i c e & (1 s g) \\ \end{array} \)

"It's enough (to me)./ (I have enough)."

(107) \( \begin{array}{llllllll} n r á & s e e & d r ù & b e e & f i & r ò \\ 3 s g & N E G & s u f f i c e & C M P Z & g o & 1 s g \\ \end{array} \)

"I cannot go." (lit. It does not suffice my going.)

(108) \( \begin{array}{llllllll} n r á & d r ù & b e e & t a & p ù & n r á & w i r i \\ 3 s g & s u f f i c e & C M P Z & k i l l & f l y i n g \ f o x & P O S S & 2 p l \\ \end{array} \)

"You can kill flying foxes. / You should kill flying foxes." (lit. It suffices your (pl) killing flying foxes.)

(109) \( \begin{array}{llllllll} n r á & d r ù & b e e & p e e & n r á & r i \\ 3 s g & s u f f i c e & C M P Z & s e e & P O S S & 1 p l i n c \\ \end{array} \)

"We can see." (lit. It suffices our seeing.) (said as the day breaks)
3.2.1.2 Intransitive

Intransitive impersonal verbs are impersonal verbs which never take any object. The construction of a sentence with this type of verb allows only a third person subject, which normally refers to a place or thing associated with ambient states. Verbs of this subclass comprise:

fwi "to exist"; fwa "to rain"; gâ "(wind) to blow, turn"; meghi "be hot"; hove "be cold"; mii "be cold, damp"; marri "be dry"; mirri "be half-dry"; drää "be light, day".

a) fwi "to exist"

When fwi is used intransitively, it expresses that something "exists".

(110) nrä fwi nrä mwâmwâ ároa-ha
3sg exist sm big hut over there-PROX
"The big hut is over there."

This often occurs in a construction: "A nrä fwi nrä B nrä nri" (a similar construction to the one with trarri in order to express "A has B", where A is the fronted possessor of B:

(111) toni nrä fwi nrä maamûrrâ nrä nri
Tony 3sg exist sm children POSS 3sg
"Tony has children." (lit. Tony, his children exist.)"

b) fwa "to rain"

Optional nominal subject for this verb is restricted to wie "rain (noun)". fwa is also a common verb when it means "to sprout, shoot" with a subject that is a kind of plant.

(112) nrä fwa (nrä wie)
3sg rain sm rain
"It rains."

c) gâ "to blow, turn"

This verb can take only wanre "wind" for its nominal subject.

(113) nrä gâ (nrä wanre)
3sg blow sm wind
"It blows. / The wind turns."

d) meghi "be hot"

Nominal subject for this verb may indicate a place or day (drää). This verb can also be used as a common verb, in which case the subject can be either a thing or person.

(114) nrä meghi (nrâ nroorre)
3sg hot sm place (all around)
"It is hot (around here)."

e) hove "be cold"

This verb is used in the same way as meghi. However, when it is used as a common verb, it can take only a human subject.

(115) nrä hove (nrâ drâå)
3sg cold sm day
"It is cold (today)."
f) mü "be cold, damp"

This verb is also used in the same way as meghi, but when it is used as a common verb, the subject can be only an inanimate object, and not human.

(116) nrā mü (nrā drāā)
3sg damp sm day
"It is cold and damp (today)."

g) marri "be dry, to clear up"

marri can also take a nominal subject indicating a place or day. It can also occur with wie "rain" as its nominal subject, to indicate the ambience after the rain is over. marri can also be used as a common verb, taking a non-human subject.

(117) nrā marri (nrā wie)
3sg clear up sm rain
"It is dry/ The rain cleared up."

h) mirri "be half-dry"

This verb is used to indicate an ambient situation when the place or the air is still damp but beginning to be dry after a (rather long) period of rain. It can take a nominal subject such as nroorre "place" and drāā "day". mirri can also be used as a common verb, when it occurs with a (non-human) subject which was wet and started to become dry.

(118) nrā mirri nrā drāā
3sg half-dry sm day
"It started to be dry."

i) drāā "daytime, light"

drāā is also a common noun, meaning "day". When it is used as a verb, it means "(day) to break/be in the daytime/be light". It can take nroorre "place" as its nominal subject.

(119) nrā drāā (nrā nroorre)
3sg day sm place
"It is light (here)."

3.2.2 Common verbs

Most of these verbs can occur with a subject of any person of any number. They constitute an open class of common verbs. Morphologically, common verbs are grouped into two subclasses: bound form verbs and free form verbs.
3.2.2.1 Bound form verbs

Bound form verbs are those that constitute verb roots but are obligatorily bound to one of the classificatory prefixes (5.1.3) or to another root in a compounding construction (5.4).

About a dozen of these verbs which combine with a number of prefixes and indicate a resultative state of either the subject or the object involved in an action or event are listed in 5.1.3.1.

Some bound form verbs which are not included there are given below. They are grouped into those expressing physical or mental state accompanying an action or motion, those expressing the resultative state of an action and those expressing manner.

<physical/mental state>
-drù "be separated": in fi-drù (go-separated) "to go separately"
-fagee "to ignore": in merrö-fagee (lie-ignore) "to lie down ignoring something"
-jaarru "be calm": in truu-jaarru (stay-calm) "be consoled, stop crying"

<resultative state>
-vöö "be revealed": in hidrö-vöö "to proclaim, inform"
-esù "to meet": in fi-esù (go-meet) "to go and meet"
-pönröö "be surprised": in pö-pönröö (move-be surprised) "be surprised"

<manner>
-perrii "to imitate": in ha-perrii (say-imitate) "to repeat, say the same thing"
-pwirri "be in haste": in pö-pwirri (move-in a hurry) "to do in haste"
-eva "be tight": in töve-eva (shut-tight) "to shut (a door) tightly"
-te "to push aside": in fi-te (go-push aside) "to go for good"
-dööwö "be clumsy": in go-dööwö (move-clumsy) "to act clumsily"
-tawa "be brutal": in go-tawa (move-brutal) "to act brutally"

3.2.2.2 Free form verbs

The majority of common verbs are free forms. They are free of any of the syntactic or morphological restrictions placed on the particular subclasses of verbs described so far.

They can further be subdivided into transitive and intransitive verbs.

3.2.2.2.1 Transitive verbs

Although transitive verbs are always oriented to a certain object (even when the object is not expressed), generally inclusion of the object is optional.

A limited number of verbs - either reflexive verbs or those with transitive suffixes - always take objects. In what follows various types of transitive verbs are briefly described.
(A) Reflexive verbs

A reflexive verb obligatorily takes a pronominal object that makes the same category distinctions as the subject. There are only ten reflexive verbs attested, which are listed below. The bound form -vesò seems to be related to reflexivity as shown in the list.

This set does not include verbs which are only optionally reflexive in their semantics (e.g. göwä "to wash" in "I wash myself.").

The last verb of the list takes only non-singular subjects, and expresses a reciprocal action. It is included here, as its object must be of the same person and number as the subject.

drebbe "to fall and die"
drege "to fall and get injured"
nē "to put on airs"
fò(v)esò "to come in vain"
fwivesò "to do in vain"
wakevesò "to work in vain"
govesò "to do in vain"
fivesò "to go in vain"
verredhai "to have an accident"
rùù "to put arm around each other's shoulder" (reciprocal)

(B) Verbs with causative prefix fa-

Causative prefix fa- can be prefixed to almost any verb, whether intransitive or transitive. Verbs of this type tend to have explicit objects, although this is not necessarily always so.

The object of a derived verb can be either the subject or the object of the original verb. As this is discussed in detail later in 5.1.1, I merely note here some illustrative examples:

<from intransitive>
fa-ti (CAUS-big) "to enlarge, respect, raise"
fa-marri (CAUS-be dry) "to dry (something)"
fa-taa (CAUS-bad) "to damage"

<from transitive>
fa-soghe (CAUS-stab) "to make (someone) stab somebody"
fa-hödrö (CAUS-burn) "to get something burnt"
fa-hara (CAUS-eat) "to make someone eat, feed"

(C) Verbs with transitive suffix or vowel change

This subgroup of transitive verbs comprise verbs which are marked with one of the transitive suffixes: -vai, -bêrrê, -sä, -bwâârrî, -raa and -tôrrô. They are often derived from intransitive verbs by these suffixes, which can also be added to transitive verb stems. These transitive suffixes cannot be deleted when the object is a pronoun or a proper noun, as they often are in other New Caledonian languages.
Verbs of this subgroup are obligatorily followed by an object. Each one of the transitive suffixes is fully described in 5.2.2.

Also included in this group is barri "to fear", the only verb transitivised by changing the final vowel. Observe the following examples: example (121) shows the corresponding intransitive form barra "be afraid."

(120) nrä barri traiki nrä hûümûrrû
3sg fear dog sm child
"The child is afraid of the dog."

(121) nrä barra nrä hûümûrrû
3sg afraid sm child
"The child is afraid."

(D) Other transitive verbs

The majority of transitive verbs do not belong to any of the previous three subclasses. They are often prefixed by one of the classificatory prefixes described in 5.1.2. Some transitive verbs can combine with directional suffixes (5.2.4), as seen in the following examples. With these verbs, objects are optionally expressed.

ve-roa (take-up) "to take away"
tü-roa (pass-up) "to pass over"
ta-roa (hit-up) "to chase out (of the house)"
hara-koa (eat-apart) "to eat apart"
nrorri-koa (give-apart) "to give away"
tuo-koa (put-apart) "to put apart"

3.2.2.2.2 Intransitive verbs

We can distinguish two subclasses of intransitive verbs: active and stative.

(A) Active verbs

Verbs belonging to this subclass all express an action. They can be grouped into 1) verbs which express basic motion with reference to the speaker, or a specific place that the speaker has in mind, and 2) the other verbs.

1) basic motion verbs

Basic motion verbs are those in the following list:
fi "to go away" -- motion from speaker
mē "to come, approach" -- motion to speaker
si "to go, pass" -- motion level
wa "to descend, down" -- motion down
drajù "to ascend, up" -- motion up
fı "to fly" -- motion up
hwē "to appear" -- motion to speaker

These verbs can occur independently, but they often combine with other verbs in serialization (7.9.1.2) to clarify the direction or the place of an action with reference to the speaker.
**fi and mè are used not only to indicate physical direction, but also to indicate mental distance between the speaker and the object involved. This is discussed in section 7.9.1.2.**

**fi and mè can also function as prepositions, as described in 3.4.**

Verbs of this subclass often combine with directional suffixes (-rù, -ro, -roa, -rüa, -koa, -aghoro) which are described in 5.2.4. The following examples illustrate this:

- si-rù (pass-up) "to return, enter (to the mountain side)"
- si-ro (pass-up, out) "to go out"
- si-roa (pass-down, out) "to go down, go out"
- si-ro (pass-by) "to pass, be curved, beside"
- fi-rù (go-up) "to return, enter"
- fi-ro (go-by) "to walk on the same level"
- fi-roa (go-down, out) "to go out"
- fi-koa (go-away) "to go away"
- hwé-roa (appear-up) "(sun) to come up"
- i-aghoro (fly-everywhere) "to fly all over the place"

2) other active verbs

Intransitive and active verbs which are not basic motion verbs belong to this subclass. They normally do not combine with directional suffixes. They include verbs such as the following:

- hò "to sing (intr)"
- ma "to untie (intr)"
- mou "to shut the eye"
- a "to laugh" (cf. a-sa "to laugh at")
- îgå "to dream" (cf. îgå-sä "to dream about")
- de "to hang (intr)"
- mâ "to urinate"-
- vôi "to defecate"
- gee "to tell a lie"
- sii "to hiss, make a noise"
- ha "to speak"
- òrrë "to dig up"

(B) Stative verbs

Stative verbs are those that describe a state or change of state; in Tinrin adjectives belong to this subclass of verbs, expressing some property or quality of a subject noun. I also include in this subclass verbs which are prefixed by mi- (5.1.2.2) and express a state or change of state resulting from an action or event.

They must follow the attribute marker a when they modify nouns, in the same way as do other verbs. The following example illustrates this:

(122) wage a harru
      flower AT nice
      "nice flowers (lit. flower which is nice)"
This subclass includes verbs like those below:

mürrü "be small"
bêerrî "be old"
karro "be full, filled"
tria "to taste funny"
barra "be afraid"
e "to cut well, be sharp"
vajü "be sick, dead"
ti "be big, grow"
mirù "be broken, get broken"
mighorro "get broken into pieces"
migidhi "be creasy"
midôwô "be pierced, having a hole"

Verbs of this subclass often form a compound with truu "to stay" (5.4), when a continuity of state over a certain period of time is being suggested. truu is always the first element, and (v)e is sometimes inserted before the verb of this class.

truu-e-arti "to stay the same"
truu-(v)e-güwünrri "to stay ignorant"
truu-fi-mea "be half naked"

3.3 Attributes

There is a closed set of modifiers which precede the modified NP. They can occur only as attributives and not as predicates. tro, hüwünrâ and saafi can also occur as pre-head verbal modifiers (7.4). nrôô and hämä(nrâ) can also occur as TA markers (7.3).

1) tro "just, real, indigenous"

This is used to indicate something as "genuine"; which is usually pure or indigenous, and not something imported or mixed with something else.

tro tâ (indigenous, taro) "a native taro"
tro treanrî (indigenous, person) "a Kanak person"

Note that tro drae (real, thing) means "real thing", whereas troedrae (just thing) (with an excrescent vowel e) means "a trifling thing". These two words may be from the same origin, forming doublets.

2) hüwü(nrâ) "small"

This comes from hüwü "child, sprout".
hüwü(nrâ) fônri (small, river) "small river"

3) saafi "all of"

This word may have derived from saa "one" and fi "to go".
saafi kevi wanri (all of, plexc, entire) "all of us (but not you) completely"

4) nrôô "old"

nrôô mwâ (old hut) "old huts"
nrôô treanrî (old, person) "an old person"

5) hämâ(nrâ) "new, young"

hâmâ(nrâ) nawa (young, coconut) "a young coconut tree"
hâmâ(nrâ) erre (new, village) "a new village"
6) doo "used, worn out"
   doo sōbwi (used, mat) "a used mat"
   doo wasaa (used, plate) "a used plate"
7) drorro "outstanding, big, important"
   drorro drae (important, thing) "important things"
   drorro treanrū (important, person) "an important person"
8) trōò "two"

   This word derives from trōrō "two" which is used only as a noun.
   trōò mwā (two, hut) "two huts"

3.4. Prepositions

   There is a closed set of grammatical words - prepositions - which are placed
   immediately before a NP, and express a syntactic relationship between the NP and a
   predicate, or another NP. Relative location nouns which are described in a previous
   section (3.1.4.2.1) are excluded from this group, although they can also be preposed to
   another NP, to mark oblique cases just like prepositions, as illustrated in the following
   example:

   (123) drō - tave
        surface - bed
        "on the bed"

   Tinrin is very rich in prepositions. They express various types of relationships
   which often overlap in meanings or syntactic properties, as illustrated in Table 3.9 at the
   end of this section. Some prepositions have a variety of meanings which are difficult to
   describe systematically in terms of labels such as instrument or cause. Their uses may
   be best elucidated in a clause context.

   All Tinrin prepositions relate a NP to the preceding VP, except possessive markers
   nrā, rre/rre and δ, which only link two NPs. In the following, I will describe
   grammatical and semantic features of each preposition.

   a) nrā  subject/possessive marker, "of"

   nrā, when it occurs before a NP, functions as either a subject marker or possessive
   marker.

   1) subject marker

   nrā marks the nominal subject of an action or state, with either a transitive or
   intransitive verb (8.1.1.1). The origin of this nrā is unclear, as the form and use of a
   subject marker differs widely from one language to another among New Caledonian
   languages (cf. Ozanne-Rivierre & Moyse-Faurie 1983). In Tinrin, when the subject is
   topicalized and preposed to the beginning of a sentence, nrā is not used.
2) possessive marker, "of"

The majority of free nouns (alienable) can occur in possessive constructions with *nrā*. *nrā* links the possessor to the preceding NP head, normally suggesting a temporary possession. *nrā* is further discussed in 6.1.6.1.1 along with other possessive markers *rrē/rrē* and *d*.

b) *rrē/rrē* possessive marker, "of"

*rrē* and *rrē*, which are the variants of the same morpheme, express personal possession (see 6.1.6.1.1).

c) *d* possessive marker, "of"

The possessed NP is restricted to *nre* "fire, firewood" and compounds with *nre* (see 6.1.6.1.1).

d) *ei* "to, for"

*ei* marks dative: it is used to express the animate recipient in an action that involves the transfer of something as in (124), or the addressee of a predicate of locution. It can also be used to express the experiencer of a perception or emotion, as in (125), or a directional goal as in (126).

(124) u hwari nri ei rri
1sg sell 3sg DAT 3pl
"I sold it to them."

(125) nrā harru ei treanrū nřī rřī arrimērrē
3sg good DAT people if 3pl used to
"It is good for people, if they are used to it."

(126) rři truu hubo ei nřū
3pl stay near to 2sg
"They live near you."

e) *gi* "to, for, at, about, with"

*gi* marks dative, locative or referential. It can link two NPs, as well as relating a NP to a VP.

1) dative

*ei* and *gi* are generally interchangeable in this sense, expressing the animate recipient, addressee, or the experiencer of a perception:

(127) nrā truu gi nřū
3sg stay DAT 2sg
"It stays to you (as you like, it's up to you)."

(128) toni nrā haunēē gi nřū
Tony 3sg talk dirty DAT 2sg
"Tony uses indecent words to you."

22 Lynch (1973: 74-75) notes that in Aroma a subject marker occurs between possessor and possessed in a type of possessive construction, probably to indicate a more distant relationship than in those constructions which employ possessive morphemes.
2) locative

In this usage, *gi* expresses the point of location (an object is envisaged as a dimensionless location \(^{23}\) at which an event takes place). It normally occurs with other prepositions denoting locations, which are: *pwere* ‘allative’, *ghe* ‘elative’ and *ru* ‘locative’. *gi* always follows *pwere* as in (129) and *ghe*, but it can either precede or follow *ru* as in example (130). I discuss *rug* and *gh* as separate prepositions later in this section, as they form phonological units and exhibit various meanings of their own.

(129) simó nrā fi pwere gi sinema
Simon 3sg go to at cinema
"Simon goes to the cinema."

(130) komu treu wake mwagi gi ru rrafoa
 ldlexc again work again at in Lafoa
"We two work again at Lafoa."

3) referential

This expresses reference to an entity with regard to which an event takes place. It is often used with the verbs of locution, as in (131) and (132), expressing subject matter.

(131) hêrrê hîdrô gi wa fô treanrû mwâ
IMPN say about DET kind people M.DIST


treanrû a taa
people AT bad
"People say about this kind of people, bad people."

(132) nrâ hawi vetaa gi komu
3sg talk badly about ldlexc
"He speaks ill of us two."

(133) ke godhai gi saa drae
2sg do mistake on one thing
"You made a mistake in something."

(134) nrâ kobû gi aunê-nrî
3sg be angry about mother-3sg
"He is angry with his mother."

f) drû "because of, for"

*drû* indicates the cause of an event taking place.

(135) rru fîrô rru drû mone
3dl shout 3dl CAUS money
"They (two) shouted at each other because of money."

(136) ke drarrî drû gêè nrâ vajû wai
2sg cry CAUS grandmother 3sg dead already
"You cried because of grandmother who died."

\(^{23}\) See Svartvik 1972:310.
g) **ghe** "from"

This indicates a motion or direction away from a point of location, and often occurs with location nouns. It can link two NPs, as well as relate a NP to a VP.

(137) **nrâ ta nrî nrâ treanrû ghe âroa giwe**
3sg hit 3sg sm person from over there mountain
"The person (who came) from the mountain hit him."

h) **ra** "(rather) than, from, for"

**ra** marks comparative, obviative and origin.

1) comparative

**ra** indicates some standard or norm for comparison, or an entity with which a comparison is made. In (138) it means "for (considering, in proportion)".

(138) **nrâ bwê nrû ra truu aurrï treanrû**
3sg many in excess for dl two people
"That's too much for two people."

(139) **wara-ha nrâ horro ra wara-mwâ**
this one 3sg strong than that one
"This one is stronger than that one."

2) obviative

**ra** expresses that an action takes place in order to detach from or avoid something.

(140) **ke savaa nrû ra nrî**
2sg defend 2sg OBV 3sg
"You defend yourself from him (you pay attention to him)."

(141) **rii barra ra bee hidrô**
3pl afraid OBV CMPZ speak
"They hesitate to speak."

In the next example, "going to there" is the thing to be avoided.

(142) **ra bee fi pwere nrî u truu ere nrîâ**
OBV CMPZ go to there 1sg stay place now
"I stay at home now rather than going there."

3) origin

**ra** also indicates the origin from which a target is transferred or, when used with **mââde** "before", the relative time (example 143). When it occurs with **förôô** "to ask, to demand", it means "(demand something) from (somebody)" as illustrated in example (144). (When **ra** does not occur in front of the object, as in **förôô nrî**, then it means "ask him").

(143) **mââde ra revolt rri fwi bee truu nrâ**
before from revolt(Fr) 3pl do CMPZ stay POSS
nrî this
"Before the riot, they did like this."

(144) **nrâ förôô sika ra toni**
3sg demand cigarette from Tony
"He wants cigarette from Tony."
i) ghegi "because of, since, from, out of"

*ghegi*, obviously the compounded form of *ghe* and *gi* described in g) and e) respectively, expresses a causal relationship as well as origin. It can link two NPs, as well as relate NPs to VPs.

1) causal

*ghegi* indicates the cause or reason for which an event takes place.

(145)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1sg</th>
<th>wake</th>
<th>CAUS noise-car</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>u</em></td>
<td><em>nrsii ghegi gu-rroto</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>I was woken up by the noise of car.</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2) origin

*ghegi* also indicates origin. It can mean "from, out of, since (time)" as in the following examples:

(146)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>out of</th>
<th>pl</th>
<th>men</th>
<th>3pl PERF</th>
<th>dead</th>
<th>sm</th>
<th>pl</th>
<th>three</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ghegi</td>
<td>mē</td>
<td>voo</td>
<td>rria vajū</td>
<td>nra</td>
<td>mē</td>
<td>asirri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Out of men (brothers), three died already.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(147)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3sg</th>
<th>rain</th>
<th>since</th>
<th>yesterday</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nra</td>
<td>fwa</td>
<td>ghegi</td>
<td>âwü</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;It has rained since yesterday.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

j) nři "by, with, for, (such) as"

*nři* expresses a wide range of semantic ideas. It can mark causal, instrumental, temporal, exemplificatory and accompaniment. *nři* can also mark an original transitive subject (agent) or object in a derived construction when a verb is prefixed by CAUS *fa-* (examples 251 and 256c in 5.1.1).

1) causal "by"

*nři* indicates the cause or reason for which an event takes place. It can link two NPs as well as relating NPs to VPs.

(148)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dog</th>
<th>3sg</th>
<th>die</th>
<th>CAUS hunger</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>traiki</td>
<td>nra</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>nři</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;The dog died of hunger.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2) instrumental "with"

*nři* also marks instrumental, indicating means by which an action is done.

(149)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3sg</th>
<th>hit</th>
<th>dog</th>
<th>with</th>
<th>stick</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nra</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>traiki</td>
<td>nři</td>
<td>ù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;He hits a dog with a stick.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(150)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1sg</th>
<th>build a wall</th>
<th>INST</th>
<th>stone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>u</em></td>
<td>fā</td>
<td>nři</td>
<td>arrebo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I built a wall with stones.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3) temporal "for, on"

*nři* also marks temporal, generally referring to a period of time, although it may refer to a point of time as in the example (153). It can link two NPs as well as relate a NP to a VP. It also functions as a conjunction, which will be discussed in 8.3.3.
(151) nrā merrejo nrī aurru nrī-bwerī-asū
3sg sleep for two hour
"He sleeps for two hours."

(152) nrā saau mē tau nrī asirri fwōtra
3sg once come often for three year
"He used to come once every three years."

(153) ru hidrō nrī saa drāā
1dlinc say on one day
"We two talked one day."

4) exemplificatory "(such) as"

nrī can be used to mean "such as" when the speaker wants to exemplify. In this case, it is used only to link two NPs.

(154) rī nyōrrō druу nrī me-susu hudruu
1plinc cook leaf EXE sprout-choko(Fr) brève-morelle
"We cook leaves such as choko and brède-morelle."

It can also express a comparative quantity or degree:

(155) toni nrā mwaa pa nai nanu nrī dis sātimetūrū
Tony 3sg tall more exceed Nanu as 10 cm (Fr)
"Tony is taller than Nanu by 10 cm."

5) accompaniment

nrī means "with" when it occurs with a verb designating eating, as illustrated in the following example:

(156) rī hara nraasi nrī hērrēkari
3pl eat rice with meat
"They eat rice with meat."

In the following sentence, nrī means "with, including":

(157) mē viē anrōrrō nrī wara rra nrā vajū
pl women five with one DIST 3sg dead
"Five women, with (including) the one who is dead."

k) bō "of, at, from"

bō marks obviative or causal. Used with verbs such as run, go, cry, it indicates that the action is taking place with a negative emotion stimulated by the object of bō.

(158) u moo bō soerrū
1sg shy of Joel
"I am shy of Joel."

(159) ke hōrrō bō bee mī
2sg scared OBV CMPZ fall
"You are scared of falling."

(160) bebe nrā drarrī bō traiki
baby 3sg cry CAUS dog
"The baby cried because of the dog."
nrö "for, to, with"

nrö is used to mark purposive, referential or comitative; and it can link two NPs, as well as relate NPs to VPs.

1) purposive

(161) rri via rri nrö hēēra
3pl fight 3pl PURP food
"They fought each other for food."

In the following sentence, ra can occur in the place of nrö, in which case ra means "considering, in proportion" (example 138). Sentence (162) with nrö implies "too much for 'the purpose of' two people."

(162) nrā bwē nru nrö truu aurru treanrū
3sg many in excess for dl two people
"That’s too much for two people."

2) referential

nrö means "concerning with" in the following sentences, where nrö and gi can be used indifferently.

(163) ri see arrimerre nrö suka
1pl NEG be accustomed for sugar
"We are not accustomed to sugar."

3) comitative

nrö can also mark comitative:

(164) nrā hwörrö nrö nrī tau pwere āro wī
3sg run away COM 3sg often to there Wī
"He used to run away with her towards Wī."

m) ru "in, on"

ru marks locative. It indicates dimensional location (that is, the surface or area where an event takes place). It can occur with location nouns as well, as in (166). The object must always be non-human. It can relate a NP argument to a VP, as well as to another NP.

(165) wiri drajū ru giwe
2pl climb L mountain
"You (pl) climbed on the mountain."

(166) ri juo ru drō verro
1plinc sit L surface bicycle
"We rode a bicycle"

n) rugi "on, in, at, about, with"

rugi, a compounded form of ru and gi described in m) and e) above, covers a wide range of semantic roles. It can mark locative, temporal, referential and comitative.
1) locative "on, in"

*rugi* refers to a dimensional location like *ru*, but often 'surface' rather than 'area'. It does not occur with location nouns, and its object can be either human or non-human.

(167)  
\begin{align*}
\text{ri tuo rugi ri} \\
\text{1plnc put on 1plnc}
\end{align*}

"We put on us. (we put on clothes.)"

(168)  
\begin{align*}
\text{wei fadrò rugi arròò} \\
\text{1sg FUT walk in water}
\end{align*}

"I will walk in the water."

(169)  
\begin{align*}
\text{mèwe nrā pwò rugi bë-ù} \\
\text{bird 3sg land on arm-tree}
\end{align*}

"A bird sat on a branch of a tree."

2) temporal

*rugi* can express a point of time at which an event takes place. It relates a NP to a VP, and it is often preposed to an hour expression.

(170)  
\begin{align*}
\text{kei fi rugi sizee} \\
\text{2sg FUT go at six hours(Fr)}
\end{align*}

"You will go at six o'clock."

3) referential

It can express reference to an idea, as with the verbs of locution. In this case, it can link two NPs, or a NP to a VP.

(171)  
\begin{align*}
\text{treanrù rrì hawi rugi bee bòrrò nrâ mwīè} \\
\text{people 3pl talk about CMPZ drowned sub woman}
\end{align*}

"People talk about how the woman was drowned."

4) comitative "with"

*rugi* can also mark comitative, indicating a person with whom an event occurs.

(172)  
\begin{align*}
\text{rrù mè rugi mèrrē treanrù rrà hèrrè ve} \\
\text{3dl come with pl people DIST IMPN take}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
&\text{rrì mè nrâ} \\
&\text{3pl come PST}
\end{align*}

"They two came with those people who were taken to here."

o) *fi* "around, about"

*fi* (like *mè* below), functions both as a motion verb meaning "to go" and as a preposition. As a preposition it can occur after another preposition *ru* or take a prepositional object.

*fi* indicates "vicinity, peripheral". When used in either a locative or temporal sense it means "around" some place or time, rather than referring to a precise place or specific time. It can sometimes suggest motion away from a place or speaker, or distance from the speaker (either physical or psychological). By using *fi*, the speaker can express his objectivity or detachment from an event. This meaning is parallel to that of *fi* when used as a verb in verb serialization (cf.7.9.1.2), which is the reason I consider *fi* to have
functions both of a verb and of a preposition rather than analyzing prepositional *fi* and verbal *fi* as homophones.24

There are sentences which allow two interpretations: when we omit the (optional) *ru* from sentence (175), *fi* can be interpreted either as a verb or as a preposition. When it functions as a preposition, the sentence has the meaning shown in the gloss of (175), but when it functions as a verb, it means "people always live here" (*fi* in this context indicates ‘duration’). The fact that *fi* can occur after the preposition *ru* as in (174) and (175), or that it can take an (prepositional) object as in (174), (verb "to go" cannot take an object), explains the prepositional use of *fi*, which is not a verb.

The following sentence (173) is an example of psychological distance. "He died one day", which to the speaker seems to be already a long time ago. By contrast, in sentence (178) (using *mè*) the speaker feels that the person passed away only a short time ago.

(173)  nrã vajù saa drââ *fi* ânramwâ
  3sg  dead one day  around then
"He died one day around then (long time ago)."

(174)  ri tapirri *ru* *fi* bê-trûjù nrimwaa
     1plinc  see  at around beach  far
"We looked further, over the sea shore."

(175)  treanrii *ri* truu (*ru*) *fi* ânrâha
      people 3pl stay  L  around here
"People live around here."
(*fi* suggests the expansion of the area.)

Sometimes *fi* and the location noun in sentence-final position are inverted, in which case *fi* becomes enclitic. *e* often occurs in this position, and this may be the reduced form of *fe* (some people say /fe/ instead of /fi/): e.g. ânramwâ-*e* (there-away) "a bit further"; âva-*e* (down there-away) "further down".

*fi* is also used to suggest "vicinity" with numbers (i.e. meaning ‘approximately’) as illustrated in the example below:

(176)  *rrî* fwi *fi* sèk sâ
   3pl  exist about  5(Fr)  100(Fr)
"There are about 500."

---

24 I do not consider *fi* and *mè* as prepositional verbs. The main function of the prepositional verbs recognised in Oceanic linguistics is to take an object, and mark a case-like relationship between the preceding verb - of motion, or certain other intransitives (which cannot take an object themselves) - and the object (cf. Pawley 1972:38, 1973:142-147; Durie 1988). *fi* and *mè* are different from those verbs in many ways. First of all, *fi* and *mè* (as verbs) are ‘intransitive’ themselves, so that they cannot take an object, or relate the preceding verbs to the object. *fi* and *mè* also occur with verbs which are not necessarily motion or intransitive verbs. Thus, their prepositional function should be considered as a separate function from their verbal one.
hidrò in the following sentence can take an object, in which case it means "say X". When fi occurs in front of the object, it means "say/talk about X", refering to things around X, but not directly to X.

(177) treanrū rri hidrò fi atai
people 3pl talk about Atai
"People talked about Atai."

p) mê "around, about"

Like fi in the previous section, mê functions both as a motion verb meaning "to come" and as a preposition. It also indicates 'vicinity, peripheral', being used either in a locative or temporal sense. The difference between fi and mê is that mê can suggest motion towards some place or speaker, or contiguity to the speaker, either physical or psychological. By using this preposition the speaker mentally put himself in that location, or observe the event subjectively.

(178) nrā vajù saa drāâ mê ânrâha
3sg dead one day around here (now)
"He died one day (not long time ago)."

(179) nrā truu ru mê numea
3sg stay in around Noumea
"He lives in Noumea. (I am here. He has gone to Noumea, and is still there. He is bound to come back.)"

(180) nrā hworrò ghe mê saramea
3sg run away from around Sarramea
"He ran away from Sarramea to here."

mê can also be inverted in sentence-final position with a location noun, as in: e.g. ânrâha -mê (here-towards) "a bit towards this way".

q) pwere/were "to, towards, with"

pwere and were, which seem to be in free variation, can mark either allative, or accompaniment.

1) allative "to, towards"

In this sense, it refers to the location or destination to which a motion is directed. It can also refer to a point of time towards which an event is directed.

(181) nrā truu siro were ânrâha
3sg stay pass to here
"It (house) is on the corner on the way here."

When it occurs with hubo "after", it refers to either relative location or time as in examples (182) and (183). Note that allative pwere is used here, as the motion is directed "towards" the object, whereas with māde "before", ra (h) "origin" is used.

(182) wei fi hubo pwere nrī
1sg FUT go after toward 3sg
"I am going after you."
This sentence is ambiguous. I may either follow after you locationally, or go immediately after you (temporally).
"After the riot, he ran away to that place."

2) accompaniment

In this sense, *pwere* occurs with either a person or non-human, with whom (or with which) an event takes place.

(184) ke fi pwere jāa?
2sg go with who
"Who you go with?"

(185) u warri pwere fadrō
1sg tired with walk
"I am tired of walking." (lit. I am tired having a walk)

r) *winrō* "along"

*winrō* expresses the meaning of "(go) along" (road, river, etc.). It can also occur as a verb, meaning "to follow". When it directly follows another verb (which is generally a motion verb, from its semantics), it appears more like a prepositional verb (cf.note 24), having a function of relating an object to the preceding verb. This type of construction is discussed under verb serialization in 7.9.1 (e.g. *fi winrō* <go, follow> "to follow, go along"). The following example illustrates its use as a preposition, as it is detached from the other verb and occurs after a prepositional phrase. If we consider this as verb serialization instead, the meaning of the sentence will be "We met him down there, and followed the river".

(186) ri fisù hari nri ru âjo winrō fonri
1plinc meet lpl(COM) 3sg L down there along river
"We met him down there, along the river."

s) *nyôraa* "along one side"

*nyôraa* is used similarly to *winrō*, although this cannot occur as a verb, and it indicates only "one side" of something long such as a road.

(187) nrâ fadrō nyôraa bê-iifade
3sg walk one side of side-road
"He walks only on one side of the road."

t) *fadrē* "with, at the time of"

*fadrē* marks accompaniment, and can occur with both human and non-human nouns. It can sometimes be glossed as "at the time of", as illustrated in (190).

(188) busi nrâ hwôrrō fadrē saa nāâ farrawa
cat 3sg run away with one piece bread
"The cat ran away with a piece of bread."
(189) rri taa fadre bee ha pwôgarra
3pl bad with CMPZ speak white

nrâ rri
POSS 3pl
"They are bad as they have the habit of speaking the language of whites."

(190) fadre màô bêërô nrâ nrâ see arù ghâi nrîfa
with men old PST 3sg NEG same with now
"With old people before (at the time of old people), it was not the same as now."

u) ghâi "together with, as"

ghâi expresses accompaniment. It also marks the consequent in the correlations
"(same) as", or 'take...for (as)' denoting degree, appearance, manner, etc. as illustrated
in sentence (192) and (193). ghâi can also occur as an interrogative particle (8.1.2.1.1).

(191) nrâ vajû ru mè ârîjû ghâi wa mwîê mwâ
3sg sick L around there with DET woman M.DIST
"He died over there with that woman."

(192) nrâ troe arû ghâi bee fwi nrâ puue
3sg just same as CMPZ make of net
"It is just the same as making nets."

(193) ke ve nrî ghâi tre treanrû
2sg take 3sg for another person
"You took him for another person."

v) edho "with"

Occurring with verbs hara "to eat", ho "to eat", odho "to drink", nrîri "to give" and
tuo "to put", edho marks accompaniment, or expresses two patients (non-human) of the
action. nrî optionally occurs after edho.

(194) ke tuo tâ edho (nrî) nrû
2sg put taro with with fish
"You put taro with fish."

(195) u ho möghi edho farrawa
1sg eat prawn with bread
"I ate prawns with bread."

w) nrûra "except for"

This marks an exception. It expresses that an event takes place on the condition that
something is excluded.

(196) treanrû rî mè ânrâha nrûra samdi
people 3pl come here except Saturday(Fr)
"People come here except on Saturday."

As described above, syntactic properties or meanings are often overlapped among
prepositions. These features are illustrated in the following table:
Table 3.9
Syntactic and Semantic Features of Prepositions

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<th>Subject marker</th>
<th>possessive</th>
<th>dative</th>
<th>allative</th>
<th>locative</th>
<th>elative</th>
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3.5 Determiners

This class consists of four determiners: *wa, moo, truu* and *mē*. They are optionally placed before nouns and certain quantifiers, marking them as definite. The first two mark them also as singular; *truu* as dual; and *mē* as plural. These determiners will be discussed in 6.2.1 with illustrative examples.

3.6 Demonstratives

There are five demonstratives: *ha, mwā, rra, amwairrā* and *hae*. They can either refer to the position of some object, person or place in locational or temporal dimension; or they can refer back to something already introduced in the discourse. They are normally cliticised to a preceding NP or a NP adjunct.

*ha, mwā* and *rra* often combine with location nouns as described in 3.1.4.2.1.

(A) *ha* proximate, "this, this place, that"

*ha* generally indicates a place near the speaker, in space or time. The object referred to in space is normally visible, except when referred to anaphorically. It generally accompanies a gesture such as pointing by hand or nodding the head. When the reference is anaphoric, the choice of *ha* ‘proximate’, *mwā* ‘mid-distant’ and *rra* ‘distant’ is based on pragmatic elements, which involve the speaker’s psychological attitude: whether the referent is regarded as belonging to the domain of the speaker, the addressee or neither.26 *ha* is used when the speaker feels that the object referred to belongs to his domain rather than the addressee’s.

(197) moo u ha DET time PROX "this time"

(198) moo hōrrō ha DET prayer PROX "this prayer (going on now)"

(199) wa drae ha DET thing PROX "this thing"

(B) *mwā* mid-distant, "that, there, the"

*mwā* generally indicates a position near the addressee, or to a position mid-distant or distant from both the speaker and the addressee, generally visible. It can also refer to mid-distant or distant time in the past or future. When the object is referred to directly, it generally accompanies a gesture. *mwā* is most unmarked when used anaphorically.

(200) moo u mwā DET time M.DIST "next time"

25 It is quite common in West Melanesian Oceanic languages for spatial and temporal deixis to employ the same forms: for example, Vitu *kua* "this, now" (Ross 1988:374).

(201) wa nre mwâ
DET fire M.DIST
"that fire"

(C) rra distant, "that, over there"

rra is generally used to refer to an object or place distant from both the speaker and
the addressee, often invisible. The object referred to is often something already known
to both the speaker and the addressee.

(202) wara rra
one DIST
"that one (you know); the one over there"

(203) fwòtra rra nrâ
year DIST PST
"last year"

It often occurs with a determiner and is followed by a relative clause, as illustrated in
the following sentence:

(204) u see tramwâ wa moo rra nrâ
1sg NEG know DET man DIST 3sg
hajo pupe
marry Poupee
"I do not know the man who married Poupee."

(D) amwairrü "that (of a while ago)"

amwairrü refers to a point in the near past, "a while ago", of an object or person.

(205) wa nre amwairrü
DET fire a while ago
"that fire (we made or mentioned a while ago)"

(206) saa drae amwairrü
one thing a while ago
"that one (person) who was here a while ago"

(E) hae "which?"

hae is an interrogative word, meaning "which?". It can function as a sentence
adverbial when it occurs sentence initially (3.7.2).

(207) ke hôsi nî ru wa magazê hae?
2sg buy 3sg at DET shop(Fr) which
"At which shop did you buy it?"

(208) nrâ fa-hôrrô wa farrî hae?
3sg CAUS-sacred DET name which
"Which name did he forbid?"
The semantic domain these demonstratives cover in temporal and locational dimensions is illustrated in the following diagram (interrogative *hae* is not included):

Table 3.10
Temporal and Locational Domains of Demonstratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(temporal)far past</th>
<th>or future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>some time ago or ahead</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>just a while ago or ahead</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>now</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| (location) |
| near the speaker |
| near the addressee |
| mid-distant |
| distant |
| invisible |

3.7 Adverbials

We can distinguish, on semantic and distributional grounds, between adverbs (phrase-level) and sentence adverbials (clause-level).

3.7.1 Adverbs (phrase-level)

Adverbs are generally placed after the head of the VP which they modify. Syntactically, adverbs are distinguished from verbal modifiers in that they can occur quite freely in the VP except between subject pronoun and verb, while verbal modifiers can never occur after objects (except pronominal objects).

There are two types of adverbs: adverbs which can occur clause-initially and those which cannot.

3.7.1.1 Adverbs which can occur clause-initially

Adverbs which belong to this subclass include:

relative time:
- hūdrō "at once"; mesi "early"; mwairrü "a while ago"; hubō "later, after";
- māāde "before";

frequency:
- husaa "sometimes"; tau "often, habitually"

manner:
- varaha "like this"; varamwā "like that"
These adverbs can occur clause-initially as well as in a post-verbal position with no significant difference in meaning. The following sentences illustrate this:

(209) mwairrü nri-wâdrâa toni nrâ
      a while ago the morning Tony 3sg
      fi pwere numea
go to Noumea
"This morning, Tony went to Noumea."

(210) toni nrâ fi pwere numea mwairrü nri-wâdrâa
      Tony 3sg go to Noumea a while ago the morning
      "Tony went to Noumea this morning."

(211) husaau nrâ tröa
      sometimes 3sg arrive
      "Sometimes he arrived."

(212) nrâ tröa husaau
      3sg arrive sometimes
      "He arrived sometimes."

3.7.1.2 Adverbs which cannot occur clause-initially

These adverbs are further grouped in those which can only modify verb phrases and those which can also modify nominal phrases.

(A) Adverbs which modify only verb phrases

Adverbs which belong to this subclass include:

- intensifier:
  pwâri "very much"

- interrogative:
  varahae "how"

- duration, speed:
  vaarra "long time"; go "late"; naü "fast, quickly"

- repetition:
  mwârra "again"; mwagi "again"

- manner:
  tuadre "silently, in a low voice"; vivirri "carefully"; driinri "soon after, following"

Adverbs which have prefix ve- and a set of adverbs discussed later in this section.

The following sentences illustrate some of the adverbs of the above type:

(213) u nrorri moofadrô ei amwaati mwagi
      1sg give gift DAT chief again
      "I gave a gift to the chief again."

(214) nrâ hâmâ fwa vaarra nrâ nrâ wie
      3sg LPST rain always PST sm rain
      "It has been raining all the time (even today)."
When used with nra "past", vaarra is placed before it, as illustrated in the above sentence; while with other post-head verbal modifiers (e.g. nrooi in the following example), it may be placed either before or after them. vaarra can also be placed after the verbal object.

(215) rri fwi vaarra nrooi mwâ
   3pl do always in vain hut
   "They are always building a hut for no use."
(= rri fwi nrooi mwâ vaarra)

This group of adverbs includes those derived from verbs by prefixing ve-. They are: ve-harru (AD-good) "well", ve-taa (AD-bad) "badly", ve-ći (AD-big) "very much, to a great extent", ve-muurrù (AD-small) "to a small extent, less", ve-horro (AD-strong) "strongly", ve-trô (AD-calm) "calmly", ve-arù (AD-same) "in the same way, similarly". When they occur immediately after the verb, it is difficult to clearly distinguish them as either derived adverbs or serialized verbs. I will discuss this in the section on serialization (7.9.1). The following sentence, where ve-harru is detached from the verb, illustrates their adverbial use:

(216) u merrejo nřiwâ27 nřipwû ve-harru
   1sg sleep last night at night well
   "I slept very well last night."

There is a closed set of adverbs, which mostly (with a few exceptions) consist of reduplicated syllables, and often have [r] in them. Their occurrence is restricted to use with specific lexical items. Each of these adverbs occurs only with one or two stative verbs, and functions as an intensifier. These stative verbs are associated either with colours or with qualities of a physical nature. Their use is illustrated in the following examples:

< with verbs associated with colours>

riri
   pôgôrrô riri (black, very) "very black"
riirii
   ôdro riirii (green/blue, very) "dark green"
riria (M)
   wâ riria (white, very) "completely white"
rara
   maa rara (red, very) "very red"
dhadha
   huue dhadha (white, very) "very white"

27 nřiwâ may be a conflation of the form nři-pwù (L-night) "(at) night" and åwù "yesterday". nřiwâ and nři-pwù are often juxtaposed when the speaker wants to emphasize "whole night".
<with verbs associated with qualities or physical natures>

rarai (G)

taa rarai (bad, very) "very bad"

rùùrùù

purrù rùùrùù (soft, very) "very soft"

rùù

mùrrù rùù (small, very) "very small"
hubò rùù (short, very) "very short"

ii (The last two items show that ii has a lexical meaning "long time").

mwaa ii "very long, very far"
truu ii "stay long time"
hawi ii "talk long time"

aghau

ti aghau "very big"

sisi

bòwò sisi (light, very) "very light"

(B) Adverbs which can also modify nominal phrases

Adverbs which belong to this subclass include:

emphatic:

edho "even, nevertheless, indiscriminately, (with NEG) other than";
hwa "emphatic, even"; fi "altogether, all around"; nròrrò "only, simply"
wànrì "all, entirely, everywhere"; hâvenrìa "all, entirely"

quantity:

adrì "enough"; amùrrù "a little"; abwè "a lot"; atì "very much"

repetition:

parrì "also, too"

These adverbs occur quite freely in a post-verbal position, but they cannot be
preposed to the clause-initial position. Their use as post-nominal modifiers is
illustrated in the section on nominal adjuncts (6.2.7).

(217) nrà vajù wai nrà hwa
3sg sick already PST EMPH
"He has already died."
(hwa can also occur before nrà "past")

(218) ka nròrrì edho hêéra ei ausòò-nrù
2sg PERF give nevertheless food to big brother-2sg
"You have nevertheless given food to your elder brother"

The adverbs expressing quantity are derived from the verbs drì "to suffice", mùrrù
"be small", bvwè "be numerous" and ii "big" by prefixing a, and thus they have the same
forms as the corresponding participial relative clauses (8.3.2). This prefix a, however,
is not productive: it occurs only in those words in the list. The adverbial use of adrì is
illustrated by the following sentence:
98

3.7.2 Sentence adverbials

This class comprises five forms: hwai, hi, rahi, nera and hae. They express the speaker's estimate, doubt or attitude on a proposition as described below. Their occurrence is restricted to only clause-initial position.

hwai) "probably"

The speaker considers what he states is a probable situation:

(220) hwai rri fwi fi sëmirru pù
probably 3pl sum up to about 5000 (Fr) flying fox
"There may be about 5000 flying foxes."
(It is probable that there are about 5000 flying foxes.)

(221) hwai kevi saafi idri ru nři
probably 1plexc together born at 3sg
"Probably, we were all born there."
(It is probable that we were all born there.)

rahi) "perhaps"

The speaker considers that the statement he makes expresses a possible situation. I distinguish this form from ra as a conjunction, meaning "or", followed by hi in a coordinated sentence.

(222) rahi nrři fi wai nrři
perhaps 3sg go already PST
"Perhaps, he already went away."

(223) rahi nrorru see hara warra
perhaps 3dl NEG eat yet
"Perhaps, they two have not eaten yet."

hi) "I wonder..."

The speaker is uncertain or suspicious about the truth of his statement. See further examples in 8.1.2.1.1.

(224) hi va re tro hau
I wonder IMPN ASS true demon
"I wonder if this can be a real demon."

(225) u nrodro hi nrři mwā u see trodro
1sg think I wonder that that 1sg NEG find
nrři saa treanru
PST one person
"I wondered if I might not see a person."
(hi occurs in the initial position of an embedded clause.)
This expresses some surprise on the part of the speaker in seeing a situation and wondering how it came about, or it indicates a suggestion on the part of the speaker: "what about ..ing; why not do...". When this adverbial occurs sentence-medially (but still clause initially), its initial a is dropped.

(226) anera wiri nrâ truu ânrâha
how is it 2pl IMPF stay here
"How is it that you are still here?"

(227) nrâ go hidro nrâ mwâ nera wei fi pwere nrî
3sg then say PST that what about 1sg FUT
go to 3sg
"He then said ‘why aren’t I going there?’.”

hae) "where, how"

hae is normally followed by a NP: in this case the speaker is asking about the location of the NP. It can also be followed by a clause introduced by the complementizer bee, in which case the speaker is interested in the situation described in the clause. When the following NP is a human noun, the speaker is asking about either the location or condition of that person.

(228) hae erre nrâ nrî?
where place POSS 2sg
"Where is your place (house)?"

(229) hae bee truu gâ nrâ nrî?
how CMPZ stay colour POSS 3sg
“What is the colour of it?”

(* hae gâ nrâ nrî is unacceptable, as hae means "where" when used with a non-human NP, which reads "where is the colour?".)

(230) hae bee nyôrro ô?
how CMPZ cook pot
"How do you cook the dish?" (lit. How is the way to cook the pot dish?)

(231) hae audrê-nrî?
how father-2sg
"How is your father?"
(This can also mean "where is your father?")

3.8 Tense-Aspect Markers

There are nine TA markers, which follow the subject pronoun at the beginning of the predicate. The predicate can be nominal, verbal or locative. If there are pre-head verbal modifiers in the predicate, TA markers normally occur before them.

re "assertive", for example, can occur in the following constructions:

<with nominal predicate>

(232) nrâ re pù
3sg ASS flying fox
"It should be a flying fox."
3.9 Verbal Modifiers

Verbal modifiers fall into two subcategories: pre-head verbal modifiers and post-head verbal modifiers.

3.9.1 Pre-head verbal modifiers

Pre-head verbal modifiers occur only between the subject pronoun and the head of the predicate, after TA markers if there are any.

This class comprises a number of modifiers which are assigned to four different types according to their syntactic properties. Their syntactic and semantic features are described in detail in 7.4.

3.9.2 Post-head verbal modifiers

Post-head verbal modifiers always occur after the head of the predicate. They differ from adverbs in that they always occur before the verbal object if there is one.

There are fifteen post-head verbal modifiers. Some of them may be combined with each other, like TA markers. The function and meaning of each of these modifiers, as well as the order among them, is described in 7.5.

3.10 Relators

Relators are the grammatical forms which serve to link NPs, VPs, or clauses, or to introduce subordinate clauses. This class consists of conjunctions, complementizers, $f$ and $nrî$ (link morphemes), nd $a$ (attribute marker).

3.10.1 Conjunctions

All six conjunctions are listed in this section, together with their meanings and functions. Further discussion of these conjunctions with illustrative examples will be given in 8.2.2.
1) mwâ "and, but, or (phrase), (that)"

mwâ can be used either to link two co-ordinated clauses (connective or adversative) or to introduce a subordinated/complement clause.

Although mwâ is normally a clause-level conjunction, it can be used exceptionally to link two prepositional phrases, as in the following example, indicating "or":

(235) u hidrù gi wiri gi nrü mwâ gi ubo
    1sg say about 2pl about 2sg or about Ubo
    "I talk about you(pl), about you(sg) or about Ubo."

2) mê "and, or"

mê is generally used to link two NPs. Although clauses can be combined without conjunctions, use of a conjunction between the co-ordinated elements at the phrase level is obligatory.

mê can mean either "and" or "or" depending on the situational context:

(236) wo-ù mê wage-ù
    fruit-tree and/or flower-tree
    "the fruit and/or the flower"

When more than three items are enumerated, mê can be omitted from between all items except the last two. Sometimes, a sentence may end with a conjunction, as in: A mê B mê C mê. The conjunction in such a case seems to imply "and so on."

mê can also occur between two clauses, when they are expressing the same idea or are related to each other very closely.

3) ra "or"

ra is used to express "or" at both clause and phrase level. In the following example, ra links two nouns:

(237) saa ra aurru
    one or two
    "One or two"

4) nrâ "when, if, where"

nrâ introduces a temporal or conditional clause. If it follows a location noun, it can also introduce a locative clause.

5) pa "in case"

pa introduces an adverbial clause or a noun phrase, meaning "in case, for the fear of".

6) tra "in order that, if"

tra introduces an adverbial clause, meaning "in order that, if". It often follows nrâ bee "for, in order to".
3.10.2 Complementizers

Apart from the conjunction mwä in the previous section, which also functions as a complementizer, there are three complementizers, which are listed below. They are further discussed, with illustrative examples later in 8.3.1.1.

1) drae

drae, which is a noun meaning "thing", can be used to introduce a complement clause. The use of drae as a complementizer seems to be more colloquial than mwä (8.3.1.1.B).

2) bee

bee has two functions: it can occur either as a prefix, or as a complementizer. When it is used as a prefix, the resulting form exhibits the nature of a noun (4.1.5); whereas when bee occurs as a complementizer, it is followed by a verb with its subject (nominal or pronominal) and/or its object, sometimes with one or more verbal modifiers or adverbs, as a whole retaining a verbal nature. See 8.3.1.1.C for examples.

3) òð

òð behaves just like bee when it occurs as a complementizer; it is followed directly by a verb, with its subject and/or its object (8.3.1.1.D).

òð differs from bee in that it normally occurs as a prefix deriving a noun (4.1.6), and its use as a complementizer is not as common as that of bee.

3.10.3 f and nřī, link morphemes

f and nřī occur in linked verb constructions (which will be discussed in 7.9.2). f marks the two actions as simultaneous, and nřī marks the second verb as purposive.

3.10.4 a, attribute marker

Apart from its use as a prefix (4.1.1) a can also function as an attribute marker, which links a participial relative clause to a preceding NP head. The NP head is always the subject of the embedded verb, and the verb can take an object which is normally (but not necessarily) marked by nřä. One or more modifiers can also occur in the embedded clause. (See 8.3.2 for further discussion.)

3.11 Interjections

Interjections are words used to express a special effect of some kind, usually involving a particular emotional attitude of the speaker. They may either constitute a complete utterance, or they may introduce a clause that expands on the information given by the interjection.

They are further discussed in section 8.1.2.3.
3.12 Multifunctional Forms

It was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter that word classes in Tinrin can overlap on functional grounds, and that many words belong to more than one class, in spite of there being some productive derivational processes between word classes.

Shown in the following table are examples of words which belong to two or more word classes, without needing to undergo morphological derivation. Homophones without related meanings are not listed here.

Table 3.11: Multifunctional Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wù</td>
<td>shoot, sprout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wù</td>
<td>to shoot, sprout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meghi</td>
<td>heat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wage</td>
<td>be hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hwörrò</td>
<td>flower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>truunrödrö</td>
<td>thought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoörrö</td>
<td>prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tôrrö</td>
<td>torch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suka</td>
<td>sugar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuhwa</td>
<td>rifle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koo</td>
<td>vomit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha</td>
<td>language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kobù</td>
<td>anger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hüi</td>
<td>ivy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposition</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fi</td>
<td>vicinity, to go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mé</td>
<td>motion away, to come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>winrô</td>
<td>motion towards, to follow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Verbal modifier</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sau</td>
<td>once, all, again, once more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gùwù</td>
<td>body, surface, imperfect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attribute</th>
<th>Verbal modifier</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>saafi</td>
<td>all of, altogether</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hùwù(nrâ)</td>
<td>small, little, a little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tro</td>
<td>real, indigenous, augmentative, simply</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>Valen modifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wake</td>
<td>to work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nraa</td>
<td>to start, begin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pee</td>
<td>to see, look</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jurru</td>
<td>to cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to work</td>
<td>always, continuous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to start, begin</td>
<td>inchoative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to see, look</td>
<td>try, tentative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to cut</td>
<td>completive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are also a few verbs which can be either transitive or intransitive with the same form. Those forms attested include the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive meaning</th>
<th>Intransitive meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fwi</td>
<td>to make, amount to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nruu</td>
<td>to dive and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to dive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to catch (prawns)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following forms occur as prefixes to derive nouns, which also function as free forms. They are prefixes when they are bound to other morphemes, and an accent falls on them as it does on the first syllable in a phonological word (cf. 2.4). There are also classificatory prefixes which have the same forms as the verbs/nouns with related meaning (see Table 5-1), which are not listed here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Relator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bee(-)</td>
<td>NMZ (action/state) complementizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o()-</td>
<td>NMZ (location) complementizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a(-)</td>
<td>NMZ (agent) attribute marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Determiner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>truu(-)</td>
<td>two people of dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m(-)</td>
<td>plural people of plural</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Preposition</th>
<th>Conjunction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nri(-)</td>
<td>time</td>
<td>temporal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I did not differentiate the temporal preposition nri (the last word in the above list) from the causal, instrumental, etc. nor did I separate the temporal conjunction from the others in the description. For a number of forms, it is difficult to say whether they are the same word with different functions or not. This problem, along with that of homonymy (cf. footnote 1 in 1.1) and polysemy should be examined separately, and in greater detail than the scope of this thesis allows.
Chapter 4

NOUN MORPHOLOGY

Nouns described in 3.1.4 can be either morphologically simple or morphologically complex. Morphologically complex nouns can be derived by the processes of prefixation, reduplication or compounding. (No suffixation processes are found in the morphology of Tinrin nouns). Prefixation is the processes used most productively in the derivation of new stems. There is no productive use of reduplication; it is seen in only a few isolated stems.

4.1 Prefixation

There are a number of prefixes, either productive or non-productive, involved in the derivation of Tinrin nouns. Each of these is discussed below.

4.1.1 Prefixes indicating number

There are five prefixes - ke-, a-, au-, truu- and mé- - all indicating number; the first three mark singularity. Except in some words prefixed by a-, the prefixes occur only with human nouns.

truu- marks duality and mé- marks plurality, and both are prefixed only to human nouns.

(A) ke- "a person of some kind"

ke- derives nouns either from other nouns or stative verbs, designating a type of person or nationality, as shown in the later examples.

(B) a- "a person (of a particular profession / particular nature) or a thing (of a particular quality)"

a- is a very productive prefix. It derives nouns from verbs, indicating either a habitual practitioner of a particular action or a person or thing having the nature or quality expressed by the verb stem.

When it follows the head of a NP, the same form can also relate a verb phrase to the preceding nominal head. This use of a ‘attribute marker’ is discussed later in 8.3.2. In this section, only words in which a- is tightly combined with the root to make a phonological word (with the accent on the prefix) are included.

(C) au- "kin"

au- is prefixed to bound forms, indicating a kin relationship.
(D) true- "two people (of some type, of a profession or nature, or of the same kin"

true- can be prefixed to most of the stems to which ke-, a- and au- can be prefixed, as long as they are human nouns.

We should note that there is a determiner true which has exactly the same form as this prefix (3.5).

(E) mé- "plural number of people (of some type, of a profession or nature, or of the same kin"

mé- can also be prefixed to most of the stems which can occur with ke-, a- and au-.

The plural forms can also be marked by -va- or -v-, which often involve some morphophonemic changes (2.7). This will be discussed later in the section on the collective prefix nri-.

mé can also be a determiner (as with true), which is discussed later in 6.2.1.

Words prefixed by ke-, a-, and au- in their singular forms, and their corresponding dual (true-) and plural (mé-) forms are illustrated in the following table. The table also includes those which have either true- or mé- forms but not the singular forms prefixed by any of ke-, a- or au-.

There are words prefixed by ke- which do not have dual forms. The symbol * indicates that no corresponding form is found for that place. Words in parentheses are the corresponding ones, but without the same prefix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;friend, relative&quot;</td>
<td>ke-pwerre-</td>
<td>truu-pwerre-</td>
<td>mé-pwerre-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;maternal uncle, his clan&quot;</td>
<td>ke-warrabù-</td>
<td>truu-warrabù-</td>
<td>mé-warrabù-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Japanese (person)&quot;</td>
<td>ke-sapone</td>
<td>truu-sapone</td>
<td>mé-sapone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;man from Ile des Pins&quot;</td>
<td>ke-kudei</td>
<td>truu-kudei</td>
<td>mé-kudei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;white people&quot; (white)</td>
<td>ke-pwògarra</td>
<td>truu-pwògarra</td>
<td>mé-pwògarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Kanak man&quot;</td>
<td>ke-tro-treanrii</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>mé-tro-treanrii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;subject&quot; (be small)</td>
<td>ke-amùrrù</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>mé-amùrrù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;person from a mountain&quot; (mountain area)</td>
<td>ke-kagho</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>mé-kagho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;people on the coast&quot; (sea)</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>mé-trùjù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>A1 Noun</td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>Plural 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guest, tourist (to walk)</td>
<td>a-fadrọ</td>
<td>truu-fadrọ</td>
<td>mẹ-fadrọ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thief (to steal)</td>
<td>a-mědrọ</td>
<td>truu-mědrọ</td>
<td>mẹ-mědrọ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soldier (to fight)</td>
<td>a-via</td>
<td>truu-via</td>
<td>mẹ-via</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singer (to sing)</td>
<td>a-họ</td>
<td>truu-họ</td>
<td>mẹ-họ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>youth (be young)</td>
<td>a-droa</td>
<td>truu-droa</td>
<td>mẹ-droa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old person (be old)</td>
<td>a-běěrrí</td>
<td>truu-běěrrí</td>
<td>mẹ-běěrrí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friend, relative (?)</td>
<td>a-pwerre- (hùùmùrrù)</td>
<td>trùùmùrrù</td>
<td>maa-mùrrù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baby, child</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>(moo)</td>
<td>truuo</td>
<td>(voo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td>(mvie)</td>
<td>tře</td>
<td>(vé)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sun (to shine)</td>
<td>a-sù</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>result, effect (follow)</td>
<td>a-hwai</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ravine (be precipitous)</td>
<td>a-taja</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plain (full of grass)</td>
<td>a-o-mű</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>au-né-</td>
<td>truu-né-</td>
<td>mě-né-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dl: parents/ two mothers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl: fathers &amp; mothers/ mothers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elder sibling</td>
<td>au-sòò-</td>
<td>truu-sòò-</td>
<td>mě-sòò-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>younger sibling</td>
<td>au-tri-</td>
<td>truu-tri-</td>
<td>mě-tri-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sibling of different sex</td>
<td>au-hěěrré-</td>
<td>truu-ahěěrré-</td>
<td>mě-hěěrré-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dl: a brother &amp; a sister</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl: male ego's sisters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sibling of same sex</td>
<td>truare-</td>
<td>truu-truare-</td>
<td>mě-vovare-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cross cousin</td>
<td>au-vae-</td>
<td>truu-avae-</td>
<td>mě-vae-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>au-dré-</td>
<td>truu-dré-</td>
<td>mě-dré-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dl: two fathers, pl: fathers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dl: father &amp; son/daughter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl: fathers &amp; sons/daughters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sibling between the eldest &amp; youngest</td>
<td>(anrigwùti-)</td>
<td>truu-anrigwùti-</td>
<td>mě-nrigwùti-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>son/daughter</td>
<td>(hùwù-)</td>
<td>truuwù-</td>
<td>maa-wu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nephew/niece</td>
<td>(fahor哕ere-)</td>
<td>truu-fahor哕ere-</td>
<td>mě-fahor哕ere-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cross cousin</td>
<td>(edhi-)</td>
<td>truu-edhi-</td>
<td>(nřvvaedhi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father/mother in law &amp; son</td>
<td>(sòe-)</td>
<td>truu-asòe-</td>
<td>(nřvasòe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandchild</td>
<td>(herre-)</td>
<td>truu-aherre-</td>
<td>(nřvaherre)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dl: &quot;grandfather &amp; grandson&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uncle &amp; nephew/aunt &amp; niece</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother &amp; daughter or son</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>husband and wife</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.2 Prefix ḏ-

- ḏ- is prefixed to bound form roots to derive location nouns in the following list. The meaning of the stem is applied to the meaning of the word. -rù, -roa, -ro also function as directional suffixes (5.2.4).

- ḏ-rù "place a bit higher"
- ḏ-roa "up there, mountain side"
- ḏ-va "there, the other side of stream"
- ḏ-jo "downstream, down the valley"
- ḏ-ji "down there"
- ḏ-rijù "down there, in the back"
- ḏ-ọ "place on the same level, by side"
- ḏ-e "which way, where"
- ḏ-nř "there"
4.1.3 Prefix *nri*-  

*nri* is a productive prefix, functioning in the following four different ways.

(A) It derives location nouns (cf. 3.1.4.2.1 B) from non-location words, either nouns or verbs. They include:

- *nri-mii* (L-grass) "bush-land"
- *nri-ù* (L-tree) "forest"
- *nri-tarragho* (L-mud, muddy holes) "muddy place"
- *nri-troo* (L-soil) "on the earth"
- *nri-hau* (L-demon, spirit) "the gathering place of the spirits of the dead"
- *nri-huu* (L-cloud) "sky"
- *nri-përrê* (L-fence) "paddock"
- *nri-ja* (L-to clear the land) "clearing"
- *nri-dri* (L-be damp) "swamp"
- *nri-tò* (L-be closed, impassable) "thicket, impassable place"
- *nri-hòrrö* (L-be sacred) "sacred place" (see also (D))
- *nri-ò* (L-be depressed, sunken) "a valley, depression"

(B) It derives following time nouns (cf. 3.1.4.2.2.C) from non-time words, either nouns or verbs.

- *nri-sëèdre* (T-twilight) "in the evening"
- *nri-wadrâ* (T-the beginning of the day) "in the morning"
- *nri-fodrà* (T-daylight) "at dawn"
- *nri-meghi* (T-heat, be hot) "in summer"
- *nri-wihöve* (T-?cold) "in winter"
- *nri-tròö* (T-back) "after"
- *nri-harre* (T-appropriate time for something) "in season"

(C) *nri* derives collective nouns from common nouns, possessive classifiers, verbs or bound forms.

- *nri-wasaa* (COL-plate) "a plateful of something"
- *nri-treanrii* (COL-people) "people of the same year or the same category"
- *nri-amwaati* (COL-chief) "royal family"
- *nri-tra* (COL-ash) "ashes"
- *nri-tari* (COL-skewer) "fish or eels on skewers"

Born nouns are bound form nouns which are obligatorily followed by either a pronominal or noun possessor (3.1.3).

- *nri-hwee-nri* (COL-meat to eat-3sg) "his meat"
- *nri-e-nrii* (COL-food [starches] to eat-2sg) "your food [starches]"
- *nri-hwiie-moo* (COL-chews [sugarcane, tobacco]-man) "the man's tobaccos (or sugarcanes)"
- *nri-ëë-rô* (COL-crop-1sg) "my crops"
- *nri-hee-jaa* (COL-belongings-who) "whose belongings?"
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(from verbs)

nri-ti (COL-to grow, be big) "same age group"
nri-samâ (COL-to stack, put on) "pile, heap of something"

(from bound forms)

While prefix mē- derives nouns which refer to plural members of a particular kin relationship, words derived by prefix nri- refer to a collection of people who are in that kin relationship, occurring with -v- which marks plurality. The forms of this type often involve morphophonemic rules which are discussed in 2.7.

nri-vavae/nri-vaedhi (COL-cross cousin) "cross cousins"
nri-voovadrêmwa (COL-father) "fathers & children"
nri-vahêrrê (COL-sibling of different sex) "brothers & sisters"
nri-vamarra (COL-uncle and nephew or aunt and niece) "uncles/aunts & nephews/nieces"
nri-vivare (COL-mother and son or daughter) "mothers & children"
nri-voovare (COL-brother or sister of the same sex) "brothers or sisters"
nri-vasôe (COL-father or mother and son in law) "fathers or mothers & sons in law"
nri-vaherre (COL-grandchild, grandfather and grandson) "grandfathers and grandchildren"

(D) It derives generic/abstract nouns from common nouns, verbs or bound forms.

(from common nouns)

nri-agho (GEN-shoulder harness, strap) "burden on the back"
nri-ôdro (ABS-green, blue) "greenery"

(from verbs)

nri-hôrrô (ABS-be sacred) "prayer"

(from bound forms)

nri-fô (GEN-opening) "mouth"
nri-mee (GEN-edge, top) "face"

4.1.4 Prefix fô-

Nouns denoting "impression or mark" made by someone (or by some body part or some activity) are inalienably possessed in some languages (cf. Crowley 1988). In Tinrin, they are indicated by prefix fô- which productively derives nouns from either noun or verb, or another bound morpheme. As fô- is a prefix (and not a bound noun), it is never suffixed by a pronominal possessor.

It has an extensive meaning: (a) "impression, mark, scar", (b) "trace, evidence" and (c) "mouth, opening":

(A) fô- "impression, mark, scar"

It indicates the "impression, mark, scar" made by the object or action expressed by the root of the word. Nouns are derived very productively from either nouns or verbs.
fō-sarra (mark-knife) "a knife cut"
fō-arrebō (wound-stone) "a stone hit"
fō-ti (mark-oven) "earth oven site"
fō-seghe (scar-to stab) "a scar"
fō-eghe (mark-to bite) "teeth marks"
fō-deghe (wound-to hit, kick) "a bruise"
fō-terre (mark-to tie) "knot"

(B) fō- "trace, evidence, manner"

Nouns are derived from either a noun or a verb, indicating the "trace, evidence" or "manner" resulting from or relating to the object or action expressed by the root.

fō-fwötra (trace-year) "age"
fō-wanre (trace-wind) "route of the wind"
fō-mōōwi (trace-to breathe) "breath"
fō-via (manner-to fight) "war"
fō-nrödrö (manner-to think) "reason"
fō-hùrrù (trace-to give a birth) "generation"
fō-nrimoo (trace-to tell a story) "history, story"
fō-virre (manner-to putter around) "manner, behaviour"

(C) fō- "mouth, opening"

fō- has another meaning "mouth, opening", which is used less productively and also prefixed to bound morphemes.

fō-wējö (opening-nose) "nostril"
fō-arröö (opening-water) "bay, spring, mouth of a river"
fō-dråa (opening-day) "dawn, daybreak"
fō-përrë (opening-fence, barrier) "gate"
fō-drërrë (opening-?) "ear" (Some people pronounce this as foo-drërrë)
fō-bwija (opening-?) "navel"
fō-jurrù (opening-?) "window"

This fō- is obviously related to the -fō in the following words:

nri-fō (GEN-opening) "mouth"
ti-fō (?-opening) "lip"
wâ-fō (hair-opening) "beard"

foo- in the following word may be a variant of fō.

foo-mwâ (opening-house) "house door"
foo-mëa (opening?-visible, opening?) "window"

We should note that there is a common noun fō, which has an identical form to the prefix under consideration. It indicates "species, a particular kind", juxtaposed to another noun (see 6.2.4), as in

(238) wa fō treanrü rra
DET kind people DIST
"that kind of man"

This fō can occur with a derived noun, as illustrated by the following example, which distinguishes it from the prefix fō-, as the latter never attaches to a derived noun.

(239) wa fō bee-fwi mwâ
DET kind NMZ-do M.DIST
"such a way of doing"
It can also occur by itself as in the following example, as it is a free form:

(240) wa fô mwâ
DET kind M.DIST
"that kind"

They also have slightly different accentuation: that is, when fô- is a prefix, the primary accent in the word normally falls on the fô, and not on the first syllable of the root; whereas when fô is a noun, the accent falls on both fô and the initial syllable of the second element.

4.1.5 Prefix bee-

bee- functions to nominalize a verb. It can basically indicate one of two semantic relationships between the verbal form and the derived nominal form. The derived nominal form may indicate the actual action or state expressed by the verbal form. Or, it may indicate the way or manner of the action/state. However, these two meanings very often overlap, so that the same expression can mean the action or the state itself, or the way or manner of the action/state, depending on the context in which it is used.

We should note that bee can also function as a complementizer (3.10.2). The prefix bee- can be distinguished from the complementizer in that words prefixed with bee-behave exactly like any other abstract noun, whose primary accent is on the first syllable (that is, on bee- itself); when bee is a complementizer, the accent falls on the verbal stem, not on bee. Furthermore, words prefixed with bee- can follow a determiner or a prenominal adjunct, and precede some postnominal modifiers as illustrated in the following examples, while complementizer bee cannot occur in such a place (8.3.1.1).

(241) wa bee-mwage mwâ
DET NMZ-play M.DIST
"this sport"

(242) saa bee-hadho a harru
one NMZ-play string game AT good
"an interesting string game"

(243) bee-fwi varamwâ
NMZ-do like that
"such a way of living, such a life"

Words prefixed with bee- include also:

bee-hwai (NMZ-to follow) "a (kin) relation"
bee-drii (NMZ-to persist, disobey) "disobedience"
bee-sefa (NMZ-to disobey) "disobedience"
bee-sii (NMZ-to run) "running around" (a special way of hunting flying foxes)

4.1.6 Prefix dô-

This indicates the place where the action expressed by the root is performed. The meaning acquired may deviate slightly from "the place" in some words, as in dô-tuu "writing" in the following list. This prefix may be a contracted form of a bound noun dâwô "living place, trace."
can also function as a complementizer, like bee, although less frequently so. This is discussed later in 8.3.1.1.

**PREFIX gu-**

This prefix productively derives nouns from verbs indicating the sound which is produced by the action expressed in the stem. gu- can also be prefixed to a noun, as illustrated in the last example.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gu-ha</td>
<td>(sound-to speak) &quot;voice&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gu-pó</td>
<td>(sound-to move) &quot;sound of moving&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gu-píí</td>
<td>(sound-to rustle) &quot;rustling sound&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gu-rrí</td>
<td>(sound-to make a noise, rumble or roar as thunder or a car) &quot;noise&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gu-hawi</td>
<td>(sound-to talk) &quot;sound of voice talking&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gu-ugá</td>
<td>(sound-to shout) &quot;shout (voice)&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gu-wanre</td>
<td>(sound-wind) &quot;sound of wind&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PREFIX fa-**

This derives abstract nouns from either stative verbs or quantifiers (numerals). The derived noun indicates the physical property (measurable or countable), or forms an ordinal number when fa- is prefixed to numbers (cf. footnote 14 in 3.1.2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fa-mwaa</td>
<td>(physical property-be long) &quot;length&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa-mijú</td>
<td>(physical property-be heavy) &quot;weight&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa-drarraa</td>
<td>(physical property-be big, massive) &quot;volume, bulk&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa-ti</td>
<td>(physical property-be big, tall) &quot;size, height&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa-bwë</td>
<td>(physical property-many) &quot;number, many&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa-asirri</td>
<td>(ordinal-three) &quot;third&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa-aurru</td>
<td>(ordinal-two) &quot;the second&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**REDUPLICATION**

There is no productive reduplication process in Tinrin noun morphology. In the following examples are noted only some isolated forms.

The reduplication of the initial syllable, or vowel is sometimes heard in location/time nouns. It augments the meaning by lengthening the vowel in the initial syllable:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reduplication</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>āava &quot;further away&quot;</td>
<td>āva &quot;the other side, over there&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āaroa &quot;further up&quot;</td>
<td>āroa &quot;up there&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āáro &quot;further there&quot;</td>
<td>āro &quot;there&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwāaroa &quot;further up there&quot;</td>
<td>mwāroa &quot;up there&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nrōōnrī &quot;very long time (ago)&quot;</td>
<td>nrōōnrī &quot;long time&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The second syllable is repeated in the following words, again augmenting the meaning.

pögogórrö "jet black" < pógörrö "black"
dirri "small cicada" < dirri "small cicada"

"Jet black" can also be expressed by pógörrö riri. riri is one of a group of intensifier adverbs which have a duplicated syllable. These forms are discussed in 3.7.1.2.

There is only a single instance attested of the entire word being reduplicated. The meaning of the non-reduplicated form is augmented and given some social importance in the reduplicated form of the following:

mwâmwä "grand hut, meeting place" < mwâ "hut"

The following words have a different element between two duplicated forms:

wî tro wî (banana, real, banana) "native banana"
u hi u (yam, to grate, yam) "yam cake"
u tro u (yam, real, yam) "special yam for chief"

4.3 Compounding

Compounding is another morphological process for deriving nouns in Tinrin. Compounds are a type of word structure made up of two or more constituents, each belonging to a category of nominals or verbs (cf. Selkirk 1982). The compound itself is either a noun or a verb. These constituents cannot be separated by any modifier, nor can either of them take individual adjuncts.

A compound noun normally consists of a nominal on the left and a nominal or verb on the right. Only a few compound nouns have a verb as their initial element.

\[
N \rightarrow \begin{cases} \{N\} \{N\} \\ \{V\} \{V\} \end{cases}
\]

The nominal on both left and right can be either free form or bound form. When the nominal on the right is the bound form, the compound itself is also a bound form.

When the left element is a bound form or when the last syllable of the left element is dropped when compounded, the parts of the compound are bound to each other as a single phonological unit. In this case, the primary accent normally falls on the first syllable of the compound (e.g. mée-marri "plateau of coral")

When the first element is a free form noun or a verb, the initial syllables of each constituents normally bear primary accent (e.g. wî āsū "a kind of banana with red fruit").

There are a variety of syntactic relationships possible between the constituents. However, there seems to be always the head-modifier relation in them. The compound is left headed, with the right component defining the nature, quality or contents of the referent on the left.
The meaning of a compound sometimes does not reflect the sum of the meanings of its parts (e.g. verre wäwarra (special stone, mouse) "groin").

4.3.1 Nominal compounds

The vast majority of compound nouns have a construction with the first element as a nominal.

(A) Compounds formed with a free common noun as the first element

<free common noun + free common noun>
wasaa huarri (reed, a kind of bird) "a swamp reed"
fö mwâmwâ (genre, great hut, meeting place) "a clan"
verre wâwarra (special stone, mouse) "groin"
wì asù (banana, sun) "a kind of banana with red fruit"

The derived nouns with the prefix nři- can also be the first element of compound nouns, with the second element being the semantic subject/object of the verbal stem of the first element.
nři-pwód asù (settling place, sun) "sunny place"
nři-bwerri asù (marking place, sun) "time of the day"
nři-bwerri pue nrôrrô (marking place, site, five) "special five days of a person who prays for rain" (he has to hide himself for five days)"

< free common noun + bound noun>
ô asirri hi-nři (pot, three, leg-3sg) "three legged pot"

< free common noun + verb>
fö fadro (genre, walk) "companion"
moo fadro (a kind of native money, walk) "present, offering"

(B) Compounds formed with bound noun as the initial element

In the following words, the two (or three) parts of the compound are linked closely to form a single phonological unit, with the first element being a bound form noun, (and the second, if there are three parts).

<bound form noun + free common noun>
pwô-nraa (package-straw) "straw ridging of the house"
d-mwâ (head-house) "conch of the summit of house"
fwîi-trôrrôdri (excrement-bee) "honey"
nô-saa (bone-one) "mountain range"
noo-hau (spine-demon) "a kind of ivy"
wave-kò (joint-message) "word"
me-hi-mwie (finger-woman) "thumb"
bè-tà (arm-taro) "mourning" (people put this on when they are in mourning.)
bè-trùjü (arm-sea) "seaside"

In the following compounds, the last syllable of the first element is either dropped or loses its length, when compounded.
puu-mou (puue fishing net-small mesh) "net with small mesh"
ô-hûûdrû (ôgi bark-niaouli) "bark of niaouli (indigenous eucalyptus)"
me-hi (mee edge-leg) "finger"
<bound form noun (+ bound form noun) + bound form noun>
(they form a bound form compound)

pwò-pwe-ôrrà- (package-testicle-penis) "penis sheath"
virri-ô- (shell-head) "skull"
virri-hi- (shell-leg) "nail"
nrifò-pe- (mouth-buttocks) "anus"
ûû-mâà- (base-thigh) "the upper part of thigh"
nô-bè- (bone-arm) "bone of wing or arm"
wà-mee-fwèi- (hair-edge-excrement) "tail"
wàâ-tra- (root-blood) "vein"
ûû-bè- (base-arm) "shoulder"
wave-hi- (joint-leg) "ankle"
ërrë-kò- / hërrë-kò- (content-message) "content of message"

<bound form noun + quantifier>
mee-saa (edge- one) "spear with one point at the end"

<bound form noun + verb>
(last two words are link nouns)
mee-marri (edge-be dry) "plateau of coral"
mee-dri (edge-be damp) "spring"
mee-trï (edge-to thrust in) "spear with many points at the end"
hërrë-kari(content-to hunt) "meat"
pùù-maa (buttock-be red) "poisonous spider"
hirre-fadrô (teammate-to walk) "companion"
ërrë-îgà (content-to dream) "dream"
ërrë-havari (content-to say right) "good reason"
trôô-hara (back-to eat) "afternoon, after eating"
nô-mâ-(liquid-to urinate) "urine"
nô-tî-(liquid-to suck) "milk"

(C) Compounds formed with location noun as the initial element

<location noun + free form noun>
drô-mwà (surface-house) "roof"
nrifnàwà-hôrrò (between-sacred) "week"

<location noun + bound form noun> (they form a bound form compound)
padrêrrë-wèjô- (side-nose) "wings of the nose"
nríwù-wèjô- (inside-nose) "nostrils"
nríwù-hi- (inside-leg) "sole of the foot"
nrifnàwà-hi- (between-foot) "step"

(D) Compounds formed with possessive classifiers as the initial or second element
ere-fòku (food-trap) "bait"
erê-di (food-to fish) "bait"
wî êê-hau (banana, plant-demon) "kind of banana with red sap"
4.3.2 Verbal compounds

Compound formation with a verb as the initial element is not used productively. The only such forms attested are:

<verb + (bound form noun) + free form noun>
- mwa (to fly, house) "beams, timbers used for the house"
- sera (to discard, arm-taro) "dance of dead people"
- seghe (to injure, colour) "tattoo"
- nrü (to release, iron) "telephone"

<verb + verb>
- ha savaa (to speak, to defend) "law"
- fi juo (to dance, to sit) "sitting dance"
- gô (to crawl, to climb) "a grub"
Chapter 5

Verb Morphology

Verbs in Tinrin (which are discussed as a word class in 3.2) can be either morphologically simple or morphologically complex. The latter can be derived by the processes of prefixation, suffixation, reduplication or compounding. Prefixation and suffixation are used very productively in the derivation of new stems, but reduplication is restricted to some isolated stems.

5.1 Prefixation

There are a number of prefixes (either productive or non-productive) involved in the derivation of Tinrin verbs. These prefixes can be classified into three groups:

1) causative prefix *fa-
2) condition/stative prefix *o-
3) classificatory prefixes, either indicating the mode/cause of action or event or indicating the manner of action or motion

The first two prefixes may be called modal prefixes, as they are used to express cause and condition/state. They are distinguished from the third group, classificatory prefixes, not only on semantic grounds, but also in that they derive particular types of verbs from other verbs or nouns. Classificatory prefixes are mostly prefixed to bound form verb stems, as exemplified in section 5.1.3.1 below. Also, modal prefixes can be affixed to a verb which has a classificatory prefix, but classificatory prefixes cannot be affixed to a verb which is prefixed with *fa- or *o-. For example, *o-e-ghe <condition-by teeth-injured> "be rough", *fa-e-ghe <CAUS-by teeth-injured> "to get someone bitten"; but *e-*fa-*me <by teeth-CAUS-die> "to kill by biting". *ta-*fa-*si <hitting-CAUS-go> "to chase" is an exceptional case in which the order of a classificatory prefix and causative prefix is inverted. Causative prefix *fa- can also be prefixed to derived verbs with the prefix *o-: *fa-*o-tarragho <CAUS-condition-mud> "to soil".

5.1.1 Causative prefix *fa-28

This is a very productive prefix, which can be prefixed to almost any verb, either intransitive or transitive.

Verbs prefixed with this *fa- tend to have explicit objects, though not necessarily.

(A) *fa- prefixed to intransitive verbs

When *fa- is prefixed to intransitive verbs, it transitivizes them. The derived form will generally have the sense referred to as the "corresponding transitive" (Masica

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28 Historically this derives from the proto-Austronesian causative prefix *pa- (Wurm and Wilson 1975).
1976:46) such as English rise > raise, fall > drop (tr). However, fa- always preserves the possibility of indirect causation, which will be referred to later.

In this construction, the subject of the intransitive verb becomes the object of the derived verb, and the causer NP is added as an agent.

\[ S > O \]

\( dōwō-rō \) "my clothes" in the following examples is the subject of the intransitive verb in (244), but becomes the object in (245):

(244) \( nrā \) marri \( nrā \) dōwō-rō

3sg dry sm clothes-1sg

"My clothes are dry."

(245) \( nrā \) fa-marri dōwō-rō \( nrā \) nanu

3sg CAUS-dry clothes-1sg sm Nanu

"Nanu dries my clothes."

The newly introduced agent in this construction does not necessarily undertake an action which directly leads to the situation expressed: he may merely give an order to someone to do so, or he may do something that indirectly causes the situation, without his volition being involved. The following sentence, therefore, can be interpreted as either direct or indirect causation.

(246) \( wiri \) fa-me toni

2pl CAUS-dead Tony

"You killed Tony./You got Tony killed./You caused Tony to die."

Since the causer does not always need to have volition, the agent can be inanimate as illustrated in the following sentence:

(247) \( nrā \) fa-marri dodrae \( nrā \) wanre

3sg CAUS-dry rag sm wind

"The wind dried the rags."

Something (either human, animate or inanimate) which is used as an instrument can be expressed with the aid of the preposition \( nri \).

(248) \( nrā \) fa-si busi \( nrī \) traiki

3sg CAUS-go cat INST dog

"He chased the cat away using the dog."

Other examples:

fa-fi (CAUS-go) "to chase, cause someone to go"
fa-ti (CAUS-be big) "to enlarge, respect, raise, breast feed"
fa-harru (CAUS-be good) "to respect, make good"
fa-drraraa (CAUS-be large) "to enlarge, extend"
fa-de (CAUS-hang down) "to hang"
fa-o-tarragho (CAUS-condition-mud) "to soil, stain"
fa-taa (CAUS-be bad) "to damage, do a harm to"
fa-truurro (CAUS-stand) "to stop, call a halt"
fa-barra (CAUS-be afraid) "to frighten"
fa-bo (CAUS-boil) "to boil, cook"
fa- sometimes makes active a base with meanings that in English are essentially passive.

fa-pwûrû (CAUS-be lost) "to lose"
fa-pöpöndo (CAUS-be surprised) "to surprise"

(B) fa- prefixed to transitive verbs

When fa- is prefixed to a transitive verb, the object of the derived verb in this construction can be either 1) the subject (agent) or 2) the object of the original transitive verb.

1) A > O

The agent of the following sentence (249) appears as object of the causative verb in (250).

(249) ke hara nraasi
2sg eat rice
"You eat rice."

(250) saburina nra no-hara nrii
Sabrina 3sg CAUS-eat 2sg
"Sabrina fed you."

Since the original A becomes O, the referent of the new O is always human or animate. (The original O is demoted to optional prepositional phrase, as we shall see later.)

The set of transitive verbs which occur in this type of causative construction is very restricted. It includes ingestive verbs such as hara "to eat (fruit)", ho "to eat (meat), e "to eat (staple)", odho "to drink" and some perceptive verbs such as fwirri "to listen", trûtrûù "to see, watch" and barri "to fear". These verbs may be regarded as "half intransitive": the speaker's focus is more on the subject and his activity and not so much on the object.

While trûtrûù "to see, watch" belongs to this type, pee "to look, see" and jorri "to see", which are both perceptive verbs and share similar meaning, do not. When pee and jorri are prefixed by fa-, their original objects remain objects, e.g. fa-jorri peci ei ubo (CAUS-see paper to Ubo) "to show paper to Ubo"; fa-pee mwîë ei nri (CAUS-see woman to 3sg) "to show (introduce) a woman to him".

trûtrûù is distinguished from these two verbs, since the speaker's concern is more on the activity and not the object. It can also be explained by the fact that imperative form trûtrûù "watch!" is totally acceptable, whereas jorri cannot be used in imperative mood.

Verbs of this type usually involve direct causation as with intransitive verbs, though it could be indirect causation depending on the context (e.g. fa-fwirri means normally "to talk to" but it can mean "to make someone listen").

29 Masica (1976:45) suggests that ingestive verbs be regarded as occupying a halfway station between intransitive and transitive, since the object in question can frequently be dispensed with in favour of concentration on the activity as such: one can speak of eating, (hearing) (just as walking) as an activity.
Accordingly, the object of the original transitive verb is often suppressed; if the
speaker wants to express the original verb’s object explicitly, then it can occur in an
oblique case. *nraasi* "rice" in sentence (249) above would appear as follows:

(251) sabūrina nrā fa-hara nrū nrī nraasi
Sabrina 3sg CAUS-eat 2sg O rice
"Sabrina fed you rice."

Another verb which occurs in this construction, *barri* "to fear" has the corresponding
intransitive form, *barra* "be afraid". (This is the only pair of examples with
transitive/intransitive marking on the final vowel.) When the causative *fa-* is prefixed
to *barra*, the original subject naturally becomes the object of the causative verb.
Therefore, these two verbs derive sentences with similar meanings. Intransitive (252a)
and transitive (253a) sentences derive causative constructions (252b) and (253b)
respectively:

(252a) ke barra
2sg afraid
"You are afraid."

(252b) nrā fa-barra nrū
3sg CAUS-afraid 2sg
"He frightened/made you afraid."

(253a) ke barri sibù
2sg fear rat
"You fear the rat."

(253b) nrā fa-barri nrū
3sg CAUS-afraid of 2sg
"He made you afraid (of something)."

As discussed earlier (examples 248 and 251), we can add the instrumental to
construction (252b), and the (original) object to construction (253b), both marked by
*nrī*. Again, similar sentences result, such as the following. The meaning of these
sentences may perhaps differ in a subtle way (as glossed here), although they seem to
be used indifferently.

(254) nrā fa-barra nrū nrī sibù
3sg CAUS-afraid 2sg INST rat
"He frightened you with the rat."

(255) nrā fa-barri nrū nrī sibù
3sg CAUS-fear 2sg O rat
"He made you afraid of the rat."

2) **O > O**

The majority of transitive verbs belong to this type, that is, where the original O
stays as O in the derived causative constructions. The original A is deleted or occurs in
the oblique case.\(^{30}\)

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\(^{30}\) In Fijian the first type of causative constructions occurs with most Agent verbs (A-type verbs) and the
second type with Patient verbs (O-type verbs) and some Agent verbs (Arms 1974:83).
This construction involves indirect causation: i.e. the action is performed through an intermediary agent. The following examples, (256a) as the original, and (256b) causative, illustrate this:

(256a) nrâ soghe toni nrâ mwîê
3sg stab Tony sm woman
"A woman stabbed Tony."

(256b) nrâ fa-soghe toni nrâ saarri
3sg CAUS-stab Tony sm Charlie
"Charlie got Tony stabbed. (Charlie made someone stab Tony.)"

The agent of the original sentence can be expressed in the oblique case, marked by nrf, if the speaker wants to make the agent explicit.

(256c) nrâ fa-soghe toni nrâ saarri nri treanru
3sg CAUS-stab Tony sm Charlie by person
"Charlie got someone to stab Tony."

In the following three constructions, (257) contains an intransitive verb prefixed by fa- and an instrumental NP, (258) contains a first-type transitive verb prefixed by fa- and its object, and (259) contains a second-type transitive verb prefixed by fa- and its original agent, although all appear similar on the surface because the element which is optional in its new role is always marked by nrf.

(257) nrâ fa-marri dri-nawa nri asù
3sg CAUS-dry leaf-coconut INST sun
"He dried the coconut leaves under the sun. (using the sun)"

(258) nrâ fa-ho ru nri bwö
3sg CAUS-eat(meat) ldlinc O crab
"He made us eat the crab."

(259) nrâ fa-fwi mwâ nri toni
3sg CAUS-make house A Tony
"He got the house built by Tony."

In the case of a di-transitive verb, the indirect object is marked by the dative ei in the same way as in a sentence with a non-derived verb:

(260a) nrâ nrorri nraasi ei gogo
3sg give rice to Gogo
"He gave rice to Gogo."

(260b) nrâ fa-nrorri nraasi ei gogo
3sg CAUS-give rice to Gogo
"He got someone to give rice to Gogo."

It is possible to add the agent (marked by nrf) to the above sentence, either after nraasi or gogo. It does not, however, seem to be common; maybe because this pattern of sentence is oriented to the object so that the person who actually does the action is not so important.

Other examples:

fa-wiria (CAUS-cut) "to have something cut"
fa-nyôrrô (CAUS-cook) "to have something cooked"
fa-ta (CAUS-kill/hit) "to get someone killed or hit"
fa-hôdrô (CAUS-burn) "to get something burnt"
5.1.2 Condition/stative prefix o-31

o- is a very productive prefix. It is normally prefixed to nouns (occasionally to verbs, too), and derives stative verbs, indicating "be full of, be in excessive state of something, be in certain condition".

<prefixed to nouns>
o-mi (full-grass) "be overrun with grass"
o-roo (full-earth) "be dirty with mud"
o-arrō (condition-water) "be watery"
o-tarragho (condition-mud holes) "be muddy"
o-pwèved-nri (condition-piece-3sg) "be in pieces"
o-tra (condition-blood) "be bloody"

<prefixed to verbs>
o-nruà (condition-be dirty) "be very dirty, be full of dirt"
o-eghe (condition-to bite) "be rough"

5.1.3 Classificatory prefixes

There are a number of prefixes attested which indicate some modes/causes of the action or event expressed by the verb stem, or indicate some manner of action or motion. These prefixes may be considered as classificatory prefixes, which among Austronesian languages have been regarded by linguists as areal features of the Papuan Tip languages (Ezard 1978:1170; Bradshaw 1982:60).

Tinrin classificatory prefixes can be grouped into two sets: those indicating the mode or cause of some action or event, and those indicating manner of the action or motion.

The majority of verbs with a classificatory prefix are transitive, but not all. Some prefixes occur in both intransitive and transitive verbs e.g. fō-tōghūra "to walk lame" (intr.) and fō-piri "to stamp with foot" (tr.). Prefix mi- "spontaneity" always occurs in intransitive verbs. Sometimes prefixes transitivize intransitive verb stems. This will be explained later.

Tinrin Classificatory prefixes share a common feature in that they are mostly prefixed to bound form verb stems32 which often indicate resultative states brought about by the cause or through the manner expressed by a prefix. These forms are discussed in the following section.

The possible combinations of prefixes and bound form verb stems are illustrated in the table at the end of the section.

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31 This prefix is analogous to the condition prefix described by Codrington (1885:183).
32 This differs from the classificatory prefix constructions in Papuan Tip languages. In those languages, the classificatory prefixes occur with free form verbs (Bradshaw 1982).
5.1.3.1 Bound form verb stems that occur with classificatory prefixes

Tinrin classificatory prefixes are generally prefixed to bound form verb stems, with a few exceptions described in the next section. Most of them indicate the resultative state of the object involved in an action or event, and the remainder that of the subject. They are listed below.

a) result on object, except when prefixed by mi- "spontaneity"

<with non-human/inanimate objects>
- rù "broken/cut in two"
- ghai "crushed, mixed"
- ria "broken/split in two along the length"
- mēa "be open"
- gidhi "crumpled"
- mārra "cracked"
- sārrī "unfastened"
- bōrō "dented, folded, put together"
- so "bent"
- nō "set upside down"
- ghorro "crushed in pieces"
- bwerri "closed in"
- dōwō "pierced"

<with both human/animate and inanimate objects>
- ghe "injured, broken"
- be "be dead, extinguished"
   (these two are used reflexively if prefixed by dre- "falling")
- rau "dug up"
- via "put against"
- piri "tight"
- trerre "buried"
- wūrru "pressed, held"

b) result on subject; subject is human (rarely animal)

The following five bound verbs (including reflexive verbs) indicate the state of a subject, not the object:

- sōrrō "hurt oneself against (something)"
- (v)eso "do in vain (reflexive)"
- dhai "under a mistake"
- mēa "be open" (this can be also result on object)
- ghe "injured" and -be "dead" when they are prefixed by dre- "falling"

Also, any verb stems prefixed by mi- indicate the state of a subject (e.g. mi-so "become bent").

Semantics of the verbs listed above parallel those of the resultatives in Morobe (PNG) languages (Bradshaw 1982:39-40). Bradshaw claims that in those languages a set of resultative particles has evolved due to attrition of the verbal prefixes on the second verb in the series (Ibid:37).
5.1.3.2 Prefixes indicating the mode/cause of action or event

In this section, the meaning of each of the prefixes indicating the mode/cause of action or event is shown by examples. (The lists are not exhaustive.) They are grouped in two: those involving body parts and those involving instruments. Some free verbs which may combine with specific classificatory prefixes are also indicated.

(A) Body parts

ò-) "with the fingers"

This prefix indicates "fingers" as the mode/cause of some action. *nri* "to pull" and *vehirri* "to light flame" are the only free forms in my data to which ò- can be affixed.

ò-ghe (with finger-injured) "to pinch with the fingers"
ò-rau (with finger-dug up) "to dig up with the fingers, prune a tree"
ò-rù (with finger-broken in two) "to break in two with the fingers"
ò-gidhi (with finger-crumpled) "to crumple with the fingers"
ò-ghai (with finger-mixed) "to mix something soft with the fingers"
ò-be (with finger-dead) "to turn off the light"
ò-nri (with finger, to pull) "to pluck with the fingers"
ò-vehirri (with finger, to light flame) "to switch on the light"

u-) "by hand"

This indicates "a hand" as the mode/cause of some action. *u-sevirro* "to turn" is the only attested example with a free form verb stem.

u-rau (by hand-dug up) "to dig up by a hand"
u-rù (by hand-broken in two) "to break in two by a hand"
u-vekùù (by hand-bent) "to bend"
u-bwerrì (by hand-closed in) "to close or cover by hand"
u-nô (by hand-up side down) "to turn up side down"
u-so (by hand-bent) "to bend with hands"
u-sevirro (by hand, to turn) "to turn something with the hand"

fö-) "by leg"

This indicates "a leg or a foot" as the mode/cause of an action. *fö-töghùrra* "to favour a foot in walking" is the only attested example with a free verb stem.

fö-sôrrô (on leg-hurt oneself) "to hurt the foot against (by stepping on a pointed object)"
fö-piri (by leg-tight) "to stamp with foot (firmly)"
fö-bwerrì (by leg-closed in) "to stamp and hide(something) under the foot"
fö-ria (on leg-cut along the length) "to cut the leg"
fö-ghai (by leg-crushed) "to step on something soft"
fö-dhai (by leg-by mistake) "to tumble over"
fö-töghùrra (by leg, to favour a foot in walking) "to walk lame"

e-) "by teeth"

This indicates the mode/cause of some action to be the teeth. No free verbs have been found prefixed by this element.

e-ghe (by teeth-injured) "to bite"
e-rù (by teeth-broken in two) "to cut by teeth"
e-ria (by teeth-cut along the length) "to cut vertically by teeth"
e-be (by teeth-dead) "to kill by biting"
do- ) "by beak"

This indicates "a beak (of a bird)" as the mode/cause of some action. There are only two attested forms: both -ghorro and -ghe are bound form verbs.

do-ghorro (by beak-crushed) "to hatch, crack an egg by pecking"

do-ghe (by beak-injured) "to peck"

dro- ) "by fist"

This indicates "fist" as the mode/cause of some action. It is prefixed only to the following bound form verb stems.

dro-ghe (by fist-injured) "to hit with the fist"

dro-dhai (by fist-by mistake) "to miss with the fist"

(B) Instruments

wi- ) "with a blunt instrument"

This indicates "something like a stick or a club, rather big" as the instrument. It may be related to the names of various instruments which have wi in the initial syllable as:

wini "fishing spear"; wihù "hoe"; wijù "shovel" (made of wood): wiho "sling".

Two free verbs which can be prefixed by wi- are du "to wipe" and hù "to plough";
padha "be talkative, noisy" is another, and in this case, e (<ve "to take, for") is intruded between wi- and padha.

wi-ria (with stick-split) "to chop with some instrument"

wi-rù (with stick-cut in two) "to cut in two with a stick or something similar"

wi-bòrò (with stick-crushed/folded) "to hit the middle with the stick"

wi-ghai (with stick-crushed) "to cut into small pieces"

wi-dòwò (with stick-pierced) "to crack (table) by axe, etc"

wi-du (with stick, to wipe) "to rub a knife along leaf to make it supple"

wi-hù (with stick, to plough) "to plough with hoe, etc"

wi-epadha (with stick, for, to make noise) "to make noise by hitting something"

pa- ) "with a pointed instrument"

It indicates the instrument to be "some pointed object such as a pointed stick or stone". pa- is attested only with bound form verbs.

pa-ghorro (with stick-crushed) "to crush by pounding (coffee)"

pa-ebe (with stick-dead) "to kill"

pa-dòwò(with stick-pierced) "to pierce by striking with pointed instrument"

pa-rau (with stick-dug up) "to dig up tubers, etc. with a stick"

pa-tì (with knife-?) "to skin an animal"

pa-ghai (with stick-crushed) "to pick and crush"

tò- ) "with a pointed thin instrument"

This indicates "some pointed, thin object such as a needle or stick" as the instrument.

It is prefixed only to bound form verb stems.

tò-rau (with needle-dug up) "to remove something with a needle, or stick, dislodge by poking with a stick"

tò-ghe (with needle-injured) "to prick, stab"

tò-sàrrf (with needle-untied) "to untie the knot with a pointed instrument"

tò-wùrrù (with needle-pressed) "to pierce with needle"

tò-trèrrè (with needle-buried) "to dig a hole with a pointed stick or shovel"
jù-) "with a cutting instrument"

This indicates "some cutting instrument such as a knife". nyobò is the only free form verb that can be prefixed by jù-.

jù-mwa (with knife-?) "to husk a coconut using a knife"
jù-rù (with knife-broken in two) "to cut in two with some instrument such as knife"
ju-rau (with knife-dug up) "to castrate, cut out"
jù-ria (with knife-split) "to split with a cutting instrument"
jù-nyobò (with knife, to open) "to cut and open (tin)"

kò-) "with an instrument like scissors"

This prefix indicates "a cutting instrument such as scissors", and may be related to kônrôdra "scissors". Only the following forms are attested, in which the stems are bound forms.

kò-rù (by scissors-cut in two) "to cut with scissors"
kò-ria (by scissors-cut along the length) "to cut with scissors along the length"

ki-) "with an instrument like a saw"

This indicates "a cutting instrument such as saw", perhaps related to kirri "saw, to saw", and is prefixed to the same bound form verbs as kò-.

ki-rù (by saw-cut in two) "to cut with a saw"
ki-ria (by saw-cut along the length) "to cut with a saw along the length"

pi-) "with an instrument like a drill"

This indicates "an instrument such as a drill": it may be related to pirra "drill". Because of the specific meaning of the prefix, there is only one attested form.

pi-dòwò (with drill-pierced) "pierce with a drill"

di-) "with a pin, cord"

It indicates "some object such as a pin, a thread or cord" as the instrument. It may be related to dighe "netting needle". There are no free form verbs prefixed by this.

di-sârrì (with cord-untied) "to remove the harness from a horse"
di-epiri (with cord-tight) "to attach cord tightly"
di-würrù (with pin, cord-pressed) "to attach something to a costume or to a horse with a pin or cord"

5.1.3.3 Prefixes indicating manner of action or motion

Another group of classificatory prefixes consists of those which indicate the manner of an action or motion. They are generally prefixed to a set of bound form verbs similar to the first group, but they can also occur with some free verbs.

sa-/se-) "throwing, striking downwards"

There are two variant forms indicating the action of "throwing, or striking downwards". They may be related to either sa "to dig (a hole), cut (board)" or se "to throw", but the distinction is not clear: the first four examples can be best related to sa "to cut", all having prefix sa-, whereas the rest can be better related to se "to throw" and are realised in two forms, either with sa- or with se-. The last two examples show that
se- is prefixed to the free verbs, vehia "to cause cry" and mai "be scattered". In se-mai the intransitive verb stem is made active.

- sa-ria (striking-split) "to split, shatter"
- sa-rù (striking-cut in two) "to cut (banana leaves), dig (with a pick)"
- sa-trërë (striking-buried) "to dig and bury with pick"
- sa-wùrrù (striking-pressed) "to drive (a nail) into something"
- sa-ghe (throwing-injured) "to strike (stone), hit with the stone"
- se-rav (throwing-dug up) "to dislodge (as fruit) with a stone"
- se-vehia (striking, to cause cry) "to make someone cry out by hitting"
- se-mai (throwing, be scattered) "to scatter and make a mess"

wa-) "forcing, pressing downwards"

This indicates the action of "applying pressure on something". harru "be good", a free verb, can be prefixed by this.

- wa-ghorro (forcing-crushed) "to force something to break in pieces"
- wa-rù (forcing-broken in two) "to break in two"
- wa-via (forcing-against something) "to press a person or thing against something"
- wa-märù (forcing-cracked) "shoot to crack the earth"
- wa-gidhi (forcing-creasy) "to crumple"
- wa-harru (forcing, be good) "to touch well"

This prefix covers a rather wide range of meanings. It may be related to the verb ta "to hit, attack". There are quite a few free form verbs to which ta- can be prefixed:

- fwirri "to listen"; fa-si "to chase" (already a derived form) and pòpònröo "be surprised".

In ta-pòpònröo, the intransitive verb stem is made active.

- ta-bòrù (touching-folded) "to gather things with the fingers"
- ta-be (hitting-dead) "to snuff out, extinguish (fire) by hitting"
- ta-bwerrî (pushing-closed in) "to close (with cover, etc.)"
- ta-rav (hitting-dug up) "to excise evil spirits"
- ta-piri (hitting-tight) "to look"
- ta-fwirri (hitting?, to listen) "to obey"
- ta-fasi (hitting, to chase) "to chase"
- ta-pòpònröo (touching, be surprised) "to startle (by touching)"

This indicates a wide range of actions involving holding, perhaps related to hâmweî "to touch, hold". A free form verb ëoë "to pour" can be prefixed by ëoë.

- de-ghe (swinging-injured) "to slap, kick"
- de-rù (swinging-broken in two) "to break by kicking"
- de-rav (swinging-dug up) "to dig up using foot"
- de-sorö (swinging-hurt oneself) "to hurt the foot by swinging it against a pointed object"
- de-nö (swinging-upside down) "to hang upside down, cross"
- de-so (swinging-folded) "to turn the ankle, fold the leg, fold something"
- de-ëoë (swinging, to pour) "to let fall (table) by the foot"

ho-) "holding"
hō-piri (holding-tight) "to hold something hard in the hand"
hō-ghai (holding-crushed) "to squeeze something soft in the hand"
hō-sōrrō (holding-hurt oneself) "to prick the hand in gripping something"
hō-wurrō (holding-pressed) "to hold something in the hand firmly"
hō-dhai (holding-by mistake) "to hold in a wrong way"
hō-(v)ehorro (holding, to take, be strong) "to remember"
hō-fapō (holding, CAUS-to move) "to move"
hō-sevirro (holding, to turn) "to turn around by hand"
hō-tiō (holding, to spill) "to slop"
hō-sii (holding-price) "to buy, pay"

hō- sometimes functions to transitiivize intransitive verb stems, similar to se-maj "to scatter" and ta-pō̃pō̃n̺do "to startle":

hō-pwurrō (holding, be lost) "to lose"
= fa-pwurrō (CAUS-be lost) "to lose"
hō-mai (holding, be scattered) "to scatter, make a mess"
hō-va̱jū (holding, be sick) "to hurt by holding hard"

sō-) "pulling, detaining"

This indicates action involving pulling or detaining. It has identical form to the related verb sō "to pull out (taro)". In the last two examples, sō- is prefixed to free forms.

sō-piri (pulling-tight) "to detain, keep back"
sō-wurrō (pulling-pressed) "to detain, hold"
sō-rau (pulling-dug up) "to pull something loose from its place"
sō-nō (pulling-upside down) "to turn upside down"
sō-ghe (pulling-injured) "to injure by an arrow, or shot"
sō-bwerrī (pulling-closed in) "to catch"
sō-wiirri (pulling, be stretched) "to pull in order to stretch"
sō-dree̱ṟe (pulling, be taut) "to tauten"

dre-) "falling"

This indicates "falling" action. tiō is the only free verb attested which can occur with it. The first two verbs are reflexive verbs (3.2.2.2.1).

dre-be (falling-dead) "to fall and die"
dre-ghe (falling-injured) "to injure (oneself) in falling"
dre-rū (falling-broken in two) "to fall and break"
dre-sō̱rrō (falling-hurt oneself against a pointed object) "to fall and hurt oneself against (something pointed)"
dre-rau (falling-dug up) "to let fall and dig out"
dre-so (falling-bent) "to bend"
dre-tiō (falling, to pour) "to let fall (table)"

pō-) "turning, rotating"

This may be related to the verb pō̃rrō "to turn". It can be prefixed to the free verb famurrō.

pō-rū (turning-broken in two) "to break by turning something"
pō-piri (turning-tight) "to tighten something by turning"
pō-ghorro (turning-crushed) "to grind or crush by rotating"
pō-sārrī (turning-unfastened) "to detach by twisting"
pō-famurrō (turning, to make small) "to turn and make (fire) smaller"
ho-) "attaching"

This indicates an action involving "attaching". It may be related to the verb hoi "to attach".

ho-via (attaching-against something) "to tie two things together"
ho-bòrò (attaching-folded) "to tie several things together"

te-) "tying, attaching"

This indicates "to tie, attach". It may be related to tere "knot, to tie a knot".

te-sârrì (tying-unfastened) "to untie a knot"
te-wùrrù (attaching-pressed) "to attach"
te-forro (tying-?) "to wind by a cord"
te-bwerrì (attaching-closed in) "to attach the end firmly"

rrò-) "pressing down"

It indicates an action downwards such as pressing down or sitting.

rrò-rau (sitting-dug up) "to sit (or fall) on something and take away something"
rrò-wùrrù (sitting-pressed) "to brood, sit on eggs"
rrò-rù (pressing-cut in two) "to press downward and cut in two"

drò-) "pushing, pressing"

This indicates the action of "pushing", or "pressing forward".

drò-u (pressing-?) "to press forward"
drò-wìi (pressing-?) "to squeeze with hand to express liquid"
drò-wùrrù (pressing-pressed under) "to press with hands on"
drò-piri (pressing-tight) "to press hard"

tri-) "tearing"

This indicates the action of "tearing". It is related to the verb tria "to tear up".

tri-dòwò (tearing-pierced) "to seep through something that has been torn (as water)"

e-) "digging by hand"

This indicates "digging by hand", related to the verb ei "to scratch (oneself), dig by hand".

e-trèrrë (digging by hand-buried) "to bury, plant"

vo-) "defecating"

This indicates "defecating", related to the verb voi "to defecate (intr)". A free form, do, can occur with this prefix.

vo-rau (defecating-dug up) "to defecate (something)"
vo-do (defecating, flow) "to have diarrhoea"

ko-) "vomiting"

This indicates "vomiting". It is related to the verb koo "to vomit (intr)".

ko-rau (vomiting-dug up) "to vomit (something)"
nrö-) "landsliding"

This indicates "landsliding". It is related to the noun/verb nrö "landslide, to slide (of land)".

nrö-rau (landsliding-dug up) "(landslide) to dig (something)"
nrö-wurrü (landsliding-pressed under) "(landslide) to bury (something)"
nrö-bwerrü (landslide-closed in) "(landslide) to bury (house)"

go-) "moving"

This indicates general movements or behaviour, and is related to the verb gū "to move". It is the verb stems which occur with this prefix, rather than the prefix itself, which indicate manner. Two stative verbs bèerrü and mêii occur with this. go-vesö is a reflexive verb.

  go-vesö (moving-in vain) "to do in vain"
  go-perrii (moving-repeat) "to imitate another person's behaviour"
  go-dröwö (moving-clumsy) "be clumsy"
  go-tawa (moving-brutally) "to behave brutally"
  go-dhai (moving-by mistake) "to make a mistake (in doing something)"
  go-bèerrü (moving, be old) "be skilful"
  go-mêii (moving, be audacious) "be impudent, audacious"

ho-) "getting away"

This indicates "getting away". It is related to hworrarö "to run away, escape"; it is the only prefix of this group which is prefixed only to free form verbs.

  ho-fite (getting away, to go away for good) "to escape for good"
  ho-sirü (getting away, to enter) "to take refuge inside something"
  ho-hii (getting away, to swim) "to flee by swimming"
  ho-erri (getting away, to crawl) "to escape by crawling"

mi-) spontaneity

This indicates that something "happens by itself". Prefixed to verb stems which express results from an action or event, it indicates the spontaneous action or the resultative condition of the subject: therefore, verbs with this prefix are all intransitive. mi- is also found in other New Caledonian languages in fossilized forms (personal communication with Ozanne-Rivierre). mi-so (spontaneous-bent) "be bent"

  mi-rü (spontaneous-broken in two) "break (intr), be severed"
  mi-ghorro (spontaneous-crushed) "crush (intr) by falling"
  mi-döwö (spontaneous-pierced) "be pierced"
  mi-via (spontaneous-against something) "be held between legs"
  mi-gidhi (spontaneous-crumpled) "be creasy"
  mi-börö (spontaneous-folded) "be indented"

5.1.3.4 Classificatory prefixes and corresponding verb/noun forms

About two thirds of Tinrin classificatory prefixes have similar verb or noun forms with related meanings. Others, however, do not have such forms at all - or if they do, the link between them is obscure because of semantic deviation or phonological

33 guna in Tawala and ani- in Iamalele, which indicate the spontaneous motion (Ezard 1978:1164) seem to be equivalent to this prefix.
reduction. We will see in the following table those prefixes which seem to have a corresponding verb/noun:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classificatory Prefixes and Corresponding Verb/Noun Forms</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>classificatory prefix</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi- with a blunt instrument</td>
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<tr>
<td>kò- with an instrument like scissors</td>
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<tr>
<td>ki- with an instrument like a saw</td>
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<tr>
<td>pi- with an instrument like a drill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di- with a pin, thread or cord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa/se- throwing, striking downwards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta- hitting, pushing, touching</td>
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<tr>
<td>de- swinging, hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hō- holding, touching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sô- pulling, detaining</td>
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<tr>
<td>pô- turning, rotating</td>
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<td>ho- attaching</td>
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<td>te- tying, attaching</td>
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<td>drô- pushing, pressing forward</td>
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<td>tri- tearing</td>
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<td>ei- digging by hand</td>
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<td>vo- defecating</td>
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<td>ko- vomiting</td>
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<td>nro- landsliding</td>
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<tr>
<td>ho- get away</td>
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<tr>
<td>go- general movement, behaviour</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The above list suggests that the classificatory prefixes may once have been verbs, undergoing serialization with another verb. The set of bound form verbs that occur with them may have been verbs which were the second element in the serialization (cf. 5.1.3.1). W. Seiler (1986:189-206) discusses a similar phenomenon in Imonda and other related Papuan languages, where some serial verbs have undergone reanalysis as noun-classifying verbal prefixes. He claims that in these languages the first verb in the serialization of transitive verbs has lost its verbal status, and functions as a delimiter for the range of objects which subsequent verbs can take.

Tinrin classificatory prefixes are all monosyllables. It is quite probable that (except the five monosyllabic prefixes which have identical verb forms) the first elements of serializations have undergone phonological reduction to the first syllable and been reanalysed as verbal prefixes.

These classificatory prefixes differ from Imonda prefixes in that they are not noun (object) classifiers (although the objects are naturally restricted by the semantics of the prefixes). They rather add the classified mode/cause or the manner/state description to

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34 The first syllable is always retained, since Tinrin words have the primary accent on the first syllable.
the verb. The following examples of these prefixes which are affixed to -rü "cut (broken) in two" will illustrate this:

- u-rü "cut by hand"  ó-rü "cut with the fingers"
- e-rü "cut by teeth"  wi-rü "cut with a stick"
- jü-rü "cut with a knife"  ki-rü "cut with a saw"
- kô-rü "cut with scissors"  sa-rü "cut with a knife"
- wa-rü "break by pressing"  pô-rü "break by turning"
- mi-rü "be broken"

*ho-* "to get away" behaves rather differently from other prefixes as it is prefixed only to free form verbs. It is possible to consider *ho-* as a bound form verb instead of as a prefix. Then, *ho-fite*, *ho-errí*, etc. would be compound verbs. However, I consider this *ho-* as a classificatory prefix since there are no other bound form verbs attested which occur as the first element of a compound and since it seems to have undergone the same process of phonological reduction as the other prefixes.

Bradshaw (1982:52) reported that Manam (western Madang Province, PNG) has a structure intermediate between the SOV-V compound causative and the SOc-V classificatory prefix constructions. It has ten classificatory prefixes, nine of which correspond closely in sound and meaning to independent verbs (Lichtenberk 1980:214 in Bradshaw 1982). He claims that among New Guinea Oceanic languages the compound causative and classificatory prefix constructions have developed from serial causative constructions that have made the full shift from the ancestral VO word order to OV word order. His association of OV word order and the development of classificatory prefixes does not apply to Tinrin, as Tinrin has VOS word order and well developed classificatory prefixes.

Differing from those of Papuan Tip languages, Tinrin classificatory prefixes are mostly affixed to bound form verbs, which are similar to those of resultative particles with the structure which Bradshaw calls SVOR (Bradshaw 1982:32). That is, if the classificatory prefix constructions have developed from serial verb constructions, both elements of serialized verbs have lost independent verbal status in Tinrin.

The combinations of classificatory prefixes and verb stems attested are set out in the following table. Some of the uncommon verb stems are not in the table.
Table 5.2: Productivity of Classificatory Prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>free form verbs</th>
<th>-ghai &quot;mixed, put together&quot;</th>
<th>-gho &quot;crushed in pieces&quot;</th>
<th>-ghor &quot;buried&quot;</th>
<th>-ghor &quot;closed in&quot;</th>
<th>-nò &quot;upside pressed&quot;</th>
<th>-so &quot;bent&quot;</th>
<th>-via &quot;be (pressed) against&quot;</th>
<th>-sàrò &quot;unfastened&quot;</th>
<th>-sàtò &quot;hurt oneself&quot;</th>
<th>-dhai &quot;make mistake&quot;</th>
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</tbody>
</table>
5.2 Suffixation

Suffixation is another common morphological process for deriving Tinrin verbs. There are both suffixes which are productive and non-productive.

There are suffixes which are 1) aspectual, 2) transitive 3) passive and 4) directional. A single verb root is not generally suffixed by more than two of these. Differing from verbs described in the previous section (classificatory prefixes being affixed to bound form verbs), suffixes are always attached to free form verbs.

5.2.1 Aspectual

There are two aspectual suffixes: -i and -jaa. They are not productive, but occur only in words in the following lists.

-i) habitual, "incessantly"

This indicates "habitual, incessantly". It is fossilized in (ve)saa-i and ha-i. vesaa is a compound verb of ve "take" and saa "one", meaning "to take/be together" (truu vesaa "stay together"). When suffixed by -i, it functions as an adverb, meaning "all the time".

- go-vesaa-i (moving-all the time) "to move all the time"
- hara vesaa-i (eat, all the time) "to eat all the time"
- nrorri vesaa-i (give, all the time) "to give all the time"
- fwa vesaa-i (rain, all the time) "to rain all the time"
- fwi saa-i (do, all the time) "to do all the time"

ha-i is a dialectal expression, used in the Kouaoua or Mea district.

-jaa) "inversive, negative"

This indicates an inversive, negative aspect of the state. It is suffixed in the following five verbs:

- nrôdrô-jaa (think-INV) "to miss someone"
- e-jaa (cut-INV) "not to cut well, dull"
- nrê-jaa (taste-INV) "to taste bad, sour"
- haa-jaa (to fish-INV) "be in famine"
- puu-jaa (smell-INV) "to smell bad"

5.2.2 Transitive

There is a group of suffixes that function to transitivize intransitive verbs, which are then obligatorily followed by an object (3.2.2.2.1). Some of the suffixes can also be suffixed to transitive verbs.

They are distinguished from prepositions (3.4) in that suffixed verbs form phonological words (no accent on the first syllable of the suffixes), that they only occur with a limited set of verbs, and that they are never separated from the verb stem by an intervening element.
The group consists of -vai, -bërrë, -sä, -bwäärrë, -raa and -torrar, suggesting that the action is aimed at, oriented to, or detaching from a target.

-vai)35 dative, "to, for"

This is suffixed to either intransitive or transitive verbs. It indicates a dative relation: that an action is carried out to or for somebody or something.

<with intransitive verbs>
ha-vai (talk-to) "to talk to, call"
föwi-vai (whistle-to) "to whistle after"
tapirri-vai (look-for) "to look for"
të-vai (search-for) "to search for by arms"
ôrrë-vai (dig-for) "to dig up in search for"
nrüfa-vai (telephone-for) "to telephone to"
sûdrë-vai (listen-to) "to listen to"

<with transitve verbs>
fwí-vai (do-after) "to try to do something"
fwirri-vai (listen-to) "to listen to"
ta-vai (hit-after) "to try to guess something"
et-vai (scratch-after) "to search for by hand"
nrü-vai (release-after) "to send for"

-bërrë) "at, to"

This suffix occurs only with the following verbs which - except nrú "to release" - are related to speech acts. It indicates that the action is oriented to certain targets.

<with intransitive verbs>
ha-bërrë (speak-to) "(dog) to bark at"
tëë-bërrë (shout-to) "to shout for, applaud"
ugâ-bërrë (cry-to) "to cry to"
hia-bërrë (shout-to) "to shout, cry to"

<with transitve verbs>
ta-bërrë (hit-to) "to narrate, talk"
nrú-bërrë (release-to) "to lend, offer"

-sä) "at, about"

This is suffixed only to two intransitive verbs, a and ígâ, meaning "at, about"

a-sä (laugh-at) "to laugh at"
ígâ-sä(dream-about) "to dream about"

35 Foley (private communication) suggests that this may be derived from PAN *bogahaj "give", an earlier verb serialization. Other transitive suffixes may also well be derived from earlier serial verb constructions.
-bwäärrī) "around"

This is suffixed only to intransitive verb stems. The derived verbs take objects referring to the locale at which a state or event is centered.

fi-bwäärrī (go-around) "to go around"
truurrī-bwäärrī (stand-around) "to stand around"
merrī-bwäärrī (sleep-around) "to sleep around"
fi-bwäärrī (dance-around) "to dance around"
nruu-bwäärrī (dive-around) "to dive around"
truu-bwäärrī (stay-around) "to encircle"

-raa) "off"

This is suffixed to either intransitive or transitive verbs. It expresses an action separating from an object.

<with intransitive verbs>
fi-raa (go-off) "to go away from"
ho-fi-raa (eat-go-off) "to leave (food) half-eaten"
vajū-raa (dead-off) "to die before (somebody); die and leave"

<with transitive verbs>
sē-raa (throw-off) "to throw away"
ve-raa (take-off) "to take away"

-tōrrō) "get out of the way of (somebody)"

This is suffixed to only intransitive verb stems, deriving transitive verbs. The action or state takes place avoiding or keeping distance from something or somebody.

truurrī-tōrrō (stand-from) "to stand back, give way to"
merrī-tōrrō (sleep-from) "to sleep in the back"
juo-tōrrō (sit-from) "to sit back, make room for others"

5.2.3 Passive

-nrī can be suffixed to a number of verbs in a passive construction, the use of which is fully described in 8.1.4. I note only a few examples in the following:
waghorro-nrī (break into pieces-PASS) "be broken into pieces"
tōbwerri-nrī (close-PASS) "be closed"
tewūrrū-nrī (tie up-PASS) "be tied up"

5.2.4 Directional

There is a group of suffixes that indicate direction relative to the action expressed by the verb 36 (cf. motion verbs in 3.2.2.2.2). When they are suffixed to transitive verbs whose object is a pronoun, the object can occur either after the verb stem or after the directional suffix - e.g. sē nrī roa (throw, 3sg, up) = sē roa nrī (throw, up, 3sg) "to

36 The variable coding of directional roles in Oceanic languages in relation to verbal-prepositions is discussed in Durie 1988. Tinrin directional suffixes never function as independent verbs, or occur detached from the verbs as they do in other Oceanic languages. They are all intrinsically oriented: their meaning includes the orientation of the motion towards the speaker, or towards the addressee when it is the speaker who is moving (Ibid:9).
throw it up". When the object is a noun, it never occurs between the verb stem and the directional suffix.

A more elaborate device is used for indicating direction in combination with some motion verbs; this is dealt with in section 3.2.2.2.2.

The first four suffixes in the following section (-roa, -rù, -rùa and -ro) indicate whether the action or motion is directed upwards, level or downwards in relation to the position of the speaker or the specific place referred to in the discourse. They can also suggest whether the action/motion is separating from or approaching the speaker or the specific place, but this function seems to be secondary and also not always precise.

-roa) "upwards"

This indicates that the direction of the action is "upward", or something is "up, high, (important)". It can also indicate the motion away from the speaker, or from the specific place.

- trűu-roa (stay-up) "be higher, highest"
- ve-roa (take-up) "to lift with the hand"
- hwa-roa (appear-up) "(sun) to come up"
- tii-roa (pass-up) "to pass over (something)"
- si-roa (go, pass-up, away) "to go out"
- ta-roa (hit-away) "to chase out (of the house)"
- droghe-roa (hit with the fist-up) "to hit with the fist upwards"
- wű-roa (hug-up) "to lift with both arms like hugging"

-rù) "a bit higher"

This indicates the direction towards "a bit higher, mountain side". It can also mean the motion toward the speaker or a specific place.

- si-rù (go, pass-higher, hither) "to return, come up the river"
- fi-rù (go-hither) "to come, enter"

-rùa) "downwards"

This indicates the motion "downward", or motion away from the speaker or the specific place.

- si-rùa (go, pass-away, down) "to go out, go down"
- fi-rùa (go-away) "to go out"

-ro) "on the same level"

This indicates that something is on the "same level", or some action is taking place on the same level. It can also indicate that something is on the corner or by the side.

- si-ro (go, pass-corner) "to pass, curved"
- fi-ro (go-same level) "to walk on the same level"
"apart, away"

This indicates that either the actor is "apart, away" or the undergoer is moved "away" from the place the speaker has in mind, normally where the speech is made.

-koa) "apart, away"

This marks dispersive, "hither and thither", indicating an action or state extending all over the place. The final vowel of the first element is either shortened or reduced, except in the first example of the following:

truu-aghorrö (stay-everywhere) "be all over the place"
wigaghorrö (wig ? -everywhere) "to scatter everywhere"
faaghorrö (fly ? -everywhere) "to fly all over the place"
töghaghorrö(töge stab -everywhere) "to pick stones or earth to spread"

The following diagram illustrates the relative height indicated by these suffixes, as well as directions concerning either away from, towards or close to the speaker or some specific place referred to in the discourse.

Table 5.3: Directional Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-aghorrö</td>
<td>high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-koa</td>
<td>level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP</td>
<td>(a bit higher)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-aghorrö</td>
<td>(low)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3 Reduplication

There are only a few attested forms of reduplication in the morphological process of Tinrin verbs. All of them are derived by reduplicating the first syllable (or whole word, in the case of monosyllable word), except ohaha. In the case when the original form has a long vowel in the first syllable, the first syllable of the reduplicated form tends to become short.

fifi "to go ahead, advance" < fi "to go"
gügü "(head) to go crazy" < gü "to move"
peepee "to look out" < pee "to see, look"
trútrú "to watch" < trú(ü) "to look"
nōnō "be difficult, complicated" < nō "be complicated"
nōnōra "be confused, difficult to remember" < nōra "be confused"

The second syllable is reduplicated in ohaha, which means "(several people) speak at the same time". It derives from o-ha, (condition-speak) "be full of speaking, noisy with voices". There is a compound verb bodūdā "to mumble, murmur", which consists
of bo "rhythmic cries to guide dance movements" and a reduplicated form of dû "whirling noise or distant voice".

A dozen stative verbs, denoting colours and some physical quality, take special intensifiers - most of which have reduplicated forms. They are discussed in 3.7.1.2.

5.4 Compounding

Compounding is another morphological process for deriving verbs in Tinrin. As discussed in 4.3, compounds are a type of word structure made up of two (or more) constituents, each a nominal or verb. The compound itself is also either a nominal or a verb. Two or more verbs can commonly co-occur in the predicate in Tinrin. They can be of equal status, expressing either simultaneous or sequential actions/states; or, one of them may have a modifying function on the meaning of the other. I will treat most of these cases as verb serialization in 7.9.1.

I will restrict compound verbs, which I discuss in this section, only to those whose constituents are tied closely to each other, functioning as a verb. These compound verbs are more internally cohesive than serial constructions. The constituents of the compound cannot be separated by any modifier, nor can either of them take an individual adjunct.

When the compound verb is associated with an object (including pronominal object), the object occurs after the last verb. When the compound occurs with the negative marker, the negative covers the entire complex verb, as does the scope of tense-aspect cover all verb roots in the compound.

A compound verb also forms a semantic unit, the meaning of which is sometimes unpredictable from the meaning of its constituents.

I also include in this section words which consist of a free form verb as the first constituent and bound form verb as the second. I consider them as compounds rather than serialized verbs, as the two constituents are bound to each other, forming one grammatical unit. (The bound form verbs cannot occur independently without either being prefixed or being compounded.)

Often meanings of these bound forms only become clear when prefixed or compounded; Tinrin speakers cannot tell the exact meanings of them (they would say they are not words) when they are isolated. The compound verb of this type forms a phonological unit, with the primary accent falling on the first syllable of the first verb.

The structure of the compound verb will be:

\[
V \quad \text{(or) } \quad V \quad (V) \quad (V) \quad \text{(or) } \quad N \quad (\text{N}) \quad V
\]

The verb can either be a free form or bound form common verb, except the verb in the first slot which is always a free form verb.
The compound verb whose second constituent is a bound form verb occurs most frequently.

(A) Compounds formed with the verb as the initial element

<free form verb + bound form verb>

In the following three sections, verbs are grouped according to the semantic relations between the elements. The second elements in them are bound forms, and the lists are exhaustive.

1) stance/motion - state

Stance/motion verbs often occur as auxiliaries which add the aspectual meaning when followed by another free form verb (7.9.1.2). However, if they are combined with a bound form verb in which case they always occur as the first element, they do not exhibit the aspectual meaning but retain their lexical meaning. In such cases the semantic focus is with them, and the second element (expressing some physical or mental state) modifies the first. For example, truu-fagee (stay-ignore) in the following list does not mean "to keep ignoring" as truu does not indicate "duration" here. Thus, these verbs are semantically as well as morphologically different from the verb serialization.

stance verbs)

truu-fagee (stay-ignore) "to pretend not to notice anything happening"
truu-mēā (stay-open) "be open (of window)"
truu-drū (stay-be separated) "be separated"
truu-via (stay-be against) "be stuck together"
truu-vōō (stay-revealed) "be visible"
truu-jaarru (stay-quiet) "be calm, be consoled"
merrō-fagee (lie down-ignore) "to lie pretending not to notice"
trurrō-bwerrī (stand-closed in) "to stand in the way (so that others cannot pass)"

motion verbs)

fi-fagee (go-ignore) "to go pretending not to notice"
fi-mēā (go-open) "to go around (almost) naked"
fi-drū (go-separate) "to go separately"
fi-bwerrī (go-close in) "to turn around something"
fi-so (go-bent) "to turn around, replace"
si-mēā (pass-open) "be almost naked"
fadrō-drū (walk-separate) "to walk separately"
fadrō-agūwünri (walk-ignorant) "to walk without knowing where to"
2) action - result

The second element represents a resultative state of the action or event expressed by the first element of the compound. The majority of these compounds have an actor as subject, and the resultative state expresses that of the object affected.

- suo-be (blow-dead) "to extinguish the fire (of lamp)"
- su-rau (pig dig-dug up) "(pig) to dig (yam) away"
- törö-bwerri (cover-closed in) "to cover entirely"
- wage-bwerri (deny-closed in) "to hide the truth, tell a lie"
- nū-bwerri (heal-closed in) "to heal (of a wound)"
- hidrò-vòò (say-revealed) "to proclaim, inform"
- ha-vòò (speak-revealed/made in public) "to start speaking (of baby); speak up"
- pò-pònròò (move-surprised) "get surprised"

3) action - manner

The second element modifies the first by defining the mode/manner of the action expressed by the first element.

- ha-perrii (speak-imitate) "to repeat"
- fwi-perrii (do-imitate) "to do the same, imitate"
- pò-pwirri (move-in a haste) "to do in a haste"
- ha(e)-pwim (speak-in a haste) "to speak in a haste"
- hawi-drööwö(talk-clumsy) "to speak poorly"

<free form verb + (free form verb) + free form verb>
- pò vaju (move, sick) "to sick a bit"
- pò mou (move, blind) "to use a fishing net in the dark"
- ta trò (hit, calm) "to learn"
- ha ve-roa (speak, lift) "to boast, exaggerate" (ha veroa nři "boast about him/something"); * ha ve nři roa)
- ha ve waa (speak, take, descend) "to speak humbly" *ha ve nři waa
- truu (ve) gee (treat, take, lie) "to suspect"
- truu ve havari (treat, take, be right) "to trust"
- puu sii (smell, penetrate) "to smell good"
- fwirri puu (hear, smell) "to smell"
- ha pò horro (speak, arrange, strong) "to learn, teach"

<free form verb + (free form verb) + common noun>
- truu e gwä (stay, take, occupation) "to hesitate"
- fadró terre-nō (walk, way-upside down) "to walk backward"
- kare terre-nō (run, way-upside down) "to run backward"
- ve kò (take, message) "to inform, reveal"
- ha pwogarra (speak, white) "to speak in French"
- ve saa (take, one) "to take altogether/at the same time"
- tù wii (throw [spear], cord) "get hanged"

(B) Compounds formed with common noun as the initial element

<common noun + bound form verb>
- ki-bwerri (key, closed in) "to lock in"

<common noun (the first three are bound nouns) + free form verb>
- wù-si (belly, go) "to have diarrhea"
- mee-fwidri (head, full) "to have a cold"
- mee-mwää rrí (head, turn round) "get drunk"
- ki nyôbô (key, open) "to open with a key"
Chapter 6

THE NOMINAL PHRASE

The nominal phrase consists of a head or nucleus which is a nominal described in 3.1, and a number of optional adjuncts which will be described in this chapter. The NP has the following minimum nucleus and expanded maximal structure:

\[ \text{NP} = \pm \text{Det} \pm \text{QF} \pm \text{AT} \pm \text{H} \pm \text{N} \pm \text{Dem} \pm \text{L} \pm \text{T} \pm \text{PostMod} \pm \text{Phr} \pm \text{Cl} \]

Pre-head adjuncts (determiner, quantifier and attributes) normally occur in the above word order, while post-head adjuncts have more freedom in the ordering among them. Nominals (including possessor nominals) normally occur immediately after the head, but the other post-head adjuncts can be placed anywhere after the head, as far as they follow words which they modify.

6.1 The Head

The head of a NP is a nominal, which belongs to one of the subtypes of nominals described in 3.1.

6.1.1 Pronouns

When the head of a NP is a pronoun, it occurs in either its free/focal or object form (set out in Table 3.2) depending on its position in the phrase. A pronoun generally occurs by itself in a NP, but also can be associated with some adjuncts as in:

(261) truu nrorru
DET dl 3dl
"they two"

(262) nrorri hävenřå
3pl all
"all of them"

(263) nřü n̄orřo
2sg only
"only you"

(264) nro hwa
1sg EMPH
"me! (not others)"

It can also be modified by a phrasal or clausal adjunct as in:

(265) nrorri ghe mē ārijù
3pl from L down there
"they, (who are) from down there"

(266) nři [n̄rř fi n̄rř pwere numea]
3sg 3sg go PST to Noumea
"He, who went to Noumea"
There is a rather complicated system for addressing people when using a second person pronoun. In general, the singular forms are used to refer to a single referent, the dual forms to two referents, and the plural forms to three or more referents.

When the speaker is addressing a person to whom he pays respect, he uses a plural (sometimes dual) form. However, within a family, it is not so simple. A speaker addresses another family member by ke/nrü (2sg), kou (2dl), or wiri (2pl) depending on the relationship between them.

The following list illustrates which person uses which form of the second person pronoun when addressing another family member. There is no difference between forms used by female or male ego. (The kinship terms are used in the classificatory sense, so that one’s parents, for example, include one’s father’s brothers and mother’s sisters [cf. Appendix A]).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>forms used</th>
<th>addressee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ke/nrü (2sg)</td>
<td>parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>grandparents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>grandchildren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>husband/wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>uncle/aunt</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>younger sister (or young woman)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>younger female cousin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kou (2dl)</td>
<td>daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>niece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>younger brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>younger male cousin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>elder sister (or elderly woman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>elder female cousin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiri (2pl)</td>
<td>son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nephew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>elder brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>elder male cousin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The singular form is used between grandparents and grandchildren, or husband and wife. This may be because the relationship is very intimate, so that they are allowed to address each other with the singular form. Although children address their parents and uncles/aunts with the singular form, they are addressed by their parents and uncles/aunts either with the plural form if they are male, or by the dual form if they are female. This custom seems rather strange. Children addressing their parents (and uncles/aunts) with the singular form does not indicate a lack of respect for their parents; instead, it probably merely indicates intimacy between them.
On the other hand, sons (especially the eldest son) seem to be highly respected in the family while daughters are not so respected. This is shown by that an elder daughter (or an elderly woman) may be addressed with the dual but never with the plural form.

Such a custom of address in a family, however, is now disappearing among young people. In fact, these days people tend to speak French in everyday life, and use *tu* (French second person singular form) between themselves all the time. People would use *vous* only when they address non-Kanak people with whom they are not familiar, or to whom they show respect.

6.1.2 Nouns

A noun (3.1) as the head of a NP is always in the same form whether it occurs in the subject, object or oblique position. It may be either preceded or followed by one or more optional adjuncts.

6.1.3 Other nominals

Quantifiers and possessive classifiers can also fill the position of the head of a NP, just as pronouns and nouns. They can also be associated with various adjuncts. The following examples illustrate this:

<quantifiers>

(267) saa nrâ e saa  
    one 3sg eat one  
    "Each eats one (piece)."

(268) pwere ru të nřï rri mē-pwôgarra  
    some L place 3sg 3pl pl-white people  
    "People staying with him are white people. (lit. Some at his place they (are) white people.)"

(269) savaa pa rri nři ho nři nrâ mēřē mwâ  
    defend in case 3pl FUT eat 3sg sm some that  
    "Be careful in case others (fish) should eat it (crab)"

(270) rii hōsii tre a maa  
    1pl FUT buy another AT red  
    "We will buy another red one."

<possessive classifiers>

(271) odho-ri nrâ harru  
    drink-1plinc 3sg good  
    "Our drink is good."

(272) nrâ bwē nrâ ere-nři parrû  
    3sg many sm food-3sg also  
    "His food, also, is abundant."

(273) nrâ trrrî hēē-nřû nrûwû-sake  
    3sg lack belonging-2sg inside-bag  
    "There is nothing in the bag for you." (lit. It lacks your belongings in the bag.)
6.1.4 Phrasal nouns

The head of a NP can be a phrasal noun. The phrasal noun has the form of a NP itself, whose constituents are closely tied to each other, like a compound noun, forming one grammatical and semantic unit. It can be associated with various adjuncts.

Phrasal nouns differ from compound nouns in that they have some inner syntactic structure as NPs, although their constituent parts are inseparable and their individual parts cannot take any separate adjuncts.

The meaning of a phrasal noun is sometimes unpredictable from the meaning of its parts.

One very productive process of forming phrasal noun contructions uses mwä "hut, house, (container)" followed by the possessive marker rrê and a noun or verb (3.4).

- mwä rrê hi (container, POSS, leg) "shoes"
- mwä rrê hove (container, POSS, be cold/coldness) "sweater"
- mwä rrê hiwû (container, POSS, child) "womb"
- mwä rrê mëfadrô (hut, POSS, tourists) "inn"
- mwä rrê hapà horro (hut, POSS, to learn, hard) "school"
- mwä rrê tuu nàpeci (hut, POSS, to write, of, paper) "office"
- mwä rrê fwi hôrrô (hut, POSS, to do, prayer) "church"
- mwä rrê mëwìwì (container, POSS, to breathe) "lung"
- mwä rrê fadrô (hut, POSS, to walk) "toilet"
- mwä rrê odho (hut, POSS, to drink) "cup, bar"

mwä can also combine with another preposition nri "with" as in:

- mwä nri pérrê (hut, with, fence) "dancing site" (hut with fences of leaves)

Phrasal nouns can also have the following structure: the attribute marker a, a verbal stem, the possessive marker nrå, and the semantic object of the verbal stem.

(275) a ve nrå drââ
AT take POSS day
"the morning star" (lit. one which brings a day)

(276) a e nrå fu
AT eat POSS excrement
"rail (bird)" (lit. one who eats excrement)

(277) a sôrrô hóbô
AT wear cord
"index finger" (lit. one who wears cord)
(There is a trick to throw a stone using a cord which is hooked on the index finger.)

(278) a tivi sù
AT suck shell
"a name of a bird" (lit. one who sucks a shell)
(Its cry resembles the sound of sucking a shell.)

(279) a ìì nai giwe
AT fly exceed mountain
"a name of fish, aiguillette" (lit. one who flys higher than the mountain)
In the following example, the initial element is a verb.

(280) tuu nra peci
write POSS paper
"pencil"

6.1.5 Complex NPs

A NP can have two or more heads in apposition to each other; nonetheless, these heads function as a single NP in a sentence, associating with various adjuncts.

The nominal head that constitutes a complex NP can be: a) two or more common nouns or a common noun and a proper noun; b) a pronoun and a common noun and c) a common noun and a possessive classifier. These constructions are exemplified in the following:

a) two or more common nouns or a common noun + a proper noun

(281) moo rra wara mwâ
man DIST one M.DIST
"that man over there, that one"

(282) mè viè mè-nè-maamûrû
pl women pl-mother-children
"the women, the children's mothers"

(283) treanrû mè-ti mào bèèrrf
people elders men old
"people, the elders, old men"

(284) u hêrrè-fwòtra
yam product-year
"yam of the year (lit. yam, the year's product)"

hêrrè in the last example is not a possessive classifier but a bound noun, although it occurs in a similar construction to that of a possessive classifier. It is discussed in the next section.

A proper noun normally follows a common noun in an appositional relationship.

(285) amwaati ubo
chief Ubo
"the chief, Ubo"

(286) afiraa-nî mari
wife-3sg Marie
"his wife, Marie"

b) a pronoun + a common noun

In this construction, the pronoun normally precedes the common noun:

(287) wiri fò treanrû mwâ fò mào mwâ
2pl genre people M.DIST genre men M.DIST
"you, that kind of people, that kind of men"

(288) kevi mào-nrâ-nî
1plexc children-LINK-3sg
"we, his children"

(289) nrorri maamûrû
3pl children
"they, little ones"
c) a common noun + a possessive classifier (which is followed by either a pronominal
or a nominal possessor)

Either one can precede the other.

(290) ere-rö nraasi
food-1sg rice
"my food, rice"

(291) nraasi ere-rö
rice food-1sg
"rice, my food"

As they are juxtaposed in an appositional relationship, they cannot be separated, as
in:

(292) * e-nrî u nrorri nraasi
food-3sg 1sg give rice
"His food I gave rice."

This construction is discussed in detail in the following section.

6.1.6. Possessive constructions

Tinrin exhibits multiple types of possessive constructions, as do most Oceanic
languages (Lichtenberk 1985). These possessive constructions are discussed in this
section. I include here constructions with possessive prepositions (cf.3.4), those with
possessive classifiers (cf.3.1.3) and those with bound form nouns (cf.3.1.4.3.2).

Archetypical possessive constructions are grammatical constructions which involve
two nominals and indicate that the referent of one of these nominals is possessed by the
other. In this discussion, one of the nominals is referred to as the noun possessed and
the other as the possessor, although the relationship expressed is not necessarily that of
the true possession, but can be of many other types.

In many languages, when there is an inherent relationship between two referents such
as the kinship or body part relationship, it is realized in constructions encoding
inalienability, while non-inherent relationships such as temporary ownership or
voluntary association occur in constructions encoding alienability (Chappell and
McGregor 1989; Mosel 1984). Tinrin also makes a distinction between alienable and
inalienable possession. In fact, it shows a variety of possessive construction types, which
will be discussed in the following sections.

6.1.6.1 Alienable possession

Alienable possession in Tinrin can be realized in various ways, which on the basis of
structural criteria can be divided into two types: Nouns which do not obligatorily occur
in inalienable possessive relationships (which will be described later) can occur in
constructions where the noun possessed is followed by a possessive preposition, which
in turn is followed by the pronominal or nominal possessor. Most of these nouns can
also enter into another construction, in which the noun possessed occurs in apposition to
a possessive classifier.
6.1.6.1.1 Constructions with a possessive preposition

There are three prepositions which can occur in this construction: \( \text{nra} \), \( \text{rre/rr} \), and \( \text{\delta} \) (3.4). They occur between two nominals, as in the following formula. Note that the possessor NP can be pronominal.

\[
\text{poss'd} \quad \text{poss'r}
\]

The choice of the preposition is determined by the noun possessed. The majority of nouns can occur in possessive constructions with \( \text{nra} \). It normally suggests a temporary ownership or voluntary/controlling relationship, as in the following example:

\[
(293) \quad \text{peci nra nř} \\
\text{paper POSS 3sg} \\
\text{"his paper"}
\]

Consider the following example: \( \text{nra} \) (between \( \text{wake} \) and \( \text{nrů} \)) cannot be replaced by other particles (such as \( \text{hee-} \) "belong") to indicate possession, since the context implies that \( \text{wake} \) "work" is only temporarily possessed by \( \text{nrů} \) "you".

\[
(294) \quad \text{tro nnorri wake nra nrů tra wei} \\
\text{AUG leave work POSS 2sg so that 1sg FUT} \\
\text{fwi nra nrô} \\
\text{do sm 1sg} \\
\text{"Just leave your work, so that I myself will do (it)."}
\]

\( \text{nra} \) also suggests the entity's involvement in an event. In the following example, \( \text{nra} \) is used to indicate the agent and the object of nominalised active verbs (when both the subject and object are present, \( \text{nra} \) before the object is occasionally dropped):

\[
(295) \quad \text{bee ta (nra) pù nra ri} \\
\text{CMPZ kill (O) flying fox S 1plinc} \\
\text{"our killing (of) flying foxes"}
\]

The use of \( \text{nra} \) to indicate the agent of verbal nouns, as above, suggests the active voluntary or controlling relationship, as does the Tolai (Austronesian) \( \text{ka-} \)possession, which Mosel (1984:37-47) considers as the most "established" (alienable) possession as opposed to inherent (inalienable) possession.

\( \text{rre} \) and \( \text{rr} \) are variants of the same morpheme: \( \text{rre} \) occurs with \( \text{\delta} \), \( \text{rr} \) with \( \text{mwá} \) and \( \text{wá} \), conditioned by the nasality of the vowel in the preceding syllable. It indicates personal possession, which is probably related to some essential living need. The possessed NPs are restricted to \( \text{mwá} \) "hut", \( \text{wá} \) "boat" and \( \text{\delta} \) "pot". When \( \text{mwá} \) is reduplicated as \( \text{mwámwá} \) meaning "assembly house", it no longer occurs with \( \text{rr} \) but occurs with the general preposition \( \text{nra} \), because \( \text{mwámwá} \) is not possessed personally for living in, but is used for public use (for a meeting, etc.). \( \text{wá} \) "boat" is essential for catching fish, etc. or carrying important living needs such as food from other places, and \( \text{\delta} \) "pot" is also important, being crucial in preparing food.
The possessor marked by *rré* can also be an essential constituent of the entity possessed: in the following examples *mwâ* in (299), *wâ* in (300), *ô* in (301) refer to things which contain something, and *arrâ* "water", *farrawa* "flour", *u* "yam" in each phrase refer to their contents.

(299) *mwâ rré arrâ* container POSS water
"bottle of water"

(300) *wâ rré farrawa* boat POSS flour
"boat carrying flour"

(301) *ô rré u* pot POSS yam
"yam dish cooked in the pot"

The possessed NPs which can occur with the preposition *ô*, are restricted to *nre* "fire, firewood" or compounds with *nre*: *mee-nre* "habitation", *pwô-nre* "torch" and *mwârrâ-nre* "fire flame". *mee-nre* indicates a dwelling place of human beings only, and the word probably consists of *mee* - "end, head" and *nre* "fire", as the traditional Kanak hut has always had a fire in the centre. The possessive relationship expressed by *ô* is thus related to fire, which is possessed for the purpose of warming oneself or cooking something. Note that *arrebô* "stone" (used by Kanak people for cooking), *asu* "sun", *tra* "ash" and *ti* "oven" do not occur with *ô*.

(302) *nre ô nru* fire POSS 2sg
"your fire"

(303) *mwârrâ-nre ô rô* fire flame POSS 1sg
"my fire flame"

(304) *pwô-nre ô jaa* torch POSS who
"whose torch?"

(305) *mee-nre ô wiri* habitation POSS 2pl
"your habitation"

The possessor expressed by this construction can also be something that is cooked or burnt with fire.

(306) *nre ô û* fire POSS wood
"the fire which is burning the wood/fire made by wood"
Although the above three prepositions are all used to express alienable possession, (that is, the noun which occurs in the possessive constructions with these prepositions does not obligatorily enter in these constructions), the use of rre/rrê and ð differ from that of nrâ. Compared to nrâ, which occur with almost any alienable noun, rre/rrê and ð can occur only with a few nouns (as discussed above). In fact, the nouns referring to "house", "pot" or "fire" often occur as inalienable nouns in other languages as essential or valued possessions (Mosel 1984:45). Therefore, from the semantic point of view, nrâ expresses the most alienable possession among the three prepositions.

nrâ "general"  rre/rrê "house, pot"  ð "fire"

alienable ←--

6.1.6.1.2 Constructions with a possessive classifier

Other types of alienability are expressed in constructions where the possessed noun occurs in apposition to a possessive classifier. Possessive classifiers are a group of nominals whose referents are themselves inalienably possessed by a pronominal or nominal possessor in the same way as bound nouns (3.1.3). That is, they are either suffixed by a pronominal possessor or bound to a nominal possessor directly following them.

Tinrin has seven possessive classifiers, which were described earlier (3.1.3). Each of them expresses a particular type of socially determined relationship with respect to an entity, which can be summarized as:

e- generally starches, to be eaten
eere- generally fruit, to be eaten
hwee- generally meat or egg, to be eaten
odho- things to be drunk
hwiie- things to be chewed
êêe- plants growing on possessor's land, or to be planted
heëe- belongings

When possessive classifiers occur in an apposition with another nominal phrase head, they determine the nature of the possessive relationship between the noun possessed (which is a specifier of the generic possessive classifier) and the possessor. These constructions are seen commonly among Melanesian languages, which are generally used to express alienable possession. In some languages, certain classifiers extend their primary meanings: for example, an alimentary classifier may also be used to express subordinate possession (Lichtenberk 1985; Mosel 1984, Pawley 1973:163). This extended use does not occur in Tinrin.
In these constructions, the possessive classifier with its pronominal suffix often precedes the specifier. In Tinrin, it may be placed before or after the specifier (the noun possessed) as shown in the following diagram. Also, as in Hawaiian, the nominal possessor is not cross-referenced elsewhere in the construction.

```
NP       POSS.CLFR       NP
poss’d    poss’r
```

or,

```
POSS.CLFR       NP       NP
poss’r    poss’d
```

We will see examples in the following:

1. **<possessive nominals - pronominal suffix, preceding NP>**
   
   e-nrii u (food-2sg yam) "your(food) yam"
   ere-rō mii (fruit-1sg watermelon) "my (fruit) watermelon"
   hwee-nrü mèo (meat-2sg chicken) "your(food) chicken"
   odho-ri nòti (drink-1plinc milk) "our (drink) milk"
   hwie-nrf ti (chew-3sg sugarcane) "his (chews) sugarcane"
   êê-nrüi u (plant-2sg yam) "your(plant) yam (already planted or to be planted"
   hêê-rrii too (belonging-3pl land) "their belongings, land"

2. **<possessive nominals - noun possessor, preceding NP>**

   e-toni wi (food-Tony banana) "Tony’s banana"
   ere-moo madre (fruit-man orange) "man’s orange"
   hwee-mwiê pwèvò (meat-woman egg) "woman’s egg"
   odho-sonya kafe (drink-Sonya coffee) "Sonya’s coffee"
   hwie-toni ogi-nawa (chew-Tony bark-coconut) "Tony’s coconut palm barks"
   êê-treanrū miï (plant-people seed) "people’s seeds"
   hêê-ubô peci (belonging-Ubo paper) "Ubo’s notebook"

3. **<NP preceding possessive nominals - pronominal suffix>**

   naasi e-rō (rice food-1sg) "rice, my food"
   hêêra ere-nrü (foods food-2sg) "your food"
   poka hwee-nrii (pig meat-3sg) "his pork"
   siro odho-rii (sirop drink-1plinc) "syrup, our drink"
   ti hwie-komu (sugarcane chew-1dlinc) "sugarcane, our(we two’s) chews"
   û êê-wirïi (tree plant-2pl) "trees, your (pl) plants"
   wake hêê-rrrii (job belonging-3pl) "job, their belonging"

4. **<NP preceding possessive nominals - noun possessor>**

   susu e-mwiê (choko food-woman) "the woman’s chuchut"
   madre ere-afadô (orange fruit-tourist) "the tourist’s orange"
   a hwee-amwaati (man special to be eaten, meat-chief) "chief’s man (to eat)"
   arrrô odo-bebe (water drink - baby) "baby’s water"
   ti hwie-ausô-rō (sugarcane chew -big brother-1sg ) "my elder brother’s sugarcane"
   nawa êê-treanrū (coconut plant-people) "people’s coconut tree"
   mwâ hêê-warrabù (house belonging-uncle) "uncle’s house"

---

[37] Ozanne-Rivierre (1983:119) illustrates this with New Caledonian languages, Kumak, Nemi, Cèmuñu; Pawley (1972:34) also states that the possessive plus pronoun sequence always occurs preposed to the specifier in EO languages of his data. In Lenakel (southern Vanuatu) it is placed variably before/after the possessed noun (Lynch 1978).
The same object can occur in several possessive constructions depending on the nature of the relationship between it and the possessor. The following examples illustrate that *nawa* "coconut" can occur with four different possessive classifiers:

(308) nawa odho-toni
coconut drink-Tony
"Tony's coconut to drink"

(309) nawa hwee-toni
coconut meat-Tony
"Tony's coconut to eat"

(310) nawa êê -toni
coconut plant-Tony
"Tony's coconut tree (on his land or to be planted)"

(311a) nawa hee-toni
coconut belonging-Tony
"coconut belonging to Tony"

*nawa* can also occur in the construction using the possessive preposition *nrd* which was discussed in the previous section, when *nawa* is temporarily possessed or related to the person in some loose way:

(312a) nawa nra toni
coconut of Tony
"Tony's coconut (temporarily possessed by, or related to Tony)"

Formally, the constructions (308)-(311) are distinguished clearly from that of (312), as those of (308)-(311) allow the inversion of word order (i.e. the classifier can be preposed to the possessed noun), and the latter do not (i.e. the preposition can only occur between the possessed noun and the possessor). Thus, (311b) below is grammatical, while (312b) is not.

(311b) hee-toni nawa
belonging-Tony coconut
"coconut belonging to Tony"

(312b) * nra toni nawa
of Tony coconut
"Tony's coconut"

Note that there is a similar construction using *hërrë*, which is a bound noun, meaning "content, essence". *hërrë* sometimes occurs after another NP in an appositional relationship. Thus, it appears quite like a possessive classifier, as the following examples show:

hërrë-nri (content-3sg) "its content"
treanrū hërrë-wā (people content-ship) "passenger of the ship"
However, I consider hêrê to be a bound noun, as the order of appositive NPs is always as above, and not as shown below where another NP follows hêrê-wä. If hêrê was a possessive classifier both word orders should be possible. Furthermore, it cannot take a collective prefix nři- as possessive nominals may.

* hêrê-wä treanrü (content-ship people) "passenger of the ship"
* nři-hêrê-nři (coll-content-its) "its contents"

And the final distinction found is that the possessor of hêrê is inanimate, whereas possessive nominals have animate possessors.

Sometimes, the possessive prepositions can also be confused with possessive classifiers. For example, rrelrrre is a possessive preposition which occurs only with mwä "house", wä "ship", and ø "pot" as illustrated in the following:

mwä rrel rø (house, POSS, 1sg) "my house"

It is tempting to take this for a possessive classifier, designating the possessive relationship as an "essential living need," where the NP (something like a container) can be appositional with it. However, rre is not a possessive classifier. The following unacceptable phrases show that rre cannot occur as the head of a NP as possessive classifiers do. mwä in the above cannot occur in the reverse order with the rest; rre cannot take the collective prefix nři- either.

* rre -rø (poss -lsg) "my (container)"
* rre -rø mwä (poss -lsg house) "my house"
* nři - rre-rø (coll-poss -lsg) "my (containers)"

The morpho-syntactic distinctions among possessive classifiers, bound/link nouns and possessive prepositions are summarised in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>possessive classifier</th>
<th>bound/link noun</th>
<th>possessive preposition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>head of NP</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>follow NP</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>precede NP</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prefixed nři-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ indicates that the condition is met.
- indicates that the condition is not met.
(+) indicates occasional occurrence

6.1.6.2 Inalienable possession

Nouns that occur in inalienable possessive constructions are generally those whose referents have no independent existence of their own, but are always related to something else. While alienable possession is expressed in various ways, inalienable possession in Tinrin is always expressed in the juxtaposition of the two nouns which are bound to each other as in the following structure, except for the nouns that occur in the
link structure which will be discussed later in this section. Note that the possessor can be pronominal.

\[
\text{NP - NP} \\
\text{poss’d poss’r}
\]

In this structure, the noun possessed always precedes the possessor; it is either suffixed by a possessor pronoun or bound to a nominal possessor directly attached to it. Nouns which occur in this structure may also occur in a compounding construction, being bound to another root (either noun or verb). This is discussed in 4.3.1.

Following types of nominals occur in this construction: possessive classifiers, relative location nouns (cf.3.1.4.2.1A), bound nouns (cf.3.1.4.3.2.A) and link nouns (cf.3.1.4.3.2.B).

6.1.6.2.1 Possessive classifiers

Possessive classifiers discussed in the previous section serve to express alienable possession when they occur with another noun in an apposition. They themselves, however, are always bound to the possessors, and in this sense they are inalienably possessed. They are semantically distinguished from other inalienably possessed nouns, however, in that while other nouns are possessed in some inevitable and inextricable way by the possessors, the referents of possessive classifiers are things such as food, drink, plants, etc., whose relationship to the possessor is not something inherent, and whose possessor may change from time to time. The reason why these classifiers are bound to the possessors may be that eating, drinking, planting, etc. are important in the life of Tinrin people, and therefore "who" owns these things (to eat, drink, etc.) is important and inevitable when thinking of those items.

The following are the examples of possessive classifiers when they occur by themselves (not in apposition with another NP):

(313) nrä bwé nrä hwee-ri änräha
3sg lot sm meat-1pl-inc here
"We have lots of meat here." (There are lots of our meat here.)

(314) u nrori e-nrül
1sg give food-2sg
"I gave you food." (I gave your food)

(315) nrä fi nrí tòwò ere-tito
3sg go PURP gather fruit-Tito
"He went to pick up fruits for Tito." (He went to pick up Tito’s fruits.)

6.1.6.2.2 Relative location nouns

Location nouns are described in 3.1.4.2.1. Among them, relative location nouns behave exactly like other bound form nominals which occur in inalienable possessive constructions. They are morphologically bound to another nominal which may be a pronoun, and express location only with respect to something else, which is expressed in the possessor NP slot of the structure. This is illustrated by the following examples:
6.1.6.2.3 Bound nouns

Bound nouns are those nouns described in 3.1.4.3.2.A. They include nouns referring to kinship, body/plant/inanimate parts, secretions or products of a body or plant, personal attributes or properties, effects/origins of human affairs and collectivity/genus of something.

They are inalienably possessed: that is, they are either suffixed by a possessor pronoun or bound to a nominal possessor directly attached to them.

The following examples illustrate this:

(320) nrifō-rō
       mouth-1sg
       "my mouth"

(321) veha-nrī
       heart-3sg
       "his heart"

(322) nō-nawa
       liquid-coconut
       "coconut’s juice"

(323) nrùjù-toni
       daughter-Tony
       "Tony’s daughter"

(324) fomee-nrī
       sort-3sg
       "that sort"

6.1.6.2.4 Link nouns

Link nouns are those described in 3.1.4.3.2.B, whose referents often belong to similar categories of things to those of bound nouns. They include: kinship, body/plant parts, secretions or products of the body, personal attributes or properties, and effects/results of human affairs. The structural and semantic correlation between bound and link nouns is discussed in detail in the section 3.1.4.3.2.C.

Link nouns occur in inalienable possessive constructions, which, however, are different from those of bound nouns. The constructions have the following form:

\[ \text{NP} \ - \ nrā \ - \ \text{NP} \]
\[ \text{poss’d LINK poss’r} \]
The link morpheme -nrå- is often suppressed, when the possessor is the first person singular pronoun (3.1.4.3.2), as illustrated in the following:

(325) ao-nrå-nrį
cheek-LINK-3sg
"his cheek"

(326) ao-(nrå)-rþ
cheek-(LINK)-1sg
"my cheek"

(327) ao-nrå-toni
cheek-LINK-Tony
"Tony’s cheek"

(328) īgą-nrå-nrrù
dream-LINK-2sg
"your dream"

(329) edhi-(nrå)-rþ
 cousin-(LINK)-1sg
"my cousin"

The link noun constructions may be considered as being on the line between bound noun constructions and alienable possessive constructions, and the fact that the link morphème nrå can be suppressed with a first person pronominal possessor suggests that the relationship of the noun possessed to its first person singular possessor is more bound than to other possessors, perhaps from the speaker’s egocentric perspective39 (cf. Ameka 1988:11).

The three possessive constructions of bound nouns, link nouns and free nouns with a possessive preposition are summarised along the scale of inalienable and alienable possession as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bound</th>
<th>link</th>
<th>free</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NP-NP</td>
<td>(1sg) NP-(nrå)-NP</td>
<td>NP rře/rřè NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(others) NP-nrå-NP</td>
<td>NP ò NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NP nrå NP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

inalienable <---> alienable

6.1.6.3 Alienable-inalienable continuum of Possessive constructions

In the previous sections various possessive constructions were discussed which can be grouped largely into alienable and inalienable possessive types. The following table summarises the morphemes which appear between the noun possessed and its possessor in possessive relationships.

---

39 Seiler (1983:17) states that the most prototypical structure of juxtaposition is that with a personal or possessive pronoun in the first person, thus coreferent with EGO, as the most intimate, most immediate (possessive) relation.
The distinction between alienable and inalienable possessions in these constructions, however, is not so clear cut. The evidence points to a continuum from alienability to inalienability.

Possessive prepositions express alienable possession, but this shows a hierarchical order as discussed in 6.1.6.1.1. There are also constructions using various possessive classifiers. They may be placed between constructions with prepositions and inalienable constructions, though they are included under alienable possession. As we saw in the examples (308) - (312), the same entity can occur in several constructions depending on the nature of the possessive relationship.

In the same way, there are two types of possessive constructions expressing inalienable possession. In the first type, two nouns (the possessed and the possessor) are juxtaposed. In the second, they are linked by the link morpheme -nrâ-. As discussed in the previous section and in 3.1.4.3.2.C, link nouns are bound to possessors, but have structural as well as semantic features of alienable possession.

The structure of these constructions shows the high degree of iconicity of the relationship between the possessed and its possessor: the linguistic distance between the possessed and the possessor is greater in the alienable construction (Haiman 1985:130).

A close look at the semantics of nouns which overlap in both bound and link noun categories reveals that the bound noun constructions express the most inalienable, intimate relationship, whereas link noun constructions do the opposite. Although on the
Surface, similar sets of nouns occur in both constructions, the ones that occur in link noun constructions have "separable", "transient" or "non-personal" elements in their meanings compared to the "inherent", "intimate" or "personal" character of bound nouns (cf. 3.1.4.3.2.C).

The degree of the inalienability is often related to the person/human/animacy of the possessor, in addition to the semantics of the noun possessed. In the case of link noun constructions, the choice of first person singular possessor can suppress the link morpheme, thus creating the same structure as bound nouns (more inalienable). The animacy of the possessor often determines the meaning of the possessed (table 3.5 and 3.6), and in some words determines its form as well (cf. 3.1.4.3.2.C). The majority of external body part nouns, which generally have 'human' possessors, behave as bound nouns, while those which have 'animal' possessors behave as link nouns.

The following table summarizes the possessive constructions in terms of structural and semantic correlations:

### Table 6.4

**Possessive Constructions and Nouns Possessed**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alienable</th>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Referents of the noun possessed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NP PREP NP</td>
<td>nrâ</td>
<td>general, temporarily possessed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rrê/rrê</td>
<td>house, boat, pot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ð</td>
<td>fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP POSS.CLFR NP</td>
<td>hêê-</td>
<td>belongings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td>starches in general to be eaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ere-</td>
<td>fruit in general to be eaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hwee-</td>
<td>meat, egg in general to be eaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>odho-</td>
<td>things to be drunk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hwîle-</td>
<td>things to be chewed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>êê-</td>
<td>plants growing or to be planted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP-LINK-NP</td>
<td>-nrâ-</td>
<td>kinship - husband, cousin, aunt, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(-nrâ-) with 1sg</td>
<td>external body part of animals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>separable, not integrated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>plant part detachable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>internal organs, body products - temporary or non-attributable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>personal attributes or properties transient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>result of human activity - only derived noun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NP-NP

bound nouns
kinship - parent, siblings, wife, etc.
external human body part
non-human body part integrated
plant part
some internal organs related to emotions
or bodily condition
body products - essential
personal attributes or properties - permanent
effect/origin of human activity
collectivity/genus
belongings, food, drink, chew, plant

possessive
classifiers
location nouns
relative position

inalienable

6.2 Adjuncts

We will discuss in this section the various types of adjuncts which are associated with the nominal phrase head, syntactically and semantically both with respect to the head and to other adjuncts.

6.2.1 Determiners

Determiners (3.5) are the first to occur if any in a NP. \textit{wa} and \textit{moo} often occur with deictic demonstratives placed after the head. \textit{truu} and \textit{më} can also occur with demonstratives, though not so often.

a) \textit{wa}, \textit{moo} singular, "the"

There seems to be no apparent difference in the meaning or usage of \textit{wa} and \textit{moo}, except that \textit{wa} is more commonly used than \textit{moo}. Both of them can be placed before either human or non-human nouns.

(330) \textit{wa/moo} moo rra
DET person DIST
"that person"

(331) \textit{wa/moo} mwâ mwâ
DET house M.DIST
"that house"

(332) \textit{wa/moo} erre ha
DET place PROX
"this place"

(333) \textit{wa/moo} û mwâ
DET tree M.DIST
"that tree"

When \textit{wa} and \textit{moo} occur in the same sentence, there seems to be a preference for using \textit{wa} in the first place, and \textit{moo} later in the sentence.

(334) wa giwe ha nrâ ti nai moo
DET mountain PROX 3sg big exceed DET
giwe mwâ
mountain M.DIST
"This mountain is bigger than that mountain."
Although, in general, *wa* and *moo* are used interchangeably, there is a preference of one over the other with certain words. With *u* "time", *moo* is normally used and *wa* is not commonly heard (although there are still people who use this expression).

\[(335) \text{ moo } \text{ u } \text{ ha} \]
\[\text{ DET time PROX} \]
"this time"

On the other hand, *wa* is normally heard with *drae* "thing":

\[(336) \text{ wa } \text{ drae } \text{ mwâ} \]
\[\text{ DET thing M.DIST} \]
"that one"

b) truu dual, "the two"

*truu* can occur not only with a human noun, but also (unlike the prefix *truu-*) with a non-human noun if it is countable as illustrated in the following example:

\[(337) \text{ truu } \text{ peci } \text{ ha} \]
\[\text{ DET dl paper PROX} \]
"these two papers"

However, in most cases it occurs with human nouns, which often results in redundant number markings (i.e. with a prefix indicating numbers and with quantifiers). The elaborate way of expressing a number of human nouns contrasts remarkably with the general indifference to number with non-human nouns, which have no number marking on them at all.

\[(338) \text{ truu } \text{ aurru } \text{ truuwû } \text{ трê} \]
\[\text{ DET dl two children dl women dl} \]
"the two girls"

The above example illustrates the multiple number markings. All constituents are marked for duality: *truu* "DET dl", *aurru* "QF two", *truuwû* "children dl", and *трê* "women dl".

The following example also illustrates this:

\[(339) \text{ truu } \text{ truu-truare} \]
\[\text{ DET dl siblings of the same sex dl} \]
"the two brothers/sisters"

The determiner *truu* can also occur with a pronoun as in:

\[(340) \text{ truu } \text{ nrorru} \]
\[\text{ DET dl 3dl} \]
"(those) they two"

c) mė plural, "those"

*mė* can also occur with not only human nouns but also with non-human nouns, thus distinguished from the prefix *mė-* (4.1.1.E). Although the redundant marking of the plural does sometimes happen, *mė* does not normally occur with a noun marked with the prefix *mė-*, or with a quantifier *mêrê* "many, several".
We should note that there is a tradition to refer to the eldest son or eldest brother by a particular appellation of respect, mëti "elder brothers pl". He is also addressed or referred to by the plural form of the pronoun (6.1.1). When one refers to him by his name, one puts the determiner më "pl" in front of his name to show respect, i.e. më horrero (pl, Holéro) "Mr.Horero". On the other hand, më is used as a prefix in më-horrero indicating "Holéros: people of the clan Holéro (plural)".

6.2.2 Quantifiers

Quantifiers can occur not only as the head of a NP but also as adjuncts to the head of a NP. They are preposed to the NP head. When they co-occur with other pre-nominal modifiers (determiners or attributes), they normally occur after determiners and before attributes, as demonstrated in the following examples:

(344) wa tre doo sōbwï DET sg another used mat "this, another used mat"

(345) drîrâ hûwûnrâ farî rra a few small name DIST "those few small names"

(346) mwârû mwâ mwâ some house M.DIST "those some houses"

Unlike më "DET pl", mërrê "pl, many" is used often with nouns marked by the prefix më- "pl" (in the following example, më- is integrated in mâawû):

(347a) mërrê mâawû mwâ pl pl child M.DIST "those children"

(347b) * më mâawû mwâ DET pl pl child M.DIST

Quantifiers can also occur with derived nouns, as in:

(348) saa bee-hadho one NMZ-do a string game "one sort of a string game"

(349) tre bee-fwi another NMZ-do "another way of doing"

(350) mërrê nřt-dri many L-be damp "many swamps"
6.2.3 Attributes

The third optional slot in a NP, that is, the place immediately before the NP head can be filled by one (or rarely two) attribute (3.3). An attribute can also modify a derived noun as illustrated by example (354).

(351) wa drorro vajü
DET big sickness
"the big disease"

(352) pwerre tro treanrü
some native people
"some Kanak people"

(353) saa wadro hüwü nrâ fônrîmoo
one tiny small history
"a tiny small history"

(354) nrôô bee-ha mea ghe ânrâha
old NMZ-speak Mea from here
"the old Mea language (way of speaking Mea) from here"

6.2.4 Nominals

Nominals can be juxtaposed to the preceding nominal head and modify the nature or quality of the referent of the head. This use is often seen among Oceanic languages, including other New Caledonian languages (Ozanne-Rivierre and Moyse-Faurie 1983). Some of these nominals are discussed under compounding (4.3). In this section are included nominals which modify the head nouns more freely without forming a unit like a compound, and which combine productively with other nominals.

Nouns which occur in this position are words as follows:

denoting materials of the object,

noo ü (spear, wood) "wooden spear"
noo fao (spear, metal) "metal spear"
mwâ arrebo (house, stone) "stone house"

specifying the category of the object,

arrôô nawa (water, coconut) "coconut milk"
arrôô wie (water, rain) "rain water"
kôbo moghi (basket, shrimp) "basket for shrimps"
kôbo wî (basket, banana) "basket for banana"
fô treanrü (sort, people) "a sort of people"
fô mee-nre (sort, habitation) "a sort of living place"
verre tä (special stone, taro) "stone placed with taro as a magic"
verre u (special stone, yam) "stone placed with yam as a magic"
nrî-perre porromakau (paddock, cow) "paddock for cow"
nrî-agho nre (burden on back, firewood) "bundle of firewoods carried on back"

denoting the sex,

mèô mwîê (chicken, woman) "hen"
mèô moo (chicken, man) "rooster"
pù mwîê (flying fox, woman) "female flying fox"
pù moo (flying fox, man) "male flying fox"
Possessor nominals also occur in this position. They are the nominals which fill in the possessor slot of the possessive constructions discussed in 6.1.6. Possessor nominals which are marked by one of the possessive markers: nřə, rrrɛ/rrɛ, or ɔ (cf. 6.2.8.3) normally occur in this position, although they can sometimes be preceded by a demonstrative as in (355a), a location/time noun as in (356a) or a phrasal modifier as in (357a):

(355a) wa wake mwā nřə nřũ
DET work M.DIST POSS 2sg
"that work of yours"

(356a) rroto ārijũ nřə nřf
car down there POSS 3sg
"his car down there"

(357a) kasi a mijũ nřə sonya
bag AT heavy POSS Sonya
"Sonya's heavy bag"

The word order in the above examples can be reversed as follows without any significant change in meaning:

(355b) wa wake nřə nřũ mwā
DET work POSS 2sg M.DIST
"that work of yours"

(356b) rroto nřə nřf ārijũ
car POSS 3sg down there
"his car down there"

(357b) kasi nřə sonya a mijũ
bag POSS Sonya AT heavy
"Sonya's heavy bag"

6.2.5 Demonstratives

A demonstrative (3.6) can occur as a post-head adjunct to the NP head. The demonstrative generally occurs after a possessor nominal if there is one (as illustrated below), but it can also occur in other post-head positions.

(358) wa mwā rrrɛ toni mwā
DET hut POSS Tony M.DIST
"that Tony's hut"

When a demonstrative occurs after one or more post-head modifiers, it modifies or restricts the whole group of words which precede it.

The difference is illustrated in the following examples:

(359a) [wa moo] mwā a harru
DET man M.DIST AT good
"that man who is good"

(mwā "M.DIST" is restricting wa moo "the man", and a harru is modifying wa moo mwā "that man")

(359b) [wa moo a harru] mwā
DET man AT good M.DIST
"that, good man"

(mwā "M.DIST" is restricting wa moo a harru "the good man". mwā is singling out a particular man from several "good men".)
6.2.6 Location and time nouns

A location and/or time noun can also occur as a postposed adjunct to the NP head. It normally occurs after the possessor nominal and demonstrative (if there are any): it may occur either before or after a phrasal modifier.

When it is a relative location noun such as tê- "place of", it is followed by a nominal specifying the place (3.1.4.2.1).

Some location and time nouns are optionally marked with a preposition (3.1.4.2).

<location nouns>

(360) tro erre mwârijù
   real place down there
   "tribal place down there"

(361) busi nrâ mwïê ânrâmwâ
   cat POSS woman over there
   "the woman's cat over there"

(362) wake tê-patrik
   job home-Patrick
   "job at Patrick's"

(363) mïô (ru) nrï-troo
   seed L on-earth
   "seeds on the earth"

<time nouns>

(364) hùùmùrrù apuurrù
   child the day before yesterday
   "a green youth"

(365) mòrrô nrîmwârmwâ
   life now
   "the present life"

(366) arrôô a ti nrï-wâdrâ
   water AT big in the morning
   "high tide in the dawn"

6.2.7 Postnominal modifiers

As described in 3.7.1.2, about a dozen adverbs can modify nominals as well. They occur quite freely in the postnominal position. The post-head verbal modifier, nrâ "past", can also occur as a postnominal modifier (7.5).

(367) hari nrörrô
   1plinc only
   "only us (including you)"

(368) mè drae rra edho
   DET pl thing DIST any, even
   "anything (pl)"

(369) mè-pôgòrrô hâvenfâ
   pl-black all, entire
   "all the black people"

(370) nro hwa
   lsg EMPH
   "me!"
6.2.8 Phrasal modifiers

Phrasal modifiers which occur in a postnominal position are either infinitives or prepositional phrases.

6.2.8.1 Infinitives

There are two types of infinitives that occur in this position: verbs derived with the prefix o- and verbs marked as purposive.

(A) Verbs derived with the prefix o-

Verbs derived from nouns or other verbs, with the prefix o- "be in excessive state of something, be in certain condition" (5.1.2) can occur postnominally, as illustrated below:

(372) iifade o-tarragho
      path condition-mud holes
"path with a lot of mud holes"

(373) iifade o-eghe
      path condition-to bite
"rough road"

(374) maamùrrù o-nirre
      children full-snivel
"children snivelling a lot"

(375) tave o-purrüu
      bed full-dust
"bed full of dust"

(376) ò-nrâ o-drirri
      head-3sg full-straw
"his head covered with straw"

(B) Verbs marked as purposive

Verbs can occur as adjuncts to nouns without being preceded by an attribute marker, when they indicate a purpose for which the modified noun is used, as illustrated in the following.

The verb can take an object marked by nrâ "POSS" (6.1.6.1.1), as in a clause with complementizers bee and òò (8.3.1.1).

(377) puue ta nrâ moghi
      net catch POSS shrimps
"net to catch shrimps"

(378) sara jùrrù nrâ farrawa
      knife cut POSS bread
"knife to cut bread"

(379) kuramwâ ta nrâ mèwe
      trap catch POSS bird
"trap to catch birds"
6.2.8.2 Prepositional phrases

The ten prepositions can be used to link two nominal phrases. Prepositional phrases with \( \text{nrâ}, \text{rrelrre} \) and \( \text{o} \) are excluded here, as they are discussed in 6.1.6 and in 6.2.4 as marking possessor nominals. Those with other prepositions are illustrated below. The semantic relationship between NPs which is expressed by each of the prepositions parallels the semantics of the prepositions described in 3.4.

with \( \text{nrí} \) "in, with" (temporal and instrumental)

(382) \( \text{mòrrò} \ \text{nrí} \ \text{wa} \ \text{nâå} \ \text{drâå} \ \text{mwâ} \)
life in DET piece day M.DIST
"the life in those days"

(383) \( \text{kare} \ \text{nrí} \ \text{hi-rri} \)
run with leg-3pl
"a running race"

with \( \text{ru} \) "at, in" (locative)

(384) \( \text{treanrü} \ \text{ru} \ \text{saramea} \)
people in Saramea
"people in Saramea"

with \( \text{rugi} \) "at, on, about" (locative, temporal and referential)

(385) \( \text{mèwe} \ \text{rugi} \ \text{bè-ù} \)
bird on arm-tree
"birds on the twig"

(386) \( \text{kò} \ \text{rugi} \ \text{bee-bôrrò} \ \text{nrâ} \ \text{mwîé} \)
news about NMZ-drown POSS woman
"the news about the woman's drowning"

with \( \text{ghe} \) "from" (elative)

(387) \( \text{treanrü} \ \text{ghe} \ \text{âroa} \ \text{giwe} \)
people from over there mountain
"people from over there, mountain"

(388) \( \text{guha} \ \text{nrâ} \ \text{ri} \ \text{ghe} \ \text{ânrämwâ} \)
language POSS 3pl from there
"their language of there"

with \( \text{gi} \) "at" (locative)

(389) \( \text{treanrü} \ \text{gi} \ \text{sinema} \)
people at movie
"people at the movie theater."

with \( \text{ghegi} \) "out of, because of" (origin, causal)

(390) \( \text{mè} \ \text{asirri} \ \text{ghegi} \ \text{mè} \ \text{voo} \)
DET pl three out of DET pl men
"three people out of those men"
(391) vajù ghegi hòve
sickness because of cold
"sickness from the cold"

with nrò "for" (purposive)

(392) osi nrò maamurrù
horse for children
"the horse for children"

(393) dräa nrò bee fi nrâ nrî
day for CMPZ go POSS 3sg
"the day for his going"

6.2.9 Clausal modifiers

We will briefly discuss clausal modifiers to the noun (i.e. relative clauses) in this
section, as they will be discussed in detail later in 8.3.2.

Tinrin relative clauses are not expressed by any special subordinator. The
coreferential noun in the embedded sentence is either reduced to a pronominal form or
to zero. In the following example (394), the NP in the object position within the
embedded clause is relativised, and reduced to zero. In example (395), it is reduced to a
pronoun:

(394) wa mwiè mwâ [nrâ suveharru] nrâ fi wai
DET woman M.DIST 3sg like 3sg go already
"The woman (whom) he likes has gone already."

(395) wiri tramwä nroorre [herrê ta bwô ru nrî]
2pl know place IMPN hit crab in 3sg
"You know the place where people catch crabs." (lit. You know the place
people catch crabs in it.)

In addition to these relative clauses, Tinrin has another structure, using a. a, which
can be used as a prefix "agentive, attributive" (4.1.1), can also function to introduce a
participial relative clause. Unlike other relative clauses, the position relativised in this
participial relative clause is restricted to the subject (8.3.2).
Chapter 7

THE VERB PHRASE

The verb phrase consists of a head or nucleus which is a verb (3.2), a subject pronoun, and a number of optional adjuncts which will be described later in this chapter. The structure of the verb phrase is as follows.

\[ VP = +s \pm TA \pm PreMod +H \pm PostMod +O \pm L \pm T \pm AD \pm Phr \]

The head and the subject pronoun are obligatory, but the other constituents (tense-aspect markers, pre-head and post-head verbal modifiers, objects, location or time nouns, adverbs and phrasal modifiers) may or may not occur.

The word order among constituents is fixed, except that an adverb, location and time noun, and phrasal modifier can occur quite freely in a post verbal position. The pronominal object can occur before post-head verbal modifiers. I will discuss the detailed word order among constituents later in this chapter.

7.1 The Head

The head of the VP may belong to any one of the subtypes of verbs described in 3.2. It can be morphologically complex as discussed in chapter 5. It is not inflected according to person, gender or case, etc.; but it is obligatorily preceded by a subject pronoun, which agrees in person and number with the nominal subject, that optionally follows the predicate.

The VP head is either transitive or intransitive. Transitive verbs generally take optional objects, except those that are suffixed with transitive suffixes and reflexive verbs which always take objects (3.2.2.2.1).

(396) \( nrâ \) sepihi (purrtiu) \( nrâ \) gogo
\( 3sg \) brush off dust sm Gogo
"Gogo brushed off (the dust)."

Occasionally the head of a VP involves two or more verbs. In many cases, one of the verbs more or less loses its lexical meaning, and then becomes a modifier of the other. Of these, eleven verbs which gain aspectual meanings and function as auxiliaries when they co-occur with other verbs are discussed as pre-head and post-head verbal modifiers (7.4 and 7.5). By treating them as verbal modifiers, we can see more clearly their interaction with other pre-head or post-head verbal modifiers which share the same syntactic slot. They combine with other verbal modifiers in certain ways (cf. table 7.7). In such combinations, a preferred word order can be seen, but complex variation in this
ordering is also possible (7.4 and 7.5). Pre-head verbal modifiers also include words which can function as attributes and nominals (table 7.4 and 7.6).

Verbs in the predicate can be of equal status, expressing simultaneous or consecutive actions/states or events. The syntactic and semantic roles of these verbs vary: the varieties and possible combinations of verbs will be discussed in the section of serialization (7.9.1).

The head of a VP can also be a phrasal verb, which consists of a verb and a preposition. Like English phrasal verbs such as ‘look for’, the meaning of both parts is modified to some extent, the phrasal verb having a meaning as a whole, and functioning like one grammatical unit. However, unlike compounds (5.4), the parts of phrasal verbs can be separated by some modifier.

wake nři (work, with) "to use"
fví gi (do, about) "to manage"
kare fadre (run, with) "to transport"
sii fadre (pass, with) "to send, accompany"

7.2 Subject Pronouns

The first slot of the verb phrase is obligatorily filled by a subject pronoun which is cross-referenced in person and number with the nominal subject that optionally follows the predicate. The forms of the subject pronoun are set out in table 7.1 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg</th>
<th>dl</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 (inc)</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ru</td>
<td>ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(exc)</td>
<td></td>
<td>komu</td>
<td>kevi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>kou</td>
<td>wiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>nřa</td>
<td>rru</td>
<td>rri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPN</td>
<td>hěrré</td>
<td>hěrré</td>
<td>hěrré</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The TA markers ei and a which I discuss in the next section occur as enclitics to subject pronouns. Some of the subject pronoun forms undergo phonological processes when cliticized as follows:

with ei "future"

1sg u - ei > (u)wei
1plinc ri - ei > ri(e)i
2sg ke - ei > kei
3sg nřa - ei > nři(i)
3pl rri - ei > rri(e)i
IMPN va - ei > ve(e)i
with a "perfect, actual, definite"

1sg  u - a > (u)wa
2sg  ke - a > k(e)a

7.3 Tense-Aspect Markers

TA markers occur between the subject pronoun and the head of the predicate. They are listed in the following, numbered according to their order in possible combinations. Theoretically, there are many possible combinations of TA markers, but some of these are semantically implausible.

The possible and unacceptable combinations will be summarised at the end of this section.

The word order among TA markers is fairly rigid, compared to that among pre-head verbal modifiers described later; however, there is some freedom in certain combinations.

1. a  "perfect, actual, definite"
2. ei  "immediate future, hypothesis"
3. go  "punctual, consecutive"
4. nrë "eventual, future indefinite"
5. re  "assertive, habitual, obligation"
6. nrâ "imperfective, durative, actual"
7. nrére "regrettably"
8. hava/hämâ(nrâ) "immediate past, just, soon after"
9. nrôô "remote past"

Tinrin clauses often do not have a specific marker of past versus present tense; that is, when the clause has no TA markers, (TA marker being optional) it can refer to either the present or the past. A similar feature is seen in a number of West African languages, as well as in other Oceanic languages (cf. Mosel 1984:107-8).40

Comrie (1976:82) discusses, referring to Yoruba and Igbo, that in these languages nonstative verbs have no marker if they have perfective meaning,41 and that they have some markers if they have imperfective meaning. Stative verbs have only imperfective meaning, and take no marker (Ibid).

The same thing can also apply to Tinrin, as imperfective meaning is indicated by a TA marker nrâ if the verb is nonstative, and without nrâ the verb has perfective meaning. The following sentence (397) has perfective meaning (unmarked) as the verb is nonstative, whereas sentence (398) is marked by nrâ "imperfective" and sentence (399) imperfective (unmarked) as it has a stative verb.

(397) nrâ drarri nrâ hûmûrû
     3sg cry sm child
"The child cried."

40 F. Rivierre (1979:35) and de la Fontinelle (1976:228) refer to similar features in Nemi and Ajie respectively as 'aorist'.
41 The term 'perfective' denotes a situation viewed in its entirety, without regard to internal temporal constituency (Comrie 1976:12).
When there is no contextual indication of time reference, the imperfective forms are more naturally understood as referring to the present, and the perfective form as referring to the past.42

Now, we will see how the TA markers in the above list express some tense and/or aspect, and how they interact in order to get further intricate tense-aspectual meanings.

The first two particles (a and ei) occur as enclitics to subject pronouns or the preceding word.

1) a  perfect, actual, definite

It is difficult to define this particle, as it covers a wide range of meanings, and also often occurs with other particles, which makes it difficult to isolate the meaning of a. A sentence marked by a and a sentence unmarked (like the following examples 401a and 400a) are often regarded as 'identical in meaning' by native people. However, a definitely has a meaning of its own, and what seems to be most central to the meaning of a is 'present relevance'. Let us consider the following sentences:

(400a) wiri trôdrô nři
2pl find 3sg
"You found it/him."

(401a) wiria trôdrô nři
2pl PERF find 3sg
"You have found it./You have met him."

(400b) wiri trôdrô nři âwù
2pl find 3sg yesterday
"You found it/him yesterday."

(401b) * wiria trôdrô nři âwù
2pl PERF find 3sg yesterday
"You have met him yesterday."

The unmarked non-stative verb in sentence (400a) suggests that the sentence has the perfective meaning, as discussed earlier. Thus, without any specific indicator in the context, it naturally refers to a situation which took place in the past. Sentence (401a) often seems to be used indifferently from sentence (400a) as referring to a past situation as well. However, when added a time noun which refers to the past such as "yesterday", the sentence becomes unacceptable as in (401b).

42 Comrie points out a close relationship between imperfective aspect and present time, and between perfective aspect and past time, in these languages without tense markers. He makes a reference to Welmers' notion of 'factative': "the construction expresses the most obvious fact about the verb in question, which in the case of active verbs is that the action was observed or took place, but for stative verbs is that the situation obtains at present" (Welmers 1973:346-7).
Like English present perfect, sentence (401a) refers to a past situation which has present relevance. More exactly, it has the meaning of experiential perfect, that is, a given situation was held at least once during some time in the past leading up to the present (Comrie 1976:58). It is this "perfect" meaning of a which prompts the ungrammatical sentence (401b), as "yesterday" removes the relevance of the situation from the present.

Although sentences like (401a) cannot occur with time nouns which refer to the past, they can occur with post-verbal nrå "before, past" and /or wai "already", as (402), (403) and (404) illustrate. Sentences (402) and (403) have experiential perfect meaning, and (404) has the perfect of result - "you have eaten (so you are not hungry any more)".

(402)   u(w)a hara nrå mii
1sg PERF eat PST watermelon
"I have eaten watermelon before."

(403)   u(w)a pee wai
1sg PERF see already
"I have already seen (before)."

(404)   ka hara (nraasi) wai
2sg PERF eat (rice) already
"You have already eaten (rice)."

We can see the experiential perfect meaning in sentence (402), in spite of nrå "before, past", as the ungrammatical sentence (405) illustrates, where the object 'watermelon' is substituted by ne "what". We get a grammatical sentence (406) if we delete a from sentence (405), in order to get a simple past meaning:

(405) * kea hara nrå ne?
2sg PERF eat PST what
"What have you eaten before?"

(406) ke hara nrå ne?
2sg eat PST what
"What did you eat?"

a may also imply "actual" or "present", as the next sentence illustrates:

(407) nrifa rria ta rria hwarri nri
now 3pl ACT kill 3pl ACT sell 3sg

pwere ânrârra
L there
"Nowadays, they kill and sell it over there."

a can also be used for the future tense, indicating the speaker's prediction or decision for the future which has been made prior to the utterance. The following sentences incorporating the time nouns (408), TA marker (e)i "future" (409) and nrî "eventual" (410) will illustrate this:

(408) kea truumôôwi kaarrô më huurru
2sg DEF rest tomorrow and day after tomorrow
"You will take a rest tomorrow or the day after tomorrow."
(you should take a rest....)
(409) nrì ke nrì kùi kai go mè
when 2sg EVENT finish 2sg DEF FUT then come
mwagi
back
"You will come back when you finish (it is decided)."

(410) rria nrì firù
3pl DEF EVENT enter
"They will (certainly) enter (there) (if we wait here)."

When a occurs with ei "future" and the post-head verbal modifier wai "completive, already", it indicates future perfect as in:

(411) see mwaa kai nrerre fi wai
NEG long 2sg PERF FUT regret go already
"(Before) not long (soon), you will be gone to my regret."

2) ei immediate future, hypothesis

This particle indicates that something is anticipated by the speaker to occur in the immediate future, often with the subject’s volition. The following sentences illustrate this:

(412) u(w)ei fi
1sg FUT go
"I am going."

(413) nrìi hara
3sg FUT eat
"He will eat (soon)."

ei can also occur in a clause which expresses some hypothetical event or condition. To express contrafactual ei is combined with nrà "past" as in the sentence (416).

(414) u barri traiki pa nrìi eghe rò
1sg afraid dog lest 3sg FUT bite 1sg
"I am afraid of the dog lest it should bite me."

(415) nrì kei ve peci rò nrìi harru gi nrìi
if 2sg FUT take paper 1sg 3sg FUT good to 2sg
"If you receive my letter, you will be pleased." (lit. It will be good to you)

(416) nrì wei wake nrà åwù wei warri nrìfa
if 1sg FUT work PST yesterday 1sg FUT tired now
"If I had worked yesterday, I would be exhausted now."

ei can occur freely with other TA markers or pre-head modifiers, except nrà "imperfective, progressive" and nròò "long time ago".

3) go punctual, consequential

go occurs very commonly in speech, indicating the development of the discourse. It marks the particular point of time as well as the sequence of events in a narration. It often follows the impersonal pronoun va "there, it" or TA marker a "perfect, actual, definite".
"Then they descend, they descend."

"I wake up early, and then go out."

"When you finish eating, you will go out."

"Then it finished."

"They have then eventually come back again, too."

"Then, they have eventually and finally agreed to let them marry."

It is often used in a clause following savaa "prohibitive" to indicate negative imperative:

"Don’t touch it!"

Or, in an adverbial clause as in:

"When you go to Noumea, bring rice back."

nřī can combine with ei "immediate future" to imply things happening in the near future, which are out of the control of the subject.
It does not combine with TA markers *nrå* "imperfect" and *nråðö* "remote past".

5) *re* assertive, habitual, obligation

This particle expresses "assertion of existence or reality" in a statement by the speaker. In some contexts, it expresses "obligation" as well as "a strong supposition" by the speaker.

(427) *rri* truu *nrå* *rri* *re* truu *nrå*
3pl stay there 3pl ASS stay there
"They are there, (I assure you) they are."

(428) va see *re* radio
IMPN NEG ASS radio
"This is not the radio (It cannot be)."

(429) *nrå* *re* fi
3sg ASS go
"He goes by all means."

It sometimes expresses "habitual", that is, a situation characteristic of an extended period of time (Comrie 1976:27). It can occur with any tense, as well as with the negative particle *see*.

(430) kevi *re* see ta poka
1plexc HAB NEG kill pig
"We did not hunt pigs in those days."
(*re* and *see* are interchangeable.)

(431) *nrå* *re* fwa
3sg HAB rain
"It always rains."

(432) tau *nrå* *nrå* *re* fi pwere trüß
often PST 3sg HAB go to sea
"Before, he used to go to the sea."

*re* does not occur with *hämâ* "immediate past", *nråðö* "remote past", *nrådâu* "inchoative". The following examples illustrate a combination with a "definite, perfect", *go* "punctual, consecutive" and one with *ei* "future".

(433) wiria (go) *re* trödrö *nrå*
2pl DEF then ASS find 3sg
"Did you (then) find it really?"

(434) wei *re* fi
1sg FUT ASS go
"I am going in any case."

With *nrå* "eventual", *re* can occur either before or after it without changing the meaning:

(435) wei *nrå* *re* fi (= wei *re* *nrå* fi)
1sg FUT EVENT ASS go
"I will be going anyway."
6) nrâ  imperfective, progressive, durative

As I mentioned at the beginning of this section, nrâ marks "imperfective" with nonstative verbs. It indicates that a situation is continuing at the time of speech or at the time referred to.

Stative verbs normally have imperfective meaning with present tense. When they occur in the past tense, they are marked by nrâ as in the example (439). (This particle is homophonous with the post-head verbal modifier nrâ,"before, past"). nrâ often occurs with the pre-head modifier truumwêrrê "all the time."

(436)  u  nrâ  fi  wai
       1sg  PROG  go  already
       "I am going now."

(437)  ke  nrâ  gee
       2sg  PROG  lie
       "You are lying."

(438)  rri  nrâ  truumwêrrê  via  nrô  hêêra
       3pl  DUR  all  the  time  fight  for  food
       "They are fighting all the time for the food."

(439)  rri  nrâ  truu  nrâ  ânrâha
       3pl  DUR  stay  PST  he  re
       "They were living here (at the time)"

(440)  ke  nrâ  fi  ghee?
       2sg  IMPF  go  from
       "Where are you from?"

nrâ does not co-occur with future markers ei, nri, and hâmâ "immediate past."

When it occurs with a, it indicates the perfect of a persistent situation, which started in the past but continues into the present.

(441)  rria  nrâ  via  nrô  hêêra
       3pl  PERF  IMPF  fight  for  food
       "They have been fighting over food."

The following examples illustrate a combination with re "assertive" and one with nrôô "remote past":

(442)  u  re  nrâ  (truumwêrrê)  wake
       1sg  ASS  PROG  always  work
       "(I tell you) I am always working."

(443)  u  nrâ  nrôô  truu  nrâ  ru  saramea
       1sg  DUR  R.PST  stay  PST  in  Saramea
       "I was living in Saramea long time ago."

7) nrrerre  "regrettable"

This particle indicates the speaker's "regret". The speaker mentions something that does not please him or which he does not want to admit. It means "I do not want to say, but..."

(444)  nrâ  nrrerre  nrorri  nrooi
       3sg  regret  give  in  vain
       "He gave (it) for nothing (which I regret)."
nrerre can occur with any TA markers or pre-head modifiers except savaa "prohibitive". The following examples illustrate some combinations with them:

with ei "future", nrî "eventual"
(447) nrî nrî nrerre fi 3sg FUT EVENT regret go
"He will be going (I want him to stay)."

with marra "wastefully"
(448) nrâ nrerre marra wake nrâ 3sg regret waste work PST
"To my regret, he worked badly."

with see "neg", maija "much"
(449) ri nrerre see maija töwö kafe 1plinc regret NEG much pick coffee
"We did not collect many coffee beans, unfortunately."

8) hava/hâmâ(nrâ) immediate past, future, "soon"

hava has a variant form hâmâ(nrâ) which seems to be a dialectal variant. Both forms are used indifferently by Tinrin people. People in Kououa have a preference for hâmâ (nrâ). hâmâ (nrâ) can occur as an attribute, meaning "new, young". It also has a related verbal form havane/hâmânê "be new".

This particle indicates the immediate completion of an action or change of state, often occurring with the past marker nrâ or with some time nouns/adverbs.

(450) u hâmâ tròa nrâ nrîmwâmwâ 1sg IPST arrive PST now
"I just arrived now."

(451) nrâ hava tròa áwù sêêdre 3sg IPST arrive yesterday evening
"He only arrived yesterday night."

(452) ua hava tròa moo ru ânrâha 1sg DEF IPST arrive first time L here
"I have just come here for the first time."

hava also indicates an immediate succession of action, "immediately" or "no sooner...than", with any tense, as in:

(453) ria go hâmâ nyôrrô waa wi 1plinc DEF then soon cook descend banana
"Then, we immediately put in banana and cook."

(454) wei hâmâ wake 1sg FUT soon work
"I am now going to work."
It can combine with the TA marker nřī "eventual", as in the following sentence, in which hâmā suggests an action immediately following some event in the future (previously mentioned or known from the context).

(455) wei nřī hâmā fi
1sg FUT EVENT soon go
"I will go soon after (that)"

hâmā(nřā) does not co-occur with nřā "imperfective", re "assertive", truumwērrē "continuous", nrōō "remote past", gūwū "in progress", marra "wastefully", and wake "always".

9) nrōō remote past, "long time ago"

This particle indicates that an event happened a long time ago. It always occurs in the past, with the post-head verbal modifier nřā "past". Like hâmā(nrā), it can occur as an attribute meaning "old". It also has a related nominal form nrōōnřī "long time".

(456) u nrōō tròa nřā
1sg R.PST arrive PST
"I arrived a long time ago."

(457) wa nrōō fi nřā pwere numea
1sg PERF R.PST go PST to Noumea
"I have been to Noumea (I went there a long time ago)."

(458) nřā nrōō fi wai nřā
3sg R.PST go already PST
"He has gone already since long time."

An adverb vaarra is sometimes used similarly, but vaarra indicates rather "long duration" of time, and can be used in the present or future tense, while nrōō goes back to the "old time". The next sentence contains both of them:

(459) nřā nrōō truu vaarra
3sg R.PST stay long time
"He was there for a long time."

nrōō does not co-occur with hâmā "immediate past", ei "future", nřī "eventual", re "assertive", go "punctual", see "negative", truumwērrē "continuous", fie "finally", ubwē "iterative" and gūwū "in progress".
As seen above, TA markers combine with each other to indicate various meanings. They overlap in their scope of tenses and aspects. The following table suggests their approximate positions with reference to the temporal/aspectual perspectives:

Table 7.2: Positions of Tense-Aspect Markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R.PST</th>
<th>I.PST</th>
<th>PRES</th>
<th>I.FUT</th>
<th>R.FUT</th>
<th>NON-TIME</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PERF</td>
<td>nrõõ</td>
<td>hâmã(nrã)</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>nrî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPF</td>
<td></td>
<td>nrã</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>re</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG attitude</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nrerre</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The possible or unacceptable combinations of TA markers are illustrated in the following table:

Table 7.3: Combinations of Tense-Aspect Markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>a</th>
<th>ei</th>
<th>go</th>
<th>nrî</th>
<th>re</th>
<th>nrâ</th>
<th>nrerre</th>
<th>hâmã(nrã)</th>
<th>nrõõ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ei</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>nrî</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nrâ</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>+</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>nrerre</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hâmã(nrã)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>nrõõ</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ compatible
- incompatible
? uncertain
7.4 Pre-head Verbal Modifiers

There are a number of modifiers which can occur between the TA markers and the verb phrase head. They differ from TA markers in that the word order among them is generally free, although in some combinations there are preferential word orders. Four different types of modifiers belong to this category: a) those which can also occur as attributes (3.3); b) those which can also occur as verbs (cf.7.1); c) those which can occur as nominals and d) those which occur only as verbal modifiers.

a) those which can also occur as attributes
   1. saafi "altogether"
   2. hüwünrá "a little bit"
   3. tro "augmentative, simply"

b) those which can also occur as verbs
   4. truumwërre "always, progressive"
   5. nrää "desiderative"
   6. savaa "prohibitive"
   7. nrääü "inchoative"
   8. wake "persistent, habitual"
   9. truu "durative, continuous"
  10. fwi "causative"

c) those which can also occur as nominals
   11. ubwë "many times, iterative"
   12. uurru "twice"
   13. treu "another time, again"
   14. sau "again, once more"
   15. güwü "in progress, durative, imperfect"

d) those which occur only as verbal modifier
   16. see "negative, not"
   17. fie "finally"
   18. wo "again, later"
   19. marra "wastefully"
   20. maija "very much"
   21. siwai "more, better"

I will discuss in the following the syntactic and semantic features of these modifiers with respect to the head and to TA markers. I will then discuss the preferred word order among them.

(A) Three attributes can also form a system of pre-head verbal modifiers. Their meanings as attributes and as pre-head verbal modifiers are set out in the following table: to some extent they maintain their literal meaning.
Table 7.4

Verbal Modifiers which can Occur as Attributes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning as attributes</th>
<th>meaning as verbal modifiers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>saafi</td>
<td>altogether</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hüwù(nrä)</td>
<td>a little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tro</td>
<td>augmentative, simply</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1) saafi "altogether"

This word may be derived from saa "one" and fi "to go". It occurs with plural subjects and indicates that "all of them" do something or are in some state at the same time.

(460) rri saafi fwi nrä
3pl altogether exist PST
"They were there altogether."

It occurs with any of the TA markers or pre-head verbal modifiers except güwù "in progress". The following examples illustrate combinations with see "negative", wake "always", wo "again", treu "again" and re "assertive".

(461) rri see saafi wake nyorrô
3pl NEG altogether always cook
"They do not always cook together."

(462) rri saafi wo treu kare mwagi
3pl altogether again again run again
"They all ran again."

(463) wiri see re saafi wake
2pl NEG ASS altogether work
"You all do not work."

2) hüwùnrä "a little bit"

This particle consists of two morphemes: hüwù "child, baby" and nrä "possessive, of". When it occurs pre-verbally, it means "a little bit".

(464) rri hüwùnrä si drajü
3pl a little go climb
"They climbed a little bit."

It co-occurs with any pre-head verbal modifier, except maija "very much". The following examples illustrate combinations with see "negative", saafi "altogether", a "definite" and go "consecutive".

(465) ri see saafi hüwùnrä wake
1plinc NEG altogether a little work
"We did not work a bit altogether."

(466) ria go hüwùnrä famerro
1plinc DEF then a little CAUS lie down
"We then leave it for a while (make it lie idle: here, ferment)."
3) *tro*, "just, augmentative, simply"

This modifier augments the meaning of the predicate. Sometimes an excrescent *e* occurs between *tro* and the following verb. Before *tramwâ* "to know", *fi* "to go" or *hidrô* "to say", for example, *e* is optional, but before *arû* "be same" *e* always occurs (*tro (e) tramwâ* "to believe", *tro (e) hidrô* "to simply say", *tro e arû* "be identical, alike").

(467)  
  \[
  \text{ke } \text{tro nyôrrô } \diamond \\
  2sg \quad \text{AUG cook } \text{pot}
  \]
  "You just boiled the pot (cooked simply, with no salt, etc.)."

(468)  
  \[
  \text{rrî } \text{tro } \text{hara veharru} \\
  3pl \quad \text{AUG eat well}
  \]
  "They ate calmly (not talking, etc.)."

It occurs with any TA markers or pre-head verbal modifier, except *marra* "wastefully". The following examples illustrate combinations with *re* "habitual", *ei* "future", *nrf* "eventual", and *see* "negative".

(469)  
  \[
  \text{rrî } \text{re } \text{tro hôpiri rrî} \\
  3pl \quad \text{HAB AUG catch } 3pl
  \]
  "We used to catch them by hands (not using any instruments.)."

(470)  
  \[
  \text{kei } \text{nrf } \text{tro } \text{hara} \\
  2sg \quad \text{FUT EVENT AUG eat}
  \]
  "You will be eating simply."

(471)  
  \[
  \text{ke } \text{tro see wake (nru)} \\
  2sg \quad \text{AUG NEG work AUG}
  \]
  "You do not work at all."

(B) Seven verbs that occur as lexemes can also function as auxiliaries. They are included here, as explained in 7.1. Their meanings as verbs and as verbal modifiers are set out in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal Modifiers (Pre-head) which can Occur as Verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>meaning as verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>truumwêrrê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nrââ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>savaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>truu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fwi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4) truumwêrre progressive, "always"

*truumwêrre* consists of two morphemes: *truu* "to stay, exist" and *mwrê* "again" (which is also pronounced as *mwârrê*). When it occurs as a pre-verbal modifier, it indicates "progressive, persistence of a state or process." As I mentioned earlier, it often combines with *nrâ* "progressive".

(472) nrâ truumwêrre fwa nrâ wie
3sg always rain sm rain
"It rains incessantly."

(473) u truumwêrre tu
1sg PROG write
"I am writing."

It does not co-occur with *hâmâ* "immediate past", *nrôô* "remote past", *fiê* "finally", (wo) *treu* "again", *sau* "again", *nrâââ* "inchoative", *gûwû* "in progress" and *wake* "always". The following examples illustrate combinations with a "perfect", *go* "then", *nrâ* "progressive", *re* "habitual" and *ei* "future", *nrf* "eventual", *see* "negative":

(474) ka go nrâ truumwêrre fwi ne?
2sg PERF then PROG always do what
"What have you been doing then?"

(475) rri re truumwêrre mûrfî nrâ nrâ maamûrrû
3pl HAB always hungry PST sm children
"Children used to be always hungry."

(476) wei nrf see truumwêrre truu åro
1sg FUT EVENT NEG always stay over there
"I shall not be staying there all the time."

5) *nrââ* desiderative

*nrââ* indicates "desiderative" when used as a pre-head verbal modifier:

(477) u nrââ hara nraasi
1sg DES eat rice
"I want to eat rice."

It can occur with any pre-head verbal modifiers except *gûwû* "in progress" and *truu"durative". The following examples illustrate combinations with *truumwêrre"always", *ei* "future", *nrf* "eventual", *a* "perfect", and *nrôô* "remote past":

(478) nrâ truumwêrre nrââ fî pwere numea
3sg always DES go to Noumea
"He always wants to go to Noumea"

(479) kei nrf nrââ më mwâgi
2sg FUT EVENT DES come back
"You will want to come back."

(480) ka nrââ hara wai
2sg PERF DES eat already
"You have already become hungry."

(481) nrâ nrôô nrââ hösi
3sg R.PST DES buy
"He wanted to buy a long time ago."
6) sa(vaa) prohibitive, caveat

This is normally used in the negative imperative, indicating "do not." This use of a verb meaning "to defend" in the negative imperative may be a calque from French "défendre".

In a rapid speech, vaa may be elided.

Post-head verbal modifier nrä "obligation" often occurs in this contraction.

(482) savaa hara nrä wò-ù
PROH eat OBLG fruit-tree
"Don't eat fruits of the tree."

savaa can occur with TA markers and certain pre-head verbal modifiers: truumwërrë "always", nrâdû "inchoative", hùwù nrâ "a little", fwi "causative", marra "wastefully", maija "a lot" and tro "just". The following sentence illustrates a combination with nrâdû:

(483) savaa nrââû wake ve-horro
PROH INCHO work strongly
"Don't start working hard."

7) nrââû inchoative

nrââû indicates the initiation phase of an event or a state, that an action or state is on the point of starting.

(484) nrâ go nrââû wa nrâ faabwë nrâ
3sg then INCHO descend sm number POSS

bwò
- crab
"The number of crabs started to fall."

nrâdû does not co-occur with re, truumwërrë, ubwë, uurru, ꐒwù, truu or siwai. The following examples illustrate combinations with "definite", fie "finally", ei "future", nri "eventual" and see "negative". The word order between nrâdû, fie and nrâ is interchangeable.

(485) ria tròa rri varaha nrî rria
1plinc DEF wait 3pl like this when 3pl DEF

nrââû ho
INCHO eat
"We awaited them (flying foxes) like this until they started eating."

(486) kevi nrââû fie hara
1plexc INCHO finally eat
"We finally started eating."

(487) rriei (nrî) nrâû fi mwâgi
3pl FUT EVENT INCHO go back
"They will go back."

(488) nrâ see nrâû hara warra
3sg NEG INCHO eat yet
"He does not start eating yet."
8) wake persistence, habitual

When used as a pre-head verbal modifier, *wake* "to work" indicates "persistence, habitual, keep doing."

(489) nrâ wake fwa nrâ wie
3sg persist rain sm rain
"It is still raining."

*wake* does not occur with *hâmâ, truumwërrê, fie, ubwê, uurrü, gîwû, truu nor siwai.*

The following examples illustrate combinations with *nrââü* "inchoative" and *re* "assertive":

(490) toni nrâ nrââü wake haa
Tony 3sg INCHO always fish
"Tony started fishing all the time."

(491) rri re wake kare nřïpwû atruuwi
3pl ASS always run night entire
"They kept running all the night."

9) truu durative, progressive

When this occurs as a pre-head verbal modifier, it indicates a "durative" or "progressive" aspect.

(492) nrâ truu fwirri musik
3sg DUR listen musik(Fr)
"He is listening to music."

(493) wiri truu trua rri
2pl PROG wait 3pl
"You are waiting for/watching them."

*truu* does not co-occur with *fie, ubwê, nrââ, sau, treu, uurrü, nrââü, gîwû, fwi, wake, nor siwai.* The following sentences illustrate combinations with *nrerre* "regrettably", *truumwërrê* "always" and *marra* "wastefully".

(494) nrâ nrerre truu juui nrâ amwaati
3sg regret DUR hide sm chief
"The chief is hiding himself, unfortunately."

(495) nrâ truumwërrê truu môôwi nrâ autri-rô
3sg always DUR breathe sm brother-1sg
"My (younger) brother is always taking a rest."

(496) u marra truu nrôdrô
1sg waste DUR think
"I am wasting my time thinking in vain."
10) fwi  causative

This indicates "causative" when used as a pre-head verbal modifier. The syntactic constraints on fwi seem to be parallel to those on the causative prefix fa-, which is discussed in the previous chapter. In general, constructions with the causative prefix fa- are used more often.

(497) mé-bēêrrî rri fwi sùveharru rru
old men 3pl CAUS like 3dl
"Old people got the two engaged (made them like each other)."

(498) treanrû rri fwi vajù nrî
people 3pl CAUS dead 3sg
"People killed him."

(499) rri fwi hara mé-fadrò
1pl CAUS eat pl-walk(er)
"We gave food to tourists."

fwi does not occur with truu, güwü and siwai. The following sentences illustrate combinations with ei "future", truumwêrrê "always" and hüwünrà "a little":

(500) wiriei fwi fwiirri maamûrrû
2pl FUT CAUS listen children
"You are going to make children listen."

(501) rri truumwêrrê fwi harru erre nrâ rri
3pl DUR CAUS good place POSS 3pl
"They are always making their place clean."

(502) nrâ fwi hüwünrà horro nrâ bee fwi nrâ
3sg CAUS a little hard sm CMPZ do POSS

nrî
3sg
"Doing it causes a bit of hardship."

(C) Five nominals which occur as pre-head verbal modifiers are set out in the following table, with their meanings as nominals and as modifiers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>meaning as nominals</th>
<th>meaning as verbal modifiers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ubwê</td>
<td>many times</td>
<td>iterative, many times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uurrû</td>
<td>twice</td>
<td>twice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>treu</td>
<td>another time</td>
<td>once more, again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sau</td>
<td>once, all</td>
<td>again, once</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>güwü</td>
<td>body, surface of an object</td>
<td>unaccomplished, durative, imperfect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11) **ubwê** iterative, "many times"

This consists of two morphemes: **u** "times" (**sa-u** "once"; **u- sirri** "three times") and **bwê** "many". It occurs pre-verbally indicating "iterative".

(503) nro ua ubwê fwi nrä varamwâ
1sg 1sg DEF ITE do PST like that
"Me, I did (it) many times like that."

(504) ke see ubwê fi nrä pwere numea
2sg NEG ITE go PST to Noumea
"You did not go to Noumea many times."

**ubwê** does not co-occur with **uurru**, **sau**, **treu**, **wo**, **nröö**, **nrääü**, **truu**, **fie**, **güwü**, **wake** or **siwai**. The following examples illustrate combinations with **ei** "future", **nrî** "eventual", **re** "assertive" and **nrâå" desiderative":

(505) kei nrî ubwê fi
2sg FUT EVENT ITE go
"You will go many times."

(506) nrä re ubwê mwage tenisù
3sg HAB ITE play tennis(Fr)
"He often plays tennis."

(507) nrä nrää ubwê fi pwere tro erre
3sg want ITE go to real place
"He wants to go to the tribal place many times."

12) **uurru** "twice"

This consists of two morphemes as in **ubwê** : **u** "times " and **uurru** "two". Theoretically, any number nouns prefixed by **u** "times" can fill the same slot as **uurru**. **usirri** "three times", **ue** "four times", **unrörrö** "five times" may be quite common, whereas bigger numbers are not used as often.

(508) ke uurru ta nrä bwô
2sg twice hit PST crab
"You hit the crab twice."

**uurru** does not occur with the same subset of pre-head verbal modifiers with which **ubwê** does not occur: nor does it occur with **ubwê**. The following sentence illustrates a combination with **truumwêrrê** "always".

(509) merrê wâdrâå wânrî nrä truunwêrrê uurru fwi
pl morning entire 3sg always twice do
"Every morning, he always does (it) twice."

13) **treu** "another time, once again"

This consists of two morphemes: **tre** "another" and **u** "time". It indicates "another time, once again", and often occurs after **wo** "again, later". When it follows **wo**, **treu** is often phonetically assimilated and pronounced as **trûu** or **trou**.
(510) rri treu fi mwagi varaha
3pl again go back like this
"They return this way again."

(511) nrā wo trou ha
3sg again again call
"He calls once again."

(512) nrā go wo trū truu mwagi hwa
3sg then again again stay again EMPH
"Then, once more, he stayed there again."

*treu* does not occur with *truumwèrè, ubwè, uurru, truu, gùwù, wake* or *siwai*. The following sentences illustrate combinations with *ei "future", nrī "eventual", fiè "finally", and nrā "progressive".*

(513) nrī nrī fie treu wake mwagi
3sg FUT EVENT finally again work again
"He will finally work again once more."

(514) nrā nrā treu mē mwagi
3sg PROG again come again
"He is coming again."

14) sau "once, again"

*sau*, consisting of two morphemes, *sa "one" and u "time", is also a quantifier, as it can occur as attributive to another noun, meaning "all". As a pre-head verbal modifier, it indicates "once, again", like *treu*. *sau* can be preceded by an attribute *tro "real",* which augments the meaning as "only once".

(515) u tro sau fi nrā pwere pari
1sg real once go PST to Paris
"I went to Paris only once."

*sau* does not occur with *fiè, nrāåú, wo, treu, truu, ubwè, uurru, gùwù, wake* or *siwai*. The following sentences illustrate combinations with other TA markers or pre-head verbal modifiers:

with *nrāå "desiderative"

(516) komu nrāå sau odho kafe
1dlexc DES once drink coffee
"We two want to drink coffee again."

with *ei "future", nrī "eventual"

(517) kei nrī sau fi
2sg FUT EVENT again go
"You will go once again."

with *hava* immediate past, "soon"

(518) nrā hava sau wake
3sg I.PST once work
"He is working again soon."
15) güwù unaccomplished

When used as a pre-verbal modifier, this indicates "unaccomplished, durative, imperfect"

(519) ke güwù hara warra?
2sg DUR eat yet
"Are you still eating?"

The occurrence of güwù is rather restricted. It occurs only with verbs which express an action or state which can last over a certain duration of time (e.g. hawi "to talk", wake "to work", fadrò "to walk", but not nrorri "to give". fi "to go" cannot occur either, which suggests that fi may indicate a change of place or direction, rather than a durative action); this modifier co-occurs always with the post-head modifier warra "imperfect, still".

Among pre-head verbal modifiers it occurs only with tro "augmentative". The following examples illustrate combinations with some TA markers and with tro.

with ei "future" and nrî "eventual"

(520) kei nrî güwù truu warra
2sg FUT EVENT DUR stay still
"You will be still there."

with nrâ "progressive"

(521) ke nrâ güwù odho warra
2sg PROG DUR drink yet
"You are still drinking now."

with re "assertive, habitual"

(522) ke re güwù hara warra
2sg ASS DUR eat yet
"You are still eating."

with nrerre "regrettable"

(523) nrâ nrerre güwù wake warra nrâ toni
3sg regret DUR work yet sm Tony
"Tony has not finished working yet, unfortunately."

with tro "augmentative"

(524) rri tro güwù hawi warra
3pl AUG DUR talk yet
"They are indeed still talking."

(D) There are six verbal modifiers which occur only pre-verbally: see "negative", fie "finally", wo "again, later", marra "wastefully", maija "very much", siwai "more, better".
16) See negative

See is a negative marker, which occurs rather freely in the series of pre-head modifiers. It can even occur before some TA markers, though I put this particle among pre-head modifiers, which generally occur after TA markers. It can occur either before or after nři "eventual", or re "assertive".

Though reversing the word order between nři and see does not change the meaning, the word order between re and see seems to give a subtle nuance in the meaning. The following examples illustrate that see before re indicates "incapacity", whereas re in the latter sentence (when it is placed before see) indicates "sustenance" of the negative condition (see also sentence 430):

(525) wei see re hidrö
1sg FUT NEG ASS say
"I cannot say properly but... (how should I put it?)"

(526) wei re see hidrö
1sg FUT HAB NEG say
"I am not going to say."

See may also occur either before or after certain pre-head modifiers (nrðå "desiderative", tro "augmentative" which I will discuss later in this chapter). Generally, see modifies the word immediately following it, as the following sentences illustrate:

(527) u nråå see wake
1sg DES NEG work
"I want not to work. (I want to stay without job)"

(528) u see nråå wake
1sg NEG want work
"I do not want to work. (I have no desire to work - I am too tired)"

(529) u see truumwêrre wake
1sg NEG always work
"I do not always work (but sometimes I work)"

When it is emphasized, see can be fronted to before the subject pronoun,

(530) drae see u jorri
thing NEG 1sg see
"I do not see anything."

(531) see wei hara
NEG 1sg FUT eat
"I am not eating."

See occurs with any TA markers or pre-head verbal modifiers except nrðö "long time ago" and güwâ "in progress".

(532) wiria see trödrö nři
2pl PERF NEG find 3sg
"You have not met him."

(533) kei nři see fi
2sg FUT EVENT NEG go
"You will not go."

(534) nrå nrrerre see maija wake
3sg regret NEG much work
"He does not work much to my regret."
17) **fie "finally"**

This expresses that an event anticipated "finally" comes true or something was/is/will be finally achieved. Although *fie* may be the combined form of *fi "to go"* and *ve "to take,"* as *ve* often drops [v] between two verbs, I consider *fie* as one word (from both a syntactic and a phonetic point of view) and put it in this group. *fie* can only occur before a verb (therefore, I did not include it in group (B) - those which can occur as verbs), functioning as the modifier to it.

(536) **nrâ go fie tro nrorri**

Then, he finally left it.

*fie* does not occur with *nrōō, truumwèrè, uurrü, ubwè, güwù, wake, sau, truu or siwai.* The following examples illustrate combinations with other TA markers or pre-head verbal modifiers.

with a "definite", *nrî "eventual"

(537) **rria go nrî fie fa-hajo rru**

Then, they finally agreed to let them marry.

with *re "assertive", nrâd "desiderative"

(538) **nrâ re fie nrââ hara**

He finally wanted to eat.

18) **wo(u) "again, later"**

This indicates that an action is repeated. Sometimes the initial [w] is dropped, and it is pronounced as [ou]. It is often followed by *treu* (as I mentioned earlier in section 13 above on *treu*).

(539) **komu wo waa mê**

We two came down here again (later)."

*wo(u)* has the same restrictions on its occurrence as *treu*. The following examples illustrate some combinations with other TA markers and pre-head verbal modifiers:

with *hâmâ "immediate past"

(540) **kevi hâmâ wo treu tròa mwagi**

We just arrived back again.

with a "definite", *go "then", nrî "eventual"

(541) **rria go nrî wo treu tròa parrù nrâ**

Then, they eventually came back once again, too."
with \textit{nrā} \textit{a} "desiderative"

\begin{verbatim}
(542) nrā nrā wou mē mwagi
3sg DES again come back
"He wants to come back again."
\end{verbatim}

with \textit{nrā} \textit{a} "inchoative"

\begin{verbatim}
(543) u wo treu nrāū wake
1sg again again INCHO work
"I start working once again."
\end{verbatim}

19) \textit{marra} "wastefully"

This indicates that an action is leading nowhere, and that the actor is wasting time in doing it. Verbs which co-occur with this particle are restricted to those that are compatible with its semantics. For example, \textit{hara} "eat", \textit{fi} "go", \textit{mē} "come" do not occur with it, as eating is never wasted (food goes to the stomach, whatever), and going or coming always imply goals. (Contrast \textit{fadrö} "to walk" which can occur with \textit{marra}, as in a later example.)

\begin{verbatim}
(544) toni nrā marra wake
Tony 3sg waste work
"Tony works, but does not accomplish anything."
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
(545) nrā marra tapirri-vai sarra
3sg waste look for knife
"He looked for a knife, but couldn’t find one."
\end{verbatim}

\textit{marra} does not co-occur with \textit{hămâ}, \textit{fie}, \textit{giwû}, \textit{wake}, \textit{siwai} or \textit{tro}. The following examples illustrate combinations with other TA markers and pre-head verbal modifiers.

with \textit{ei} "future", \textit{nrī} "eventual"

\begin{verbatim}
(546) u barra pa wei nrī marra wake
1sg afraid lest 1sg FUT EVENT waste work
"I am afraid that I will be wasting my time in the work."
\end{verbatim}

with \textit{see} "negative", \textit{nrā} \textit{a} "desiderative"

\begin{verbatim}
(547) u see nrā marra fadrö
1sg NEG DES waste walk
"I do not want to waste my time in walking."
\end{verbatim}

with \textit{mai}ja "much" (the word order is interchangeable.)

\begin{verbatim}
(548) u maija marra wake
1sg much waste work
"I wasted much time in working."
\end{verbatim}

20) \textit{mai}ja "very much"

This indicates that a state of something or an action taken is "very much, excessive".

\begin{verbatim}
(549) nrā maija bwē nrā treanrü
3sg much many sm people
"There are very many people."
\end{verbatim}

\textit{mai}ja occurs with any pre-head verbal modifier except \textit{hùwûnrā}. The following sentences illustrate some of the combinations possible with other TA markers or pre-head verbal modifiers.
with see "negative", nrââ "desiderative"

(550) u see nrââ maija hara
    1sg NEG DES much eat
"I do not want to eat very much."

with ei "future", truumwèrrè "always"

(551) ruei truumwèrrè maija wake
    1dlinc FUT always much work
"We two are always going to work a lot."

with wo "again" treu "once again"

(552) ri wo treu maija hara
    1plinc again again much eat
"We eat a lot once again."

21) siwai "more, better"

This expresses that the subject is exceeding in a state or in an action designated by
the predicate, in comparison with something. The thing compared is marked either by
ra "than" or nai "to exceed", and optionally follows siwai or the postposed nominal
subject.

It occurs mainly with stative verbs such as mwaa "be long", taa "be bad", bòwò "be
light", but can also occur with verbs accompanied by adverbs designating some quality
such as (jorri) veharru "(to see) well", (hara) hûdrô "(to eat) fast", (fwa) veti "(to rain)
heavily", etc.

(553) nrâ siwai horro nrâ toni
    3sg more strong sm Tony
"Tony is stronger."

(554) nrâ siwai hara hûdrô nrâ wara ha ra
    3sg more eat fast sm one PROX than
wara mwâ
one M.DIST
"This child eats faster than that child."

(555) ke siwai tramwâ nai (ra) rò
    2sg more know exceed than 1sg
"You know better than I do."

siwai does not co-occur with ubwè, wo, treu, nrââ, wake, gûwù, fie, truu, fwi, wurrù
nor marra. The following sentences illustrate some combinations with other TA
markers and pre-head verbal modifiers.

with hûwûnrâ "a little" (the word order interchangeable)

(556) nrâ siwai hûwûnrâ fadrô hûdrô
    3sg more a little walk fast
"He walks a little faster."
with *saafi* "altogether" (the word order interchangeable)

(557) 

```
tro  treanrū  rri  saafi  siwai  horro  nai
native  people  3pl  altogether  more  strong  exceed
```

```
mē  pwògarra
pl  white  people
```

"Native people are all stronger than white people."

In the following list, the pre-head verbal modifiers discussed in this section are arranged according to the preferred word order among them. Modifiers which bear the same number in the list are mutually exclusive. Unlike TA markers, the word order is not rigid, and apart from *see* "negative" discussed earlier, the difference does not involve any difference in meaning. When a verbal modifiers can either precede or follow another, it is indicated as ‘interchangeable with (number)’. For example, *uurru* (7c) can either precede or follow *saafi* (3), but it always follows other modifiers numbered below (7) and always precedes modifiers numbered after (7).

1  *see* "negative"
   interchangeable with *nrī* (TA), *re* (TA), 2b, 3, 5, 6, 7a, 15
2a  *truumwerrē* "always"
   interchangeable with 5
2b  *fie* "finally"
   interchangeable with 1 and 9a
3  *saafi* "altogether"
   interchangeable with 1, 4, 5, 6, 7a, 7b, 7c, 9a, 14
4  *ubwē* "repetitive"
   interchangeable with 3, 5, 6, 7a
5  *nrāā* "desiderative"
   interchangeable with 1, 2a, 3, 4, 9a, 15
6  *wo* "again, later"
   interchangeable with 1, 3, 4, 13
7a  *treu* "another time, again"
   interchangeable with 1, 3, 4, 13
7b  *sau* "again, once more"
   interchangeable with 1, 3, 4, 13
7c  *uurru* "twice"
   interchangeable with 3
8  *savaa* "prohibitive"
9a  *nrāāū* "inchoative"
   interchangeable with 2b, 3, 5,
9b  *gūwū* "in progress, durative, imperfect"
9c  *truu* "durative, progressive"
10  *hūwūnra* "a little bit"
   interchangeable with 14
11a *fwi* "causative"
11b *marra* "wastefully"
   interchangeable with 12
12  *maija* "very much"
   interchangeable with 11b, 14
13  *wake* "persistent, habitual"
   interchangeable with 6, 7a
14  *siwai* "more, better"
   interchangeable with 3, 10, 12
15  *tro* "just, augmentative, simply"
   interchangeable with 1, 5
The possible or unacceptable combinations of pre-head verbal modifiers are illustrated in the following table. TA markers that cannot co-occur with some pre-head verbal modifiers are also included in the table.

Table 7.7: Combinations of Pre-head Verbal Modifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>see</th>
<th>truumwêrê</th>
<th>fie</th>
<th>saafi</th>
<th>ubwe/uuru</th>
<th>nråå</th>
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</table>

+ compatible
- incompatible
7.5 Post-head Verbal Modifiers

There are ten post-head verbal modifiers that are postposed to verbs. They are syntactically distinguished from adverbs in that they always occur before objects if there are any (except pronominal objects which can occur before them).

These modifiers are numbered according to the order in which they may appear in possible combinations. The particles which bear the same number are incompatible with each other.

1a) pee "try, tentative"
1b) hwasääwe "interrogative on the truthfulness of the proposition"
1c) (pa)nai "superior, more than"
2) nrooi "resultative in vain"
3a) moo "inchoative"
3b) dhurrti "completive"
3c) jurru "completive, finished"
4) nru "intensive, very much, at all"
5a) warra "imcompletive"
5b) wai "completive, already"
5c) ghai "interrogative"
6) nrä "past"

Four of these particles (pee, hwasääwe, (pa)nai and jurru), can also function as lexical verbs (as explained in 7.1), the remainder occurring only as modifiers. Their meanings as lexemes and as post-head modifiers are set out in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal Modifiers (Post-head) which can Occur as Verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>meaning as verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hwasääwe</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(pa)nai</td>
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<tr>
<td>jurru</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

We will see the function and meaning of each of the post-head verbal modifiers in the following examples.

1a) pee tentative, "try"

This indicates "to try, do something to see the result". Sometimes, it maintains its literal meaning, other times it has a more aspectual meaning.

(558)  
1sg  NEG   know DET fish this 1sg eat
      pee
      try
      "I don't know this fish, I'll eat some and see what it's like."
(559) puu pee mèwe hwëë-nrú
   smell see chicken meat-2sg
   "Smell your chicken (to eat) to see if it has gone bad."

(560) uwei tabarrä pee saa wadrò fôñrîmoo
   1sg FUT narrate try one little history
   "I will try to tell (you) a tiny story."

1b) hwasāâwe interrogative on the evidentiality of the proposition

   hwasāâwe is difficult to gloss in English, but it indicates the speaker's concern about
   the evidentiality of the information supplied by the addressee. The subject is restricted
   to second person. The following sentence, for example, implies "How do you know it?
   Did you hear or did you see it yourself?"

(561) ke hwasââwe fôñrîmoo nrâ rrî?
   2sg how to know story POSS 3pl
   "How did you know their story?"

   As the verbal modifier, it occurs after some verbs such as tramwä "to know", fwrirrî
   "to listen", hidrò "to say", hawi "to talk", indicating "On what basis do you know... (or
   say, etc.)?"

(562) ke tramwä hwasââwe nrâ mwâ nrâa fi
   2sg know how come PST that 3sg DEF go
   wai
   already
   "How do you know that he has gone?"

1c) (pa)nai superior, "more than"

   nai occurs frequently as a post-head verbal modifier. It gives a comparative
   meaning, where the object compared either follows nai (as sentence 563) or, when it is
   separated by nominal subject, follows a preposition ra "than" (sentence 564).

(563) nrâ tramwä nai toni nrâ sonya
   3sg know SUP Tony sm Sonya
   "Sonya knows better than Tony."

(564) nrâ truu-roa nai nrâ wa mwâ ha
   3sg stay-up SUP sm DET house PROX
   ra wa mwâ mwâ
   than DET house M.DIST
   "This house is higher than that house."

   This occurs often with pre-head verbal modifier siwai "comparative, more".

(565) nrâ siwai mwaa nai wara ha nrâ wara
   3sg COMP long SUP thing PROX sm thing
   mwâ
   M.DIST
   "That one is longer than this one."
pa occurs optionally before nai, when the comparison is about quantity or height, as in ",(eat) more, be taller, etc". pa only occurs before nai. It is homophonic with pa "lest".

When nai indicates comparison in a spacio-temporal sense such as "earlier, before" (e.g. fi nai "go ahead"), pa does not occur.

(566) ke ti panai rõ
2sg big SUP 1sg
"You are bigger than I."

(567) nrä hara panai koko
3sg eat SUP Coco
"She eats more than Coco."

2) nrooi resultative in vain

This particle indicates that an action is taken with some expectation, but nothing is gained. The pre-head verbal modifier marra shares a similar connotation to this, but nrooi emphasizes more the result that nothing is gained, while marra indicates that the manner or process of the action is not adequate, or wasteful.

Examine the following pairs:

(568) ke kare nrooi
2sg run in vain
"You ran (thinking that you would be in time), but you couldn’t make it."

(569) ke marra kare
2sg waste run
"You ran for nothing.(You wasted time in running; you just mucked around)"

The difference shown in above examples explains the fact that verbs which occur with marra are rather restricted, whereas nrooi can occur with almost any verb. For example, nrorri "to give" can occur with nrooi, but not with marra as shown below:

(570) u nrorri nrooi (nrä) nraasi ei nři
1sg give in vain PST rice DAT 3sg
"I gave rice to him, but I should not have.(it was wasted)"

(571) * u marra nrorri (nrä) ei nři
1sg waste give PST DAT 3sg

nrooi generally occurs in the past tense, but it can occur in the present /future tense, providing it indicates the result. In the next example, nrooi indicates the anticipated result:

(572) u barra pa wei nři nrorri nrooi
1sg afraid lest 1sg FUT EVENT give in vain
"I am afraid that I will give it away in vain."

In addition to marra, there are various ways in Tinrin to express that an action taken is/was wasted or regretted. Pre-verbal nrerre also indicates "regret", but this word specifically indicates the speaker’s regret or his unwillingness, as compared to nrooi which indicates that the action is wasted for the actor. Compare:
There are also verbs *gathu* "to waste", *mâhorro* "to do against speaker’s or someone’s will", -*vesô* "to result in vain", and -*dhai* "be unsuccessful, to mistake". *gathu* and *mâhorro* serialize with other verbs (e.g. *fi gathu* "to go in vain"; *nrorri gathu* "to give in vain"; *fi mâhorro* "to go against my (or someone’s) will"). I will discuss verbal serialization later in this chapter.

- *vesô* and -*dhai* are bound form verbs. They combine with other forms, as in *fô-vesô* "to come in vain"; *go-vesô* "to do in vain", *hô-dhai* "to try to catch but cannot"; *hidrô-dhai* "to say something wrong, not appropriate". These forms are discussed in 3.2.2.1 and 5.1.2.

3a) moo inchoative

This particle indicates an initial phase of a state when combined with a stative verb, and first experience when with a non-stative verb. If the situation is iterative in nature, *moo* indicates "the first time" that the situation takes place. The following sentence can read as "when the Japanese arrived, at the beginning..." as well as "when the Japanese arrived for the first time (Japanese arrived several times)".

(575) *pee nri rri troa moo nrâ mê-sapone*  
"Look, when the Japanese first arrived..."

(576) *nrâ fwa moo vaarra*  
(3sg rain INCHO all the time  
"It started raining incessantly."

(vaarra can come before moo)

Pronominal object comes between the verb and *moo*:

(577) *ri tramwâ nri moo*  
1pl know 3sg INCHO  
"We have come to know him for the first time."

combination with other post-head verbal modifiers:

with *nrorri* "in vain"

(578) *nrâ nrorri nrooi moo*  
3sg give in vain INCHO  
"He gave it in vain for the first time."

with *nrâ* "past"

(579) *rri nrâo moo nrâ kafe*  
3pl plant INCHO PST coffee  
"They started planting coffee (for the first time)."
3b) dhùrrù completive

This particle indicates "completive"; that an action has been performed and completed at the time of reference. It is often combined with pre-head a "definite, perfect" and post-head verbal modifiers wai "already" and nrä "past". In the present tense either with or without a "perfect", it indicates that the action has "just finished".

(580) ka hara dhùrrù nrä
2sg DEF eat COMPL PST
"Did you finish eating?"

Combinations with other post-head verbal modifiers:

with wai "already", nrä "past"

(581) ke fwi dhùrrù wai nrä mwâ
2sg make COMPL already PST house
"You finished building the hut."

with a "definite", nrä "past"

(582) ka odho dhùrrù nrä?
2sg DEF drink COMPL PST
"Did you finish drinking?"

a "definite", dhùrrù "completive", and wai "already" can co-occur as in the following sentence. However, nrä "past" cannot occur together with them, because [a + dhùrrù + wai] indicates "present perfect".

(583) nrâa hara dhùrrù wai
3sg PERF eat COMPL already
"He has already finished eating."

(584) * nrâa hara dhùrrù wai nrä
3sg DEF eat COMPL already PST

3c) jùrrù completive, "finished"

This indicates that something is "finished". It is used similarly to dhùrrù, but jùrrù seems to mean rather "put an end to, sharply" as compared to dhùrrù which suggests instead that some durative activity has been completed.

(585) uwa nrorri jùrrù
1sg PERF give COMPL
"I have given it away. (I have no more)"

4) nru "intensive, very much, at all"

nru occurs most frequently indicating an action being performed with great force or to excess, as well as an excessive state of something. With negative see or trarrf "to lack", nru emphasises the negative sense.

(586) nrâ mûrrù nru
3sg small very
"It is very tiny."
(587) u see jorri nru saa drae  
1sg NEG see at all one thing  
"I do not see any thing at all."

*nru* co-occurs with *hāvenrīa* "all", *wai* "already" and *nrā* "past" in the following example:

(588) nrā hara hāvenrīa nru wai nrā moghi  
3sg eat all very already PST shrimp  
"He already completely ate the shrimps."

5a) warra  incompletive, imperfect

This particle indicates "incompletive, imperfect", expressing the ongoing rather than the completive aspect of a situation with respect to the time of reference. In some contexts, it indicates "over a short duration of time," as in examples (591) and (592). A pronominal object can occur before *warra.*

(589) nrā droa parru warra nrā  
3sg young also IMPF PST  
"He was also still young."

(590) nrorri ei fwi nrf warra  
3dl FUT do 3sg IMPF  
"They two will still be doing it."

(591) u(ei) truu warra  
1sg (FUT) stay IMPF  
"I am staying (here) for a while."

(592) fwirri warra  
listen IMPF  
"Listen for a while."

When it occurs with the negative *see*, it indicates "(not) yet", suggesting the "incompletive" action, or a state not yet achieved.

(593) ke see pee (nru) warra simô  
2sg NEG see (at all) IMPF Simon  
"You have not seen Simon yet."

(594) ri see fwirri nři warra mwâ nři nrâ  
1pl NEG hear 3sg IMPF that when 3sg  
ha nři guha mea  
speak with language Mea  
"We do not hear him speak in the Mea language."

combinations with other post-head verbal modifiers

with *dhūrrű* "completive"

(595) ke see odho dhūrrű warra kafe  
2sg NEG drink COMPL IMPF coffee  
"You haven’t finished drinking coffee yet."

Compare with

(596) ke see odho warra kafe  
2sg NEG drink IMPF coffee  
"You have not drunk yet. (you haven’t even started)"
with a "definite"

(597) rria truu warra nrâ ae
3pl DEF stay IMPF sm four
"Four are still alive."

5b) wai completive, "already"

This indicates that an action is accomplished or a certain state has been achieved. When used with a stative verb, it indicates a change of state, e.g. *huue wai* (white, COMPL) meaning "become white". It is often combined with pre-verbal a "perfect, definite", indicating the completion of an action or the change of state.

(598) uwa fi nrî ta wai nrâ bwô
1sg PERF go PURP catch COMPL PST crab
pwere nrî
to there
"I have already been there to catch crabs."

When it occurs with the future marker *ei* and/or *nrî*, it expresses the "future perfect".

(599) nrî kei ve wai peci-rô nrî
when 2sg FUT take already paper-1sg 3sg FUT
harru gi nrî
good to 2sg
"If you receive my letter, you will be glad."

(600) wei nrî fwi wai katrvê fôwtra
1sg FUT EVENT make COMPL 80(Fr) year
kaarô
tomorrow
"I will be 80 years old tomorrow. (lit. I will have made 80 years tomorrow.)"

wai can also indicate an "immediate future" in sentences with a "definite" as in (601), with *nrâ* "progressive" as in (602), or of imperative mood as in (603). Sentence (601) is ambiguous as it can also be interpreted as being in the present perfect tense.

(601) uwa fi wai
1sg DEF go COMPL
"I am going now (I intend to go immediately)."
"I have already gone."

(602) u nrâ fi wai
1sg PROG go COMPL
"I am going now. (I am already in the action of going away)"

(603) fi wai
go COMPL
"Go on! (quick)"

When *wai* occurs with *see* "negative", it means "(not)..any more, any longer" as in the following sentence.

(604) rria go see fwi wai nrîmwâmwâ
3pl.DEF then NEG make COMPL nowadays
"They do not make (it) any more nowadays."
5c) ghai interrogative

This particle indicates "interrogative". It can be morphosyntactically and semantically distinguished from the bound form verb -ghai "mixed, crushed" (ō-ghai "to mix with the fingers", hō-ghai "to squeeze in the hand", pa-ghai "to pick and crush"), and the preposition ghai "with".

(605) ke nrā ēbe ghai nre?
2sg want extinguish INTER light
"Do you want to turn off the light?"

(606) ke fwi ghai?
2sg do INTER
"Do you do (it)?/ Did you do?

(607) nrā ē ghai?
3sg bum INTER
"Did it burn?"

combinations with other post-head verbal modifiers and TA markers:

with nrā "past"

(608) wiri tramwā ghai nrā?
2pl know INTER PST
"Did you know?"

with ei "future", nří "eventual"

(609) kouei nří fi ghai?
2dlFUT EVENT go INTER
"Will you two go?"

This particle cannot occur with wai "already", dhūrrā "completive", nrooi "in vain", or see "negative".

6) nrā past, "previously"

This particle plays an important role in defining the meaning of a clause, as it expresses variously tense-aspect and mood, depending on its combination with other particles. Its principal function is as a marker of "past". It indicates that an action or a state took place in the past, and when it is combined with a "perfect" it indicates experiential perfect as we discussed in 7.3.

(610) toni nrā hâmā tròa nrā
Tony 3sg I.PST arrive PST
"Tony arrived just now."

(611) wiria ho (wai) nrā poka?
2pl.PERF eat (already) PST pig
"Have you eaten pork before?"

nrā can modify not only VPs but also NPs, as in the following sentence:

(612) mē-bēěrrī nrā ṛri tramwā mērrē drae
pl-old PST 3pl know pl thing
"Old people in the past, they knew many things."
However, differing from adverbs which can also modify both VPs and NPs, *nrâ* never occurs after the verbal object (except pronominal object).

The following examples illustrate how *nrâ* indicates "contrafactual" or "obligation" when combined with TA markers *ei* "future" or *nri* "eventual".

contrafactual

When *nrâ* combines with TA marker *ei* "future", it indicates "contrafactual". The combination of the past tense marker and future tense marker to indicate contrafactual is also observed in English and other languages/ past tense expressing a greater degree of unreality (cf. Foley and Van Valin Jr 1984:216-7). In some Oceanic languages the cognate of future tense marker is used to indicate the contrafactual rather than the future (cf.Ross 1988:362), while it is common among Oceanic languages for the irrealis marker to be realized as the future tense marker.

*nrâ* is normally not repeated in the main clause when it occurs in a preceding subordinate clause.

(613)  

(614)  

obligation

The combination of *ei* "future" and *nrâ* also serves to indicate "obligation", as in:

(615)  

(616)  

(617)  

negative imperative

*nrâ* optionally occurs in the following construction, after *savaa* "prohibitive" and a verb:

(618)  

(619)
7.6 Objects

Expression of the object is optional with the majority of transitive verbs. They are normally placed after the post-head verbal modifiers, except pronominal objects which occur more frequently before them. The adverbs can occur either before or after them.

There are a few ditransitive verbs (such as *havai* "to call", *trùtrùë* "to watch, regard") which take two unmarked objects (examples 630 and 635); but more often, indirect objects are preceded by a preposition *ei* "to, dative" or *ra* "from, ablative", which was discussed in 3.4.

Though the indirect object can precede the direct object, the preferred word order between them is V - DO - IO.

Objects can be nominal clauses, as is often the case with verbs such as *nrodrò* "to think", and *føröò* "to ask."

(A) Pronouns

(620)  
 treanruj rri ho nrfi  
 people 3pl eat(meat) 3sg  
 "People ate it (crab, etc)."

(621)  
 haru ru jorri tau nrfi ãrijru  
 1dl 1dl see often(AD) 3sg down there  
 "We two often saw him down there."

Examples (622) and (623) illustrate that pronominal objects can occur either before or after a post-head verbal modifier.

(622)  
 nrâ trarrf nrfi warra (= nrâ trarrf warra nrfi)  
 3sg lack 3sg yet  
 "He is not yet there." (lit. it lacks him yet.)

(623)  
 nrâ drù ro wai (= nrâ drù wai ro)  
 3sg suffice 1sg already  
 "I have enough already." (lit. It suffices for me already.)

With *hidrö* "to say", a pronominal object cannot occur, though *hidrö* can take a nominal object.

(624)  
 * u hidrö nrfi  
 1sg say 3sg  
 "I say that."

(625)  
 u hidrö saa wave-kò  
 1sg say one joint-message  
 "I say one word."

When the verb occurs with a transitive suffix, the pronominal object should immediately follow it, as the following examples illustrate:

(626a)  
 u fi-raa nrfi moo  
 1sg go-tr 3sg INCHO  
 "I left him for the first time."

(626b)  
 * u fi-raa moo nrfi  
 1sg go-tr INCHO 3sg
When the verb has a directional suffix such as -roa "upwards", the pronominal object can occur either before or after the directional suffix.

(628) treanrū rri ve nrf -roa mē (=treanrū rri ve-roa nrf mē)
people 3pl take 3sg up come
"The people lifted it up and came."

When a verb with directional suffix is followed by a post-head verbal modifier, the pronominal object must occur before the directional suffix.

(629a) treanrū rri ve nrf -roa dhūrrū
treanru m ve nn -roa
people 3pl take 3sg up COMPL
"People have lifted it up."

(629b) * treanrū rri ve-roa nrf dhūrrū
people 3pl take-up 3sg COMPL

<di-transitive>

(630) rri ha-vai nrf mēti
3pl speak-tr 3sg big brothers
"They call him mēti (big brothers)"

The pronominal object can be either reflexive (3.2.2.2.1) or reciprocal object:

(631) nrā dreghe nrf fadre rrọto
3sg injure 3sg with car
"He injured himself in a car."

(632) wirf savaa wirf
2pl defend 2pl
"You are very careful."

(633) rri see ha-vai rri
3pl NEG call 3pl
"They don’t call each other names."

(634) rrū fwòrrò rrū
3dl scold 3dl
"They two curse each other"

(B) Common nouns

(635) rri trùtrùù saa treanrū bee arù saa fadre
3pl see one person CMPZ same one piece
peci
paper
"They regard a person just as a piece of paper." (lit. They see a person (as being the same as a piece of paper."

(636) uei fi nrf ta bwò pwere trùjù
1sgFUT go PURP hit crab to sea
"I am going to the sea to catch crabs."
Unlike the pronominal object, which should occur immediately after the transitive suffix (e.g. 626a, 627a), the nominal object can be separated from a transitive suffix by another modifier, as in the following examples.

(637) u fi-raa moo nrunru
1sg go-tr INCHO grandfather
"I left grandfather for the first time."

(638) komu ha-vai nrooi toni
1dl speak-tr in vain Tony
"We two called for Tony in vain."

Nominal objects never occur between a verb and its directional suffix, as do pronominal objects: they always occur after the directional suffix.

(639a) rri hwa-roa arrebo nra treanrii
3pl lever-up stone sm people
"The people lifted the stone by lever."

(639b) * rri hwa arrebo -roa nra treanrii
3pl lever stone up sm people

(C) Other nominals

Any nominal other than pronouns and common nouns can also occur as an object. The position in the verb phrase is the same as for common nouns. The following examples illustrate some of these nominal objects:

<possessive classifier>

(640) sonya nra nrorri odho-nru
Sonya 3sg give drink-2sg
"Sonya gave you a drink." (lit. Sonya gave your drink)

<quantifier>

(641) nra ve merrr nra toni
3sg take many sm Tony
"Tony took many."

<location noun>

(642) nra seghe padrerrr-rroto nri arrebo
3sg break side-car with stone
"He spat on people."

(643) nra see jorri nroorre
3sg neg see place,everywhere
"He does not see the place (He is blind.)"

<proper noun>

(644) nra sùveharru simô
3sg like Simon
"She likes Simon."
Nominal clauses

Some verbs such as hidrö "to say", nrodrö "to think", föröö "to ask", tramwâ "to know" can take a clausal object. These clausal objects are normally preceded by a complementiser such as mwä "that". Further examples will be discussed in the section on nominal clauses (8.3.1).

(645) ke hidrö nrâ mwâ nrâ horro nrâ bee
2sg say PST that 3sg hard sm CMPZ

nyörrö ò
cook pot
"You said that cooking was difficult."

(646) u tramwä mwâ ke maija wake
1sg know that 2sg much work
"I know that you work hard."

7.7 Location and Time Nouns

The head of a VP can be associated with one or more of the location and /or time nouns described in 3.1.4.2. Location and time nouns can occur quite freely in a post verbal position in the VP. As in (648) and (650), some location and time nouns are optionally marked with a preposition (3.1.4.2).

<location nouns>

(647) nrâ trarri hêë-rö nrûwû-kasi
3sg lack belonging-1sg inside-bag
"There is nothing that belongs to me in the bag."

(648) nrâ mî (ru) nrî-troo nrâ nrâ wâ-ù
3sg fall (on) ground PST sm fruit-tree
"A fruit of the tree fell down on the ground."

<time nouns>

(649) ke nrââ hara ne kaarrö
2sg DES eat what tomorrow
"What do you want to eat tomorrow?"

(650) wei wake (rugi) anrôrrö nrîbwerrîasù nrîfâ
1sgFUT work (at) five hour later

sêëdre
evening
"I will work later at five o’clock in the evening."

7.8 Adverbs

The head of a VP can be associated with one or more of the optional adverbs described in 3.7.1. Adverbs can occur quite freely in the VP except between the subject pronoun and the verb, and some adverbs can also occur clause-initially (see 3.7.1).

(651) wei nrôsù mesi kaarrö
1sg FUT wake early tomorrow
"I will wake up early tomorrow."

(652) nrâ see nrâà ho nrâ moghi tau
3sg NEG want eat PST shrimp habitually
"He did not want to eat shrimps before."
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"It only lacks him." (Other people are here.)

"It is hot a little bit around here."

"He already started walking back."

"Later, you go towards her." (You follow her.)

7.9 Phrasal Modifiers

A phrasal modifier can be either a prepositional phrase or a phrase consisting of a personal pronoun (functioning as comitative preposition) and its object.

7.9.1 Prepositional phrases

Prepositional phrases can occur as modifiers in a VP, as well as modifying nominal phrases (6.2.8.2). Most of the prepositions that can occur in a NP can also occur in a VP, while some are used only as verb phrase modifiers. (See the table of prepositions in 3.4.)

Prepositional phrases in a VP can occur quite freely in the post-verbal position, either before or after the verbal object; they can also occur clause-initially if topicalised. The following examples illustrate this:

"They put it in its place."

"They put in its place the thing."

"In its place, they put it."

Further examples of prepositional phrases are in 3.4. In some sentences (such as the following) *ei* "to" can be replaced by a comitative pronoun (7.8.2). In the following case, *komu* "ldlexc" can replace it as in (659).

"I talked to him yesterday."  

"I talked to him yesterday."

7.9.2 Phrase marked by a personal pronoun of comitative use

As discussed in 3.1.1.1, personal pronouns can function like comitative prepositions. The personal pronoun and its following NP behaves just like other prepositional phrases
when modifying a verb phrase. It can occur quite freely, either post-verbally or clause initially, except between subject pronoun and the verb (3.1.1.1). It never modifies a nominal phrase.

The nominal phrase which follows a comitative pronoun can be either a pronoun, quantifier, or a noun, whose referent is restricted to human beings with the exception of some domestic animals such as a dog or a cat.

(660) u hawi komu nři ąwù
    1sg talk 1dl 3sg yesterday
    "I talked with him yesterday."

(661) nrorrii busi sonya nrå merro
    3dl cat Sonya 3sg sleep
    "With the cat, Sonya sleeps ."

7.10 Verb Serialization and Linked Verb Constructions

This section will examine serial verb constructions and linked verb constructions using nři and f.

As mentioned earlier in 5.4, two or more verbs often occur in the predicate in Tinrin. Apart from the compound verbs, these verbs form either a serial verb construction or a linked verb construction which I will discuss below.

7.10.1 Verb serialization

Verb serialization is common in many languages in West Africa, Asia and Papua New Guinea. It is also found in Oceanic languages outside the New Guinea area (cf. Durie 1988). Serializations contain two or more verbs, altogether referring to a single overall event, whose second verb often acquires the function of an auxiliary. These verbs are generally described as belonging to limited sets, often verbs of motion or position such as go, come, give, take, rise, fall, throw, put (Masica 1976:142).

Tinrin verb serialization shares some features with those languages, but is not particularly analogous to them. I will discuss in this section the syntactic and semantic features of Tinrin verb serialization.

Morphologically, Tinrin serialized verbs do not have any distinct participial or gerund forms, nor do they inflect in accordance with the subject, etc. The verb serialization in Tinrin is, therefore, simply the juxtaposition of verbs with no specific markings. Serial verb constructions are distinguished from co-ordinated clauses, because there is no intonational or morphological marker of a clause boundary in verb serialization, verbs in co-ordinated clauses are always separately marked by the subject pronoun, and verbs in the serialization are marked by the same mood, TA markers and verbal modifiers. (They may take an individual adverb or a phrasal modifier, as discussed later in this section.)

43 Tinrin serial verb constructions look similar to what Bradshaw (1982:33) calls SOV-V ‘compound causatives’, among Oceanic languages of Papua New Guinea, in which the second (and the third, etc) verb is not independently marked by a subject pronoun. However, Tinrin verb serialization is different
Serialised verbs always share a core argument, but they do not necessarily share all core arguments. In terms of grammatical layers, Tinrin serial-verb constructions are of two basic types: those formed by nuclear junctures and those formed from core junctures.44

Serial verb constructions formed by nuclear junctures involve a complex nucleus (verb) associated with a single set of core arguments. These constructions have the same appearance as the compound verbs (5.4): in fact it is sometimes not easy to clearly distinguish between them. Compound verbs are related to each other more tightly, forming a grammatical and semantic unit (i.e. more idiomatic) than serialised verbs. Serialised verbs have much more freedom in their choice of partner, while the combination of verbs in compound verbs is a fixed one.

Unless it is a pronoun, the object of the complex nucleus always occurs after the last verb. In the following sentence, verbs nrorri "to give" and gadhu "to waste" form a complex nucleus and take a single set of subject (u "1sg), direct object (peci "paper") and indirect object (toni "Tony").

(662a) u nrorri gadhu peci ei toni
1sg give waste letter DAT Tony
"I wasted by giving a letter to Tony. (I gave a letter to Tony wastefully)"

The direct and/or indirect object in the above sentence cannot occur between the first and the second verb:

(662b) * u nrorri peci (ei toni) gadhu
1sg give letter DAT Tony waste
"I gave a letter (to Tony) and wasted."

Similarly, the direct object of the complex nucleus in the following sentences always occurs after the second verb, and not between the two verbs.

(663a) ri ve fi toni
1plinc take go Tony
"We took Tony away."

(663b) * ri ve toni fi
1plinc take Tony go
"We took Tony away."

(664a) rri ve me arròò
3pl take come water
"They brought water."

(664b) * rri ve arròò me
3pl take water come
"They brought water."

from compound causatives in that verbs in the constructions do not "combine to form a single word". (When verbs form a single word, they are classified as compound verbs, which are discussed in 5.4). Tinrin verb serialization is also distinguished from the phrasal causatives (Ibid:37) seen in Morobe languages of Papoua New Guinea (Bradshaw 1982:37), in which resultative particles may not form verbal predicates by themselves but must be accompanied by a verb. In Tinrin verb serialization the second verb is a productive free form, and does not always indicate resultative. This is exemplified later in this section.

"She cooked and brought the pot dish."

"She cooked the pot dish and came."

When the object is a pronoun, it occurs between the two verbs as in the following:

"We take it (him) away"

"They bring it."

On the other hand, in serial-verb constructions formed by the core-layer juncture, the verbs form two separate nuclei, each of which select the core arguments independently, although there needs to be coreferentiality between subjects (or actors) of the two verbs, or between the undergoer of one verb and the subject of the other.

In the following sentence, the two verbs share a subject (you), while peci "paper" is the object of only the first verb. So, the object occurs between the two verbs.

"Take the paper and come"

When the first verb has a directional suffix as in the above sentence, the pronominal object can occur either before or after the directional suffix (see 7.6.A).

In the following example nri "3sg", the undergoer argument of havai "to call for", is coreferential with the subject of the second and third verbs, waa "to descend" and mē "to come".

"I called him to come down." (I called him; he descended; he came)

Similarly, in the following sentence, the undergoer of the first verb rri "3pl" is coreferential with the subject of the second verb wa "to descend".

"A Kanak man hit them (flying foxes) and they fell on the ground."

In this sentence, the nominal subject of the first juncture, tro treanrū, "real people (Kanak man)", occurs after the second juncture. It cannot occur after the first juncture as it is outside of the complex predicate. The second juncture cannot have its nominal subject (which is the undergoer of the first juncture) postposed.

Core-layer junctures with U -A/S coreference (as in the above sentence) generally express a causative relationship (Foley & Van Valin 1984:196). The action expressed
(by a transitive verb) in the first juncture causes a change of state or an action on the part of the undergoer as is expressed in the second juncture.

The nuclei in the core-layer juncture can also take an individual adverb or a phrasal modifier, as "on the ground" in the above (670), while in the nuclear juncture serialized verbs are simultaneously associated with a single adverb or phrasal modifier. TA markers and verbal modifiers are shared by the serialized verbs of both constructions. TA markers and pre-head verbal modifiers are placed before the first verb while post-head verbal modifiers are placed after the last verb in the series.

In the following sentence the TA marker nrâ and the pre-head verbal modifier truumwêrrê are placed before the first verb.

(671) nrâ nrâ truumwêrrê drarrî kôbû nrâ hûümurrû
3sg PROG always cry angry sm child
"The child is always crying, being angry."

In the following sentence, an adverb (amûrrû) is modifying only the second verb. The post-head verbal modifier dhûrrû is shared by both verbs and placed after the second.

(672) ke odho fi-raa amûrrû dhûrrû
2sg drink go-tr a little COMPL
"You finished drinking leaving a little"

7.10.1.1 Serialisation with temporal relationship

In Tinrin almost any verb can be serialized, although there is of course a semantic restriction on its selection. The semantic relationship between serialised verbs includes temporal relationships and head-modifier relationships.

The temporal relationships expressed by serialised verbs often involve simultaneity of two or more actions or states expressed by the verbs. Serialised verbs can also represent actions or states which happen sequentially. This sequentiality can be either a simple time sequence or can express a cause - effect relationship (Bruce 1979:239).

< simultaneity>

A posture/motion verb is often the first verb, followed by a verb expressing some physical or mental state, or some action occurring at the same time.

(673) treanrû rî fi winrô fônri
people 3pl go follow river
"People went along the river."

In the next sentence, the second verb truu functions as a modifier of the verb following it: merro and truu môôwi express a simultaneous situation.

(674) abêèrrî nrâ merrô truu môôwi
old person 3sg lie DUR breathe
"An old man lay down taking a rest"
Serialised verbs of this type include:

- juo süverre (sit, lean) "to sit leaning"
- fi jũü (go, hide) "to go in secret"
- si winro (pass, follow) "to continue (a narrative)"
- merrô wiirri (lie down, stretched) "to stretch out oneself"
- merrô simwã (lie down, naked) "to lie down naked"
- fadrô wiirri (walk, stretched) "to walk with fine carriage"
- tũ wea (fall, unripe) "to fall (of fruit) when it is still unripe"
- ha kõbû (speak, angry) "to speak being indignant"
- drarri kõbû (cry, angry) "to cry in anger"
- hawi tria (talk, make laugh) "to joke"

The following examples show two verbs expressing consecutive actions.

(675) nrâ ho fi-raa amûrrû
3sg eat go-tr a little
"He ate and left (the food) a little."

(676) nrâ trôa fisû nnorri treanrii
3sg arrive meet 3pl people
"He arrived and met people."

Serialised verbs of this type include:

- pwô si wa (land, go, descend) "to fall down"
- pwô pwedhô (land, be caught) "to fall and be caught"
- da pwedhô (thrust, be caught) "to catch (a ball)"
- vajû me (sick, dead) "to die"45
- fi truurô (go, stand) "to stop walking"

The first verb may express the action which leads to an effect expressed by the second, or the second verb may express a purpose. Note that in (680) the subject of the second verb is the indirect object of the first verb, and in (681) it is the object (undergoer) of the first verb (as marri "be dry" is intransitive). However, the U-A/S coreference pattern is not so common, as the causative serial constructions are generally manifested in classificatory prefix constructions (cf. 5.1.2).

(677) nrâ wiria sê-raa table
3sg cut throw-tr table
"He destroyed the table and threw it away"

(678) ri ve e e-ri u
1plnc take eat food-1plnc yam
"We took and ate our yam. / We took yam to eat."

(679) toni nrâ fi tau pee maamûrrû
Tony 3sg go often see children
"Tony often went and saw the children."
(In this sentence pee retains its lexical meaning.)

---

45 *vajû* means "be dead" as well as "be sick, to hurt (of wound)". It is either known from the context which meaning is referred to, or the speaker may not be concerned whether the person is "sick" or already dead. When the speaker wants to make it explicit that somebody is "dead" and not "sick", he serialises verbs as *vajû me*. *vajû me* is used normally for humans and animals (maybe because they fall ill first and then die), while *me* is more often used for plants or fire (meaning extinguished), except for the variant form -be which occurs as a bound form verb used for both animate and inanimate things (as in *e-be* "kill by biting", or in *suo-be* "blow and extinguish (fire)"). *me* also means "unconscious", normally occurring in the serial *pôgôrrô me* (black, unconscious) "faint, be unconscious". 
Serialised verbs of this type include:

- tuufarri seraa (spit, throw away) "to spit out"
- koo seraa (vomit, throw away) "to vomit out"
- hii seraa (move aside, throw away) "to remove away"
- dohi seraa (skin, throw away) "to scale (a fish)"
- huue tabòrô (help, gather) "to help to gather"
- huue nyorró (help, cook) "to help to cook"
- tabòrô tusamâ (gather, put together) "to put together in one place"
- hidrò arijü (say, show) "to explain"
- ha tove (speak, remove) "to tell somebody to leave"
- sô wiirri (pull, be tense) "to pull (clothes) to smoothe a wrinkle"

### 7.10.1.2 Serialization with head-modifier relationship

While the serialised verbs in the temporal relationship fully retain their literal meaning, some serialised verbs in the head-modifier relationship may to a certain extent lose their literal meaning as I explained in the beginning of this section. The semantic center of gravity is shifted to one of the serialised verbs, resulting in the other losing its literal meaning and acquiring a grammatical meaning.

Seven verbs discussed in the section of pre-head verbal modifiers and four verbs in the section of post-head modifiers can also be considered as this type of serialised verbs. These verbs lose their primary function as a verb and acquire an aspectual meaning, as a modifier to another verb. They can, however, sometimes retain the lexical meaning depending on context. I will list the previously discussed verbs below:

**pre-head verbal modifiers (cf.7.4):**

- truumwèrrê "to stay again; always, progressive"
- nrää "to demand, beg; want"
- savaa "to defend, keep away from; prohibitive"
- nrääü "to start; inchoative"
- wake "to work; persistence, habitual"
- truu "to stay, exist; durative, continuous"
- fwi "to make, do; causative"

**post-head verbal modifiers (cf.7.5):**

- pee "to see; try, tentative"
- hwasââwe "by what means?; interrogative on the evidentiality of the proposition.
- (pa)nai "to exceed; superior, more than"
- jùrrù "to cut; completive"

There are also some verbs which fit somewhere in between: they maintain their lexical meanings (although they are somewhat reduced) and supplement the other verb with which they occur. These are motion verbs (3.2.2.2.2): fi "to go" and mè "to come", which are especially common, often play a role as directionals in verbal serialization. The degree of retainment of lexical meaning varies by context.
sometimes occurs in the place of \( fi \), as it occurs after location nouns (3.4): e.g. \( so \ e \) (pull, away) "to pull away"; \( ve \ e \) (take, away) "to take away").

\[
<fi \text{ as motion going away}>
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wae fi (move?, go)} & \quad "\text{to move away a little further}" \\
\text{siro fi (pass, go)} & \quad "\text{to go away towards over there}" \\
\text{ve fi (take, go)} & \quad "\text{to take away}" \\
\text{sirù fi (enter, go)} & \quad "\text{to go back (home)}" \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
<mé \text{ as motion coming towards}>
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wae mé (move?, come)} & \quad "\text{to move a little closer}" \\
\text{wae ve mé (move?, take, come)} & \quad "\text{to bring closer}" \\
\text{trò mé (arrive, come)} & \quad "\text{to come back}" \\
\text{siro mé (pass, come)} & \quad "\text{to come towards here}" \\
\text{tapirri mé (look for, come)} & \quad "\text{to come to search}" \\
\text{ve mé (take, come)} & \quad "\text{to bring}" \\
\text{hwòrrò sirù mé (get away, enter, come)} & \quad "\text{to come escaping}" \\
\text{nyòrrò mé (cook, come)} & \quad "\text{to cook food and bring}" \\
\text{tù mé (pass, come)} & \quad "\text{to pass towards (speaker)}" \\
\text{ha-vai waa mé (call, descend, come)} & \quad "\text{to call someone to come towards the speaker}" \\
\text{fi mé (fly, come)} & \quad "\text{to come flying, fly towards}" \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
<\text{wa "to descend" as motion downwards}>
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hàmwwèi wa (hold, down)} & \quad "\text{to pull down}" \\
\text{si wa (go, descend)} & \quad "\text{to go down}" \\
\text{tù wa (fall, descend)} & \quad "\text{to fall down}" \\
\text{jù wa (sit, descend)} & \quad "\text{to sit down}" \\
\text{ìi wa (fly, descend)} & \quad "\text{to fly downward}" \\
\text{ve wa (take, descend)} & \quad "\text{to put down}" \\
\text{nrūu wa (dive, descend)} & \quad "\text{to sink}" \\
\text{hàmwwèi wa (touch, descend)} & \quad "\text{to pull down}" \\
\text{pwò si wa (land, go, descend)} & \quad "\text{to fall down}" \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
<\text{drajù "to climb" as motion upwards}>
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{puu drajù (rot, climb)} & \quad "\text{(gangrene) to set in}" \\
\text{si drajù (go, climb)} & \quad "\text{to go up}" \\
\text{ìi drajù (fly, climb)} & \quad "\text{to fly upward}" \\
\text{fadrò drajù (walk, climb)} & \quad "\text{to walk up}" \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
<\text{other motion verbs}>
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{puu si (smell, go)} & \quad "\text{to smell nice}" \\
\text{tù sirù (pass, enter)} & \quad "\text{to pass in}" \\
\text{wâjò sirù (put in, enter)} & \quad "\text{to put in}" \\
\text{nrù mí (send, fall)} & \quad "\text{to swallow}" \\
\end{align*}
\]

In addition to the directional meaning, \( fi \) and \( mé \) can also indicate the psychological distance between an object or event and the speaker (3.4) Although sometimes the distinction between \( fi \) and \( mé \) is not quite clear, \( fi \) is generally used when the object or event is felt to be detached from the speaker, or when the speaker observes it rather objectively; whereas \( mé \) is used when the object or event is felt to be at hand or temporarily detached (but originally belonging to the speaker or somewhere near the speaker), or when the speaker feels very much involved in it.

\( fi \) can also indicate durational and inchoative aspects, and \( mé \) can sometimes also indicate inchoative in verb serialization.
<fi as durational>
truu fi (stay, go) "to stay always"
gee fi (lie, go) "to continue to lie, lie further"

<fi as distance or inchoative>
puu fi (smell, go) "to start to smell (from the other side)"
fwi fi vajù kàà (do, go, sick, thin) "to become sick and lose weight"

<mètre as inchoative>
hwé mét (appear, come) "to come to sight"

When fi "to go" occurs as the middle element of serialization it indicates that the two actions expressed by the preceding and following verbs are taking place simultaneously:

hara fi fadrò (eat, go, walk) "to eat while walking"
hò fi fadrò (sing, go, walk) "to walk singing"
ha fi hara (speak, go, eat) "to speak while eating"

In the following combination, the second verb indicates the manner/situation in which the action of the first verb is carried out.

fi màhorro (go, disobey) "to go for all that"
sa harru (hit [stone], good) "to hit (stone) at the target"
tù harru (shoot, good) "to shoot the target well"
hara wea (eat [fruit], unripe) "to eat green fruit still unripe"
hara màhorro (eat, disobey) "to eat something for all that"
nrorri màhorro (give, disobey) "to give disobeying (rule)"
hawi adrorì (talk, right) "to speak just"

In the following combination, the first verb is a perception verb, and the second verb functions as a complement of it.

imè hòve (feel, cold) "to feel cold"
imè mirri (feel, hungry) "to feel hungry"
imè vajù (feel, sick) "to feel sick"
puu harru (smell, good) "to smell good"
puu tâmu (smell, rot) "to smell bad (of food)"
nrè harru (taste, good) "to taste good"
nrè madri (taste, bitter/itchy) "to taste bitter"

There are serialised verbs which contain ve "take" as the second verb, followed by either another verb or a NP (the initial consonant of ve sometimes drops.) ve can function as an adverbialiser, combining with a stative verb. It is difficult to set up a discrete boundary between these derivational constructions and the serialization of verbs.46

I exclude from verb serialization those combinations which have ve as the first element of the combination and which have an obvious adverbial use. For example, when asked "how did you sleep last night?", the answer ve-harru is an adverb, meaning "very well." (Also see the section on adverbs 3.7.1) Most other cases, in which ve often acquires the meaning of "purposive, benefactive, for", will be discussed here.

< V + ve + V / N >

---

46 The wide use of 'take' in core junctures to add a range of adverbial-like arguments is suggested by Foley & Van Valin (1984:200) with serializing languages of West Africa.
In the following sentence, *ha*, *ve* and *waa* are forming a nuclear juncture, as *nřū* is the shared object.

(682) \[ ri \; ha \; -ve \; wa \; nřū \]
\[ 1plice \; speak \; for \; descend \; 3sg \]
"We speak humbly of him/it."

But in this one, *fa-truurrō* and *ve* form a core juncture and take individual objects:

(683) \[ kevi \; fa-truurrō \; nrnrunru \; ve \; amwaati \; nřū \; kevi \]
\[ 1plice \; CAUS-stand \; grandfather \; for \; chief \; of \; 1plice \]
"We selected grandfather for our chief."

The serialised verbs of this type include:

- *fi ve drōri* (go, for, right) "to go straight"
- *ha ve nrōsū* (speak, for, wake) "to wake up by calling"
- *truu ve saa* (stay, for, one) "to be together"
- *hawi (v)e tria* (talk, for, be funny) "to tease, joke"
- *tuu ve gee* (treat, for, lie) "to suspect"
- *tuu ve havari* (treat, for, be right) "to believe to be right"
- *truu (v)e harru* (stay, for, good) "be fine, healthy"
- *truu ve taa* (stay, for, bad) "be bad, feeling bad"
- *fwi ve harru* (do, for, good) "to treat well"
- *ve ve ti* (take, for, big) "to respect"
- *ve ve mūrrū* (take, for, small) "to look down upon"
- *ve ve taa* (take, for, bad) "to take it amiss"

7.10.2 Linked verb constructions

There are linked constructions where two verbs co-occur as in verb serialization. Unlike verb serialization, the second verb is always introduced by either *f* or *nřū*. I will discuss in this section the syntactic and semantic role of these link morphemes and the constructions that occur with them.

7.10.2.1 *f* simultaneous

*f* introduces a VP, marking the two actions indicated by verbs of both sides of *f* as simultaneous. The two verbs can take separate objects.

(684) \[ toni \; nřū \; truumwērrē \; hō \; f \; hara \]
\[ Tony \; 3sg \; always \; sing \; while \; eat \]
"Tony always sings while eating."

(685) \[ nřū \; nřū \; fwi \; saa \; drae \; f \; fadrō \]
\[ 3sg \; PROG \; do \; one \; thing \; while \; walk \]
"He is doing something while walking."

Other examples: *hara fadrō* (eat, while, walk) "to eat while walking", *hara f* *nyōrrō* (eat, while, cook a pot dish) "to eat while cooking a pot dish."

7.10.2.2 *nřū* purposive

*nřū*, which has identical form to the TA marker "eventual, distant future", often occurs between two verbs, making the second verb purposive. I distinguish this from other identical forms, *nřū* preposition (causal, instrumental, temporal, exemplificatory, comitative), and subordinating conjunction "when, if".
It is distinct from the TA marker, as the TA marker always occurs between a subject pronoun and a verb; it is not a preposition as it only occurs before a verb; it is different from the conjunction nri in that it only occurs between two verbs and the meaning is restricted to "purposive".

The first verb and the second verb introduced by nri in these constructions cannot be separated by another element:

(686a) \[ \text{rri fi nri ta bwö pwere trùjù} \]
3pl go PURP hunt crab toward sea
"They went to hunt crabs to the sea."

(686b) * \[ \text{rri fi pwere trùjù nri ta bwö} \]
3pl go toward sea PURP hunt crab
"They went to the sea to hunt crabs."

The first verb cannot take an object either. The two verbs seem to be tightly related as one unit. In the above sentence fi "to go" and ta "to hunt" are not felt as two separate actions, but an action "go" intending to "hunt". Since the verbs are joined in the nuclear layer, any TA markers or pre-head verbal modifiers occur before the first verb, while post-head verbal modifiers occur after the second verb.

(687a) \[ \text{wiri ta nri nrorri poka ei amwaati} \]
2pl hunt PURP give pig to chief
"You hunt to give pig to the chief."

(687b) * \[ \text{wiri ta poka nri nrorri ei amwaati} \]
2pl hunt pig PURP give to chief
"You hunt pigs to give to the chief."

(688) \[ \text{ri re mē nri nrāo nrā kafe nrā} \]
3pl HAB come PURP plant PST coffee sm
mē-sapone
pl-Japanese(Fr)
"Japanese people used to come to plant coffee."

(689) \[ \text{savaa mē nri hîdrò ei kevi nrā} \]
PROG come PURP say to lplexc OBLG
"Don't come to talk to us!"

Other examples:
fi nri wāâ (go, PURP, take a walk) "to go for a walk"
fi nri merrejo (go, PURP, sleep) "to go to bed"
mē nri hîdrò (come, PURP, say) "to come to speak"
mē nri pee (come,PURP, see) "to come to see".

Verbs linked by nri often acquire some idiomatic meaning as:
gee nri fwi (tell a lie, PURP, do) "to do on purpose, pretend",
fwi nri ve (do, PURP, take) "to change into"
Chapter 8

THE SENTENCE

In this chapter, I will deal with the clause and sentence level grammar of Tinrin. Simple sentences which are made up of a single clause will be described first, and then the co-ordinated and complex sentences which consist of more than two clauses.

8.1 Simple Sentences

Tinrin simple sentences consist of either declarative or non-declarative clauses.

8.1.1 Declarative clauses

Declarative clauses in Tinrin are the basic type of clause. There are two types: verbal and non-verbal.

1) VP (NP)
2) NP (NP)

The first, a verbal clause type, has a verb phrase, which usually comes at the beginning of the clause, and an optional nominal phrase argument that is related to the verb phrase as subject.47

The verb phrase head can be either intransitive or transitive. Since we consider so-called adjectives as (stative) verbs, identificational clauses are included here.

The second clause type is non-verbal and involves two nominal phrases (one NP is optional) in an equational relationship.

8.1.1.1 Intransitive clauses

Intransitive clauses have the structure:

[ vps (TA) (Mod) V (Mod) ] (NP)

where the small s stands for a subject pronoun; Mod includes all the verbal modifiers, adverbs and phrasal modifiers. The subject pronoun agrees in person and number with the nominal subject which optionally follows the predicate.

47 Moyse-Faurie and Ozanne-Rivierre (1983:113) classified the languages of New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands into four groups on the basis of their word order. Contrary to their hypothesis that Tinrin belongs to a transitional group, where the order is either VOS or SVO "without subject person-marker" ('subject pronoun' in this thesis) in the verb phrase, I find that Tinrin is a VOS unmarked word order language. The subject person-marker is retained in topicalised SVO sentences, as I will discuss later.
With both transitive and intransitive verbs, the subject case marker \( nr\ddash \) is obligatory before any kind of nominal subject, except in a few cases I will discuss later.\(^{48}\)

Tinrin subject marker \( nr\ddash \) is homophonous with many words: for example, with the subject form of the third person singular pronoun, and the unmarked possessive preposition "of". It is difficult to guess its origin, whether it is a reflex of the Oceanic common noun article \(*na\), or whether it has a lexical origin, or something else.

The pronominal substitute of the nominal subject is a free/focal form as in the example (692).

\[
(690) \quad nr\ddash \quad \text{see} \quad \text{tròa} \quad \text{warra} \quad nr\ddash \quad \text{toni} \\
3\text{sg} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{arrive} \quad \text{yet} \quad \text{sm} \quad \text{Tony} \\
\text{"Tony has not arrived yet."}
\]

\[
(691) \quad rru \quad \text{fì} \quad \text{pwere} \quad \text{ânr\ddash mwâ} \quad nr\ddash \quad \text{truu} \quad \text{truu\dash truare} \\
3\text{dl} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{to} \quad \text{there} \quad \text{sm} \quad \text{DET dl} \quad \text{dl\dash brother} \\
\text{"The two brothers went there."}
\]

\[
(692) \quad u \quad \text{truumwêrre} \quad \text{mirrï} \quad nr\ddash \quad \text{nro} \\
1\text{sg} \quad \text{always} \quad \text{hungry} \quad \text{sm} \quad 1\text{sg} \\
\text{"I am always hungry."}
\]

Although the subject marker is generally obligatory before any kind of nominal subject, there are exceptional cases where the subject marker is optional (8.3.1.1). For example, when the subject is a nominal clause introduced by the complementiser \( bee \) or \( mwd \), as in the following sentences.

\[
(693) \quad nr\ddash \quad \text{horro} \quad \text{ei} \quad \text{rò} \quad (nr\ddash) \quad \text{bee} \quad \text{nr\ddash sù} \\
3\text{sg} \quad \text{hard} \quad \text{for} \quad 1\text{sg} \quad \text{sm} \quad \text{CMPZ} \quad \text{wake} \\
\quad \text{- nrï\dash wàdrâ} \quad \text{mesi} \\
\quad \text{in the morning} \quad \text{early} \\
\quad \text{"It is hard for me to wake up in the early morning."}
\]

\[
(694) \quad nr\ddash \quad \text{harru} \quad \text{gi} \quad \text{maamùrrù} \quad (nr\ddash) \quad \text{bee} \quad \text{ta} \quad nr\ddash \\
3\text{sg} \quad \text{good} \quad \text{to} \quad \text{children} \quad \text{sm} \quad \text{CMPZ} \quad \text{catch} \quad \text{POSS} \\
pù \quad \text{flying fox} \\
\text{"Children like hunting flying foxes."} \text{(lit. Hunting flying foxes is good to children.)}
\]

8.1.1.2 Transitive clauses

Transitive clauses have the structure:

\[
[ VP \ s \ (TA) \ (Mod) \ V \ (Mod) \ (NP) \ (Mod) ] \ (NP)
\]

This is the same as the active intransitive clause structure except that transitive verbs, necessarily implying something as object, may optionally express it.

Objects normally follow a post-verbal modifier if there is one, but if the object is a pronoun it often occurs in front.

\(^{48}\) The form and use of the subject case marker vary a lot among New Caledonian languages. Kumak presents ergative type and others split ergative type (Moyse-Faurie & Ozanne-Riviere 1983:123-125). Tinrin falls with languages such as Ajië where the case marking is of nominative/accusative type.
Some transitive verbs carry a transitive suffix, in which case their objects are obligatory. Nominal objects can either immediately follow the transitive suffix or occur after a verbal modifier, whereas the pronominal object must immediately follow the transitive suffix (7.7).

Unlike for the subject, there is no object case marker. The least marked word order when both nominal subject and object are present is VOS.

(695) u jorri wai mēwe
   1sg see already bird
   "I already saw a bird."

(696) nā nyōrrō nā wa mwē mwā
   3sg cook sm DET woman DIST
   "That woman cooked (something)."

(697) rru ta nřī dhūrrū nā truuo
   3dl hit 3sg COMPL sm dl men
   "Two men have hit him."

(698) ri ha-vai nrnru nrroi nā hari
   1plinc speak-tr grandparent in vain sm 1pl
   "We called grandfather in vain."

8.1.1.3 Equational clauses

The equational clause is a non-verbal clause type, basically involving two NPs (including nominal clauses). In an equational clause, when one wants to express "A is B", A and B are juxtaposed as in the following:

(699) [fa-ti nā nřī] [ha]
   length POSS 3sg this
   "This is its length. (showing with hands)"

(700) [farrī-nřī] [toni]
   name-3sg Tony
   "Tony is his name."

(701) [ne treanru] [wa drae rra]?
   what person DET thing DIST
   "Who that one is? (That one is what kind of person?)"

Neither the subject pronoun nor the subject marker normally occurs before a NP in this clause type. The above sentences exemplify this.

The predicate NP can be preceded by a TA marker re "assertive, habitual" and/or pre-head modifier, see "negative". The head of the NP can also be associated with adjuncts, discussed in 6.2.

(702) [re warrabu-nṛri] [wara mwā]
   ASS uncle-2sg one M.DIST
   "That person should be your uncle."

The subject NP is often topicalised and preposed to the clause initial position, as in the following sentence:

(703) [wa mwā ha] [hē-ʳō]
   DET house this belonging-1sg
   "This house is mine."
When the preposed subject is a proper noun, or when it is a rather long phrase or clause, the subject pronoun can sometimes follow. In sentences (704) and (705) the subject pronoun \textit{nrā} (the third \textit{nrā} in 705) helps to indicate that the part following it is the predicate.

(704) \[toni\] \textit{nrā} \[hire-fadrō \textit{nrā} \textit{rō}\]  
Tony 3sg company-walk POSS 1sg  
"Tony is my travel mate."

(705) \[drā\] \textit{nrā} \textit{idri} \textit{nrā} \textit{nrī} \textit{nrā} \textit{trāt} \textit{suie}\]  
day 3sg born sm 3sg 3sg thirty(Fr) July(Fr)  
"The day when he was born is the 30 July."

When the subject is a pronoun, it occurs before the complement NP. The impersonal pronoun \textit{va} often occurs in this type of clause.

(706) \[va\] \textit{edmō} \textit{hwa}\]  
IMPN Edmond EMPH  
"That’s Edmond for sure."

A pronominal subject can also be preceded by its focal form (topic), as in the following sentence.

(707) \[nrū\] \[ke\] \[ne treanrū?\]  
2sg 2sg what person  
"You, you are who?" (Who you think you are?)

An equational sentence can also often consist of only one NP, the subject being omitted. The speaker would say "A" instead of "That is A", etc. when the subject may be understood from the context and does not need to be mentioned. A complement clause introduced by \textit{bee} (like 710) often occurs in this construction.

(708) \textit{nrī-hēē-rodō}\]  
COL-belonging-1sg  
"(That’s) mine. (my belongings)"

(709) \textit{drae} \textit{mwā}\]  
things M.DIST  
"(That’s) that."

(710) \textit{re} \textit{bee} \textit{ta} \textit{nrā} \textit{pū}\]  
ASS CMPZ kill of flying fox  
"(This surely is) the way of killing flying foxes."

(711) \[wa\] \textit{drae} \textit{raa} \textit{nrā} \textit{juo} \textit{drō-osi}\]  
DET thing DIST 3sg sit surface-horse  
"(That’s) the one who rides on the horse."

8.1.2 Non-declarative clauses

While with declarative clauses the speaker is simply passing on information to the addressee, there are also other kinds of speech acts, where the speaker wants to express some particular illocutionary force in an utterance. In the following sections, I will describe the structure of non-declarative clauses.

8.1.2.1 Interrogatives

Interrogative utterances differ from declaratives in that the speaker wants some response from the addressee.
In terms of the kind of response required, two distinct types of interrogative clauses can be distinguished. One type of question - a polar question - contains in its structure certain information about which the speaker is seeking either confirmation or denial. The other type of question - a content question - asks for the provision of specific information, using special interrogative words.

8.1.2.1.1 Polar questions

Polar questions can be expressed in four ways:

a) an identical structure to a declarative clause, distinguished only by intonation.

b) a structure having the tag e at the end of the clause

c) a clause containing the interrogative particle ghai (7.5)

d) a structure with sentence adverbial hi "I wonder"

(A) The structure of this type of question is identical to that of a declarative clause. It is the intonation that distinguishes the interrogative from the statement. The basic intonation of a statement involves the pitch falling from the tonic syllable (often the last stressed syllable in a tone group)(cf.2.5). The intonation of a question has a peak of prominence on the stressed syllable of the predicate, which is marked by a very high pitch, and the sentence terminates with a falling intonation as in a declarative clause. It is often difficult for a non-native speaker to distinguish questions from statements. This intonation pattern is shared with certain exclamatory expressions.

When the speaker asks something, it is often expressed in a question of negative polarity. The question includes ra "or", when the speaker asks the addressee's choice in two or more things. However, while ra links NPs, two clauses are linked by the conjunction mwä "or, but, and" when the question takes the form of co-ordinated clauses.

The higher pitch on the verb can be seen in the following example questions:

<declarative clause intonation>

(712a) ke² nra odho kafe' 2sg IMPF drink coffee
"You are drinking coffee."

<interrogative intonation>

(712b) ke² nra odho kafe' 2sg IMPF drink coffee
"Are you drinking coffee?"

<opposite polarity>

(713) ke² see nra odho kafe 2sg NEG IMPF drink coffee
"Aren’t you drinking coffee?"
(714) ke nrâa odho kafe ra te
2sg want drink coffee or tea
"Do you want to drink coffee or tea?"

(715) tōn nrâ trœu ânâha mwâ nrâ wâke ru nrî?
Tony 3sg stay here or 3sg work at there
"Does Tony stay here or does he work there?"

(B) The second type of polar question is expressed by simply adding the tag e after the declarative form of the clause. The tag has a sharply rising intonation, following a clause with a normal statement intonation. In addition to the planned question, this type of sentence is also employed when the speaker starts with a statement and then feels somewhat uncertain about it, demanding confirmation of the statement from the addressee.

(716) ke fi pwere nunfe
2sg go to Noumea Q
"You go to Noumea, don't you?"

(C) The interrogative particle ghai functions as a post-head verbal modifier (7.5) in the VP to mark that the clause is interrogative. This contrasts with the first type of polar question which is distinguished from the statement only by its intonation pattern, sometimes making the difference between them very subtle. The use of ghai makes it clearer that the clause is a question. ghai is pronounced with lower pitch than the preceding verb and higher or the same as following elements. Sentence finally, it is pronounced with a low pitch.

(717) kei fi ghai pwere tro etre?
2sg FUT go INTER to real place
"Are you going to the tribal place?"

(D) Polar questions can also be formed by using a sentence adverbial hi which indicates that the speaker is not sure about the truth of the statement being made. When hi is used sentence-initially, the sentence is understood as a question or tentative question. hi always bears a stress and a higher pitch, while the rest of the sentence follows the intonation pattern of polar questions.

(718) hi va re troto?
I wonder IMPN ASS car
"Is this really the car?"

(719) hi troa nrî seedfe?
I wonder 3sg FUT arrive later evening
"Will he arrive this evening?"

(720) hi ke fi nri ve medikamê?
I wonder 2sg go FUT take medicine(Fr)
"Are you going to get medicine?"
8.1.2.1.2 Content questions

This type of question requires that the addressee gives some specific information to the speaker. Content questions are expressed by using special interrogative words. They are grouped according to their positions in the following list:

<quantifiers> (3.1.2)
ne "what", asking about nouns with non-human reference, rarely with human reference
anrı "how many", asking about quantities or numbers

<common noun>
jaa "who", asking about nouns with human reference

<time/location noun>
anrı "what time", asking about time
(a)e "where", asking about location
unrö "how many times ", asking about frequency

<verb/post-head modifier>
trö "what is the matter with", a verb asking about the subject’s problematic situation
hwaså̄we "how to know, on what evidence", either a verb or a post-head modifier, asking about the evidentiality of information supplied by the addressee.

<adverb/demonstrative>
(a)nera "what about, how is it", which must be clause-initial, either expresses the speaker’s surprise at a situation while asking how the situation came about, or indicates the speaker’s suggestion: "what about...ing; why not do...".
hae "where, which, how", asking about location, what one of a number of human or non-human nouns, the condition of human or non-human nouns, or the manner of the action expressed in the predicate. This can also function as a demonstrative, meaning "which (one)" when it is cliticised to a preceding noun.

Examples of interrogative clauses using the above forms are given below. These interrogative words (except (a)nera which must be clause-initial) are often fronted to the sentence-initial position, as in English content questions: 'how do you write? What time do you expect to go?' etc.

(A) ne "what"

This is a quantifier, that is, it functions like a noun, and can also occur as an attribute to other nominals as in (725), (726), (727). When it refers to a human noun, as in (727), it connotes less politeness than does jaa "who".

(721) ne nrâ fwi? (= nrâ fwi nrâ ne?)
what 3sg exist
"What is there?"
(This sentence can also be interpreted as "what did he do?" (= nrâ fwi ne?) in which case ne is the object of fwi "to do".)
(722) ne nrä fwi ûû-nrî mwâ ke nrorri?
what 3sg make cause-3sg that 2sg give
"Why did you give (it away)?" (lit. What made the cause of that you gave?)

(723) nrä ne?
3sg what
"What is it?"

(724) ne kei hara? (= kei hara ne?)
what 2sg FUT eat
"What will you eat?"
(Unlike for an animate object, when an inanimate object is fronted, it does not leave an anaphora behind.)(8.1.3)

(725) ne bwerrf-asû ke nrôsû nrä mwairrü wadrââ?
what hour 2sg wake PST a while ago morning
"When did you wake up this morning?"

(726) ke sûveharru ne hêëra?
2sg like what hêëra?
"What food do you like?"

(727) ne moo?
what man
"Which/what man?"

(B) anrôi "how many"

This is a quantifier like ne. Example (730) illustrates its use as an attribute to other nominals.

(728) nrä fwi wai anrôi?
3sg make already how many
"How many are there already? (it already made how many?)"

(729) ghegi anrôi drââ nrä see fwa nrâ wie?
since how many day 3sg NEG fall sm rain
"How many days is it since it rained?" (lit. Since when doesn't the rain fall?)

(730) anrôi fwôtra nrä nrî?
how many year POSS 3sg
"How old is he?" (lit. how many years of him?)

(C) jaa "who"

This functions as a common noun - in other words, it can occur as either subject as in (731), (732), subject complement as in (733), object as in (734), (735), or possessor as in (736) and (737).

(731) jaa nrîi tròa? (= nrîi tròa nrâ jaa?)
who 3sg FUT arrive
"Who will arrive?"

(732) jaa nrâ ve mê sarra? (= nrâ ve mê sarra nrâ jaa?)
who 3sg take come knife
"Who brought the knife?"

(733) ke jaa?
you who
"Who are you?"

(734) nrâ ta jaa?
3sg hit who
"Whom does he hit?"
When the object *jaa* is fronted, it leaves a pronominal anaphora behind (8.1.3), as otherwise *jaa* could be interpreted as the subject.

(735)  

\[
\text{jaa nра́ ta nри́?}  \\
\text{who 3sg hit 3sg}  \\
\text{"Whom does he hit?"}
\]

However, the above sentence is still ambiguous, as *jaa* can be the subject and *nри́* can refer to somebody else, as "who hit him?".

(736) 

\[
\text{nри́-hё́-jaa?}  \\
\text{COL-belonging-who}  \\
\text{"Whose?"}
\]

(737) 

\[
\text{ke aудré-jaa?}  \\
\text{2sg father-who}  \\
\text{"Whose father are you?" (lit. you are who’s father?)}
\]

(D)  

\[
\text{anри́ "when, what time"}
\]

As a time noun (3.1.4.2.2), this form can occur in the oblique case either marked or unmarked by a preposition. (Last example occurs with a preposition.) Beside being used as interrogative, *anри́* can also have a general locative meaning "there" (3.1.4.2.3).

(738) 

\[
\text{anри́ ke wake? (= ke wake anри́?)}  \\
\text{when 2sg work}  \\
\text{"When did you work?"}
\]

(739) 

\[
\text{анри́ траeнри́ rри́ nрааàû jagho}  \\
\text{when people 3pl INCHO clear the field}  \\
\text{"When did people start to clear the field?"}
\]

(740) 

\[
\text{wiri wake ru nри́ ghegi anри́?}  \\
\text{2pl work at 3sg since when}  \\
\text{"Since when do you work there?"
}\]

(E)  

\[
\text{(а)e "where, what place"}
\]

As a location noun (3.1.4.2.1), this form can occur in the oblique case either marked by a preposition (as in example 743) or unmarked.

(741) 

\[
\text{ае nра́ fуi mwа́ (= nра́ fуi mwа́ ае)}  \\
\text{where 3sg do hut}  \\
\text{"Where did he build a hut?"}
\]

(742) 

\[
\text{rри́ fa-hё́rро ае nра́ tro траeнри́}  \\
\text{3pl caus-sacred which place sm real people}  \\
\text{"Which place did Kanak people forbid?" (make it taboo)}
\]

*ае* in the above sentence is a verbal object; it cannot be fronted to the beginning of the sentence, as the sentence then would be interpreted as "where did Kanak people forbid (something)?".

(743) 

\[
\text{ри́ fi were ае?}  \\
\text{1pl go to where}  \\
\text{"Where are we going?"}
\]
When áe follows fi "to go", their pronunciation is fused and the i of the verb stem is reduced as in fae (2.6.2).

(744)  
3sg  go where  
"Where does he go?"

When áe occurs after a verb like trueu "to stay", it drops its initial vowel, and becomes an enclitic to the verb (2.6.2).

(745)  
3sg  stay-where  sm  Sonya  
"Where is Sonya?"

(746)  
house  POSS  2sg  3sg  stay-where  
"Where is your house?"

The same phenomenon happens when áe occurs with prepositions like ruu "at, in", pwere/pwere "towards" and ghe "from". It seems that in deliberate or careful speech áe is fully pronounced as in example (743).

with ruu "at, in"

(747)  
3sg  work  at-where  
"Where did he work?"

with were/pwere "towards"

(748)  
3pl  work  to-where  
"Where did they go working?"

(749)  
1plinc  go  to-where  
"Where are we going?"

with ghe "from"

(750)  
person  from  
"Where is the person from?" (lit. Person from where?)

A good example of the last two forms is from an expression used by a tribesman upon finding a stranger (like a sundowner) who has arrived in a tribal place. The following expressions are idiomatic. The subject pronoun is missing, and in (751) fadrö occurs twice, which may be of an emphatic use.

(751)  
walk  from-where  walk  
"Where do you come from?" (lit. Walk from where?)

(752)  
walk  to-where  
"(And) where are you going?" (lit. Walk to where?)
(F) unroi "how many times"

With this time noun the oblique case has zero marking.

\[(753)\] unroi kea hara pù?
how many times 2sg PERF eat flying fox
"How many times have you eaten flying foxes?"

\[(754)\] unroi nrâ fi pwere numea nrâ toni?
how many times 3sg go to Noumea sm Tony
"How many times did Tony go to Noumea?"

(G) trò "what is the matter with"

This form functions as a verb, indicating that something is wrong with the subject and that the speaker is concerned about the matter. The subject can be of any person or number except the first person.

\[(755)\] nrâ trò nrâ rroto?
3sg matter sm car
"What's the matter with the car?"

\[(756)\] ke trò?
2sg matter
"What's the matter with you?"

\[(757)\] nrâ trò?
3sg matter
"What is it? (What happened?)"
\[(nrâ "3sg" can refer to some situation)\]

(H) hwasâwe "how do you know, on what evidence"

This occurs as either a verb or a post-head modifier (7.5). The speaker uses this to express concern about the truthfulness of a proposition given by the addressee.

\[(758)\] ke hwasâwe kò nrâ rri?
2sg how to know message POSS 3pl
"How did you get to know their words (secrets)?"

\[(759)\] ke hidrö hwasâwe mwâ nrâ pwûrrû
2sg say how that 3sg lost
nrâ ó-toni
sm head-Tony
"How can you say that Tony went mad."

(I) (a)nera "what about, how is it"

This form functions as a sentence adverb, which occurs only clause-initially (3.7.2). When it occurs sentence-medially (but clause-initially) a is dropped.

\[(760)\] anera see ke re fi warra?
how is it NEG 2sg ASS go yet
"Why on earth haven't you gone yet?"

(J) hae "where, which, how"

When hae occurs clause-initially (3.7.2), it is followed by a NP. When used in this position, the speaker is normally asking the location of the following NP. The next two examples illustrate this:
When the NP following *hae* is a nominalised clause using the complementiser *bee*, and sometimes when the NP is a human noun, the speaker’s concern is about the condition of an event, something or somebody, or the manner of an action.

(763) *hae* bee merrejo nrà nru?  
"How did you sleep?"

*hae* may also be used as a demonstrative, or as a possessor of a bound noun as in (766), when it is enclitic to a preceding NP. In this case, the speaker is asking "which /what one of a number of human or non-human nouns".

(764) ke hōsi nřī ruu wa magazè-hae?  
2sg buy 3sg at DET shop(Fr)-where  
"At which shop did you buy it?"

(765) wara-hae nřā tī nřā sii-nřī?  
thing-which 3sg big sm price-3sg  
"Which is more expensive?" (lit. Which thing, its price is big?)

(766) nřā fa-horrhō wa farř-hae?  
3sg CAUS-sacred DET name-which  
"Which name did he forbid?"

*hae* may also combine with a bound form *vara-*, forming an adverb, *vara-hae* "how, in what way". Compare the following words:

vara-hae "how, in what way"
vara-ha "like this, this way"
vara-mwā "like that, that way"

(767) rřī nřāo nřī vara-hae nřā mē-pwôgarra?  
3pl plant 3sg what way sm pl-white  
"How did white men plant it?"

When *vara-hae* occurs after the verb *fwi*, it goes through a phonetic reduction (2.6.2):

(768) kei fara-hae? (= kei fwi vara-hae?)  
2sg FUT do what way  
"How will you do (it)?"

8.1.2.2 Imperatives

There are two types of imperative clauses. The first type of clause has the same structure as that of a declarative clause. Only intonation distinguishes it from a declarative clause. In an imperative clause, the predicate verb as well as the last word of the sentence receives a stronger stress and often a higher pitch. When a sentence ends with a verb, it is the loudness of the stressed syllable rather than the pitch which marks the imperative, as the pitch on the stressed syllable of the verb in an imperative sentence is not as high as in a polar question (2.5).
(769) ke hara nraasi
2sg eat rice
"Eat the rice!"

(770) kou nraaifu fwi owo-y
2dl inch make habitation-yam
"(You two) start cultivating yam!"

Vocative words are often used to introduce an imperative sentence:

(771) nru ke hara nraasi
2sg 2sg eat rice
"You, eat rice."

(772) voo wiiri fi nri wak
men 2pl go PURP wake
"Men, you go to work."

Another type of imperative clauses uses a subjectless form of the verb, as in English. It has a similar intonation to the first type of imperative sentence.

(773) kuni bee hawi
finish CMPZ talk
"Stop talking."

(774) totwerri nrito-nru
shut mouth-2sg
"Shut your mouth."

A negative imperative is expressed by savaa "defend, prohibitive" occurring sentence-initially. This form is either followed by another verb or a clause. When followed by another verb, the post-verbal modifier nra "past, obligation" often occurs. When it is followed by a clause, the clause normally contains nri "eventual". In a negative imperative construction, the final word in the sentence does not receive any particular stress.

(775) savaa odho (nra) kafe
PROH drink OBLG coffee
"Don't drink coffee!"

(776) savaa hamwei dri-nawa
PROH touch leaf-coconut
"Don't touch the coconut leaf!"

(777) savaa ke nri nyobbo fojuru
PROH 2sg EVENT open window
"Don't open the window."

The imperatives directed to the first and the third person use the causative form of verbs (i.e. prefixed by fa-). In the first two examples that follow, toni and rô are the semantic subject of the original verb fi "to go" and hara "to eat" respectively. In the third example, mwli is the object of soghe "to stab" (5.1.1).

(778) fa-fi toni
CAUS-go Tony
"Let Tony go."

(779) fa-hara rô
CAUS-eat 1sg
"Let me eat."
(780) fa-soghe mwîê
CAUS-stab woman
"Make someone stab the woman."

In the following expressions only the first person non-singular inclusive pronoun (ri or ru) occurs as object. They literally mean "Take us and go".

(781) ve ri fi
take Iplinc go
"Let's go."

(782) ve ru fi
take Idlinc go
"Let us (you and me) go."

The imperative in an direct quotation is mapped in the subordinating clause as illustrated below:

(783) nrâ hidrô ei rô nrâ mwâ hâra nraasi
3sg say to 1sg PST that eat rice
"He told me to eat the rice."

There is no way of adding an expression such as "please" to these imperative clauses in Tinrin. The degree of politeness may only be expressed using subtle intonations or tones.

When one wants to urge something, a reduplicated form is often used as in the following:

(784) hâra hâra
eat eat
"Eat, eat (what are you hesitating?)"

8.1.2.3 Interjections

Interjections may either comprise a complete utterance, or introduce a clause that expands on the information given by the interjection. They are not necessarily addressed to anyone, but can simply be an automatic, emotional response to some situation.

There are two types of interjections: those which have no specific lexical or grammatical meaning or structure of their own, and those which have independent meanings of their own and which may comprise a few words or phrases. The former are often accompanied a prominent pitch pattern. The latter are often used to express concepts considered vulgar or taboo.

The first type of interjection is often used in specific situations. They are listed below, with the circumstances that will elicit that particular form:

a) „ü“ agreement, nod back

People utter this when they are listening to someone and showing their agreement with what is said. This can also be used as a response to a polar question. If used in response to a question set in the negative, it means agreement with the negation. ("Don't you like that man?" — "üü, I don't like him.")
b) **1441** auu(e) surprise or amazement; either at favorable or unfavorable things.

c) **1 132** amool disappointment or sorrow

This is often followed by a personal pronoun or a person's name, showing a regret or longing for a deceased person, or someone who has gone away.

d) **3 1 1** ou to call out to attract attention, used like English "hey!"

e) **3 1 1** "what? you see?"

This is pronounced very shortly, used to draw attention; to show disagreement; or as the question tag put at the end of a sentence.

f) **3 1 1** wiira "not again!"

This is used to express that the speaker is annoyed by or fed up with something that keeps coming up.

g) **3 1 2** hënre "hey!"

This is used to address someone, often followed by the person's name. The speaker can also use this word by itself when he does not want to call someone by name.

The second type of interjection includes the following expressions and vulgarities.

h) **trarфи** "nothing, no, never"

This means something does not exist. It also expresses disagreement with what is said by someone at the spot (contrary to **üü**). This form often introduces a clause, expanding upon the disagreement. This form can also function as a verb meaning "to lack". Reduplicated, it is used to express a strong negation: **trarфи, trarфи** "never, never!"

i) **savaa** prohibitive, "don't!, attention!"

It can also function as a verb meaning "to defend, refrain from, prohibitive (followed by a clause)" as well as a pre-head verbal modifier meaning "prohibitive."

j) **hiarù** "maybe"

This expresses the speaker's uncertainty about the truth of what is said. This word may come from **hi** "perhaps" and **arù** "same", but **hiarù** does not occur in a sentence, but is used only by itself.

k) **drae (mwâ)** "there!, that's it!, indeed"

This is used to chime in, or to point something out, either in someone's speech or in the physical surrounds (when pointing to something in the area). **drae** as a noun means "thing".
l) nrā drae "eh, the thing is..."

This is used by a speaker when he looks for a word to say.

m) mērrē drae "and something like that"

A speaker often puts this expression at the end of a sentence, often just to carry on the utterance when words fail. mērrē drae literally means "many things".

n) nri mwā/(h)a "there, get it!"

This is used when something is thrown towards the hearer, to draw his attention. nri means "there" and mwā is a distant deixis.

8.1.3 Topicalisation

Although a Tinrin clause normally begins with the predicate, and has the nominal subject following it, the first slot of a clause can be filled by any NP (subject, object or non-core argument), adverb, negative marker or prepositional phrase. These fronted elements normally bear the topic function, highlighting what is under discussion - something either previously mentioned or assumed in discourse. The topic in Tinrin is thus expressed in topic-shift constructions (cf. Givón 1976), and is not marked by any specific topic marker.

In the following section, I will discuss cases of subject fronting, object fronting, and the topicalisation of other elements.

(A) Subject fronting

VOS word order found in the majority of New Caledonia and Loyalty Islands languages seems to be the original order of the common proto-language (Ozanne-Rivierre & Moyse-Faurie 1983:146). In Tinrin, although VOS word order is still frequently found, SVO seems to have become more frequent. This SVO word order has developed from the topicalisation of the subject, being discussed in this section.

When the nominal subject is anteposed, the subject pronoun in the predicate is retained, even when the fronted subject is a pronoun (focal form). The subject marker nrā never occurs before the topicalised nominal subject.

(785) s V (O) sm S --> [S] s V (O)

(785) [treanrü ghe ānrâmwâ] rru truu fwirri muzik

"People from there, they two are listening to music"

(786) [jaa] nrī tròa

"Who (he) is arriving?"

(787) [nro] u see tramwā

"Me, I don't know."
Sentences with this structure have an identical form to relative constructions. Sentence (788), for example, can also be interpreted as "the big tree which stands there like that."

(788) [ù a ti] nrå truu rra  
  tree AT big 3sg stay DIST

bee truu nrå nrî  
CMPZ stay POSS 3sg
"The big tree, it stands there like that"

In the following sentence, an adverbial clause is inserted between the (pronominal) topicalised subject and the subject pronoun. hari is not an object of pee "to look, see" but a topic (free/focal form).

(789) pee [hari] [nrî ri maamùrù] ri see  
  look 1plinc when 1plinc children 1plinc NEG

hara abwê  
eat a lot
"Look, we, when we were children, we did not eat a lot."

One sentence can have both topicalised subject and a postposed subject, one of which is normally a pronoun, as in the following two sentences. The first sentence suggests that Ubo is already mentioned or taken as a topic, while the second suggests that the discussion is about the man who arrived, and that was Ubo.

[S] s V (O) sm S

(790) [ubô] nrå tròa nrå nrå nrî  
  Ubo 3sg arrive PAST sm 3sg
  "Ubo, he arrived, he."

(791) nrî nrå tròa nrå nrå ubô  
  3sg 3sg arrive PAST sm Ubo
  "He, he arrived, Ubo."

(B) Object fronting

When the object NP is fronted, there are cases where the pronominal anaphora to a topic should occur after the verb (b.1) and cases where there is no pronominal copy behind (b.2). Note that in normal verb initial word order, no object marker or object pronoun occurs before the nominal object.

b.1  s V O (sm S) --> O s V o (sm S)

b.2  s V O (sm S) --> O s V (sm S)

The first pattern (b.1) occurs when the fronted object NP is animate: the pronominal anaphora occurs obligatorily after the verb. It does not occur when the object is inanimate.49 One explanation for this may be that an animate NP has a higher probability of becoming a subject, so that the object that is fronted in a sentence risks being misinterpreted in the clause-initial position as a subject, when the person and

49 This pattern is also found among other Oceanic languages.
The number of the subject and object coincide. The pronominal anaphora after the verb signals that the clause-initial (animate) NP is an object, and not a subject, though this does not altogether prevent the ambiguity of the object fronted sentence. The following sentence can be also interpreted as "Sonya hit her", if Sonya is interpreted as a fronted subject. In (793) the postposed subject disambiguates the sentence.

(792) \[sonya\] nra ta nri nra
        Sonya 3sg hit 3sg PST
        "Sonya, he hit her." (He hit Sonya.)

(793) [amwaati] nra jorri nri nra treanru
        chief 3sg see 3sg sm person
        "The chief, the person saw him." (The person saw the chief.)

(794) [bwö] rī ta rī ru meemari
        crab Iplinc catch 3pl at reef
        "Crabs, we catch them at the reef."

(795) [nro] nra suveharru rō
        1sg 3sg like 1sg
        "Me, he likes me."

The above sentence (795) illustrates that the fronted object does not have an "object form" rō, but it has a "free/focal form" nro (* rō nra suveharru rō). This demonstrates that the fronted element is not syntactically tied to the rest of the clause, but is a free-floating topic in the discourse. The above sentence will read more exactly as "speaking of me, he likes me."

It is possible for a sentence to have both a fronted subject and a fronted object. The word order among them is normally:

O S s V o

(796) [nro] [traiki] nra eghe rō
        lsg dog 3sg bite 1sg
        "Me, the dog (it) bit me."

(797) [busi] [hüümürrü] nra ta nri nri ü
        cat child 3sg hit 3sg INST stick
        "The cat, the child (he) hit it with the stick."

S O s V o may also be possible in some contexts, but it is not normally heard, perhaps because it would bring an enormous ambiguity to sentences with that structure.

The second pattern (b.2) occurs when the fronted object NP is inanimate. There is no co-occurrence of pronominal anaphora after the verb.

(798) [peci ha] kea nrorri ei rō
        paper this 2sg PERF give DAT me
        "This paper, you have given (it) to me."

(799) [hi-nrü] nra drerü nra rroto
        foot-2sg 3sg injure sm car
        "Your foot, the car injured (it)."
        (A body part is treated as inanimate.)
"This watermelon, my elder brother cut (it)."

When both the subject and object are fronted, the word order is normally:

O S s V

"Your mother’s chair, Ubo broke (it)."

Sentences of the type (b.2) are identical in form to the relative construction. Therefore, for example, (800) can also be interpreted as "the watermelon which my elder brother cut". However, if the fronted object NP is animate, as in (802), it could only be a relative clause, as a sentence with topicalised animate object requires a pronominal anaphora after the verb, which the relative clause does not.

"the woman whom Tony likes"

There is a group of verbs which do not conform to the principles of using the animacy/inanimacy of objects to select the pattern (b.1) or (b.2). This group comprises those verbs which can occur in passive constructions with nri (8.1.4.2). For these verbs, the sentence structure when the object is anteposed always follows the pattern of (b.2), whether the object is animate or inanimate. These verbs will be discussed in detail in the next section.

(C) Peripheral NP fronting

An object of a preposition can also be fronted to the left of the predicate. It is normally fronted together with the preceding preposition (i.e. the whole prepositional phrase is fronted), but there is also a rare case when the NP is fronted by itself leaving the preposition behind. (The remaining preposition is never deleted.)

"The leaf of this tree is poisonous." (lit. The leaf of this tree, we die because of (it) (if we eat it).)

When the prepositional object is animate, it leaves a pronominal copy behind as with the fronted object in the previous section. This is illustrated by the following sentence.

"Tony, you sold it to him." (Tony = him)
"To the tribal place, two women are going tomorrow."

<fronting of possessor NP>

The possessor NP of either subject or object NP can be fronted, leaving behind the cross-referenced possessor pronoun. *hùwù-nrå-rò* "my son" which is the possessor of *nrime-* "face" (bound noun) in the following sentence is fronted to the left of the predicate in (807b).

(807a)   nrâ  sòwò  nrâ  nrime-hùwù-nrå-rò  
3sg  swollen  sm  face-child-LINK-1sg  
"The face of my son is swollen."

(807b)  [hùwù-nrå-rò]  nrâ  sòwò  nrâ  nrime-nrf  
child-LINK-1sg  3sg  swollen  sm  face-3sg  
"My son, his face is swollen."

The following construction which has the fronted possessor NP A, of subject NP B-nrå-nrf, and the predicate verb *fwi* "to exist, do".

A nrâ fwi nrâ B-nrå-nrf

semantically corresponds to English "A has B." The following sentence (808b) is derived from (808a).

(808a)   nrâ  fwi  nrâ  rroto  nrâ  sonya  
3sg  exist  sm  car  POSS  Sonya  
"There is Sonya’s car." (lit. Sonya’s car exists.)

(808b)  [sonya]  nrâ  fwi  nrâ  rroto  nrâ  nrf  
Sonya  3sg  exist  sm  car  POSS  3sg  
"Sonya has a car." (lit. Sonya, her car exists.)

A sentence can have both possessor NP and subject fronted. The next sentence (809b) has the possessor of subject NP, and (810b) has the possessor of object NP.

(809a)   nrâ  mwahuu  nrâ  tröö-notu  
3sg  red  sm  back-Notou  
"Notou’s back is red."

(809b)  [notu]  [tröö-nrf]  nrâ  mwahuu  
notou  back-3sg  3sg  red  
"Notou, its back is red."

(810a)   nrâ  wirù  nrâ  òò-juo  nrâ  aunê-nrü  
3sg  break  PST  place-sit  POSS  mother-2sg  
nrâ  ubo  
sm  Ubo  
"Ubo broke your mother’s chair."

(810b)  [aunê-nrü]  [ubo]  nrâ  wirù  nrâ  òò-juo  
mother-2sg  Ubo  3sg  break  PST  place-sit  
nrâ  nrf  
POSS  3sg  
"Your mother, Ubo broke her chair."
It is also possible to have a possessor of object NP, an object NP, and the subject fronted, as illustrated in the following. When there are more than two topics, the topicalised subject is always nearest to the subject pronoun, i.e. the rightmost.

(810c) [auné-nrii] [bò-juo nra nri] [ubo] nra
mother-2sg place-sit POSS 3sg Ubo 3sg
wirù nra
break PST
"Your mother, her chair, Ubo, he broke (it)."

(D) Fronting of adverb and/or verbal modifier

An adverb and/or verbal modifier can also be fronted to the left of the predicate, to give some specific (often temporal/spatial) framework in which the action takes place.

(811) [tau nra] nra re fi pwere gi nrū-dröwe
often PST 3sg HAB go to at field-mangrove
"Before, he used to go to the bush of mangrove."
(tau nra is normally placed after the verb fi or after dröwe.)

(812) [ghe ənråha see] ri jorri
from here NEG 1plinc see
"From here, never do we see.(We cannot see it from here)"
(see occurs normally between the subject pronoun and the verb; ghe ənråha normally occurs after the verb.)

(813) [māde tau nra] bwò ri see hwarri nrf
before often PST crab 1plinc NEG sell 3sg
"Before, crabs, we did not sell them."
(māde tau nra is normally placed after nrf. The object bwò is also fronted.)

(E) A sentence can also have a topic word which is not fronted from within the sentence, but which is related only thematically to the rest of the sentence.

(814) [wara mwå] ri see kare hwa
thing ANAP 1plinc NEG run EMPH
"That thing, we don’t run."
(By “that thing”, the speaker refers to a specific way of hunting flying foxes, which was under discussion. The sentence means "If we apply that method of hunting, we do not need to run.

(815) [hari] saa nrfi nrf fi pwere erre
1plinc one 3sg FUT EVENT go to village
mērrē ri truu
pl 3pl stay
"We, one will go to the village, others stay (at home)."
(The speaker is talking about her childhood. As her family was poor, there was only one set of clothes to wear amongst her brothers and sisters. If one went to the village, wearing the clothes, the others stayed home as there were no more clothes to put on. The sentence reads "Speaking of us, (being so poor), if one goes to the village, the others have to stay at home."

In the above section I discussed the topicalisation of various elements in a sentence. There are cases where topicalised NPs leave the pronominal anaphora, and cases where they do not. Whether the topicalised NP leaves the pronominal anaphora or not is dependent on whether or not the NP is animate. Pronominal anaphora seems to be a
device to remove ambiguity from the sentence, especially when the NP is 
human/animate and its function in a sentence is very important.

As seen in the following table, the subject and the animate object are always cross-
referredenced by a pronoun. The possessor always has a pronominal copy, as it is either 
human/animate or something personified to "possess" a thing. Other elements normally 
do not leave any mark (except an animate object of a preposition, when it is separated 
from the preposition). The prepositional objects are generally moved together with their 
preposition, so that there is no possibility of ambiguity on that score. Adverbs/modifiers 
cannot be misinterpreted as subject/object in a sentence.

Table 8.1: Topicalised Position and its Anaphoric Reference

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>position</th>
<th>anaphoric reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SU</td>
<td>pronoun (NP = subject pronoun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DO</td>
<td>pronoun (NP = animate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>zero (NP = inanimate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>pronoun (NP = animate; when separated from the preposition)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AD/MOD</td>
<td>zero (moved together with the preposition)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.1.4 Passive Construction

Passive has been considered as the structure where normally the deep object NP of the 
transitive clause is promoted to the surface subject. The agent of a transitive clause is 
either deleted or demoted to the oblique function, and the verb in the passive structure 
often bears some morphological passive marking. Passivisation generally applies to 
agentive transitives, and derives intransitives, so that the passive structure implies the 
existence of an agent, even if it is not explicit. Therefore, the difference between 
passives and intransitives lies in the fact that in passives there is a deep agent, whether it 
is specified or not, whereas in intransitives, such an agent is not implied at all.

In recent years various types of passive constructions have been revealed through 
cross-linguistic study. Shibatani suggests in his article that the primary function of 
passivisation is that of 'agent defocusing' (Shibatani 1985:830). He claims that passives 
generally do not express agents overtly, and numerous languages prohibit or generally 
avoid expressing an agent in a passive construction, and even in those languages which 
permit overt expression of an agent, agentless passives are far more numerous in actual 
data than those with overt agents. Passives are used when singling out of an agent is 
either impossible or unimportant (Ibid). He uses the term 'agent defocusing' to cover 
phenomena like the absence of mention of an agent, mention of an agent in a non-
prominent syntactic slot, blurring of the identity of an agent by using plural forms, and indirect reference to an agent by using an oblique case.

Two passive constructions in Tinrin which I am going to discuss here - herre constructions and nri constructions - have certain similarities to the constructions used for the object topicalisation. However, they are grammatically different in ways I will describe in the next sections. They are also semantically different, as they have passive meaning, in the sense that the agent is defocused or deleted in some way, while the object fronted structure has the explicit agent as its subject, thus having active meaning.

8.1.4.1 herre constructions

This type of passive construction in Tinrin uses the impersonal pronoun herre in its subject pronoun slot. It has a structure with the object in a fronted position. When the object is animate, the pronominal anaphora occurs after the verb as the ordinary object fronted structure:

O herre V (o) (nrã A)

herre normally implies "someone" (like French on) when it occurs in ordinary word order, as in the following sentence. The speaker may or may not know the person, but the identity of this person is not relevant.

(816) herre hödrö mwä
IMPN burn hut
"Someone burnt the hut."

If the speaker implies somebody particular (who burnt the hut), or even mentions the name of the agent explicitly, the speaker can no longer use herre, but he must use a personal pronoun which agrees to the subject in person and number. If it is the third person, it will be as follows:

(817) nrã hödrö mwä (nrã toni)
3sg burn hut sm Tony
"He (Tony) burnt the hut."

We should note here that the impersonal pronoun herre cannot occur in a postposed position, as it would not bear any focus. Nor is it possible that the subject pronoun and the postposed subject differ in person and number. Accordingly, the following two sentences are ungrammatical.

(818) * herre hödrö mwä nrã herre
IMPN burn hut sm IMPN
(819) * herre hödrö mwã nrã toni/nri
IMPN burn hut sm Tony/3sg

Now, looking at the following sentence,

(820) mwã herre hödrö nrã toni
hut IMPN burn ?sm Tony
"The hut somebody (Tony) burnt."
(The hut was burnt by Tony)
it looks ungrammatical as the subject pronoun is impersonal and does not agree with the postposed nominal subject, Tony. However, it is an acceptable sentence, as it is not the ordinary object fronted structure.

The following sentences illustrate the same construction.

(821) traiki hêrre ta nrâ nrâ nrû
dog IMPN hit 3sg ?sm 2sg
"The dog somebody (you) hit (it)." (The dog was hit by you)

(822) peci ha hêrre nrorri nrâ sonya
paper this IMPN give ?sm Sonya
"This paper was given by Sonya."

toni "Tony" in (820), nrâ "2sg" in (821) and sonya "Sonya" in (822) are the agents of the transitive verb hôdrô "to burn", ta "to hit" and nrorri "to give" respectively. Yet the subject pronoun of these sentences is hêrre "impersonal", and not nrâ "3sg" or ke "2sg". In these constructions, in fact, the postposed NP can be any person or number while the subject pronoun is always impersonal hêrre.

The object NP is normally the third person, but the first or second person is also possible in these constructions as in:

(823) nrû hêrre sùveharru nrû nrâ sonya
2sg IMPN like 2sg A Sonya
"You, somebody (Sonya) likes you. (You are liked by Sonya.)"

I interpret these constructions as having a passive structure on the basis of following points: the subject pronoun slot is filled by an impersonal pronoun hêrre. This use of hêrre should be clearly distinguished from any notion of "impersonality", as the identity of agent is very often clear from the context or is specified by the postposed NP as in (820), (821) and (822). Accordingly, hêrre can be interpreted as a device for defocusing the active agent and putting the object's passive status in the foreground.50

In these constructions, the object is placed in the first slot making it felt as the subject. The subject marker nrâ must be reanalysed as agent marker, since the postposed NP no longer agrees with the subject pronoun in person and number. In other words, the active subject is apparently being demoted to the position of oblique.

There is another type of sentence which has the same constructions as above, but with no explicit (postposed) agent, as illustrated by the following example:

(824) mî ghe trûjû hêrre fa-marri
grass from sea IMPN CAUS-dry
"The seaweed is dried. /The seaweed, one dries."

This sentence can either be interpreted as passive, or active with an impersonal subject. In either case, however, the use of impersonal subject suggests the existence of an agent, as well as the speaker’s unconcern about the identity of the agent (cf. example 816), which is a similar notion to that of passivity.

50 A similar device using the third person plural subject agreement petrified as an invariant passive marker exists in Kimbundu (a Bantu language) (Givón 1976:179).
We can find the same constructions in relative clauses, where the object of the embedded clause has been relativised. Compare the following sentences:

(825) \( \text{n्र้า nրề harru nռա kafe ke fwi} \)  
3sg taste good sm coffee 2sg make  
"The coffee you made tastes good."

(826) \( \text{nռա nրề harru nռա kafe hɛrɛ fwi nռռĩ} \)  
3sg taste good sm coffee IMPN make sm 2sg  
"The coffee (which was) made by you tastes good."

Example (825) uses an active relative clause, while (826) uses the hɛrɛ construction, with hɛrɛ as an embedded subject pronoun and nռռĩ as a postposed agent. The following sentence includes a relative clause which has hɛrɛ as an embedded subject and has no explicit postposed agent.

(827) \( \text{nռա tɾeанռũ hɛrɛ mirri} \)  
3sg person IMPN hate  
"He is the person who is hated. (He is the person whom somebody hates.)"

8.1.4.2 nռĩ constructions

There is another type of construction which I take to be passive. It also has a similar structure to that of the object topicalisation. Furthermore, the marker I consider to be passive has the same form as the pronominal anaphora of the fronted object, which may be mistaken for it.

I will show, however, that these constructions are distinct from the object fronted structure and that they express another type of "passive". Firstly, the marker nռĩ always occurs in this construction, even with inanimate objects (normally it does not). Secondly, this construction never allows an explicit agent, although the existence of an agent is always implied. Thirdly, the object NP (of the active clause) can be postposed, with the subject marker nռ้า preceding it. This means that the object NP is promoted to the surface subject in these constructions.

The following formulae illustrate this construction:

\[ S \rightarrow s V - nռĩ \ (S \ is \ O \ of \ the \ active \ clause) \]

or,

\[ s V - nռĩ \ (sm \ S) \ (S \ is \ postposed) \]

Unlike the hɛrɛ construction, only a limited number of verbs (which I will list later) can occur in this type of construction. Furthermore, in this construction, the subject is restricted to the third person, generally inanimate.

One verb, nyobõ "to open" will illustrate the use of this construction. The next sentence illustrates a normal active sentence with nyobõ.

(828a) \( \text{nռ้า nyobõ mwա nռ้า afiraa-nռĩ} \)  
3sg open house sm wife-3sg  
"His wife opened the house."
Sentence (828b) is obtained by fronting the object mwä "house", while (828c) is unacceptable because the fronted inanimate object should not leave a pronominal copy behind.

(828b) mwä nrä nyobô nrä afiraa-nrô
house 3sg open sm wife-3sg
"The hut, his wife opened."

(828c) * mwä nrä nyobô nrw nrä afiraa-nrô
house 3sg open 3sg sm wife-3sg
"The hut, his wife opened it."

Let us refer now to the following sentence:

(829) mwä nrä nyobô -nrô
house 3sg open ?passive
"The house is open/opened."

Although this sentence looks similar to (828c) except for the postposed NP afiraa-nrô, nevertheless it is grammatically acceptable. This construction needs to be clearly distinguished from the structure with a fronted object, which is illustrated by the following sentence:

(830) mwä nra nyobô
house 3sg open
"The house, he opened."

The following sentences (831) and (832) are also acceptable which have mwä as a postposed NP, and not afiraa-nrô as in (833).

(831) nrä nyobô -nrô nrä mwä
3sg open ?passive ?sm house
"The house is open."

(832) nrä nyobô -nrô nrä nrä mwä
3sg open ?passive PST ?sm house
"The house was open."

(833) * nrä nyobô -nrô nrä mwä nrä afiraa-nrô
3sg open ?passive ? house sm wife-3sg
"The house is opened by his wife."

Note that nrw cannot be considered as a pronominal object, because a Tinrin clause does not allow a pronominal object to precede a nominal object: * s V o O (* he opened it hut).

Note also that nrâ is not a past tense marker in (831); example (832) illustrates a sentence with the past tense marker nrâ. (831) and (832) show that the postposed NP mwä "house" is in fact the nominal subject of each sentence. In other words, mwä is no longer the object of the active clause but is promoted to the subject of the passive structure. Example (833) illustrates that these constructions do not allow a co-occurrence of the active agent.

The following sentence also illustrates this type of construction:

(834) nrâ tóbwerri -nrô nrâ magasâ (nrímwâmwâ)
3sg close PASS sm shop(Fr) now
"The shop is closed (now)."
The speaker can also add a specific time reference, in which case the change of a state takes place at a specific time, as in the following sentence. This time reference can indicate either the habitual present, (i.e. the shop is habitually closed at noon) or an event (somebody closed the shop) which took place at noon.

(835) nrä tōbwerri -nři nrä magasā rugi midi
3sg close PASS sm shop at noon (Fr)
"The shop is/was closed at noon."

To create "durative, stative" aspect, the speaker can add truu "to stay" in front of the verb as:

(836) nrä truu tōbwerri -nři nrä magasā
3sg DUR close PASS sm shop(Fr)
"The shop is closed. (It has been closed for some time.)"

I discussed earlier that the fronted animate object leaves its pronominal anaphora nři behind in the object topicalised structure. It is therefore extremely confusing when the passive subject is animate, and the identical passive marker nři is used. I will discuss below how these passive constructions are applied in the case of an animate subject:

(837) nrä tewürrű nranri nrä toni
3sg tie up goat sm Tony
"Tony tied up the goat"

(838) * nranri nrä tewürrű nři nrä toni
3sg goat 3sg tie up 3sg sm Tony
"The goat, Tony tied it up."

(839) nranri nrä tewürrű nrä toni
3sg goat 3sg tie up sm Tony
"The goat, Tony tied up."

When the animate object is anteposed, the general rule is that it leaves the pronominal copy behind it as in (838). However, when the animate object occurs with verbs which allow nři constructions, it behaves like an inanimate object. That is, as in (839) it does not leave pronominal anaphora; and therefore, the sentence (838) is ungrammatical. This consequently avoids any confusion between the two distinct, active and passive constructions.

(840) nrä tewürrű -nři nrä nranri
3sg tie up PASS sm goat
"The goat is tied up."

(841) nrä tewürrű -nři nrä toni
3sg tie up PASS sm Tony
"Tony is tied up."

Sentences (840) and (841) illustrate that if the verb of this group is followed by nř, then the postposed NP is the passive subject and never the agent.

We can see the contrast between (838) and (842) and between (841) and (843). In (842) and (843), the verb terre "to tie a knot, tie" is used instead of tewürrű "to tie up". These verbs share a similar meaning, however terre cannot occur in nř constructions.
Sentence (842) which has nrì, a pronominal anaphora of a topicalised animate object nranri "goat", is acceptable while (838) is not. A pronominal anaphora cannot occur with the verb tewürü, as sentence (839) illustrates.

Sentences (841) and (843) look similar to each other, but (841) is a passive, and (843) is an active sentence. In (843) Tony is the agent, or the subject of the transitive verb, while in (841) it is the patient, the subject of the passive structure. Nrì in (843) is a pronominal object, while in (841) it is the passive marker.

As these nrì constructions never allow an explicit agent, there rises a question whether they indeed express "passiveness" or whether they reflect other concepts such as "spontaneity" or "reflexivity". In fact with some verbs the spontaneous or reflexive reading is possible or more appropriate depending upon context. In most cases, it is difficult to clearly differentiate them from "passive" meaning when out of context. For example, the following sentence indicates that the big hut is leaning, and this situation may have been caused by some specific outer force (by people or accident, etc.) or spontaneously.

(844) nrà serri -nrì nrà mwâmwâ
3sg lean PASS sm big hut
"The big hut (assembly house) is leant/leaning."

I will further discuss the relation between these meanings, i.e. reflexive, spontaneous, and passive in 8.1.4.3.

Verbs which may be found in these constructions are listed in the following. Most of the verbs can have only inanimate passive subjects. Only tewûrrü-nrì "be tied up by a cord", nrowûrrü-nrì "be pressed under", soforro-nrì "be bound by a cord" may have either animate or inanimate passive subjects. I have put an s in front of verbs which can occur with a spontaneous meaning, and a r for those which can occur with a reflexive meaning as well as passive meaning.

51 The correlations of passives to reflexive, spontaneous, potential and other formations in various languages are discussed in Shibatani (1985).
"tied, bound, untied"

r tewàrri-nrì "be tied up"
s tesàrri-nrì "untie/be untied"
r sofìrri-nrì "be bound by cord, be wound up"
tefìrri-nrì "be wound by cord"

"pressed, deformed, wrinkled, broken"

ubwerri-nrì "be squeezed by hand"
nrowùrri-nrì "be pressed under"
dròwùrri-nrì "be pressed under"
s takìrri-nrì "wrinkle/ be wrinkled"
s tògìdhi-nrì "wrinkle /be wrinkled"
waghorro-nrì "be crushed"
waghair-nrì "be broken in pieces"
warìa-nrì "be split in two (in lengthwise)"
s wàgìdhi-nrì "be crumpled"
warù-nrì "be broken in two"
wirau-nrì "be exhausted"
sarìa-nrì "be cut up"

"posture/position changed"

s tusamà-nrì "pile/ be piled"
s nyobè-nrì "be open/opened"
ki-nyobè-nrì "be opened by key"
s tòbwèrri-nrì "be closed"
ki-tòbwèrri-nrì "be closed by key"
s, r sevirro-nrì "be turned, change"
s serì-nrì "lean/ be leaned"
s karrotio-nrì "overflow/be overflowed"
s tiò-nrì "be spilt"
s, r utìo-nrì "be overturned"
hòtiò-nrì "be toppled by hand"
s sùrri-nrì "swing /be swung"
s perrii-nrì "roll / be rolled"
pagò-nrì "be pushed forward"
rròrau-nrì "be rooted, be pushed aside"
urau-nrì "be dug up"

The characteristics of the group of verbs which can occur in nrf constructions are not clear, as mentioned earlier. But the semantic properties of the verbs and some recursive morphemes noticeable in the above list show some common features.

These morphemes which often occur are classificatory prefixes, bound verbs and some free verbs such as: te- "by cord", wa- "by force", u- "by hand", ki- "by key"; -wùrrì "pressed", -forro "bound", -gidhi "wrinkled", -ria "cut in two", -rau "dug up", -bwèrrì "closed in"; tiò "to spill", nyobè "to open". Other morphemes seen in the list are: (classificatory prefixes) ta- "pushing", tô- "by pointed object", wi- "by a club", sa- "by a cutting instrument", hò- "by holding", nrò- "landsliding", drò- "pushing", pa- "by pointing object", rrò- "pressing down"; (bound verbs) -sàrrì "untied", -ghorro "crushed", -ghai "mixed", -rà "cut across in two", and (free verbs) tu(o) "to put" and gò "to move" which often combine with other verbs.
Classificatory prefixes function as a kind of 'causative' (cf. 5.1.3), and the verbal stems seen in the above list express the 'resultative' state. For example, in waghorro, the classificatory prefix wa- suggests that somebody adds a force to or drops an object, which leads to a state that the object is broken into pieces. This resultative state is expressed by the bound verb -ghorro "be crushed". The following sentence illustrates this:

(845) ke waghorro mwâ rrê arrôô
2sg break into pieces hut (container) POSS water
"You (dropped and ) broke (into pieces) the bottle of water."

When it occurs in nri constructions, the object in the above sentence turns into a subject.

(846) nrâ waghorro -nri nrâ mwâ
3sg break into pieces PASS sm hut (container)
rrê arrôô
POSS water
"The bottle of water was broken."

waghorro is a transitive verb, as are the rest of the listed verbs which can take -nri. Most of them semantically contain the 'cause' or 'instrument' and the 'result', as does waghorro. These morphological and semantic characteristics are a feature of the group of verbs which may be found in special nri constructions. I am sure that further investigation will find more verbs with these characteristics that belong to this group.

To summarise, nri constructions indicate the passive state of an object, with the attention drawn to the result of an action. This does not mean, however, that these verbs only occur with past tense in a nri construction, but they may be in any tense. They can also indicate habitual present or a passive action at a specific point of time as explained earlier.

nyobô "to open", sevirro "to turn", serri "to lean", tiô "to spill", sürrà "to swing" and perrii "to roll" are the only verbs in this group which are morphologically simple. These are verbs which involve a change in the posture/position of an object, and which do not lead to a drastic change in the form of an object.

8.1.4.3 Active-passive continuum of Tinrin

I have so far discussed two types of passive constructions. Now I will try to show how they are related to each other and to the object topicalisation of the previous section.

As we have seen, hërrë constructions have a similar structure to object topicalisation. It is the object that fills the first slot of the clause. The subject pronoun slot is filled by an impersonal pronoun, and the agent is either defocused or suppressed. Consequently, the object takes over the subject role, since an impersonal pronoun would not bear focus. This reflects the general tendency of shifting from VOS word order to SVO word order in Tinrin, the topicalised object gaining more of a subject-like status.
nri constructions, although they look simple, are not straightforward. We can consider that they also developed from the structure having a topicalised object, with nri being the anaphoric pronoun of the fronted object. However, most of the verbs which occur in these constructions can only take an inanimate object, so that it is difficult to explain why the structure with fronted inanimate object does not have pronominal anaphora, while nri came to mean passive with a particular group of verbs having mainly inanimate objects.

Another possibility is that these constructions developed from reflexivisation. As explained earlier, nri constructions can sometimes express spontaneity or reflexivisation. It is possible that nri was originally used as a reflexive pronoun and that it extended its usage to indicate spontaneous motion/action and passive status.

We will examine the following sentences which have sevirro "to turn", a verb which can occur in nri construction.

(847) nra sevirro -nri nra wasaa
    3sg turn PASS sm plate
    "The plate was turned (around)."

Now, this verb can also occur with the first and second person subject as in the following:

(848) u sevirro ro
    1sg turn 1sg
    "I turned around (I turned myself)."

(849) ke sevirro nrii
    2sg turn 2sg
    "You turned around (you turned yourself)."

In the above sentence, we can only get a 'reflexive' reading, that is, sentence (848) cannot be interpreted as "I was turned around (by somebody)", and (849) as "you were turned around (by somebody)". To express 'passive' the herré constructions must be used as in:

(850) nro herré sevirro ro
    1sg IMPN turn 1sg
    "Me, somebody turned me.(I was turned around by somebody)"

However, for the third person singular, the sentence can be interpreted either as 'reflexive', 'spontaneous' (not by intent) or 'passive'. When the subject is a person, it is naturally interpreted as 'reflexive' (rarely passive) and when the subject is inanimate, it is interpreted as either spontaneous or passive.

(851) nra sevirro -nri
    3sg turn 3sg
    "He turned around.(He turned himself.)/ It turned around by itself./ It is turned around (by somebody)."
On the other hand, *dreghe* "to fall and injure", which can take a reflexive pronoun as
an object (as in the following sentence), cannot occur in *nři* (passive) construction.

(852) nrā dreghe nři ru drō roto
3sg fall and injure 3sg LOC on car
"He injured himself in a car.(he got injured in a car)"

The above sentence can read with a reflexive or spontaneous meaning, but not with
passive meaning in Tinrin. It does not imply the existence of any outer agent. This may
be explained from the point that the semantics of the verb ("to injure") applies to only
animate subjects in constructions as above (reflexive), so that the 'passive' meaning did
not grow upon it.

It seems quite probable from the above examples that these *nři* constructions may
have developed from reflexivisation and acquired the 'passive' meaning (sometimes
spontaneous) only when the subject was the third person singular inanimate. Plurality in
Tinrin is generally not explicit except with human nouns, so that inanimate things are
expressed with the third person singular form. Therefore, it is quite natural that *nři*
developed as a passive marker and not *rrī* "third person plural" or *rru* "third person
dual".

Subjects of this construction are generally restricted to inanimate subjects, which
would not be mistaken for an active agent (e.g. * The plate cuts itself up). Animate
subjects can also occur in this construction rarely, but this could be a later development.

There are other examples which bear mentioning as well. These are the ones which
have both *hěrrē* and *nři* together. The following sentence illustrates this:

(853) peci hěrrē takīrī -nři
paper IMPN wrinkle PASS
"The paper is wrinkled."

These constructions may be applied to all the verbs which can occur in *nři*
constructions. As in *nři* constructions, an explicit agent (postposed nominal) can never
be used in them. They are distinguished from *nři* constructions in that they have an
impersonal pronoun as a subject pronoun (defocused agent) while *nři* constructions have
the third person pronoun, and that (passive) subject (*peci* in the example above) cannot
occur as a postposed NP.

I consider the constructions so far discussed, and those used for object topicalisation,
as forming a continuum along the active-passive polarity. The structure with fronted
object is "active", where the agent is always explicit and plays a subject role in a clause.
At the other extreme is the *nři* construction, which is prototypically agentless and thus
"passive". The agent is completely suppressed and the object gains the status of a
subject. *hěrrē* constructions and *hěrrē-nři* constructions are intermediate between them.
There are three parameters which may be used to differentiate the degree of passiveness: 1) explicit agent (least passive), 2) impersonal subject pronoun (intermediate), 3) patient subject (most passive), as illustrated in the table below.

‘nrí verbs’ are those verbs which can occur in nrí constructions, as listed in the previous section. They can also occur in hêrrê and hêrrê-nrí constructions. That is, they go through the whole range of constructions in the table below, and the choice of the construction gives a subtle difference to the degree of passivisation and the meaning.

‘Other verbs’ are the verbs which cannot occur in nrí constructions. They can occur only in topicalised object structure and hêrrê constructions, as shown in the table.

Table 8-2: Constructions along Active-Passive Polarity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>active ←—</th>
<th>fronted object</th>
<th>hêrrê</th>
<th>hêrrê-nrí</th>
<th>nrí ——→ passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. explicit agent</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. impersonal subject</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. patient subject</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nrí verbs</td>
<td>——----------------------—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>——&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other verbs</td>
<td>———&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8.2 Co-ordinated Sentences

Co-ordinated sentences are those that consist of more than one clause of equal syntactic status. These clauses are often combined without any conjunctions, but there are also co-ordinated sentences with conjunctions to link the clauses. When the two co-ordinated clauses contain coreferential NPs, the second occurrence of the NP is normally reduced to a pronominal form.

8.2.1 Co-ordinated sentences without conjunctions

Dividing a discourse up into separate sentences is sometimes a hard task in Tinrin, especially when clauses are simply linked together without any conjunctions. There are very few syntactic clues, as there is no equi subject pronoun deletion in Tinrin co-ordinated sentences, and the clauses can look just like run-on sentences.

The intonation pattern does not show any clear distinction between the terminal and non-terminal junctures, either. However, often pragmatic factors such as focus, pause and pitch help to make such groupings.

The co-ordinated clauses of this type normally share the same subject. A NP in the first clause is often recovered in a pronominal anaphora in the second clause. These clauses often express the same idea, a sequence of actions or some related matters.

The second clause often contains a tense-aspect marker a "perfect, actual, definite", and/or go "punctual, consecutive" which indicates the consecutive relationship of two actions or states. This is illustrated by the following sentences:

(854) rri go ru nrí-tarragho rria juui
      3pl crawl loc muddy place 3pl ACT hide
      "They crawled on the mud, (and now) they are hiding (themselves)."

(855) mève nrâ mè nrâ pwò ânrâha nrâ go
      bird 3sg come 3sg perch here 3sg then
      tü sirù ò-nrî
      pass enter head-3sg
      "The bird came, perched here, then thrust its head in."

8.2.2 Co-ordinated sentences with conjunctions

There are three conjunctions: mwâ, mê and ra that serve to link clauses together and form co-ordinated sentences.

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52 This parataxis is a common phenomenon among Oceanic languages (see e.g. MoseI 'Tolai fort', 1977).
(A) Sentences with *mwä* "and, but"

*mwä* is used most frequently between co-ordinated clauses. Clauses on both sides of *mwä* can be connective as in the following example (856), or adversative in meaning as in (857) and (858). *mwä* can also occur as a conjunction in complex sentences, introducing a subordinating clause (8.3). Example (858) can be interpreted as a complex sentence, too. In that case, it means "We go, although the weather is bad".

(856) *saa foomwä ärnräha mwä saa nrä truu ärnräha*

"One door is here, and another is there."

(857) *toni nrä mürri mwä nrä tramwä múrik*

"Tony is small, but he knows music."

(858) *hari ria fi mwä nrä taa nrä dräå*

"We go, but the weather is bad."

(B) Sentences with *më* "and, or"

Although *më* generally links two NPs, it can also link two clauses, when the subjects and verbs of the clauses are the same or when the two clauses express things of the same kind, in such a way that the speaker adds the second clause after he has said the first, in order to supplement it.

(859a) *nrä hösi pwevö më nrä hösi peci*

"He bought eggs and he bought papers."

The above co-ordinated sentence can be reduced to a simple sentence as in:

(859b) *nrä hösi pwevö më peci*

"He bought eggs and papers."

When the subjects of co-ordinated clauses are different but the predicates are the same, as "Tony bought eggs and Nanu bought eggs", it is possible to reduce the sentence as "Tony and Nanu bought eggs." However, two co-ordinated NPs as the subject more naturally imply joint actors, so that the sentence is not always derived from two co-ordinated clauses. The following sentence illustrates this:

(860) *toni më nanu rru hösi pwevö*

"Tony and Nanu, they two (jointly) bought eggs."

*më* can link two NPs as above, but when it links two clauses, it does not produce a sentence as follows. In Tinrin, even if the two clauses share the same subject, the subject must be specified within the predicate of each clause.

(861) *nrä hösi pwevö më hösi peci*

"He bought eggs and papers."

Similarly, the following sentence (862a) cannot be reduced as in (862b).
Although *more* often means "and", it can be interpreted as "or" depending on the context. It can also be used to link two clauses when they supplement each other or explain the same thing in other words.

(C) Sentences with *or*

ra, like *more*, is used more often at the phrase level to express "or". It may also function to link disjunctive clauses.

8.3 Complex Sentences

Complex sentences are sentences which contain one or more clauses embedded in a matrix construction. The subordinating clauses are introduced by a number of conjunctions and complementisers.

These clauses function in various ways in a matrix sentence. They can be complementary, appositional or relative clauses. They can also be adverbial clauses, indicating conditional, temporal, purposive or causal action. As in co-ordinated sentences, when two clauses have coreferential NPs, the latter occurrence of the NP is reduced to a pronominal form, regardless of whether it is in the matrix or subordinate clause. Therefore, the following sentence is not considered to have coreferential NPs, as its second clause has the nominal subject.
In the following sections nominal clauses, relative clauses and adverbial clauses will be discussed, together with the functions of the conjunctions and complementisers which introduce these clauses.

8.3.1 Nominal clauses

Nominal clauses are either complement clauses that fill a functional slot such as the subject or object slot in the structure of the main clause, or clauses that are in apposition to other nominals.

8.3.1.1 Complement clauses

They are introduced by mwà, draa, bee and òô as discussed below.

(A) Complement clauses introduced by mwà "that"

When the subject slot is filled by a clause introduced by mwà, the subject marker nrâ is optional.

(867) nrâ harru (nrâ) mwà ke wake kaarrò
3sg good sm that 2sg work tomorrow
"You had better work tomorrow." (lit. It is good that you work tomorrow.)

(868) nrâ harru (nrâ) mwà hêrrë hari nrî veharru
3sg good sm that IMPN wrap 3sg well
"People should wrap him (baby) well." (lit. It is good that people wrap him (baby) well.)

(869) tro saa wadrô (nrâ) mwâ ke mî
just one bit sm that 2sg fall
"You nearly fell down." (lit. It is just one bit that you fell)

The object slot can also be filled by a clause as in:

(870) u tramwâ mwâ ke maija wake
1sg know that 2sg much work
"I know that you work hard."

(871) u fwirri mwâ treanrü rri hidrò mwâ rri
1sg hear that people 3pl say that 3pl
fi pwere nrî
go to there
"I heard people say that they go there." (lit. I heard that people say that they go there.)

In the following sentence fwirri has two objects, one of which is a clause. The object 'dog' is in fact the subject of the embedded clause and is singled out from it across the complementizer mwà. [nrâ ha] can also be interpreted as a relative clause, in which case, there is no pause between traiki and mwâ (in this case mwâ is a demonstrative "M.DIST") and between mwâ and nrâ when pronounced. In the reading as follows, there is always a pause between traiki and mwâ.

(872) u fwirri traiki mwâ nrâ ha
1sg hear dog that 3sg speak
"I heard the dog bark." (lit. I heard the dog, that he barks.)
The object clause of *sùveharru* "to like, want" is normally unmarked for tense (it is perfective in aspect) and cannot be marked by *ei* "future" or *nři* "eventual". The following sentences illustrate this: what is "wanted" is "that you tell a story" (in the view of a situation as a single whole) and not "that you (eventually) will tell a story."

(873a)  
ri sùveharru mwä ke tabârrä  
lplinc want that 2sg narrate  
"We want that you tell (us) a story."

(873b)  
* ri sùveharru mwä kei nři tabârrä  
lplinc want that 2sg FUT EVENT narrate

When a nominal clause is the object of the verb *hidrö* "to say" it always expresses direct narration:

(874)  
tre hûmûrrù nrâ nři fi nři hidro ei  
another child 3sg EVENT go PURP say DAT

aunê-ri mwâ ke pee nrâ see fi nrâ  
mother-lplinc that 2sg see 3sg NEG go PST

pwere ekol mwairrù  
to school a while ago

"Another child will go to tell our mother (that) ‘you know he did not go to school today.’"

(875)  
komo hidrö nrâ mwâ ru fi pwere kudei  
another child say PST that 1dlinc go to Ile des Pins

"We two (not hearer) said "we (you and I) should go to Ile des Pins."

In the above sentence, the subject of *hidrö* "to say" is *komu* "1dlinc" as the speaker is addressing a person who is excluded there, but the subject of the embedded clause is *ru* "1dlinc" as it conveys the direct quotation.

The object clause of *hidrö* can be interrogative, with a higher pitch being put on the embedded verb.

(876)  
ke hidrö nrâ mwâ nrâ horro nrâ bee  
2sg say PST that 3sg hard sm CMPZ

nyôrrô ò  
cook pot

"You asked whether the cooking is hard." (lit. You said, ‘is the cooking hard?’)

The embedded clause for this verb can also be either an imperative or a content question. When it is imperative, the subject of the embedded clause after *mwâ* is omitted. *mwâ* normally is necessary before the embedded interrogative clause, but it can be omitted as in the last example (maybe when there are other elements before the embedded clause).

(877)  
rrî hidrö nrâ mwâ ve mè kafe  
3pl say PST that take come coffee

"They said ‘bring coffee’.

(878)  
u förbô nrâ mwâ hae sonya  
1sg ask PST that where Sonya

"I asked where Sonya was."
"You asked where his house was."

"He asked (while looking) towards the mountain how many people have died now."

It is worth noting that except for those introduced by bee, complement clauses cannot be fronted to the sentence initial position, as in:

"That you work tomorrow is good." (lit. It was how it was at your place, that (people's) children were many.)

The draa clause is filling the object slot in the following sentences:

"They spoke of Atai, that they stabbed the colonel."

(atai is also the object of hidrdō. 'They' in the embedded clause refers to Atai and his subjects.)

In this type of complement clauses, bee is directly followed by a verb. The subject (except the first person pronoun) in the complement clause is always marked by nrā, and the first person pronominal subject and the object are optionally marked by it.

When the clause has both subject and object, the object normally comes first, although the inverse word order is still possible.
It is not clear when the object needs to be marked by *nrâ*, but one explanation may be: where the object is almost incorporated in the verbal form it is unmarked; when it is not, it is marked. For example,

bee ta pù "hunting flying foxes"
bee ta nrâ pù "hunting of flying foxes"

The bee complement clause can have one or more verbal modifiers as in (884) below, adverbs and/or phrasal modifiers as in (885).

The clause can fill the subject slot as in the following. In this case, the subject marker *nrâ* normally occurs before *bee*.

(884) nrâ harru nrâ bee truumwêrrê nrââ wake
      3sg good sm CMPZ always want work

nrâ nrû
POSS 2sg
"It is good that you always want to work."

The bee clause can also occur in the object slot, as in the following example:

(885) rri tramwä bee truufadre heêra nrî saa
      3pl know CMPZ hold food T one

drââ aurru drââ
day two day
"They know the way to preserve the food for one or two days."

The bee clause can occur as the object of a preposition, such as *nrô* "for" or *ghegi* "since", too.

(886) ri fa-sù ria widù nrô bee
      1plinc CAUS-light 1plinc DEF squeeze for CMPZ

verru sôbwi
plait mat
"We dry in the sun, and squeeze (leaves) for plaitting the mat."

(887) nrâ truu åroa nrâ hoowi ghegi bee mûrrû
      3sg stay over there sm fir since CMPZ small

nrâ rô
POSS 1sg
"The fir tree is over there since I was small."

The bee clause is also often found by itself, as in the following:

(888) bee truu nrâ wake nrâ kevi ru tro-erre
      CMPZ stay POSS work POSS 1plexc at tribal place
"(this is) how our work is at the tribal place."
(D) Complement clauses introduced by ðð

ðð introduces a complement clause, in a similar way to bee. The complement clause has the subject marked by nrâ (except when it is the first person singular which is only optionally marked), and may have the object optionally marked by nrâ.

The difference between ðð and bee is that ðð is normally used as a prefix to derive a noun expressing a place and its use as a complementiser is not as common as that of bee.

(889) hérrë dovaju mërrë nre mwâ rugi
      IMPN kindle pl firewood M.DIST at

ðð nrââü nrâ wake
CMPZ start POSS work
"People put fire to the firewood when the work started."

8.3.1.2 Appositional clauses

A nominal clause can occur in apposition to a preceding NP, especially with nouns such as fodrö "idea" and truunrodro "thought", or in the constructions that I will discuss below. In the following sentence, the appositional clause is introduced by nrâ mwâ (3sg, that).

(890) nrâ ti nrâ [truunrodro nrâ nri] [nrâ mwâ
3sg big sm thought POSS 3sg 3sg that
rruei hajo]
3dl FUT marry
"He thinks strongly that they two will marry." (lit. His thought that they two will marry is big.)

A nominal clause often occurs after the NP ùù-nrî "the cause of it". The clause is introduced by nrâ mwâ and is appositional to the preceding nri (not ùù-nrî).

(891) ne nrâ fwi ùù-nrî nrâ mwâ rri
what 3sg make cause-3sg 3sg that 3pl

see nrâ hawi nrorri nri?
NEG want talk 3pl 3sg
"What is the cause of (it) that they do not want to talk with him?"

(892) drae mwâ ùù-nrî nrâ mwâ komu nrâ
thing that cause-3sg 3sg that 1dlexc IMPF

truu ânråha
stay here
"This is the cause of (it) that we two are now here."

The nominal phrase wa drae rra (DET, thing, DIST) "that thing" is almost always followed by a nominal clause that expresses its semantic content. In this case, the nominal clause immediately follows wa drae rra, not being marked by nrâ mwâ. wa drae rra followed by the appositional clause often occurs after the preposition ghegi "because of", forming a causative clause.
8.3.2 Relative clauses

Relative clauses (RCs) are subordinate clauses that function as modifiers of a noun phrase, and form a complex NP which might act as a subject, object, or oblique in a matrix sentence. The underlying representation of a relative clause normally contains a noun that is coreferential to the head NP. This coreferential noun is a topic of the underlying clause; as observed by Kuno (1987:14), only a constituent that qualifies as the topic of a relative clause can be relativized.\(^{53}\)

RCs are expressed in two ways in Tinrin. The first type makes use of a "attribute marker", which has the same form as a nominaliser to indicate a habitual practitioner or a person with a specific nature or qualification (4.1.1). \(a\) introduces a participial RC\(^{54}\), which applies only to subjects. This is discussed in detail in the next section.

RCs in Tinrin can also be linked directly to the NP that they modify, with no specific relative pronoun or marking. Therefore, they are often identical in form with co-ordinated sentences. The next sentence, for example, where the subject of the embedded sentence is relativised,

\[(895) \text{ moo [nrä mē] nrä hara nrä hâvenñā} \quad \text{man 3sg come 3sg eat PST all} \]

"The man who came ate all."

can also be interpreted as "The man came, and ate all." They are distinguished only by a slight difference in the intonation, or from the context in which the utterance takes place. When the sentence contains a relative clause, the verb of the matrix sentence has normally higher pitch than that of the embedded clause, whereas in a co-ordinated sentence, the verbs of two clauses have the same high pitch.

In languages such as English, RCs can be either restrictive or non-restrictive in meaning. The restrictive relative clause specifies the entities designated by the modified NP, whereas the non-restrictive relative clause adds extra information to the modified NP. In Tinrin, relative clauses are normally restrictive, since the non-

\(^{53}\) Kuno (1987:15) argues that new, unpredictable, focus information such as "(this) person" in the sentence "this person alone passed the test" cannot be relativised.

\(^{54}\) I consider this a relative clause, following Keenan & Comrie's proposal (1977:4) to consider certain participial constructions (as in German) as relative clauses.
restrictive clausal modifier may usually be expressed in co-ordinated sentences. The following examples illustrate this: (896) contains a relative clause, and (897) is a co-ordinated sentence. Note that in a co-ordinated sentence, the topicalised object leaves a pronominal anaphora behind the verb.

(896) saa ri see jorri nrä truu fi ânrâmwâ
one 1plinc NEG see 3sg stay around there
"The one whom we did not see lives around there."

(897) saa ri see jorri nrî nrâ truu fi
one 1plinc NEG see 3sg 3sg stay around
ânrâmwâ
there
"The one, we did not see him, he lives around there."

The coreferential noun in the embedded sentence is reduced in some way in a relative clause construction. As discussed hereafter, it is either deleted or reduced to a pronoun depending on the relativised position.

Concerning the relativised position in a language, Keenan and Comrie (1977) postulate an accessibility hierarchy,

SU > DO > IO > OBL > GEN > OCOMP

which expresses the relative accessibility to relativisation of NP positions in simplex main clauses.

According to Keenan and Comrie, subjects are most accessible to relativization. I shall start looking at relativized subjects in the following section, then relativized direct objects; next, obliques (I include indirect objects and objects of comparison (OCOMP) here as they are normally marked by a preposition), and finally possessors (GEN) to see how the position relativised is marked in Tinrin.

(A) Subject

There are two RC forming strategies applicable to the NP in the subject position of the embedded sentence. One makes use of a "attribute marker" and the other is without it. In what follows, we will examine these constructions.

a, which is a nominaliser to derive a habitual actor or agent NP, can also introduce a participial RC, which applies only to subjects. In fact, these two functions are semantically close, since a relates a RC to the head NP which is always in a subject role, that is, an agent, actor or something which has a specific nature with regard to the verb expressed in RC.

a- as a nominaliser, on the other hand, may well be interpreted as a headless RC as we see examples in the following.

a-hô (A-sing) "a singer" [one who sings]
a-ve nrâ drââ (A-bring, POSS, day) "morning star" [one who brings a day]
When *a*- is used as a nominaliser, it generally derives a singular noun. If the derived nouns are dual or plural, they are marked by *truu*- or *mê*-, instead of *a*-; although in most cases plurality is not expressed explicitly. When *a* is used as a RC introducer, it seems to cover all the numbers. (It seems possible to use *truu* or *mê* when the duality or plurality of head NP is obvious; however, I think this use is marginal.)

Forms derived by prefixing *a*- are distinguished as nouns (not as headless RCs), as they keep distinction of numbers and are also lexically restricted (cf.4.1.1.B). I consider as RCs only those constructions which have head NPs. Examine following examples:

(898) merrë nroorre [a harru]  
pl place AT good  
"good places (places which are good."

(899) treanrü [a tramwâ (nrâ) nrî]  
person AT know (O) 3sg  
"the person who knows him"

(900) dragarra [a nri (nrâ) vewò-treanrü]  
doctor AT pull (O) tooth-people  
"dentist (doctors who pull out people’s teeth )"

(901) treanrü [a truumwèrrë wake vehorro]  
person AT always work hard  
"people who always work hard"

(902) saa bee-mwage [a horro]  
one NMZ-play AT hard  
"a game which is hard"

(903) tuu-nrâ-peci [a ti pwâri] [a pugôrrô]  
pencil AT big very AT black  
"very big, black pencil (pencil which is very big, which is black)"

The verb in the participial RC is not preceded by a subject pronoun, but is related to the head NP (which is the nominal subject) by the use of *a*. It can take an object, which is optionally marked by *nrâ* (as in a complement clause introduced by *bee* or *ধো*), as in (899) and (900) above, and verbal modifiers or adverbs as in (901) (*tuuumwèrrë "always") and in (903) (*pwâri "very")). TA markers cannot occur in this construction. Example (903) illustrates that more than two participial RCs can occur in a sentence. The word order between them seems to be free. If they are accompanied by an adverb, as in this example, the adverb is always placed immediately after the word it modifies.

As the participial RC is restricting the head NP, it does not occur with pronouns nor proper names.

(904) * ke [a taa]  
2sg AT bad  
"you who are bad"

(905) * toni [a nyôrrô meô]  
Tony AT cook chicken  
"Tony who is cooking chicken" (except the case when there are several Tonys.)
Now, we shall look at another RC forming strategy which applies not only to the subject but other positions in the accessibility hierarchy.

RCs are linked directly to the head NP, without any intervening particle. When the NP in subject position of the embedded sentence is relativised, it is reduced to zero. It is possible that the subject is reduced to a pronoun, as the clause always contains a subject pronoun which is a part of the predicate. However, I distinguish this from pronominalisation because the subject pronoun is always there and the relativised subject does not create any new pronominal anaphora.

The following sentence illustrates the relativised subject. It is derived from (906b) as a matrix sentence and (906c) as a constituent sentence.

(906a) nrâ ta traiki nrâ moo [nrâ fi 3sg hit dog sm man 3sg go ghe mē giwe] from to here mountain "The man who came from the mountain hit the dog."

(906b) nrâ ta traiki nrâ moo 3sg hit dog sm man "The man hit the dog."

(906c) nrâ fi ghe mē giwe nrâ moo 3sg go from to here mountain sm man "The man came from the mountain."

In the above examples, the subject of the constituent sentence is coreferential with the subject of the matrix sentence. The coreferential NP, moo, is deleted from the constituent sentence, which still has a pronominal subject. The nominal subject in (906a) restricted by RC can also be fronted to the sentence initial position, as follows:

(906d) moo [nrâ fi ghe mē giwe] nrâ ta traiki man 3sg go from to here mountain 3sg hit dog "The man who came from the mountain hit the dog."

Sentences (906a) and (906d) are almost indistinguishable from co-ordinated sentences as I referred earlier. Example (906a) may mean "The man hit the dog, he came from the mountain," and (906d) may mean "The man came from the mountain, he hit the dog." Apart from the intonation, another way to distinguish the relative clause is the tendency to put a demonstrative (rra is the commonest) after the head NP and a determiner before it, when it is a relative clause. The following example illustrates this:

(907) nrâ ta traiki nrâ wa moo rra [nrâ fi 3sg hit dog sm DET man DIST 3sg go ghe mē giwe] from to here mountain "That man who came from the mountain hit the dog."
Further examples are:

(908) wara rra [nrä fi] nrä jurro dodrae
one DIST 3sg go 3sg wear rag
"The one who goes (out) put on clothes."

(909) nrä fwi nrä mërrë rra [rri tramwä veharru]
3sg exist sm pl DIST 3pl know well
"There are those people who know well."

There is a construction where nrä occurs between head NP and the relative clause. This relative clause preceded by nrä has an identical form to the adverbial clause introduced by the conjunction nrä "when, as, if". In a sentence such as the following, the nrä clause is semantically better interpreted as a relative clause.

(910) va see re mè bwò rra [nrä rri säsè rri nrimwämwa]
IMPN NEG ASS pl crab DIST (as) 3pl change(Fr) 3pl now
"These are not the crabs which change their shells now."

(B) Direct object

When the direct object of the embedded clause is relativised, it is reduced to zero. The following sentence is derived from (864b) as matrix sentence and (864c) as constituent sentence:

(911a) wa mwië rra [nrä süveharru nrä toni]
DET woman DIST 3sg like sm Tony
nrä truu numea
3sg stay Noumea
"The woman Tony likes lives in Noumea."

(911b) wa mwië rra nrä truu numea
DET woman DIST 3sg stay Noumea
"The woman lives in Noumea."

(911c) nrä süveharru wa mwië rra nrä toni
3sg like DET woman DIST sm Tony
"Tony likes the woman."

The coreferential NP (which is the object) in example (911c) is simply deleted in the relative clause in example (911a). Similarly, the following sentence (912a) is derived from (912b) as matrix and (912c) as constituent sentence:

(912a) nrä nyörrö mërrë dru rra [nrä obwi] nrä
3sg cook pl leaf DIST 3sg pick sm
sonya
Sonya
"Sonya cooked the leaves she/he picked up."

(912b) nrä nyörrö mërrë dru rra nrä sonya
3sg cook pl leaf DIST sm Sonya
"Sonya cooked the leaves."

(912c) nrä obwi mërrë dru
3sg pick pl leaf
"She/he picked up the leaves."
Whether *sonya* in (912a) is the subject of the matrix sentence, or the subject of the constituent sentence, is only distinguished by the intonation and the pause before *sonya*. When *sonya* is the subject of the embedded sentence, it will be pronounced without any pause before it. If it is the subject of the matrix sentence, the pause between *obwi* and *sonya* is observable.

As happens when the subject is relativised, *nrf* occasionally also occurs before the relative clause when the object is relativised. It again has the same form as the adverbial clause since the object in the subordinate clause is not deleted (unlike in a relative clause). The following sentence shows that though it has the form of the adverbial clause, it is semantically closer to a relative clause.

(913) wa drae rra nrf wiri tròdrô nrf

anrîmwâ
the other time
"(He is ) the one whom you met the other time."

(C) Obliques

When the oblique position is relativised, the coreferential NP in the embedded sentence is reduced either to zero or to a pronoun depending on the position.

The coreferential NP in the relative clause is reduced to zero when it is the object of prepositions such as *nrf* "with, by", *fadre* "together with", *gi* "on, about", *ghegi* "because, since" 55. It is also reduced to zero when it is a NP directly following a comitative pronoun or a relative location/time noun.

The prepositions related in this group seem to mark NPs as either comitative, instrumental, causal, referential or temporal. Comparing these to the group of prepositions I discuss later, these prepositions which occur in this type of construction are obviously less bound to their object NPs, i.e. they can stand by themselves. The same thing can be said of the relative location nouns and the comitative pronouns in their relation to deleted NPs.

The following sentence is derived from (914b) as matrix and (914c) as constituent sentence. The preposition *nrf* which lost its object NP is normally forwarded to the position just after the verb. It is possibly forwarded because its object is detached and placed far ahead as the head NP.

(914a) nrâ nrorri ei rô wa sarra rra [nrâ jurru]
nrf nrf give to 1sg DET knife DIST 3sg cut

nrî nrâ farrawa]
INST PST bread
"He gave me the knife with which he cut the bread."

55 Semantically the prepositions of this group roughly correspond to the POC verb suffix /preposition *-aki(ni). Those of the other group correspond to POC *-i (cf. Pawley 1973; Pawley & Reid 1980)
"He gave me the knife."

"He cut the bread with the knife."

Similarly, the following sentence is derived from (915b) as matrix sentence and (915c) as constituent sentence:

"That mat on which Gogo sat is good."

"That man is his father."

"Tony is talking with that man."

Further examples are:

"You have seen the thing about which we two are working like this."

"She came to write the paper with which she is walking (around)."

---

56 A relative location noun is normally bound to a NP (as in 915c). It can be separated from the NP only exceptionally, as in this construction.
"It was not cold in those days when Sonya stayed in Couli."

"The day when he was born is 30 July."

When the head noun is a time noun, *drae* "that" can sometimes occur between the head noun and the embedded clause.

"He (demon) appears at the moment when he (tourist) is lost."

The coreferential NP in the embedded sentence is reduced to a pronoun when it is the object of prepositions such as *ruu* "at", *ei* "dative", *ghe* "from", *ra* "from" or location nouns. The object of comparison may not normally be relativised, but if it may, it is reduced to a pronoun, marked by preposition *ra* "from, than". This group of prepositions generally mark location, goal or origin. When the location noun is the head NP, the relative clause indicates "where...". The following sentence is derived from (922b) as matrix and (922c) as constituent sentence:

"They surely know the place where the crab lives."

"They surely know the place."

"People catch crabs at the place."

Similarly,

"The crab lives in the place."
Further examples are:

(924) wa mwĩe rra [toni nrâ nrorri nrâ wage
DET woman DIST Tony 3sg give PST flower
ei nřî] nrâ droa
to 3sg 3sg young
"The woman to whom Tony gave flowers is young."

(925) nrâ fi ghe gi wa fô-mwámwâ
3sg go from at DET clan
[wiri sirùa ghe nřî]
2pl go out from 3sg
"She comes from the clan from which you are descended."

(D) Possessors

When the coreferential NP is the possessor in a NP of the embedded sentence it is
reduced to a pronoun.

The following sentence is derived from (926b) as matrix and (926c) as constituent
sentence:

(926a) mërrê rra [nrâ trarrí dëwô-rrî] rri see fi
pl DIST 3sg lack rag-3pl 3pl NEG go
"Those people who do not have clothes do not go." (lit. Those, it lacks their
clothes, they do not go.)

(926b) mërrê rra rri see fi
3pl DIST 3pl NEG go
"Those people do not go."

(926c) nrâ trarrî dëwô-mërrê rra
3sg lack rag-many people DIST
"Those people do not have clothes." (lit. It lacks those people’s clothes.)

Similarly, the following sentence is derived from (927b) as matrix and (927c) as
constituent sentence:

(927a) āri drae [afiraa-nrî nrâ nrâ verru]
Henri thing wife-3sg 3sg IMPF plait
"Henri is the one whose wife is plaiting."

(927b) āri drae
Henri thing
"Henri is the one (thing)."

(927c) afiraa-āri nrâ nrâ verru
wife-Henri 3sg IMPF plait
"Henri’s wife is plaiting."

In the above sentences the possessed NPs are bound nouns. The possessed NP can
also be a free form noun, as illustrated in the following sentence. It is followed by the
matrix and constituent sentences.

(928a) wa moo rra [nrâ nrëdrërë nrâ pâtarrô
DET man DIST 3sg yellow sm trousers(Fr)
nrâ nrî]
POSS 3sg 3sg come
"The man whose trousers were yellow came."
There is another type of relative clause, where the head noun has in fact no direct syntactic relation to the embedded sentence. Instead, the head noun is related to the embedded clause semantically or thematically.\(^{57}\) Note that in 8.1.3.E we discussed sentences having a topic word which is related only thematically to the rest of the sentence, and not fronted from within the sentence. This kind of topic word may be relativized, as in the following sentence:

\[(929a)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{maam\text{"a}rr\text{"u} } & \text{nr\text{"i}f\text{"a}} \quad \text{rr} \quad \text{see} \quad \text{tram\text{"a}} \quad \text{wara} \quad \text{mw\text{"a}} \\
\text{children} & \text{now} \quad \text{3pl} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{know} \quad \text{thing} \quad \text{M.DIST} \\
[\text{rr} \quad \text{see} & \quad \text{kare} \quad \text{hwa}] \quad \text{1plinc} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{run} \quad \text{EMPH} \\
\text{"Children of today do not know that thing (a way of killing flying foxes) (in) which we do not run."}
\end{align*}
\]

The above sentence is derived from (929b) as a matrix sentence and (929c) as a constituent sentence. Note that (929c) is identical with (814) in 8.1.3.E.

\[(929b)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{maam\text{"a}rr\text{"u} } & \text{nr\text{"i}f\text{"a}} \quad \text{rr} \quad \text{see} \quad \text{tram\text{"a}} \quad \text{wara} \quad \text{mw\text{"a}} \\
\text{children} & \text{now} \quad \text{3pl} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{know} \quad \text{thing} \quad \text{M.DIST} \\
\text{"Children of today do not know that thing (a specific way of killing flying foxes)."}
\end{align*}
\]

\[(929c)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wara} & \quad \text{mw\text{"a}} \quad \text{rr} \quad \text{see} \quad \text{kare} \quad \text{hwa} \\
\text{thing} & \quad \text{M.DIST} \quad \text{1plinc} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{run} \quad \text{EMPH} \\
\text{"That thing (a way of killing flying foxes), we do not run."}
\end{align*}
\]

Consider also the following sentence:

\[(930a)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wa} & \quad \text{moo} \quad \text{rr} \quad [\text{nr\text{"a}} \quad \text{trar\text{"i}n} \quad \text{rr\text{"u}}] \quad \text{tau} \quad \text{mw\text{"a}} \\
\text{DET} & \quad \text{man} \quad \text{DIST} \quad \text{3sg} \quad \text{lack} \quad \text{2sg} \quad \text{often} \quad \text{when} \\
\text{nr\text{"a} } & \quad \text{re} \quad \text{troa}] \quad \text{nr\text{"a} } \quad \text{fi} \quad \text{wai} \\
\text{3sg} & \quad \text{ASS} \quad \text{arrive} \quad \text{3sg} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{already} \\
\text{"That man (you were always not here when he came) has gone away."}
\end{align*}
\]

The following sentences are the matrix (930b) and constituent (930c) sentences of the above sentence:

\[(930b)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wa} & \quad \text{moo} \quad \text{rr} \quad \text{nr\text{"a} } \quad \text{fi} \quad \text{wai} \\
\text{DET} & \quad \text{man} \quad \text{DIST} \quad \text{3sg} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{already} \\
\text{"That man has already gone away."}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{57}\) Kuno (1975:420) argued that "a relative clause must be a statement about its head noun", and suspected the hierarchy for relativization proposed by Keenan & Comrie to be in fact a hierarchy for accessibility to thematic interpretation of NPs. This type of relative clause is often seen in languages such as Japanese and Burmese.
(930c) wa moo rra nrâ trarrî nrû tau mwâ
DET man DIST 3sg lack 2sg often when

nrâ re troa
3sg ASS arrive

"(Speaking of) that man, you were always not here when he came."

In summary, we can observe the following RC-forming strategies applying to the accessibility hierarchy:

Table 8.3: RC-forming Strategies and Relativisable Positions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RC forming strategy</th>
<th>Relativisable position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zero</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

OBL1: NP marked by comitative, instrumental, referential, causal prepositions; NP directly following a comitative pronoun or a relative location noun; time noun

OBL2: NP marked by prepositions of locative, goal, origin; location nouns

+ : the strategy generally applies to that NP position.
- : it does not.

Generally, languages which make use of pronouns to designate the relativised position can relativise more freely any position of the sentence, than languages which only gap the relativised NP.

The correspondence between the accessibility hierarchy of the relativised position and the RC-forming strategy seems to reflect this. We see in the above table that only the subject position, which has the highest accessibility in the hierarchy, can be relativised by the strategy $a$. Subject and direct object positions relativised are marked by zero, whereas the possessor position which has less accessibility is marked by a pronoun. Obliques are split into two groups -presumably the ones marked by zero having a higher accessibility for relativisation, and the ones marked by a pronoun having less. Keenan and Comrie's hierarchy constraints define that "any RC-forming strategy must apply to a continuous segment of the AH (it cannot skip positions)" (1977:7) which would also place the two groups of obliques as in the above, and give the cut-off point of a zero strategy at the OBL1.
8.3.3 Adverbial clauses

Sometimes, the embedded clauses function as adverbial to the matrix sentence. The adverbial clauses are introduced by one of the following subordinating conjunctions: *nři* "when, if, where, *pa* "in case, lest", *(nřō bee)* *tra* "in order that, if" or phrases *nřa fwi* *(ūa-nři)* *nřa* "because" and *ghegi wa drae rra* "because".

(A) *nři* "when, if, where"

This is the commonest subordinating conjunction, which introduces a temporal, locative or conditional clause. It can optionally be preceded by *mwä* which does not seem to change its meaning.

*(931)*

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{kei} & \text{nři} & \text{fi} & \text{nři} & \text{merrejo} & \text{(mwā)} \\
2\text{sg FUT} & \text{EVENT} & \text{go} & \text{PURP} & \text{sleep} & \text{(and)}
\end{array}
\]

*warri*

*tired*

"You'll go to bed, when you are tired."

*(932)*

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{ri} & \text{ta} & \text{bwō} & \text{ruu} & \text{mwā} & \text{nři} \\
1\text{plinc hit} & \text{crab at} & \text{hut when} & \text{3sg} & \text{low tide}
\end{array}
\]

"We catch crabs in their place when it is low tide."

A *nři* clause is often fronted to sentence-initially.

*(933)*

\[
\begin{array}{lllll}
\text{nři} & \text{u} & \text{mùrrù} & \text{u} & \text{truumwērrē} \\
1\text{sg} & \text{small} & \text{1sg} & \text{always like}
\end{array}
\]

*"When I was small, I always liked it/him."

*(934)*

\[
\begin{array}{lllll}
\text{mââde} & \text{nři} & \text{nřa} & \text{trrrī} & \text{hērrē-kari} \\
\text{before when} & \text{3sg} & \text{lack} & \text{meat}
\end{array}
\]

*ri see ho hērrē-kari*

*1plinc NEG eat meat*

"Before, when there was no meat, we did not eat it."

*(935)*

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{nři} & \text{kei} & \text{ve} & \text{peci-rō} & \text{nřī} & \text{harru} & \text{gi} & \text{nři} \\
\text{if 2sg FUT} & \text{take} & \text{paper-1sg 3sg FUT} & \text{good with} & \text{2sg}
\end{array}
\]

"If you receive my letter, you will be glad." (lit. If you receive my letter, it will be good for you.)

A *nři* clause can imply contrafactual together with *nřa* "past", as I discussed in (7.5).

*(936)*

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{nři} & \text{wei} & \text{wake} & \text{nřa} & \text{āwū} & \text{nřa} & \text{fwi} & \text{nřa} \\
\text{if 1sg FUT} & \text{work} & \text{PST} & \text{yesterday} & \text{3sg} & \text{exist} & \text{sm}
\end{array}
\]

*merrē u nřīfa*

*pl yam now*

"If I had worked yesterday, there would have been many yams now."
This conjunction implies the negative subjunctive, or caveat. The embedded clause normally has a future tense marker.

(I) \( u \) \( \text{barri tra} \) \( \text{pa} \) \( \text{nř} \) \( \text{eghe rō} \) \\
\( 1\text{sg afraid dog} \) \( \text{lest} \) \( 3\text{sg FUT} \) \( \text{bite} \) \( 1\text{sg} \) \\
"I am afraid of the dog lest it should bite me."

(II) \( \text{savaa pa} \) \( \text{rrī nř} \) \( \text{ho nř} \) \( \text{nř} \) \\
\( \text{defend} \) \( \text{lest} \) \( 3\text{pl EVENT} \) \( \text{eat} \) \( 3\text{sg} \) \( \text{sm} \) \\
"Pay attention lest others eat it."

\( \text{pa} \) can also be followed by \( \text{nř} \) and a NP, meaning "in the fear of". It is difficult to define \( \text{nř} \) as a possessive preposition "of", as \( \text{pa} \) is not a noun in any case. Accordingly, I will consider this \( \text{nř} \) as the third person pronoun forming a clause such as "lest it be NP."

(III) \( \text{tabōrō sōbwi pa} \) \( \text{nř} \) \( \text{wie} \) \\
\( \text{collect mat} \) \( \text{lest} \) \( 3\text{sg rain} \) \\
"Collect the mat lest it should rain."

(IV) \( \text{u} \) \( \text{rirū nřwū mwā pa} \) \( \text{nř} \) \( \text{tra} \) \\
\( 1\text{sg enter inside house} \) \( \text{lest} \) \( 3\text{sg dog} \) \\
"I entered in the house for fear of the dog."

(C) \( \text{(nřō bee)} \) \( \text{tra} \) \( \text{purposive, conditional, "in order that"} \)

\( \text{tra} \) introduces a purposive or conditional clause when used by itself, but it can also be preceded by \( \text{nřō bee} \) \( \text{(purposive, complementiser)} \) in which case the meaning is restricted to the purposive.

(V) \( \text{nř} \) \( \text{maiţa hara tra} \) \( \text{nřī} \) \( \text{ti} \) \\
\( 3\text{sg much eat PURP 3sg FUT} \) \( \text{big} \) \\
"He eats a lot in order that he will grow."

(VI) \( \text{truū warra tra} \) \( \text{wei} \) \( \text{trōdrō saa drae} \) \\
\( \text{stay yet PURP 1sg FUT} \) \( \text{find one thing} \) \\
"Wait a while as I will find something."

(VII) \( \text{ria fwi wa} \) \( \text{drorro mwā nřō bee tra} \) \\
\( 1\text{pl PERF} \) \( \text{make DEF} \) \( \text{big hut for} \) \( \text{CMPZ} \) \( \text{PURP} \) \\
\( \text{treanrū ri fi nřī merrejo ruu nřī} \) \\
\( \text{people 3pl go PURP} \) \( \text{sleep at} \) \( \text{there} \) \\
"We have made a big hut in order that people go to sleep there."

A \( \text{tra} \) clause can be fronted as in the following sentence. It has the conditional meaning here.

(VIII) \( \text{tra} \) \( \text{nřī} \) \( \text{a go re} \) \( \text{pwūrrū nř} \) \( \text{pwūrrū} \) \\
\( \text{if} \) \( \text{3sg FUT} \) \( \text{DEF} \) \( \text{then ASS} \) \( \text{lost 3sg} \) \( \text{lost} \) \\
\( \text{nř} \) \( \text{ru ānraha té ri} \) \\
\( \text{OBLG at here at 1plinc} \) \\
"If it (culture) will be lost (some day), it will be lost here with us."
(D) mwä "as, when, although"

wä is used as a co-ordinating conjunction as I discussed earlier (8.2.2). However, in some context it can introduce a subordinating clause. The following sentences illustrate this:

(945) nř-seéedre varaha mwä ri fi nř merro
at evening like this when 1pl go PURP lie

nrä see meghi
3sg NEG hot
"In the evening like this, when we go to sleep, it is not hot".

(946) nrä truumwërë wake nrä ubô mwä nrä see
3sg always work sm Ubo though 3sg NEG

horro
strong
"Ubo always work, though he is not strong."

(E) nrä fwi (ûû-nří) nrä causal, "because (of)"

nrä fwi nrä A literally means "it exists A" or "A does/makes." When this is embedded in a sentence, it marks causal "because of A".

(947) ri see fi pwere numea nrä fwi nrä wie
1plinc NEG go to Noumea 3sg exist sm rain
"We did not go to Noumea because of the rain."

(948) nrä see drù bee nyorrë ri nrä fwi nrä
3sg NEG suffice CMPZ cook 1plinc 3sg exist sm

wa drae rra nrä trarrì arròo
DET thing DIST 3sg lack water
"We cannot cook because there is no water." (lit. It does not' suffice us to cook, because of the thing that it lacks water.)"

nrä fwi ûû-nří nrä A literally means " A made the cause." When it is subordinated in a sentence, it marks causal as nrä fwi nrä. A is in fact the semantic subject of fwi "to make", marked by subject marker nrä, and has to be distinguished from the construction that I discussed earlier which has a complement clause after ûû-nří (8.3.1.2).

(949) u vajù nrä fwi ûû-nří nrä nrü
1sg sick 3sg make cause-3sg sm 2sg
"I am sick because you made the cause (You made me sick)."

(F) ghegi wa drae rra causal, "because"

When ghegi "from, since" is followed by wa drae rra (DET, thing, DIST), it introduces a causal clause. While nrä fwi nrä acquires its causal meaning from something's "existence" being the cause, ghegi wa drae rra implies the origin or the event which caused something.

(950) nrä see harru gi nř ghegi wa drae rra
3sg NEG good to 3sg from DET thing DIST

nrä fi wai nrä pupe
3sg go already sm Poupée
"He is unhappy because Poupée has gone away."
It can be fronted as other adverbial clauses as in:

\[ \text{(951) } \text{ghegi } \text{wa drae } rra \text{ nrâ } vajû \text{ nrâ } \text{ audrê-nrâ} \]
\[ \text{from } \text{DET thing DIST 3sg die sm mother-3sg} \]
\[ \text{nrâ } \text{nrâ } \text{drarrê} \]
\[ \text{3sg PROG cry} \]
\"Because his mother died, he is crying.\"

8.4 Emphatic Constructions

One often employs the following constructions, putting a focus on some word or phrase.

(NP) (wa) drae mwâ S

(wa) drae mwâ "that thing, that one" is always followed by a complement clause. The NP in the first slot is optional. Occasionally wa can be dropped. This is interpreted as "it is NP that (clause)", or when there is no preceding NP, "it is like this / (it is) how it is that (clause)".

\[ \text{(952) } \text{toni } \text{wa drae } \text{mwâ } \text{nrâ } \text{nrâ} \text{ wake} \]
\[ \text{Tony } \text{DET thing M.DIST 3sg DES work} \]
\[ \text{ru } \text{tê } \text{nrî} \]
\[ \text{L at 3sg} \]
\"It is Tony who want to work at his place.\"

\[ \text{(953) } \text{drae } \text{mwâ } \text{ri } \text{re } \text{wake kare} \]
\[ \text{thing M.DIST 1plinc ASS always run} \]
\[ \text{nrfpwù } \text{atriuwi} \]
\[ \text{at night entire} \]
\"It is how it is that we should run all night.\"

\[ \text{(954) } \text{saa } \text{wake } \text{ati } \text{wa drae } \text{mwâ } \text{bee ta} \]
\[ \text{one work big DET thing M.DIST CMPZ catch} \]
\[ \text{nrâ } \text{bwô} \]
\[ \text{POSS crab} \]
\"It is a big job catching crabs.\"

mwairrrù can occur instead of mwâ to refer to things which took place in the near past.

\[ \text{(955) } \text{wa drae } \text{mwairrrù } \text{ri } \text{hidrô } \text{nrâ } \text{mwâ } \text{ri} \]
\[ \text{DET thing a while ago 1plinc say PST that 1plinc} \]
\[ \text{fi } \text{nrf } \text{sii} \]
\[ \text{go PURP hunt} \]
\"This is the thing we said (before) that we went to hunt (flying foxes).\"
APPENDIX A

BASIC KINSHIP TERMS

Grand parents
(+2)
Father's Father
m'varua / nruru
Father's Mother
nrðòtù / geè
Mother's Father
m'varua / nruru
Mother's Mother
nrðòtù / geè

Parents
(+1)
Father's Sister
(warrabû)
panrea
Father's Brother
audrè / pava
Father
audrè / pava
Mother
Mother's Sister
audrè / pava
Mother's Brother
(warrabû / kanrea)

Ego's
generation
(0)
Cross
(auvae / edhi)
Parallel
audoò autri
Cousin
auhèrè
Ego's
Ego's
Ego
Sister
(afiraa)
Brother
auhèrè
Parallelausdø
autri
Cousin
auhèrè
Cross
auvæ / edhi

Children
(-1)
Nephew Niece
fahòrròere
Nephew Niece
Nephew Niece
Nephew Niece
Nephew Niece
Nephew Niece
Child
hówù
Child
hówù
Child
hówù
Child
hówù
Child
hówù

Grand children
(-2)
herre
APPENDIX B

ILLUSTRATIVE TEXT

1. Iace: story about a demon living in a forest (told by Eibo)

(1) wa iace mwâ wa drae rra nrî rri
DET demon M.DIST DET thing DIST if 3pl

firû mêrrê nroorre rra nrî-hôrrô nrî-ôwô-nrî
pass pl place DIST L-sacred L-habitation-3sg

nroorre nrâ nrî
place POSS 3sg

"It is this demon (whom they see) if they pass those places, the sacred place, his dwelling place, his place (to live)."

(2) va go nrî hêrrê hidrô nrâ mwâ ri
IMPN then when IMPN say PST that 1plinc

see firû nrî nrî ri passe ru nrî
NEG pass there if 1plinc pass (Fr) at there

ri re fi bee-truu nrâ nrî mwâ
1plinc ASS go NMZ-stay POSS 3sg M.DIST

"Then, when people say that we do not pass there; if we (should) pass there, we should go that way."

(3) ria go fwi wa drae mwâ ri
1plinc DEF then do DET thing M.DIST 1plinc

see fôrôô iifade
NEG ask road

"We then do (it) in such a way that we never ask the way."

(4) ri see ha-vai ri ri see fwi
1plinc NEG call-after 1plinc 1plinc NEG do

parrû ne
also what

"We never call each other; what else do we never do?"
"We do not whistle to each other, because if he (the demon) answers us (our voice) from the other side, then it will surely take us away like this."

"We surely follow him, but he always calls again like that."

"We again call down there, but he, he again calls back from further down."

"He then leads us astray at several places where he lives, and we then stay on (in the same place) during a week."

"Then, we keep looking for him, that person (who called before), and he surely is there, around here, near us."
"But we cannot see him; he must be hiding himself."

"This demon is the kavuru (a kind of demon)."

"You see, he does the same thing down there on the coast, when we go fishing."

"We may arrive at several impassable places, but these places are (in fact) not impassable."

"But it is in fact a clear place, but perhaps we,- our head- are already lost."

"Our head is already lost."

"We think that maybe it is not possible to pass those places."

"But it is possible to pass there."
See that person who was lost there in Obwa, they found him down there, at Lafoni.

He did not know how he came up from there.

A person from Canala, this was the other time (it happened to him).

Then, the demon’s place, before, in (there) Obwa, that demon was not the same (as others).

That demon is the female demon, wild demon from here.

We often meet her there, the place down there, along the river.

We will hear her crying.
(26) ri see tramwâ nrâ mwâ hi va re
1plinc NEG know that that wonder IMPN ASS

tro haù mërrë drae mwâ
real demon pl thing M.DIST

"We do now know if they are really demons, those one."

(27) hari hwa drae nrâ troa ru saa nââ
1plinc EMPH eh 3sg arrive at one piece

nroorër drae nrâ trarî hërrë-ô-ri
moment that 3sg lack content-head-1plinc

"(To us), he/she arrives at the moment when there is nothing in our head."

2. Old custom (told by Eibo and Eugenie)

(1) nrâ see arù ghâi nrîfâ ghegi wa drae
3sg NEG same with now because DET thing

rra mââde tau nrâ rri bwê nrâ maamûrû
DIST before before PST 3pl many sm children

"It is not the same as now, because before, there were many children."

(2) mââde nrâ pee hari nrî ri maamûrû
before PST see 1plinc when 1plinc children

mwâ ri see hara drae bwê bee truu
M.DIST 1plinc NEG eat thing a lot CMPZ stay

nrâ nrî maamûrû nrîfâ
POSS 3sg children now

"Before, you see, we, when we were children, we did not eat a lot as do children in these days."

(3) saa nrîi nrî sirûa nrî fi pwere drae
one 3sg FUT EVENT go out PURP go with eh

truu-bëêrrî pwere virrasû mërrë mwâ rri
dl-old to village (Fr) pl M.DIST 3pl

truu ghegi wa drae rra nrâ trarî
stay because DET thing DIST 3sg lack

dòwô-rrî dodrae
clothes-3pl rags

"One may go out with the parents to the village; the others stay behind because there are no clothes for them."

(4) ri e farrawa tro saa hire fadre farrawa
1plinc eat bread just one piece slice bread

bee-truu nrâ nrî faa-ti nrâ nrî
NMZ-stay POSS 3sg length POSS 3sg

"We ate bread, just one bit of a slice of bread, like this, this length."
"Children were always hungry."

"They were not much used to sugar either, because there was none."

"When there was no sugar, old men went to take honey from a beehive."

"Then, children sweetened their coffee with the honey."

"We get (honey) using fire (smoke), or we just take away that way."

"It is not the same as bees of these days."

"Bees in these days are nasty."

"People bother them all the time (these days), but in those days, they used to just push bees aside with their hands."
"And they used to remove lots of those beehives (aforesaid)."

"It is not difficult."

"Bees are not nasty, either."

"People also take (honey) with those packages."

"It (the package) is lit to produce smoke."

"Some people use a cigarette."

"In order that they go away."

"Beehives suck (the smoke of the) cigarette, and then lots of bees go out (of the beehive)."

"Look at yesterday, or the day before yesterday, we two talked here about such a thing, (like) "it's cold."
"We built one big hut this way, just two doors only."

"One fireplace is there inside it (the hut)."

"This hut (I mentioned) is warm."

"Life now is not the same as life in those days."

3. Hunting flying foxes (told by Eibo)

"Hunting flying foxes is not difficult."

"When we hunted flying foxes, we hunted them at night, because in those days there was no gun."

"We went for hunting flying foxes like that, and we then waited for the night, in the evening."

"We then went - the name of that sort of hunting flying foxes - "running"."
(5) ria go fwi tòrrò ghegi wa drae
1plinc DEF then make torch because DET thing
rra nrâ pògòrrò nroorre
DIST 3sg black place
"We then made a torch because it was dark all around the place.

(6) ri fwi pwò tòrrò nrî dri-nawa a
1plinc make package torch with leaf-coconut AT
marri nrî ð-hûûdrû
dry with bark-niaouri
"We make a torch, a bundle with dry leaves of the coconut tree, or with barks of niaouri."

(7) ria go trua pwù ghegi wa drae
1plinc DEF then wait night because DET thing
rra pù rri si-rûa hwa nrî-pwù
DIST flying fox 3pl go out EMPH at night
"We then wait for the night, because flying foxes come out at night."

(8) rri fi nrî hara nrî nrâ pògòrrò nroorre
3pl go PURP eat when 3sg black place
"They come to eat when it is dark around the place."

(9) rri hara wô-ù a madrû mè wage-ù
3pl eat fruit-tree AT ripe and flower-tree
"They eat ripe fruits of trees and flowers of trees."

(10) rri fi ghe mè ânrâha rri fi ghe mè
3pl go from come here 3pl go from come
tre nroorre parrù
another place also
"They come from here; they also come from another place."

(11) rri fi ghe mè ârijù bë-trùjù mwâ
3pl go from come down there side-sea and
rrì re mè nrî hara
3pl ASS come PURP eat
"They come from down there, the coast, and they come surely to eat."

(12) rri fi ghe hâveniâ mè mërrê nroorre rra
3pl go from entirely come pl place DIST
"They come from all over the place."

(13) rri tròa fisù ru ânrâha ghegi wa drae
3pl arrive meet at here because DET thing
rra nrâ fwi nrâ hêëra nrâ truu ânrâha
DIST 3sg exist sm food 3sg stay here
"They arrive and meet here, because there is food (which stays) here."
"We then waited for them there with the torch, until (we) hear their sound."

"They start fighting each other for food."

"There is no way to see them because the place is dark."

"We waited like this for the time they start eating."

"They just eat (and nothing else)."

"They make noises among the tree leaves like that at night."

"We lit the torch."

"We see the top of trees, moving like that."

"Climb! Swing the tree, that tree."

"It then drops down on the ground."

"The man who is on the ground beats the flying fox to death like that."
"And there is also (one) on that tree, and there is also one on the other one."

"They are really many, they are many, many."

"They run away crawling and climbing like this and we then beat them to death, and they fall down on the ground."

"At some places, we are three."

"Some people hunt over there, in the place over there."

"It is not at only one place, everywhere, when it is the season of the goyave."

"I did not tell (you) all (about hunting flying foxes), because there is another way of hunting flying foxes, ‘standing on the pass.’"
"We go to hunt flying foxes at their (dwelling) place."

"Their place is called ‘Ode’ (place to hang)."

"There, it is not possible to hunt them because they always run away."

"But the only way of hunting them is we do it when there is wind, a big wind."

"They, flying foxes, do not go out of their place; they stay there."

"When the wind blows, they go down around here, on the ground."

"They hang from small trees."

"There is no way for them to fly; they crawl around on the ground."

"It is not possible (for them) to fly; they are scared very much."
"The wind takes them away."

"We then hit and injure them with a piece of wood."

"Catching enough to take back to our place, we then go (home)."
References


