Asia-Pacific Linguistics

Open Access Monographs

Studies in the Languages of Island Melanesia

College of Asia and the Pacific

The Australian National University

A grammatical description of Kara-Lemakot

Matthew S. Dryer

A-PL 009 / SLIM 002

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

Matthew S. Dryer is a Professor of Linguistics at the University at Buffalo in the U.S. Apart from his extensive work in word order typology, he has been doing field work in Papua New Guinea since 2001 (in conjunction with Lea Brown) on Walman and Srenge, two languages in the Torricelli family, and on Poko-Rawo, a language in the Skou family. He is also one of the editors of the World Atlas of Language Structures.

Asia-Pacific Linguistics
Open Access Monographs

Studies in the Languages of Island Melanesia

SLIM EDITORIAL BOARD: **Isabelle Bril**
Bethwyn Evans
Alexandre François (founder and Managing Editor)
Bill Palmer

Published by Asia-Pacific Linguistics
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
The Australian National University
Canberra ACT 2600
Australia

Copyright in this edition is vested with the author(s)
Released under Creative Commons Licence (Attribution)

First published: 2013

URL: http://hdl.handle.net/1885/10703

National Library of Australia Cataloguing-in-Publication entry:

Author: Dryer, Matthew S., author.

Title: A grammatical description of Kara-Lemakot / Matthew S Dryer.

ISBN: 9781922185099 (ebook)

Notes: Includes bibliographical references.

Subjects: Kara language (Papua New Guinea)
Kara language (Papua New Guinea)--Dialects.
Oceanic languages.
Papua New Guinea--Languages.

Other Authors/
Contributors: Australian National University. Asia-Pacific Linguistics Open Access.

Dewey Number: 499.5

Contents

Acknowledgements ..... *vi*

Abbreviations ..... *vii*

1. Introduction *1*

2. Phonology *4*

3. Pronominal morphemes *6*
3.1. Weak subject pronouns *6*
3.1.1. The basic weak subject pronouns *6*
3.1.2. Non-obligatoriness of weak subject pronouns *9*
3.1.3. The incompletive third singular weak subject pronoun **i** *12*
3.2. The strong pronouns *13*
3.3. Object clitics *15*
3.4. Object suffix on **aan**-*nominalizations* *19*
3.5. Possessive suffixes *20*
3.6. Suffixes on prepositions *22*

4. Morphology *28*
4.1. Noun morphology *28*
4.1.1. Possessive suffixes *28*
4.1.2. Nonsingular forms of nouns *28*
4.1.3. The singular prefix **pa-** *30*
4.2. Verb morphology *31*
4.2.1. Object suffix *31*
4.2.2. The passive suffix **-an** *31*
4.2.3. The transitivizing suffix **-an** *33*
4.2.4. The causative prefix **fa-** *37*
4.2.5. The adverbial prefix **fa-** *39*
4.2.6. The prefix **fe-** *40*
4.2.7. The general nominalizing suffix **-an** *43*
4.2.8. The transitive nominalizing suffix **-aan** *46*
4.2.9. The intransitive suffix **-ai** *50*
4.2.10. The associated motion suffix **-maan** *51*
4.2.11. The reduplicative prefix *54*
4.2.12. The comparative prefix **pe- ~ peCa-** *56*
4.2.13. Ordinal numerals *57*
4.2.14. Adverbial numerals *58*
4.3. Prepositions *58*

5. Noun phrase structure *59*
5.1. Articles *59*
5.1.1. The proper article **na** *59*

5.1.2. The common article **a** *61*
5.1.3. The nonspecific article **ta** *63*
5.1.4. Contexts where articles are absent *64*
5.2. Number words *70*
5.2.1. The plural word **mu** *70*
5.2.2. The greater plural word **maana** *71*
5.2.3. The dual word **ro** *71*
5.2.4. The paucal word **nu** *72*
5.2.5. The number word **saxa** *'one, indefinite'* *73*
5.2.6. Indefinite plural word **saxano** *74*
5.2.7. Indefinite paucal word **saxanu** *75*
5.2.8. **xasa, xasano, xasanu** *'other'* *76*
5.3 Ordinal numerals *77*
5.4. Adjectives *77*
5.5. (Cardinal) Numerals *82*
5.6. Demonstratives *85*
5.7. Nominal possession *87*
5.7.1. Inalienable possession *89*
5.7.2. Kin terms using **si**-*possession* *90*
5.7.3. Body part terms using **i**-*possession* *92*
5.7.4. Other uses of **si**-*possession and* **i**-*possession* *94*
5.8. Relative clauses *97*
5.8.1. Subject relatives *97*
5.8.2. Object relatives *98*
5.8.3. Object of preposition relatives *98*
5.8.4. Possessor relatives *100*
5.8.5. Ambiguous relatives *101*
5.8.6. The absence of **a** *after the relative word* **aava** *102*
5.8.7. Relative clauses with pronouns as head *103*
5.9. Prepositional phrases modifying nouns *105*
5.10. Miscellaneous other modifiers of nouns *106*
5.10.1. **xapiak** 'all' *106*
5.10.2. **xurul** '*whole'* *107*
5.10.3. **(sang) mon** '*only'* *107*
5.10.4. **vaxa** *'also'* *109*
5.10.5. **sait** *'also'* *110*
5.10.6. The reflexive/reciprocal word **xa** *110*
5.10.7. The topic particle **ve ~ va** *113*
5.10.8. **buk** *'kind, sort'* *115*
5.10.9. The prenominal words **fomirak** 'unexpectedly small' and **tang** 'huge' *115*
5.11. Combinations of noun modifiers *116*
5.12. Pronouns *123*
5.12.1. The strong pronouns *123*
5.12.2. Demonstrative pronouns *124*
5.12.3. Interrogative pronouns *124*
5.12.4. Indefinite pronouns *125*

5.13. Conjoined noun phrases *127*
5.13.1. The general conjunction **e** *127*
5.13.2. Conjoining noun phrases with the 3DU strong pronoun *129*
5.13.3. **o** *'or'* *132*

6. Prepositions and prepositional phrases *134*
6.1. Inflecting versus noninflecting prepositions *134*
6.2. Inflecting prepositions *136*
6.2.1. The possessive preposition **si** *136*
6.2.2. The possessive preposition **i** *138*
6.2.3. The preposition **pa** *139*
6.2.4. **se** *'second argument with semantically bivalent stative verbs'* *144*
6.2.5. **xa ~ xaa** *'for (benefactive)'* *148*
6.2.6. **xulu** *'on'* *149*
6.2.7. **no** *'in front of'* *150*
6.2.8. **xase** *'against, from'* *150*
6.2.9. **lapaa** *'under'* *151*
6.2.10. **lami** *'behind, after'* *152*
6.3. Noninflecting prepositions *153*
6.3.1. **la** *'at'* *153*
6.3.2. **lana** *'in'* *155*
6.3.3. **pe** *'at (larger places)'* *159*
6.3.4. **xe** *'to'* *161*
6.3.5. **ti** *'from'* *163*
6.3.6. **xena** *'purpose'* *164*
6.3.7. **paamuin** *'before'* *165*
6.3.8. **fefexaxaas** *'until, as far as'* *167*
6.3.9. **faasilak** *'near'* *168*
6.3.10. **xuvul** *'with'* *170*
6.4. Combinations of prepositions *172*
6.5. Directional words in prepositional phrases *173*
6.6. Three analyses of articles and prepositions *175*

7. Clause structure *185*
7.1. Introduction *185*
7.2. Subjects and objects *185*
7.3. Prepositional phrases *187*
7.4. Adverbs *188*
7.5. Degree words *191*
7.5.1. The degree words **paaliu**, **faagut**, *and* **temasaat** *191*
7.5.2. Degree words with the transitivizing suffix *196*
7.6. Multi-verb predicates *197*
7.7. Preverbal particles *199*
7.7.1. Non-future tense and aspect preverbal particles *200*
7.7.1.1 **fo** *'perfect'* *200*
7.7.1.2. **taxa** *'continuative'* *201*
7.7.1.3. **fuuna** *'habitual'* *202*
7.7.1.4. **tamu** *'previous state'* *203*
7.7.2. Future preverbal particles *204*

7.7.2.1. **taa** *'future'* *204*
7.7.2.2. **tamaa** *'may'* *206*
7.7.2.3. **tafo** *'would have'* *207*
7.7.2.4. **tafe** *'become (future)'* *208*
7.7.3. The negative preverbal particles *209*
7.7.3.1. **pife** *'not'* *209*
7.7.3.2. **pi** *'never'* *210*
7.7.3.3. **muta** *'prohibitive, should not'* *210*
7.7.3.4. **muneta** *'must not'* *211*
7.7.3.5. **bai** *'not want'* *211*
7.7.4. The associated motion preverbal particles *212*
7.7.4.1 **maa** *'come and'* *212*
7.7.4.2. **fe** *'go and'* *214*
7.7.4.3. **ti** *'stand and'* *214*
7.7.5. The preverbal particle **buk** *'want'* *215*
7.7.6. The preverbal particles **lo** *and* **mo** *216*
7.7.7. Particles that occur between the subject and the weak subject pronoun *217*
7.7.7.1. **rao** *'irrealis'* *217*
7.7.7.2. The particle ***xo*** *219*
7.7.8. Combinations of preverbal particles *220*
7.8. Semantically trivalent clauses *221*
7.9. Semantically bivalent intransitive clauses *221*
7.10. Clauses with nominal predicates *222*
7.11. Clauses with prepositional phrase predicates *228*

8. Sentence structure *231*
8.1. Interrogative sentences *231*
8.1.1. Polar questions *231*
8.1.2. Content questions *233*
8.1.2.1. **nase'** *'who' and* **so** *'what'* *233*
8.1.2.2. **faa** *'where'* *234*
8.1.2.3. **senasou, xenaso** *'why'* *235*
8.1.2.4. **malaafaa** *'how'* *235*
8.1.2.5. **laso ta yaan** *'when'* *236*
8.1.2.6. **a so ta** *'which' (adnominal modifier)* *236*
8.1.2.7. **talivan** *'how many'* *236*
8.1.2.8. **-se', ise', sise'** *'whose'* *237*
8.2. Subordinate clauses. *238*
8.2.1. Complement clauses *238*
8.2.2. **layaan** *'when'* *239*
8.2.3. **lamina** *'after'* *240*
8.2.4. **paamuin, paamuina yaan** *'before'* *241*
8.2.5. **fefexaxaas** *'until'* *242*
8.2.6. Conditional clauses with **tamo** *'if'* *242*
8.2.7. **naapalaan** *'although, even if'* *244*
8.2.8. **ulaa** *'lest, in case'* *244*
8.2.9. **senaso** *'because'* *245*
8.2.10. **talo** *'so that'* *246*

8.2.11. **xena** ‘*in order to’* *246*
8.2.12. **sena** *complements with* **fexaxaas** ‘*able’* *249*

Appendix 1: Possible calques *251*
Appendix 1.1: a tenth *251*
Appendix 1.2: interrogative pronouns as relative pronouns *251*
Appendix 1.3: **ta** *‘any’* *252*
Appendix 1.4: uses of **saxa** *‘one’* *252*
Appendix 1.5: prepositional calques *253*
Appendix 1.6: use of **xena** *‘purpose’* *254*
Appendix 1.7: conditional **tamo** *used for ‘whether’* *255*
Appendix 1.8: conditional ‘and’ *255*
Appendix 1.9: **xapiak** *‘all’ in preverbal position* *255*

Appendix 2: Sample text: The story of the birth of Jesus (Matthew 1:18 to 2:16) .. *256*

References *263*

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to Perry Schlie for comments on an earlier draft and for providing me with some materials on Kara, including a short dictionary, and to Lea Brown and John Lynch for comments on an earlier draft.

Abbreviations

1EXCL	first person exclusive
1INCL	first person inclusive
1SG	first person singular
2DU	second person dual
2PL	second person plural
2SG	second person singular
3DU	third person dual
3PL	third person plural
3SG	third person singular
ADV	adverb
ART	article
CAUS	causative
COMPAR	comparative
CONTIN	continuative
DU	dual
FUT	future
GRTR.PL	greater plural
HABIT	habitual
INCOMPL	incompletive
INDEF	indefinite
INTENS	intensifier
INTER	interrogative
INTRANS	intransitive
IRREAL	irrealis
NMLZ	nominalization
NONSPEC	nonspecific
PASS	passive
PAUC	paucal
PERF	perfective
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PREP	preposition
PREV.STAT	previous state
PROHIB	prohibitive
PURP	purpose
RECIP	reciprocal
REDUP	reduplication
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative clause marker
SG	singular
sibling.oppos	sibling of opposite sex
sibling.same	sibling of same sex
TRANS	transitive

1 *Introduction*

Kara is an Austronesian language spoken on the island of New Ireland in Papua New Guinea. The dialect described here is the eastern dialect, spoken in the village of Lemakot. Kara belongs to the Lavongai-Nalik group, whose internal classification is given by Volker (1998) as in Fig. 1, based on Ross (1982).

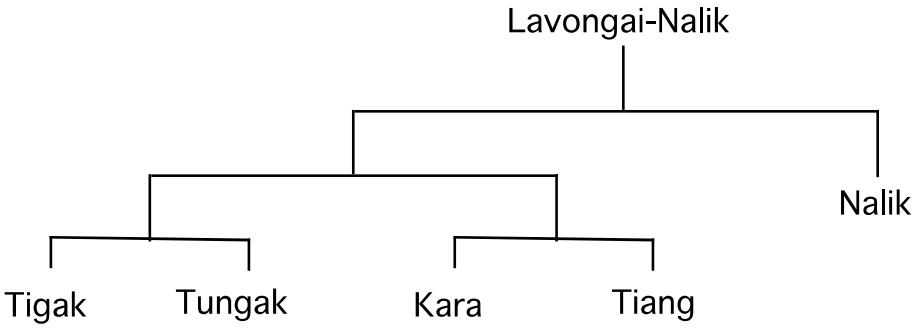

Fig. 1: Classification of Lavongai-Nalik languages

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

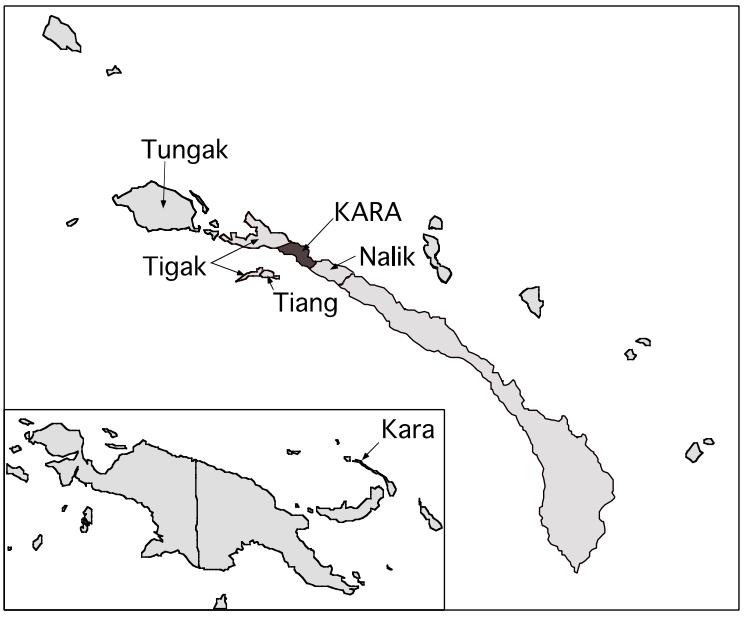

Fig. 2: Map of New Ireland showing Lavongai-Nalik languages,
with inset showing position of Kara within New Guinea

The two languages on each side of Kara both have monograph descriptions: Beaumont (1979) on Tigak to the northwest and Volker (1998) on Nalik to the southeast. As shown in Fig. 1, Tigak is closer genealogically to Kara than Nalik is.

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

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

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

---

[1] I am indebted, however, to helpful comments on an earlier draft by Perry Schlie. I have included the occasional footnote where his comments to me added something to what I was able to determine from the translation of the New Testament. In some cases, his comments suggest changes in the analysis. However, I keep the analysis I had and use only the footnote to point out its shortcomings, since one of the goals of this work is to demonstrate what one can do with just Bible translations, and these cases demonstrate the sort of errors that this approach can make.
Some of the paradigms include forms not attested in the New Testament but which Perry Schlie kindly provided me with. He also shared a draft dictionary of Kara with me, that allowed me to identify the meaning of a few words whose meaning was not clear to me from examples in the New Testament.

which there were no grammatical materials or dictionary available, based entirely on Bible translations. The goal of these projects was to provide students with practice in analysing linguistic data for the purpose of language description and in writing brief descriptions. The issues surrounding the reliability of using Bible translations as a source of data are not significant as far as these pedagogical goals are concerned. This course is not a substitute for a field methods course; the students who take this course do so in addition to taking field methods courses. The second time I taught this course, I felt I should try this project out myself, both to have an idea of the challenges it faces, as well as providing a basis for lectures in the course that might be helpful for the students in doing their own analyses based on Bible translations. The language I chose to do this with was Kara and having done the amount of analysis of Kara for the course, felt it worthwhile to write up a description based on this analysis.

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

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

2 *Phonology*

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

p	t			q<k>	’<ʔ>
b	d		g		
ɸ<f>	s				
β<v>				ʁ<x>	
m	n		ŋ<ng>		
	l				
	r				
w		j<y>			

Table 2.1: Consonant Phonemes

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

i<i ~ ii>		u<u ~ uu>
ɪ<i>		ʊ<u>
e<e>	ə<a>	o<o>
	ɑ<aa>	

Table 2.2: Vowel Phonemes

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

Stress in Kara is determined by the following principles: (1) if the word contains a /a/ (<aa>), then the last occurrence of this vowel will receive primary stress; (2) otherwise, if the word contains any closed syllables, then the last closed syllable will receive primary stress; (3) otherwise, the initial syllable will be stressed.

Hajek and Stevens (2004) report that Kara has tone, at least two tones and possibly three. They cite the following as a minimal pair: [ŋót] (high tone) ‘louse’ vs. [ŋòt] (low tone) ‘to weed’. Tone is not mentioned by Schlie and Schlie (1993) nor is it represented in the translations used as the basis for this description.

3 *Pronominal morphemes*

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

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

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

3.1. Weak subject pronouns

3.1.1. The basic weak subject pronouns

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

	Sg	Du	Trial	Pl
1excl	*ne*	*maame*	*maatul*	*maam*
1incl	--	*taare*	*[tutul]*[2]	*taara*
2	*no*	*me*	*mutul*	*mi*
3	*a/i*	*re*	*rutul*	*ri*

Table 3.1
Weak subject pronouns

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

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

[2] The first trial inclusive form *tutul* does not appear to occur in the New Testament but is kindly provided by Perry Schlie (pc).

There is a small set of particles that occur between the weak subject pronoun and the verb (see §7.7), as in (3.2), where the perfect particle *fo* occurs between the weak subject pronoun *ne* and the verb.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In (3.7) is the 3PL *ri*.

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

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

(3.8) *Na* *Tama-ang* *e* *nenia* ***maame*** *saxa.*
ART father-1SG and 1SG **1EXCL.DU** one
'My Father and I are one.' (John 10:30)

(3.9) *Lumui na Pol a xuus na Baanabas,* ***"Taare*** *taa ulaa xe*
later ART Paul 3SG tell ART Barnabas **1INCL.DU** FUT return to

la nu bina aava taare fo ..."
LOC PAUC town REL 1INCL.DU PERF

'After some days Paul said to Barnabas, "Let's go to every town where we ...".' (Acts 15:36)

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

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

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

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

(3.13) ***Mutul*** *taa waan pave fefexaxaas a yaan ne xuus namutul*
2TRIAL FUT be.at there until ART day 1SG tell 2TRIAL

pa-na.
PREP-3SG

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

(3.14) *... e* ***rutul*** *ta'ulan a bina pave la xunavung naang*
and **3TRIAL** leave ART region there LOC midnight same

xena falet xe pe Isip.
PURP go to at Egypt

'... and they left that place during the middle of the same night to go to Egypt.' (Matthew 2:14)

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

[3] Perry Schlie (pc) informs me that the trial forms do denote sets of precisely three and that the meaning of (3.15) is that exactly three people prepared a dinner.

(3.15) *Narutul aave* ***rutul*** *faigot-an a fangan-an xa-na.*
3TRIAL that **3TRIAL** prepare-TRANS ART eat-NMLZ for-3SG
'So they prepared a dinner for him.' (John 12:2)

The trial is apparently not obligatory for sets of three, the plural being a possible alternative. In (3.16), the reference to the first verb occurs with a 3PL pronoun *ri*, despite the fact that three individuals are referred to, as shown by the first person exclusive trial forms in the quotation following (and the trial nominal form *rutuvaat* 'three men' - see §4.1.2).

(3.16) *A* ***rutu-vaat*** *aave* ***ri*** *sui=e, "Nemaatul,* ***maatul***
ART **TRIAL-man** that **3PL** reply=3SG 1EXCL.TRIAL **1EXCL.TRIAL**

filimaan ti pe si Kornilius, a sensurian."
come from at POSS Cornelius ART centurion

'These three men replied to him, "We have come from Cornelius, the centurion".'
(Acts 10:22)

3.1.2. Non-obligatoriness of weak subject pronouns

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

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

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

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

Most examples where the weak subject pronoun is absent have 3SG subjects.

There are four situations in which weak subject pronouns are commonly absent. First, imperative sentences typically lack a weak subject pronoun, as in (3.20) and (3.21).

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

(3.21) ***Falet, fa-xalum*** *a mu priis pa-na ta-mi.*
go CAUS-see ART PL priest PREP-3SG skin-2PL
'Go and show yourselves to the priests.' (Luke 17:14)

This is not always the case with imperatives. In (3.22), there are three imperative verbs, the first two of which, *tamasiak* ‘get up’ and *siak* ‘take’, lack a weak subject pronoun, while the third, *paan* ‘go’, occurs with the 2SG weak subject pronoun *no*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But it is also common to repeat a weak subject pronoun with the second verb, as in (3.28), where the weak subject pronoun *ri* ‘3PL’ is repeated before the second verb *fefiaian* ‘ask each other’.

(3.28) *E* ***ri*** *fe-mataut* *paaliu* *e* ***ri*** *fe-fi-ai-an.*
and **3PL** INCH-afraid INTENS and **3PL** RECIP-ask-INTRANS-TRANS

nari *xa* *malaan,* ...
3PL REFL/RECIP thus

'They became very afraid and asked one another, ...' (Mark 4:41)

Example (3.29) is similar: the weak subject pronoun *re* '3DU' is repeated before the second verb *usi* 'follow'.

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

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

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

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

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

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

si-na ...
POSS-3SG

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

'They are like the seeds which fall on the path.' (Matthew 13:19)

(3.33) *...* *taasaxa* *layaan* *rutul* *para* *fa'-ulaa* *rutul* *xalum* *a*
but when 3TRIAL wake.up ADV-return 3TRIAL see ART

malang *molava* *si-na* *e* *ro-vaat* ***aava*** ***re*** *taxa*
light big POSS-3SG and DU-man **REL** **3DU** CONTIN

waan *xuvul* *pa-na.*
be.at with PREP-3SG

'... but as they became fully awake, they saw his glory and the two men who were with him.' (Luke 9:32)

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

(3.34) *Ai,* *nano* ***aava*** ***no*** *fo* *kuus* *o* *no* *taa* *ngas* *tapin*
aha 2SG **REL** **2SG** PERF say COMP 2SG FUT remove away

a *lifu* *lotu* *e* *no* *taa* *vesan* *fa-'uli=e*
ART house worship and 2SG FUT make CAUS-return=3SG

lana *yaan* *talatul,* *...*
in day three

'Aha! You who has said that you will destroy the temple and rebuild it in three days, ...' (Mark 15:30)

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

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

(3.35) *A* *Mataa* *Failai* ***i*** *taa* *lux-an* *faa?*
ART man Christ **3SG.INCOMPL** FUT give.birth.to-PASS where
'Where will the Christ be born?' (Matthew 2:4)

(3.36) *Na* *imu* *Saimon* ***i*** *taxa* *mati* *xulu-na* *ivin* *...*
ART parent.in.law Simon **3SG.INCOMPL** CONTIN lie ON-3SG bed
'Simon's mother-in-law was lying down on the bed ...' (Mark 1:30)

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

taa	future
taxa	continuative
tafe	become (future)
muta	must not
tamaa	might, would
tafo	would have

See examples in §7.7.1.2, §7.7.2, and §7.7.7. Note that except for the continuative *taxa*, illustrated in (3.36), the environment for the incompletive weak subject pronoun is future or irrealis.[4]

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

(3.37) *Ri turirik tapin a marapi si-na, ri sip fa-saat=e*
3PL rip away ART clothes POSS-3SG 3PL beat ADV-bad=3SG

e ri ta'ulan fa-nei=e su' e nane faasilak
and 3PL leave CAUS-sit=3SG down and 3SG near

i *maat.*
3SG.INCOMPL die

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

3.2. The strong pronouns

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

	Sg	Du	Trial	Pl
1excl	*nenia*	*nemaame*	*nemaatul*	*nemaam*
1incl	--	*netaare*	*[netaatul]*[5]	*netaara*
2	*nano*	*name*	*namutul*	*nami*
3	*nane*	*nare ~ narie*	*narutul*	*nari*
int	*nase'*			

Table 3.2: Strong pronouns

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

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

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

---

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

[5] The first person trial inclusive form *netaatul* does not appear to occur in the translation of the New Testament, but Perry Schlie (pc) has kindly provided this form.

(3.39) *Ne bai feng tapin* ***nari*** *pa-na ri lagai senaso ri*
1SG not.want send away **3PL** PREP-3SG 3PL hungry because 3PL

tamaa maat la falet-an si-ri.
may die LOC go-NMLZ POSS-3PL

'I don't want to send them away hungry since they may faint on the way.' (Matthew 15:32)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The 3DU strong pronouns have an additional use as nominal conjunctions (§5.13.2), as in (3.45).

(3.45) *E* *voxo* *ri* *xel* *na* *nina-na* ***nare*** *tama-na.*
and so 3PL call ART mother-3SG **3DU** father-3SG
'And so they summoned his mother and father.' (John 9:18)

3.3. Object clitics

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

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

(3.46) ... *e* *layaan* *mi* *fo* ***tingin=e*** *mi* *maa* ***xuus=au***
and when 2PL PERF **find=3SG** 2PL come.and **tell=1SG**

talo *nenia* *sait* *ne* *taa* *fe* ***nangus=e.***
so.that 1SG also 1SG FUT go.and **worship=3SG**

'... and when you find him, inform me so that I can go and worship him as well.'
(Matthew 2:8)

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

(3.47) *No* *siak* *a* *fangan-an* *ti* *lana* *uma* *aava* *no* *pife*
2SG take ART eat-NMLZ from in field REL 2SG NEG

xapis=e *e* ...
sow=3SG and

'You take food from the field that you did not sow, and ...' (Matthew 25:24)

(3.48) *A* *mataa* *aava* *mu* *vovau* *saat* *ri* *fo* ***ta'ulan=e,***
ART man REL PL spirit bad 3PL PERF **leave=3SG**

a *nung* *na* *Yesus* ...
3SG ask ART Jesus

'The man who the demons had gone out of asked Jesus ...' (Luke 8:38)

While I gloss the object clitic *=e* as '3SG', it is also used with nonhuman plural objects, as in (3.49), where it occurs on the verb *viaxe* 'break', but clearly refers to the seven loaves of bread.

(3.49) *E* *nane* *siak* *a* *bret* *pisiguak* *e* *fenung* *xe* *laa'ui* *pa-na*
and 3SG take ART read seven and pray to up PREP-3SG

e ***viax=e.***
and **break=3SG**

'And he took the seven loaves and gave thanks for them and broke them.' (Mark 8:6)

Similarly, there are three occurrences of the object clitic *=e* in (3.50), all of which refer to plural objects. The first occurrence is on *fawaane* 'put', referring to the good fish, which is marked as plural with *maana*; the use of an object clitic here is caused by the fact that the object is fronted, rather than occurring in its normal postverbal position. The second occurrence is on *ngane* 'eat', where the object clitic corresponds to the head of a relative clause *maana din* 'fish (PL)'. The third is on *tapine* and is analogous to the first occurrence, corresponding to a fronted object with plural reference (the fish that they could not eat).

(3.50) *A* *maana* *din* *roxo* *ri* ***fa-waan=e*** *lana* *mu* *bi*
ART GRTR.PL fish good 3PL **CAUS-be.at=3SG** in PL basket

e *maana* *din* *aava* *ri* *pife* *fexaxaas* *se-na* ***ngan=e***
and GRTR.PL fish REL 3PL NEG able PREP-3SG **eat=3SG**

ri ***tapin=e.***
3PL **throw=3SG**

'The good fish, they put into containers and the fish that they could not eat, they threw away.' (Matthew 13:48)

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

(3.51) ... *ri* *taa* *xalum* *a* *maana* *mo* *aava* *mi* *taxa* ***xalum=e.***
3PL FUT see ART GRTR.PL thing REL 2PL CONTIN **see=3SG**
'... they will see the things that you see.' (Luke 10:24)

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

(3.52) ... *e* *nane* ***fasuf*** ***nari*** *la* *Raarum* *Jordan.*
and 3SG **baptize** **3PL** LOC water Jordan
'... and he baptized them in the Jordan River.' (Matthew 3:6)

It is not clear whether it is animate objects or human objects that can be represented by strong pronouns. Example (3.53) suggests that it may be animate objects, since the pronoun *nari* refers back to the sheep. However, perhaps the strong pronoun is used here since humans are being compared to sheep; in other words, there is a sense in which *nari* refers back the 3PL human subject of the main clause.

(3.53) *Ri malaan se-na mu sipsip aava ri piau ta*
3PL like PREP-3SG PL sheep REL 3PL not.have NONSPEC

mataa xena faxatang ***nari.***
man PURP take.care.of **3PL**

'They are like sheep that do not have any man to take care of them.' (Matthew 9:36)

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

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

(3.54) *... na Yesus a* ***tingin*** *a mataa aave ...*
ART Jesus 3SG **find** ART man that
'... Jesus found that man ...' (John 5:14)

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

(3.55) *Ri turirik tapin a marapi si-na, ri sip* ***fa-saat=e*** *e*
3PL rip away ART clothes POSS-3SG 3PL beat **ADV-bad=3SG** and

ri ta'ulan fa-nei=e su' e nane faasilak i maat.
3PL leave CAUS-sit=3SG down and 3SG near 3SG.INCOMPL die

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

(3.56) *A mu rabuna aava ri pife Juda ri taa tao*
ART PL people REL 3PL NEG Jew 3PL FUT hold

fa-tateax=e *...*
ADV-strong=3SG

'The people who are not Jews (i.e. Gentiles) will hold onto him "strongly".' (Luke 18:32)

(3.57) *Tiis* ***fa-roxoi=au*** *xase-na mu xaiyaas si-ak.*
judge **ADV-good=1SG** against-3SG PL enemy POSS-1SG
'Judge me well against my adversaries.' (Luke 18:3)

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

(3.58) *... no taa yuuf fa-lak* ***fa-tapusan=e,*** *bo?*
2SG FUT pull CAUS-go.up **ADV-quick=3SG** Q
'... will you quickly pull him up?' (Luke 14:5)

Note that the position of the object clitic is the same as the position of a separate noun phrase functioning as object, since these immediately follow the verbal complex, following an adverb if there is one, as in (3.59), where the object *a matana lifu* 'the door' follows the adverb *fatapusan* 'quickly'.

(3.59) ... *a* *mu* *sisiak* *si-na* *ri* *taa* *kas* *fa-tapusan*
ART PL servant POSS-3SG 3PL FUT open ADV-quick

a ***mata-na*** ***lifu*** *xe* *si-na.*
ART **eye-3SG** **house** to POSS-3SG

'... his servants will open the door quickly for him.' (Luke 12:36)

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

(3.60) *Ai,* *nano* *aava* *no* *fo* *kuus* *o* *no* *taa* *ngas* *tapin*
aha 2SG REL 2SG PERF say COMP 2SG FUT remove away

a *lifu* *lotu* *e* *no* *taa* *vesan* ***fa-'uli=e***
ART house worship and 2SG FUT make **CAUS-return=3SG**

lana *yaan* *talatul,* ...
in day three

'Aha! You who has said that you will destroy the temple and rebuild it in three days, ...' (Mark 15:30)

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

(3.61) ... *nane* *fo* *xuus* *a* *mu* *rabuna* *si-na* *o*
3SG PERF tell ART PL people POSS-3SG COMP

ri *taa* *tao* *na* *Jon* *e* ***pis*** ***fa-waan=e*** *la*
3PL FUT hold ART John and **tie** **CAUS-be.at=3SG** LOC

bina *i-na* *vipis-an.*
place POSS-3SG be.tied-NMLZ

'... he told his men to arrest John and put him in prison' (Matthew 14:3)

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

(3.62) ... *nane* *fexaxaas* *se-na* *sinuf-an*
3SG able PREP-3SG run.away-TRANS

a ***kuus*** ***fakalimaan-an*** *aave.*
ART **say** **swear-NMLZ** that

'... he is able to run away from that oath.' (Matthew 23:16)

3.4. Object suffix on *aan*-nominalizations

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

(3.63) *E* *nane* *xel* *a* *xasa* *ro-vaat* *e* *a* *feng* *nare*
and 3SG call ART other DU-man and 3SG send 3DU

xe *si* *Memai* *xena* ***fin-aan-a*** ...
to POSS Lord PURP **ask-NMLZ-3SG**

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

(3.64) ... *e* *ri* *timin* *a* *bolo* *si* *Yesus* *la* *mi-na* *xena*
and 3PL put ART cross POSS Jesus LOC back-3SG PURP

yaas-aan-a.
carry-NMLZ-3SG

'... and they placed Jesus' cross on his back for him to carry it.' (Luke 23:26)

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

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

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

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

---

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

3.5. Possessive suffixes

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

	Sg	Du	Trial	Pl
1excl	*-ak*	*-maame*	*[-maatul]*	*-maam*
1incl		*[-taare]*	*[-taatul]*	*-taara*
2	*-am*	*-me*	*[-mutul]*	*-mi*
3	*-na*	*-re*	*-rutul*	*-ri*
Int	*-se'*			

Table 3.3: Possessive suffixes

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

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

(3.67) *A* ***vave-se'*** *e a* ***isi-se'*** *taxa waan xulu-na*
ART **footprint-INTER** and ART **name-INTER** CONTIN be.at ON-3SG
faat aanabe'?
stone this
'Whose image and whose name is on this coin?' (Matthew 22:20)

The possessive forms of *ti* 'sibling of same sex', representative of regular kin terms, are given in Table 3.4. The forms without square brackets are attested in the translation of the New Testament; the forms enclosed in square brackets were kindly provided by Perry Schlie (pc).

	Sg	Du	Trial	Pl
1excl	*tiak*	*[timaame]*	*[timaatul]*	*timaam*
1incl		*[titaare]*	*[titaatul]*	*[titaara]*
2	*tiam*	*[time]*	*[timutul]*	*timi*
3	*tina*	*[tire]*	*[tirutul]*	*tiri*

Table 3.4: Attested forms of *ti* 'sibling of same sex'

The possessive forms of the body part term *mata* 'eye' are given in Table 3.5; there is no difference between kin terms and body part terms in terms of possessive suffixes. Again, the forms in square brackets were provided by Perry Schlie (pc).

	Sg	Du	Trial	Pl
1excl	*mataak*	*matamaame*	*[matamaatul]*	*[matamaam]*
1incl		*[matataare]*	*[matataatul]*	*[matataare]*
2	*mataam*	*[matame]*	*[matamutul]*	*matami*
3	*matana*	*matare*	*matarutul*	*matari*

Table 3.5: Attested forms of *mata* 'eye'

The nouns *tama* 'father' and *nina* 'mother' are irregular in the 1SG possessive, where they are formed with a suffix *-ang*. The attested possessive forms for *tama* 'father' are given in Table 3.6.[7]

	Sg	Du	Trial	Pl
1excl	*tamaang*	*tamamaame*		*tamamaam*
1incl				*tamataara*
2	*tamaam*			*tamami*
3	*tamana*	*tamare*		*tamari*

Table 3.6: Attested forms of *tama* 'father'

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

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

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

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

'... tell my brother to divide our father's things and ...' (Luke 12:13)

---

[7] Perry Schlie (pc) informs me that the regular 1SG forms *tamaak* 'my father' and *ninaak* 'my mother' are possible but "indicate a less close relationship" and are "considered less correct".

(3.69) *Ai, mu* ***ti-maam,*** *maam taa vil a so?*
Ah PL **sibling.same-1EXCL.PL** 1EXCL.PL FUT do ART what
'Brothers, what should we do?' (Acts 2:37)

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

(3.71) *... layaan no kaalum fa-matavas, no taa siak tapin*
when 2SG look ADV-clear 2SG FUT take away

a wai modak la mata ***ti-am.***
ART tree small LOC eye **sibling.same-2SG**

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

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

(3.73) *Kaalum, ne taa fa-bukaak a mu xaiyaas si-mi*
look 1SG FUT CAUS-bow ART PL enemy POSS-2PL

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

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

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

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

(3.76) *A mu tama-na Israel ri xinaas-an a*
ART PL father-3SG Israel 3PL jealous-TRANS ART

ti-ri, *na Yosep, ...*
sibling.same-3PL ART Joseph

'The fathers of Israel were jealous of their brother, Joseph, ...' (Acts 7:9)

3.6. Suffixes on prepositions

As discussed in §6, there are two sorts of prepositions in Kara, those that inflect for the person and number of their objects and those that do not inflect. In this section, I discuss the forms of suffixes that occur on inflecting prepositions, of which I am aware of ten. Not only

do prepositions vary as to whether they inflect, but those that do inflect fall into two further subcategories. Six of the inflecting prepositions inflect the same way as each other but differently from the possessive forms of inalienable nouns. The other four all exhibit some irregularity, but inflect in a way that is more similar to the possessive inflection on nouns than to the inflection on the first six inflecting prepositions. I will refer to the first six as regular inflecting prepositions, the other four as irregular inflecting prepositions. Table 3.7 lists the two types of inflecting prepositions. The use of these prepositions is discussed in §6.2, with more detailed discussion of the use of the possessive prepositions *i* and *si* in §5.7.

regular inflecting prepositions		irregular inflecting prepositions	
i	'possessive'	*si*	'possessive, etc.'
pa	various uses	*xa ~ xaa*	'benefactive, malefactive'
se	various uses	*xulu*	'on'
no	'in front of'	*lami*	'after, behind'
xase	'from, against'		
lapaa	'under'		

Table 3.7: Regular and irregular inflecting prepositions

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

	Sg	Du	Trial	Pl
1excl	*-ga*	*-maame*	*[-maatul]*	*-maam*
1incl		*-taare*	*[-taatul]*	*-taara*
2	*-ma*	*-me*	*[-mutul]*	*-mi*
3	*-na*	*-re*	*-rutul*	*-ri*
Int	*-se'*			

Table 3.8: Suffixes on prepositions

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

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

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

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

(3.79) *Natu-k, xenaso no vil-ai malaave* ***xase-maame?***
child-1SG why 2SG do-INTRANS in.that.way **against-1EXCL.PL**
'Child, why have you treated us like this?' (Luke 2:48)

(3.80) ... *talo* *ri* *taa* *waan* *fa-xuvul* *lapaa-na* *lamon-an* *saxa*
so.that 3PL FUT be.at CAUS-with under-3SG think-NMLZ one

malaan ***se-taare.***
like **PREP-1INCL.DU**

'... so that they may be one, like us.' (John 17:22)

(3.81) ... *e* *a* *mu* *vubux-an-an* *si-im* *ri* *taa* *savat*
and ART PL want-TRANS-NMLZ POSS-2SG 3PL FUT come

la *matavas* *la* *palou* ***i-maam*** ...
LOC be.open LOC middle **POSS-1EXCL.PL**

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

(3.82) *Ne* *taa* *pife* *kuus* *malaan* *naapalaan* *tamo* *ne* *taa* *maat*
1SG FUT NEG say thus even.if if 1SG FUT die

xuvul ***pa-ma.***
with **PREP-2SG**

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

(3.83) *E* *tamo* *mu* *rabuna* *ti* *la* *saxa-no* *bina* *ri* *taa*
and if PL people from LOC INDEF-PL place 3PL FUT

pife *suai-an* *name* *o* *taa* *langai* *pesalai* ***se-me,*** ...
NEG honour-TRANS 2DU or FUT hear not.listen **PREP-2DU**

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

(3.84) *Ne* *taa* *fakasanam* *a* *nu* *tu-vaat* *aave* ***pa-na*** *pinis* *ti*
1SG FUT harm ART PAUC PL-man that **PREP-3SG** sword from

lana *vala-ak.*
in mouth-1SG

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

(3.85) ... *e* *fala* *fataapus* *xe* *si* *Pol* *nare* *Sailas* *e*
... and run quickly to POSS Paul 3DU Silas and

a *poxo* *radakui* *la* ***no-re.***
3SG fall tremble LOC **in.front.of-3DU**

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

(3.86) *Taasaxa* *mu* *Ferasi* *ri* *namkai* ***se-rutul*** *xapiak.*
but PL Pharisee 3PL believe **PREP-3TRIAL** all
'[The Sadducees say there is no resurrection, or angel, or spirit,] but the Pharisees believe in all three.' (Acts 23:8)

As with possessive forms of nouns, there is an interrogative suffix *-se'* on prepositions. For example, in (3.87), the last word *pase'* here means 'about who(m)'.

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

ri *vungut* *o* *nane* *taxa* *ferawai* ***pa-se'.***
3PL not.know COMP 3SG CONTIN speak **PREP-INTER**

'His disciples looked at one another because they did not know who he was talking about.' (John 13:22)

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

(3.88) *No* *taxa* *vil* *a* *maana* *mo* *aanabe'* *lapaa-na*
2SG CONTIN do ART GRTR.PL thing this under-3SG

tateax-an ***i-se'?***
strong-NMLZ **POSS-INTER**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(3.90) *E* *voxo* *ne* *mataut* *se-ma* *e* *ne* *fe* *fun*
and so 1SG afraid PREP-2SG and 1SG go.and hide

a *faat* ***si-im*** *lana* *vaa'ul.*
ART stone **POSS-2SG** in hole

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

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

(3.91) *A* *mu* *fefeng* ***si-na*** *ri* *taxa* *fe-xalum-ai* *...*
ART PL disciple **POSS-3SG** 3PL CONTIN RECIP-see-INTRANS
'His disciples looked at one another, ...' (John 13:22)

The third person trial form is illustrated in (3.92).

(3.92) *Rutul taxa waan xulu-na xaati e rutul taxa*
3TRIAL CONTIN be.at ON-3SG boat and 3TRIAL CONTIN

faigot-an a vana ***si-rutul.***
prepare-TRANS ART net **POSS-3TRIAL**

'[Going on from there he saw two other brothers, James the son of Zebedee and John his brother, with Zebedee their father;] they were in a boat, mending their nets.' (Matthew 4:21)

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

(3.93) *A ling aanabe' pife ferawai-an* ***xa-nak*** *taasaxa*
ART voice this NEG speak-NMLZ **for-1SG** but

a ferawai-an xa-mi.
ART speak-NMLZ for-2PL

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

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

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

The 2SG form of this preposition, illustrated in (3.95), is also irregular. It occurs with a suffix *-num*. This form of the 2SG suffix again resembles the 2SG possessive suffix on nouns in that it ends in /m/. It also resembles the form of the 1SG suffix that occurs with *xa(a)*, namely *-nak*, illustrated in (3.94), in that it begins with an /n/; however unlike the 1SG suffix *-nak*, the vowel of the suffix is a /u/ rather than an /a/.[8]

(3.95) *Mi pife fexaxaas se-na faisok lapaa-na Piran e la yaan*
2PL NEG able PREP-3SG act under-3SG big.man and LOC day

naang faisok xena fa-xuvul-aan=a faat ***xaa-num*** *xa.*
same act PURP CAUS-with-NMLZ=ART stone **for-2SG** REFL/RECIP

'You cannot serve God and at the same time act in order to collect money for yourself.' (Matthew 6:24)[9]

---

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

[9] This example is anomalous in that the subject is 2PL while the preposition is marked as 2SG. This is probably an error.

The third irregular inflecting preposition is *xulu* ‘on’. Its 1SG form is *xulok*, illustrated in (3.96), with a suffix *-ok*. Again, it is more like nouns than regular inflecting prepositions in ending in a /k/, but is irregular in that vowel is /o/ rather than /u/.

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

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

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

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

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

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

4 *Morphology*

4.1. Noun morphology

4.1.1. Possessive suffixes

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

4.1.2. Nonsingular forms of nouns

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

(4.1)

lak	*rafulak*	'child'
tefin	*lutefin*	'woman'
mataa	*rabuna*	'man, person'

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

(4.2)

E	*layaan*	*a*	*mu*	***rabuna***	*aava*	*ri*	*taxa*	*tigina*	*faasilak*
and	when	ART	PL	**people**	REL	3PL	CONTIN	stand	near

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

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

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

(4.3)

tuvaat	man.PLURAL
rovaat	man.DUAL
rutuvaat	man.TRIAL
nutuvaat	man.PAUCAL

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

The form *tuvaat*, however, always occurs with a paucal number word, like *saxanu* 'INDEF.PAUC' or *xasanu* 'other.PAUC', as in (4.4), or *nu* 'paucal' and (4.5).

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

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

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

(4.5) *Ne taa fakasanam a* ***nu*** ***tu-vaat*** *aave pa-na pinis ti*
1SG FUT harm ART **PAUC** **PL-man** that PREP-3SG sword from

lana vala-ak.
in mouth-1SG

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

Because *tuvaat* always occurs with a paucal word, it might be considered paucal itself, rather than plural, as I have glossed it.[10] While the majority of instances of *tuvaat* are indefinite, as in (4.4), some are definite, as in (4.5).

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

(4.6) *A* ***nu-tu-vaat*** *pisaxa aanabe' vaxa ri falet xe puaa*
ART **PAUC-PL-person** six this also 3PL go to north

Sesaria xuvul pa-ga e ...
Caesarea with PREP-1SG and

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

The dual form *rovaat* is illustrated in (4.7).

(4.7) *E voxo re pife* ***ro-vaat*** *taragua fulaa ...*
and so 3DU NEG **DU-man** two again
'So they are no longer two ...' (Matthew 19:6)

The trial form *rutuvaat* is illustrated in (4.8).

(4.8) *A* ***rutu-vaat*** *aave ri sui=e, "Nemaatul, maatul*
ART **TRIAL-man** that 3PL reply=3SG 1EXCL.TRIAL 1EXCL.TRIAL

fili-maan ti pe si Kornilius, a sensurian."
come-come from at POSS Cornelius ART centurion

'These three men replied to him, "We have come from Cornelius, the centurion".'
(Acts 10:22)

It is not obvious how best to analyse the morphology of these forms. I have analysed the trial form *rutuvaat* as containing a trial prefix *rutu*, but the paucal form *nutuvaat* as involving first a paucal prefix *nu-* and then the same plural prefix *tu-* that occurs in *tuvaat*. One might

[10] Perry Schlie (pc) confirms that *tuvaat* can only be used for small groups of people.

analyse the *tu* in *rutuvaat* in the same way, but since *tu* is found in all trial forms, I prefer to analyse it as part of a trial prefix.

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

4.1.3. The singular prefix *pa-*

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

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

a *saxa* ***pa-tanga-na.***
ART one **SG-ear-3SG**

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

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

pa-ma-ak *muaan* *e* *...*
SG-hand-1SG right and

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

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

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

"Talangai-an *a* ***ma-am."*** *E* *nane* *talangai-an=e*
move.hand-TRANS ART **hand-2SG** and 3SG move.hand-TRANS=3SG

e *fo* *roxo,* *malaan* *se-na* *xasa* ***ma-na.***
and PERF good like PREP-3SG other **hand-3SG**

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

While the majority of instances of the singular prefix are with body part terms, there are also occurrences with nouns like *xakalayan* 'writing' and *ferawaian* 'things said'. For

example, in (4.12), we get the singular suffix with *xalalayan* 'writing' to apparently denote a particular passage.[11]

(4.12) *Ne texaas se-na* ***pa-xakala-yan*** *si-na Piran aava kuus ...*
1SG know PREP-3SG **SG-write-NMLZ** PREP-3SG big.man REL say
'I know a passage in the writings of God which says, ...' (Acts 23:5)

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

(4.13) *... i taa kap a valof i-na marapi xavai*
3SG.INCOMPL FUT sew ART skin POSS-3SG clothes old

pa-na ***pa-marapi*** *fa'ui.*
PREP-3SG **SG-clothes** new

'No man sews a patch of unshrunk cloth on an old garment with a new piece of cloth.' (Mark 2:21)

4.2. Verb morphology

4.2.1. Object suffix

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

4.2.2. The passive suffix *-an*

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

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

---

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

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

The effect of the prefix *pa-* here is to pick out a subset of the soldiers and is clearly not singular.

(4.15) ... *i* *taa* ***punux-an.***
3SG.INCOMPL FUT **kill-PASS**
'[Whoever insults his father or mother] must be put to death.'' (Matthew 15:4)

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

(4.17) ... *senaso* *a* *malasuf* *i-na* *a* ***fun-an*** *xase-ri* *e* ...
because ART meaning POSS-3SG 3SG **hide-PASS** from-3PL and
'... because its meaning was hidden from them, and ...' (Luke 18:34)

The actor cannot be expressed with the Kara passive; it is an actorless passive.

The passive suffix is homophonous with the transitivizing suffix *-an* (§4.2.3) and the general nominalizing suffix *-an* (§4.2.7)[12]. It is clearly distinct from the transitivizing suffix *-an* since it can co-occur with it, as shown in §4.2.3 below. However, it does not co-occur with the general nominalizing suffix and is probably related to it, at least diachronically, since a common meaning when the general nominalizing suffix is attached to a transitive verb is that the resultant nominalization denotes the object of the verb being nominalized, as in (4.18), where *xakalayan* means 'that which is written'.

(4.18) *Mi* *texaas* *se-na* ***xakalay-an*** *aava* *kuus* *malaan:*
2PL know PREP-3SG **write-NMLZ** REL say thus
'You know the writings which say ...' (Matthew 5:43)

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

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

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

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

---

[12] The general nominalizing suffix *-an*, discussed in §4.2.7, should not be confused with the transitive nominalizing suffix *-aan*, discussed in §4.2.8.

(4.20) *Nane sait,* ***ri*** ***punux=e*** *e* *a* *mu* *fangaasik* *si-na*
3SG also **3PL** **kill=3SG** and ART PL follower POSS-3SG

ri *sinuf.*
3PL run.away

'He too was killed, and all who followed him were scattered.' (Acts 5:37)

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

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

4.2.3. The transitivizing suffix *-an*

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

bai	'not want to'	*baian*	'not like'
kuus	'speak'	*kuusan*	'speak about'
vubuk	'want to, like to'	*vubuxan*	'want or like [something]'
xinaas	'jealous'	*xinaasan*	'jealous of'
mataut	'afraid'	*matautan*	'afraid of'
fiai	ask'	*fiaian*	'ask for'
faisok	'act'	*faisoxan*	'do'
fepatok	'separate (intrans)'	*fepatoxan*	'separate (trans)
fetok	'argue'	*fetoxan*	'argue about something'
faaxolus	'deny it (intrans)'	*faaxolusan*	'deny someone'
sinuf	'run away'	*sinufan*	'run away from someone'
kuus	'speak'	*kuusan*	'speak about'
ta'ul	'leave'	*ta'ulan*	'leave someone or something'

Table 4.1
Examples illustrating the transitivizing suffix *-an*

In (4.22) is illustrated the transitivized form of *xinaas* 'be jealous', namely *xinaasan* 'be jealous of'.

(4.22) *A* *mu* *tama-na* *Israel* *ri* ***xinaas-an*** *a*
ART PL father-3SG Israel 3PL **jealous-TRANS** ART

ti-ri, *na* *Yosep,* *...*
sibling.same-3PL ART Joseph

'The fathers of Israel were jealous of their brother, Joseph, ...' (Acts 7:9)

In (4.23) is the transitivized form of *mataut* 'be afraid', namely *matautan* 'be afraid of'.

(4.23) *Muta* ***mataut-an*** *a* *rabuna* *aava* *ri* *fexaxaas* *se-na*
PROHIB **afraid-TRANS** ART people REL 3PL able PREP-3SG

punux-aan=a *ta-na* *mataa* *mon* ...
kill-NMLZ=ART skin-3SG man only

'Do not be afraid of people who are able to kill only the body of a man ...' (Luke 12:4)

And (4.24) contains two occurrences of *baian* 'not like', the transitivized form of *bai* 'not want'.

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

bai-an *nami.*
not.want-TRANS 2PL

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

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

(4.25) *Ri* ***xaiyaas-an*** *a* *Piran* ...
3PL **enemy-TRANS** ART big.man
'They are enemies of God ...' (Romans 1:30)

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

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

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

(4.27) ... *e* *pave* *ri* ***kuus-an*** *a* *xuuskuus* *xurul* *e* ...
and there 3PL **speak-TRANS** ART story whole and
'[The herdsmen ran off, went into the town,] and told the whole story ...' (Matthew 8:33)

In (4.28), the form *kuusana* is the passive of the transitivized verb *kuusan* that occurs in the preceding example, bearing both the transitive suffix *-an* and the passive suffix *-an*.

(4.28) *... aava fo* ***kuus-an-an*** *lana buuk aanabe'.*
REL PERF **speak-TRANS-PASS** in book this
'[... and he will not pick the fruit of the Tree of Life] that is spoken about in this book.' (Revelation 22:19)

Similarly, in (4.29), we get the bare intransitive verb *faigot* 'to make preparations'.

(4.29) *E voxo re* ***faigot*** *xena fenamo i-na Paaliuan.*
and so 3DU **prepare** PURP feast POSS-3SG Passover
'So they made preparations for the feast of Passover.' (Mark 14:16)

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

(4.30) *... e nane tamasiak e* ***faigot-an***
and 3SG get up and **prepare-TRANS**

a fa-ngan-an xa-na.
ART CAUS-eat-NMLZ for-3SG

'... and she got up and prepared food for him.' (Matthew 8:15)

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

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

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

(4.32) *Tamo no* ***vubuk*** *usi fatak a* ***vubux-an-an***
if 2SG **want** follow straight ART **want-TRANS-NMLZ**

si-na Piran ...
POSS-3SG big.man

'If you want to follow the will of God, ...' (Matthew 19:21)

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

(4.33) *Taasaxa na Tama-mi pe la xunavata, nane texaas*
but ART father-2PL at LOC heaven 3SG know

o mi ***vubux-an*** *a maana mo aave.*
COMP 2PL **want-TRANS** ART GRTR.PL thing that

'But your Father in Heaven knows that you want these things.' (Matthew 6:32)

The nominalization of *vubuxan*, shown in (4.32), means 'that which is wanted'.

Forms with a single *-an* are in principle ambiguous between a nominalization reading and a transitivized reading. For example, the form *matautan* occurs as an transitivized verb in (4.23) above, meaning 'afraid of', but as a nominalization meaning 'fear' in (4.34).

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

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

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

(4.35) *... a mu sisiak si-na ri taa kas **fa-tapus-an***
ART PL servant POSS-3SG 3PL FUT open **ADV-quick-TRANS**

a mata-na lifu xe si-na.
ART eye-3SG house to POSS-3SG

'... his servants will open the door quickly for him.' (Luke 12:36)

(4.36) *Ne fo xuus **fa-xaves-an** nami xo!*
1SG PERF tell **ADV-many-TRANS** 2PL TOPIC[13]
'I have told you many times.' (John 8:25)

(4.37) *Na Pita a mamaxus senaso na Yesus a fin*
ART Peter 3SG troubled because ART Jesus 3SG ask

***faa-talatul-an=e** ...*
times-three-TRANS=3SG

'Peter was distressed that Jesus asked him three times ...' (John 21:17)

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

(4.38) *A mo aava fa-mamaxus **paaliu-an** nari ve a*
ART thing REL CAUS-troubled **INTENS-TRANS** 3PL be 3SG

pa-ferawai-an si-na o ri taa pife xalum fulan=e.
SG-speak-NMLZ POSS-3SG COMP 3PL FUT NEG see again=3SG

'The thing that especially troubled them was his statement that they would not see him again.' (Acts 20:38)

[13] The gloss 'TOPIC' for the word *xo* is based on the draft dictionary provided to me by Perry Schlie; its function is not clear from examples in the New Testament.

(4.39) *A* *maana* *mo* *aava* *rabuna* *ri* *vubux-an* ***temasaat-an=e,***
ART GRTR.PL thing REL people 3PL want-TRANS **much-TRANS=3SG**

a *Piran* *a* *bai-an=e.*
ART big.man 3SG not.want-TRANS=3SG

'The things that people want badly, God detests.' (Luke 16:15)

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

(4.40) *mu* *Ferasi* *aava* *ri* *usi* *fatak* ***paaliu-an*** *a* *mu*
PL Pharisee REL 3PL follow straight **INTENS-TRANS** ART PL

vuputkai *i-na* *lotu* *si-na* *Piran.*
command POSS-3SG worship POSS-3SG big.man

'the Pharisees who follow very strictly the laws of the worship of God.' (Acts 26:5)

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

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

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

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

4.2.4. The causative prefix *fa-*

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

(4.43) *Ne* *taa* ***fa-bas=e*** *pa-na* *Vovau* *si-ak* *e* *...*
1SG FUT **CAUS-full=3SG** PREP-3SG spirit POSS-1SG and
'I will fill him with my spirit and ...' (Matthew 12:18)

(4.44) *Kaalum, ne taa* ***fa-bukaak*** *a mu xaiyaas si-mi*
look 1SG FUT **CAUS-bow** ART PL enemy POSS-2PL

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

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

(4.45) *Matalava, ne piau ta mataa xena xavang*
leader 1SG not.have NONSPEC man PURP help

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

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

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

(4.46) *Ri* ***fa-falax=e*** *pa-na marapi i-na piran e*
3PL **CAUS-wear=3SG** PREP-3SG clothes POSS-3SG big.man and

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

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

(4.47) *E rao ri* ***fa-num=e*** *pa-na wain aava*
and IRREAL 3PL **CAUS-drink=3SG** PREP-3SG wine REL

toxan a saxa buk titiwai ...
have ART one kind herb

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

(4.48) *Falet,* ***fa-xalum*** *a mu priis pa-na ta-mi.*
go **CAUS-see** ART PL priest PREP-3SG skin-2PL
'Go and show yourselves to the priests.' (Luke 17:14)

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

The causative verb *fa'isin*, 'to cause somebody to be named something', is formed, not from a verb, but from the noun *isin* 'name'. This verb is also ditransitive, like causatives of transitive verbs: the one who is named something is primary object and the name is secondary

object. This is illustrated in (4.49), where the one named is represented by the object suffix on the verb and the name is marked with the preposition *pa*.

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

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

(4.50) ... *e* *xavang* ***fa-masam*** *nari* *pa-na* *maana*
and help **CAUS-understand** 3PL PREP-3SG GRTR.PL

ferawai-an *paap.*
speak-NMLZ sacred

'... and he helped them understand parables.' (Matthew 13:3)

(4.51) ... *ri* *pife* *xuus* ***fa-texaas*** *a* *rabuna* *pa-na*
3PL NEG tell **CAUS-know** ART people PREP-3SG

maana *mo* *ri* *fo* *xalum=e*
GRTR.PL thing 3PL PERF see=3SG

'... they did not inform people of the things that they had seen.' (Luke 9:36)

4.2.5. The adverbial prefix *fa-*

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

(4.52) ... *taasaxa* *a* *wai* *aava* *pife* *boak* ***fa-roxo*** *i* *taa*
but ART tree REL NEG grow **ADV-good** 3SG.INCOMPL FUT

fa-savat *a* *xalana* *mopaak* *aava* *pife* *roxo.*
CAUS-come ART fruit sour REL NEG good

'... but the tree that does not grow well bears sour fruit that is not good.' (Matthew 7:17)

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

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

(4.54) ... *layaan* *no* *kaalum* ***fa-matavas,*** *no* *taa* *siak* *tapin*
when 2SG look **ADV-clear** 2SG FUT take away

a *wai* *modak* *la* *mata* *ti-am.*
ART tree small LOC eye sibling.same-2SG

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

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

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

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

It is not always clear whether a particular instance of *fa-* is the causative prefix or the adverb prefix. In (4.56), for example *fa-roxoi* could be analysed as the second of two verbs in a predicate consisting of two verbs ('he made the house, he caused it to be good') or as an adverb ('he made the house well').[14]

(4.56) ... *e* *a* *tigina* *fa-tateak* *paaliu* *senaso* *nane*
and 3SG stand ADV-strong INTENS because 3SG

vesan ***fa-roxoi=e.***
make **CAUS-good=3SG**

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

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

(4.57) ... *e* *a* *mataa* *fexaxaas* *se-na* *kaalum* ***fa-roxo.***
and ART man able PREP-3SG look **ADV-good**

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

4.2.6. The prefix *fe-*

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

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

---

[14] The stem *roxoi* in *faroxoie* is the same verb that appears above in (4.52) in the form *roxo*. The /i/ in *faroxoie* appears to be inserted phonologically before the clitic *=e*. Various suffix and clitics beginning with a vowel take an epenthetic /y/ before the suffix and I suspect that the form *faroxoie* might be alternatively represented as *fa-roxo=ye*. The nominalized form of *roxo* using the general nominalizing suffix *-an* is similarly *roxoyan,* illustrated in (4.74) below. (Perry Schlie (pc) suggests a possible alternative, where -i is a verbal suffix meaning 'at/toward'.)

(4.58) *E* *layaan* *a* *mu* *rabuna* *aava* *ri* *taxa* *tigina* *faasilak*
and when ART PL people REL 3PL CONTIN stand near

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

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

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

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

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

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

senaso ...
because

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

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

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

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

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

ta *bret.*
NONSPEC bread

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

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

---

[15] Perry Schlie (pc) suggests that the *fe-* in (4.62) might be better analysed as inchoative, the fourth use of *fe-* discussed below, since the meaning is 'they began to discuss'. On the other hand, the meaning does appear to be reciprocal as well.

(4.63) ... *e* *a* *ria* *i-ri* ***fe-fa-xuvul*** *pa-na* *ria*
and ART blood POSS-3PL **MID-CAUS-with** PREP-3SG blood

i-na *mu* *tatavai* *taap.*
POSS-3SG PL gift sacred

'... and their blood mixed with the blood of their sacrifices.' (Luke 13:1)

The third meaning associated with *fe-* appears to indicate that the subject, which refers to several people or things, performed the action denoted by the verb together, as in (4.64) and (4.65). Note that with this meaning, the stem to which *fe-* is attached will already be intransitive, unlike the previous two uses, where it is attached to a transitive stem.[16]

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

(4.65) *A* *mu* *vio* *xapiak* *ri* *fala* *sivi* *ti* *la* *xasing* *i-na*
ART PL pig all 3PL run down from LOC side POSS-3SG

put *xe* *lana* *raarum* *aave* *e* *ri* ***fe-xarak***
mountain to in water that and 3PL **together-drown**

e *ri* *maat.*
and 3PL die

'The pigs all rushed down the steep slope into the lake and drowned in the water.' (Matthew 8:32)

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

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

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

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

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

---

[16] Perry Schlie questions whether *fe-* has this third meaning and suggests that the two examples in (4.66) and (4.67) are really inchoative, my fourth use of *fe-* discussed immediately below.

The prefix *fe-*, used with reciprocal meaning, can co-occur with the transitivizing suffix *-an*, as in (4.69). The basic verb *fi(n)* 'ask' in (4.69) is transitive, taking the addressee as object. In (4.69), it occurs with both the reciprocal prefix *fe-* and the intransitive suffix *-ai,* plus the transitivizing suffix *-an*. What the transitivizing suffix adds is not clear, though it is possible that it is used because there is a reciprocal object phrase *nari xa* '3PL REFL/RECIP' following the verb, so that the clause is in some sense transitive. (The use of *xa* to express reflexive or reciprocal meaning is discussed below in §5.10.6.)

(4.69) *E ri fe-mataut paaliu e ri* ***fe-fi-ai-an***
and 3PL INCH-afraid INTENS and 3PL **RECIP-ask-INTRANS-TRANS**

nari xa malaan, ...
3PL REFL/RECIP thus

'They became very afraid and asked one another, ...' (Mark 4:41)

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

(4.70) ... *a mu fatataganan ri taa* ***fe-falou-an***
ART PL kingdom 3PL FUT **RECIP-attack-TRANS**

nari xa.
3PL REFL/RECIP

'[For nation will rise up in arms against nation,] and kingdom against kingdom.' (Matthew 24:7)

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

4.2.7. The general nominalizing suffix *-an*

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

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

---

[17] Perry Schlie (pc) confirms the relevance of *nari xa* in these examples, that without the *nari xa*, the transitivizing suffix would not be used on the verb.

(4.71) *E* *mui* *ri* ***yangan*** *a* *saxa* ***yangan-an*** *xena* *nangus*
and later 3PL **sing** ART one **sing-NMLZ** PURP worship

a *Piran* *e* ...
ART big.man and

'They sang a hymn (literally "a song for worshipping God") and ...' (Matthew 26:30)

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

(4.72) *Na* *Yesus* *a* *xalum* *a* ***namkai-an*** *si-ri* *e* ...
ART Jesus 3SG see ART **believe-NMLZ** POSS-3PL and
'Jesus saw their faith and ...' (Mark 2:5)

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

nonau *i-na* *a* *puk* ...
face POSS-3SG 3SG turn

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

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

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

fa-xuvul-an *i-na* *maana* *roxo-yan* *si-na.*
CAUS-be.with-NMLZ POSS-3SG GRTR.PL good-NMLZ POSS-3SG

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

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

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

fangan-an ***xaves.***
eat-NMLZ **many**

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

In (4.76), the nominalization *giisan* 'sick-NMLZ' is followed by the demonstrative *aanabe'* 'this'.

(4.76) *Nane* *fo* *toxan* *a* ***giis-an*** ***aanabe'*** *pa-na* *mariaas*
3SG PERF have ART **sick-NMLZ** **this** PREP-3SG year

sangafilu *saxa* *pa-na* *taragua.*
ten one PREP-3SG two

'She had had this sickness for twelve years.' (Mark 5:25)

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

(4.77) *E* *ri* *fenung* *xe* *si-na* *Piran* *pa-na* ***fenung-an*** ***modus***
and 3PL pray to POSS-3SG big.man PREP-3SG **pray-NMLZ** **long**

paaliu *talo* *...*
INTENS so.that

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

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

(4.78) *A* *mu* *kuus* ***fanai-an*** *si-na* *Piran* *aava* *mu* *rabuna*
ART PL say **promise-NMLZ** POSS-3SG big.man REL PL people

i-na *kuus* *fatuxai* *ri* *fo* *mo* *kuus-an=e,* *...*
POSS-3SG say prophecy 3PL PERF ?? say-TRANS=3SG

'The promises of God that the prophets talked about ...' (Acts 3:25)

As noted above, *an*-nominalizations are not used when the clause being nominalized contains an object. This does not mean, however, that one does not get *an*-nominalizations of transitive verbs. For example, in (4.75) above, the verb being nominalized, *fangan* 'eat', is a transitive verb. Similarly, in (4.79), we get an *an*-nominalization of the transitive verb *xaxaafai* 'bury'.[18]

(4.79) *...* *nane* *fo* *fasuf=au* *pa- na* *mo* *lalas* *paamuin=a*
3SG PERF anoint=1SG PREP-3SG thing aromatic before=ART

xaxaafai-an *si-ak.*
bury-NMLZ POSS-1SG

'... she anointed my body before my burial.' (Mark 14:8)

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

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

[18] But (4.79) is actually unusual in that when the object of a verb being nominalized is expressed, the *aan*-nominalization rather than the *an*-nominalization is normally used; in (4.79) the 1SG argument is treated as a subject of *xaxaafai* 'bury' although this argument is the one being buried, not the one doing the burying.

nominalization of *roxo* ‘good’ denotes things that are good in (4.74) above, but the state of goodness in (4.80).

(4.80) *A* *Piran* *a* *waan* *xuvul* *pa-ma* *e* *a* *xafut* *nano*
ART big.man 3SG be.at with PREP-2SG and 3SG cover 2SG

pa-na ***roxo-yan*** *si-na.*
PREP-3SG **good-NMLZ** POSS-3SG

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

4.2.8. The transitive nominalizing suffix *-aan*

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

(4.81) *...* *o* *a* *Piran* *fo* *feng=e* *xena* ***xavang-aan*** *nari,* *...*
COMP ART big.man PERF send=3SG PURP **help-NMLZ** 3PL

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

(4.82) *E* *mui,* *na* *Baanabas* *a* *ta'ulan* *nari* *xena* ***seng-aan***
and then ART Barnabas 3SG leave 3PL PURP **look.for-NMLZ**

na *Sol* *pe* *kol* *Taasus.*
ART Saul at west Tarsus

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

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

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

(4.83) *...* *senaso* *a* *rabuna* *sangafilu* *talafaat* *ri* *taxa* *fun-ai*
because ART people ten four 3PL CONTIN hide-INTRANS

bang *xena* ***punux-aan-a.***
wait PURP **kill-NMLZ-3SG**

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

Like the 3SG object clitic *=e*, the suffix *-a* is only used when there is no noun phrase functioning as the object of the *aan*-nominalization, that is where the *-a* is the sole expression of the object. While there is also a 1SG object clitic with ordinary verbs, there is no such

suffix with *aan*-nominalizations, the strong 1SG pronoun *nenia* being used instead, as in (4.84).

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

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

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

fili-maan *faasilak.*
come-come near

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

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

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

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

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

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

maa *savat.*
come.and come

'... when your accusers arrive.' (Acts 23:35)

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

(4.88) *Lavaxa, nane texaas o nane pife fexaxaas se-na*
then 3SG know COMP 3SG NEG able PREP-3SG

fa-savat-aan *ta lak senaso ...*
CAUS-come-NMLZ NONSPEC child because

'He knew that he was not able to produce any children because ...' (Romans 4:19)

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

(4.89) *... muta ti vot-an=e se-na* ***siax-aan*** *ta*
PROHIB stand.and block-TRANS=3SG PREP-3SG **take-NMLZ** NONSPEC

saxa marapi si-mi fulaa.
one clothes POSS-2PL again

'.. do not prevent the taking of any of your clothes either.' (Luke 6:29)

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

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

(4.90) *... xena* ***fa-xuvul-aan-a*** *faat xaa-num xa.*
PURP **CAUS-with-NMLZ-3SG** stone for-2SG REFL/RECIP
'... in order to collect money for yourself.' (Matthew 6:24)

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

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

(4.91) ... *xena* ***fa-xuvul-aan*** ***a*** *faat* *xaa-num* *xa.*
PURP **CAUS-with-NMLZ** **ART** stone for-2SG REFL/RECIP
'... in order to collect money for yourself.' (Matthew 6:24)

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

(4.92) ... *xena* ***fa-xuvul-aan=a*** *faat* *xaa-num* *xa.*
PURP **CAUS-with-NMLZ=ART** stone for-2SG REFL/RECIP
'... in order to collect money for yourself.' (Matthew 6:24)

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

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

(4.93) ... *fefexaxaas* *a* *yaan* *i-na* ***fa-xuvul-aan-a.***
until ART day POSS-3SG **CAUS-with-NMLZ-3SG**
'[Let both grow together] until the time of collecting them (i.e. the harvest)'
(Matthew 13:30)

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

(4.94) ... *a* ***vil-aan-a*** ***si-ri*** *a* *pesa-saat* *se-na*
ART **do-NMLZ-3SG** **POSS-3PL** 3SG COMPAR-bad PREP-3SG

xasa-no *Galili* ...
other-PL Galilee

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

---

[19] Pe rry Schlie (pc) suggests that they probably should have represented these occurrences of *a* as separate words.

(4.95) *nami aava mi vil a mu* ***vil-aan-a*** ***saat***
2PL REL 2PL do ART PL **do-NMLZ-3SG** **bad**
'you who do bad deeds' (Matthew 7:23)

4.2.9. The intransitive suffix *-ai*

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

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

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

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

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

(4.99) *E na Pailat a* ***fi-ai,*** *"..."*
and ART Pilate 3SG **ask-INTRANS**
'And Pilate asked, "..."' (Matthew 27:23)

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

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

(4.101) *... senaso a rabuna sangafilu talafaat ri taxa* ***fun-ai***
because ART people ten four 3PL CONTIN **hide-INTRANS**
bang xena punux-aan-a.
wait PURP kill-NMLZ-3SG
'... because forty men were hiding waiting in order to kill him.' (Acts 23:21)

The verb *ta'ulai* 'to leave', illustrated in (4.102) would appear to be the detransitivization of a transitive verb *ta'ul*. However, the corresponding transitive verb is *ta'ulan* 'to leave someone or something', bearing the transitive suffix, as in (4.103).

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

(4.103) *... e rutul* ***ta'ul-an*** *a bina pave la xunavung naang*
and 3TRIAL **leave-TRANS** ART place there LOC midnight same

xena falet xe pe Isip.
PURP go to at Egypt

'... and the three of them left that place at midnight the same night to go to Egypt.' (Matthew 2:14)

4.2.10. The associated motion suffix *-maan*

The suffix *-maan* on verbs indicates movement towards the deictic centre (often the speaker or the main character in a narrative), essentially the meaning of 'come' in English, and is glossed 'come' here.[20] In (4.104), for example, *-maan* occurs on the verb *feng* 'send' conveying the meaning 'send to you'.

(4.104) *Na Jon I-na Fasuf-an a* ***feng-maan*** *nemaame xena*
ART John POSS-3SG baptize-NMLZ 3SG **send-come** 1EXCL.DU PURP

fin nano ...
ask 2SG

'John the Baptist has sent us to you to ask, ...' (Luke 7:20)

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

---

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

(i) *Tamo mataa taa sip nano la yaava-am lavaxa*
if man FUT beat 2SG at jaw-2SG then

puk ***lisan-et*** *a xasa pa-yaava-am.*
turn **bring-go** 3SG other SG-jaw-2SG

'To the person who strikes you on the cheek, offer the other as well, ...' (Luke 6:29)

There is also a separate word *et* meaning 'away' that occurs in (ii).

(ii) *Feng tapin* ***et*** *nari ...*
send away **away** 3PL
'Send them away ...' (Matthew 14:15)

(4.105) ... *a* ***radakui-maan*** *e* ...
3SG **tremble-come** and
'[When the woman saw that she could not escape notice,] she came trembling and ...' (Luke 8:47)

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

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

si-na ...
POSS-3SG

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

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

(4.107) ... *a* *saxa* *mataa* *a* ***fala-maan*** *xe* *si-na* *e*
ART one man 3SG **run-come** to POSS-3SG and

maa *turung* *la* *no-na* *e* *fin=e,* ...
come.and kneel LOC in.front.of-3SG and ask=3SG

'... a man ran up to him, fell on his knees in front of him, and asked him, ...' (Mark 10:17)

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

(4.108) ***Man,*** *taara* *taa* *punux=e* *xena* *siak* *a* *maana* *mo*
come! 1INCL.PL FUT kill=3SG PURP take ART GRTR.PL thing

xapiak *si-na.*
all POSS-3SG

'Come, let's kill him in order to take all his things!' (Matthew 21:38)

Most of the verb forms with the associated motion suffix are forms of one of five verbs, and one of these verbs makes up about half of all occurrences. This last verb is the verb *filimaan* 'come', illustrated in (4.109), which contains the suffix *-maan*. This verb stem does not occur without this suffix. I assume that this and the fact that this verb makes up about half of the occurrences of the associated motion suffix are both due to the fact that a verb meaning 'come' has approximately the same meaning as the suffix, both indicating motion towards the deictic centre.

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

fili-maan *faasilak.*
come-come near

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

There is, in fact, another verb meaning 'come', *savat*, illustrated in (4.110), which is more common than *filimaan*; how these two verbs differ in meaning is not clear.[21]

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

Yesus ri ***savat.***
Jesus 3PL **come**

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

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

(4.111) *Mi lamon o ne* ***savat-maan*** *xena lisan a luai-an, bo?*
2PL think COMP 1SG **come-come** PURP bring ART calm-NMLZ Q
'Do you think I have come to bring peace?' (Luke 12:51)

How *savatmaan* differs from *savat* and *filimaan* is also not clear.

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

(4.112) *Nenia ne fo* ***sivi-maan*** *ti la xunavata.*
1SG 1SG PERF **descend-come** from LOC heaven
'I have come down from heaven.' (John 6:42)

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

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

ri fefasusui=e.
3PL greet=3SG

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

It is not clear what determines when *-maan* is used and when it is not used, except that it is not used when the motion is not towards the deictic centre, as in (4.114).

---

[21] Perry Schlie (pc) informs me that *savat* might be better translated as 'appear'.

(4.114) *E bak nane* ***sivi*** *xe kol Kapanam, ...*
and then 3SG **descend** to west Capernaum
'So he went down to Capernaum, ...' (Luke 4:31)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.2.11. The reduplicative prefix

There are various instances of reduplicative prefixes on verbs, forms with a CV prefix that is a copy of the initial CV of the stem to which it is attached. The function or functions of this reduplication is not always clear. However, many of the reduplication forms occur following a negative, especially *pi* 'never', as in (4.118). Reduplication seems to most commonly indicate habitual status. This would be consistent with the high number of reduplicated forms following *pi* 'never'.

(4.118) ... *layaan* *me* *taa* *savat* *lana* *me* *taa* *xalum* *a* *fomirak*
when 2DU FUT come in 2DU FUT see ART small

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(4.121) ... ***se-seng*** *e* *mi* *taa* *tingin=e,*
HABIT-seek and 2PL FUT find=3SG
'... seek, and you will find.' (Luke 11:9)

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

(4.122) ... *a* ***sa-sagen*** *tapin* *na* *Moses* ...
3SG **REDUP-push** away ART Moses
'[But the man who was unfairly hurting his neighbour] pushed Moses aside, ...' (Acts 7:27)

(4.123) *E* *voxo* *nane* *falet* *e* *fe* ***su-suuf*** ...
and so 3SG go and go.and **REDUP-wash**
'And so he went away and washed, ...' (John 9:7)

A few instances involve an apparent change of lexical meaning of an unpredictable sort, such as *mamaat*, a reduplicated form of *maat* 'die', which functions as a noun meaning 'corpse', illustrated in (4.124).

(4.124) *Usi=au* *e* *ta'ulan* *a* *mu* *rabuna* *aava* *ri* *fo* *maat*
follow=1SG and leave ART PL people REL 3PL PERF die

xena *xaafan* *a* ***ma-maat*** *si-ri* *xa.*
PURP bury 3SG **REDUP-die** POSS-3PL REFL/RECIP

'Follow me, and let the dead bury their own dead.' (Matthew 8:22)

4.2.12. The comparative prefix *pe- ~ peCa-*

There is a comparative prefix that occurs on adjectives that sometimes takes the form *pe-*.

(4.125) *E* *nami* *mi* ***pe-lalava*** *se-na* *mu* *maanu* ...
and 2PL 2PL **COMPAR-big** PREP-3SG PL bird
'You are much more valuable than the birds [in the eyes of God]!' (Luke 12:24)

(4.126) *Taasaxa,* *layaan* *a* *xasa* *mataa* *aava* ***pe-tateak*** *se-na*
but when ART other man REL **COMPAR-strong** PREP-3SG

i *taa* *falou=e* *e* *fa'onam=e* ...
3SG.INCOMPL FUT attack=3SG and conquer=3SG

'But when a stronger man attacks and defeats him, ...' (Luke 11:22)

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

(4.127) ... *a* *vil-aan-a* *si-ri* *a* ***pesa-saat*** *se-na*
ART do-NMLZ-3SG POSS-3PL 3SG **COMPAR-bad** PREP-3SG

xasa-no *Galili* ...
other-PL Galilee

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

Similarly, it takes the form *pema-* when attached to *mosaat* 'bad', an alternate form of *saat*, as in (4.128).[22]

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

(4.128) *E nane fe xel fa-xuvul a xasa-no vovau saat pisiguak*
and 3SG go.and call CAUS-with ART other-PL spirit bad seven

aava ri ***pema-mosaat*** *paaliu se-na ...*
REL 3PL **COMPAR-bad** INTENS PREP-3SG

'And he went and called together the seven other bad spirits which were worse than him ...' (Luke 11:26)

Example (4.129) illustrates *peraroxo*, the comparative form of *roxo* 'good'.

(4.129) *Nemaam mu Juda, maam* ***pera-roxo*** *se-ri aava*
1EXCL.PL PL Jew 1EXCL.PL **COMPAR-good** PREP-3PL REL

ri pife Juda, bo?
3PL NEG Jew Q

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

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

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

(4.130) *... nane feng a xasa-no sisiak* ***pexa-xaves*** *...*
3SG send ART other-PL servant **COMPAR-many**
'... he sent other slaves, many more, ...' (Matthew 21:36)

4.2.13. Ordinal numerals

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

(4.131) *... e la* ***fa-talatul-aan-a*** *yaan ne taa fataxapin*
and LOC **CAUS-three-NMLZ-3SG** day 1SG FUT finish

a faisok si-ak.
ART act POSS-1SG

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

Similarly, the form for 'fifth is *fa-pama-yaan-a*, as in (4.132).

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

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

(4.133) *A* ***bit-an*** ***fataxapiak*** ***aanabe'*** *i* *taa* *mo* *mosaat*
ART **lie-NMLZ** **last** **this** 3SG.INCOMPL FUT thing bad

se-na ***bit-an*** ***mata.***
PREP-3SG **lie-NMLZ** **eye/first**

'This last deception will be worse than the first deception.' (Matthew 27:64)

4.2.14. Adverbial numerals

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

(4.134) *E* *no* *taa* *kuus* *malaan* ***faa-talatul*** *paamuin=a* *pura*
and 2SG FUT speak thus **times-three** before=ART chicken

i *taa* *rawei* ***faa-taragua.***
3SG.INCOMPL FUT make.sound **times-two**

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

The same construction is used with *xaves* 'many' to form *faaxaves* 'often'.

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

Judia, ...
Judea

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

4.3. Prepositions

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

5 *Noun phrase structure*

The general structure of noun phrases is as follows:

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

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

5.1. Articles

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

5.1.1. The proper article *na*

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

(5.1) *Lumui* ***na*** *Pol* *a* *xuus* ***na*** *Baanabas,*
later **ART** Paul 3SG tell **ART** Barnabas
'After some days Paul said to Barnabas,' (Acts 15:36)

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

The proper article also occurs with kinship nouns, such as *na tamataara* 'our father' in (5.2) and *na imu Saimon* 'Simon's mother-in-law' in (5.3).

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

However, as discussed in §5.1.2, kinship nouns occasionally occur with the common article.

The proper article also occurs with proper nouns denoting places, as in (5.4) and (5.5).

(5.4) *Nane* *ta'ulan* ***na*** ***Nasaret*** *e* *fe* *taagul* *pe* *Kapanam* *...*
3SG leave **ART** **Nazareth** and go.and stay at Capernaum
'He left Nazareth and went and lived at Capernaum ...' (Matthew 4:13)

(5.5) *Layaan* *mi* *xalum* *a* *mu* *rabuna* *i-na* *rawen* *ri* *taxa*
when 2PL see ART PL people POSS-3SG war 3PL CONTIN

kalivan ***na*** ***Jerusalem,*** ...
surround **ART** **Jerusalem**

'When you see armies surrounding Jerusalem ...' (Luke 21:20)

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

(5.6) ***A*** ***mataa*** ***aanabe'*** *a* *lamon* *o* *nane* *ve* *a* *Piran!*
ART **man** **this** 3SG think COMP 3SG be 3SG big.man
'This man thinks that he is God.' (Matthew 9:3)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

[23] The word *a* also appears in *a Piran* 'big man' in (5.6), but as argued in §7.10, it is the 3SG weak subject pronoun, not the common article, that occurs with predicate nominals.

(5.9) ***Na Jems e na Jon,*** *re falet xuvul pa-ri* ***sait.***
ART James and ART John 3DU go with PREP-3PL also
'James and John went with them as well.' (Mark 1:29)

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

5.1.2. The common article *a*

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

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

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

(5.11) ***A*** *mataa roxo* ***a*** *lisan a maana roxo-yan ...*
ART man good **3SG** bring ART GRTR.PL good-NMLZ
'The good person brings good things ...' (Matthew 12:35)

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

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

(5.12) ***A mu rabuna*** *ri langai a ferawai-an si-na e ...*
ART PL people 3PL hear ART speak-NMLZ POSS-3SG and
'The people heard what he said and ...' (Mark 1:22)

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

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

Vovau *Xaradak* *e* ...
spirit straight and

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

Similarly, in (5.14), the kin term *bu* 'ancestor' occurs with the common article *a*.

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

a *langai* ...
3SG hear

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

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

(5.15) *Ne* *toxan* ***a*** ***mu*** ***ti-ak*** ***pama*** *e* ...
1SG have **ART** **PL** **sibling.same-1SG** **five** and
'I have five brothers and ...' (Luke 16:28)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

a *savat* *si* *Yesus.*
ART come POSS Jesus

'One day, a leper came to Jesus.' (Mark 1:40)

As with the proper article, the common article is obligatorily absent in a variety of syntactic contexts, such as after prepositions (§5.1.4).

5.1.3. The nonspecific article *ta*

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

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

(5.20) *E* ***ta*** *wai aava pife fa-savat a xalana roxo*
and **NONSPEC** tree REL NEG CAUS-come ART fruit good

i taa tei tapin-an xe lana fata.
3SG.INCOMPL FUT chop.down throw-PASS to in fire

'Every tree that does not bear good fruit will be cut down and thrown into the fire.' (Matthew 7:19)

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

The nonspecific article only occurs with common nouns.

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

(5.22) *Layaan nane xalum na Pita nare Jon re taxa laak*
when 3SG see ART Peter 3DU John 3DU CONTIN enter

vaxa, nane fin nare pa-n' ***ta*** *faat.*
also 3SG ask 3DU PREP-3SG **NONSPEC** stone

'When he saw Peter and John about to go into the temple courts, he asked them for money.' (Acts 3:3)

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

(5.23) *Taasaxa pi ta mataa a tavai=e* ***pa-n'*** ***ta***
but never NONSPEC man 3SG give=3SG **PREP-3SG** **NONSPEC**

fangan-an.
eat-NMLZ

'But no man gave him any food.' (Luke 15:16)

Similarly, in (5.24), we get *sin',* the reduced form of *sina* 'POSS-3SG' before *ta*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.1.4. Contexts where articles are absent

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

The first context where neither the proper article nor the common article can be used is after prepositions. Examples (5.27) and (5.28) (as well as many examples in §6) illustrate this for proper noun phrases. There is no proper article following the preposition *xa* 'for' and preceding *Abrahem* 'Abraham' in (5.27), nor after the preposition *ti* and preceding *Efasis* 'Ephesus' in (5.28).

(5.27) ... *a* *Piran* *a* *fexaxaas* *se-na* *fa-savat* *a* *rafulak*
ART big.man 3SG able PREP-3SG CAUS-come ART child.PL

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(5.31) *Taasaxa* *a* *lak* *tomexaan* ***si*** ***vasaa*** ***Pol*** *a* *langai*
but ART child male **POSS** **sibling.oppos** **Paul** 3SG hear

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

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

In (5.32), the noun *ninana* 'his mother' occurs without an article following the preposition *pa*.

(5.32) *Layaan ri laak la lifu aave ri xalum a lak xuvul*
when 3PL enter LOC house that 3PL see ART child with

pa nina-na, *na Maria.*
PREP **mother-3SG** ART Mary

'When they came into the house, they saw the child with his mother, Mary.'
(Matthew 2:11)

When noun phrases conjoined with the conjunction *e* follow a preposition, the article is absent from only the first conjunct; the last conjunct will retain its article. In (5.33), for example, the first conjunct *tang lifu lotu* 'the temple' does not occur with a common article while the second conjunct, *a ivin ina faraaman sina Piran* 'the altar', does.

(5.33) *Mi punuk na Sekaraia la palou* ***i-na*** *tang lifu*
2PL kill ART Zecharia LOC middle **POSS-3SG** huge house

lotu ***e*** ***a*** *ivin i-na fa-raam-an si-na*
worship **and** **ART** table POSS-3SG CAUS-burn-NMLZ POSS-3SG

Piran.
big.man

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

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

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

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

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

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

xena ...
PURP

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

Example (5.36) shows the same after a body part noun: *Yesus* 'Jesus' occurs after *ka* 'feet' without an article.

(5.36) ... *a* *mataa* *ta-na* *tapak* *maa* *bukaak* *la* *ka*
ART man skin-3SG leprosy come.and kneel LOC feet

Yesus ***...***
Jesus

'... a leper approached and kneeled at Jesus' feet ...' (Matthew 8:2)

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

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

Vovau *Xaradak* *e* ...
spirit straight and

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

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

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

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

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

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

(5.39) *Nane* *kaanus* *xe* *la* *mata-na* ***mataa*** *piif* *e* ...
3SG spit to LOC eye-3SG **man** blind and
'He spat on eyes of the blind man and ...' (Mark 8:23)

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

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

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

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

'These two commandments are the basis of the commandments of Moses and the teachings of the prophets.' (Matthew 22:40)

Example (5.41) shows the same, but with a conjoined noun phrase whose conjuncts are proper noun phrases; again, the proper article *na* occurs only on the third conjunct *Yaakop* 'Jacob' of the conjoined noun phrase functioning as possessor of *bu* 'descendant', and not on the first conjunct *Abrahem* 'Abraham'.

(5.41) *senaso ri mu bu **Abrahem,** Aisaak e **na** **Yaakop.***
because 3PL PL descendant **Abraham** Isaac and **ART** **Jacob**
'because they are the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.' (Romans 11:28)

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

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

(5.43) *Nami ve mi **mu** **rabuna** **saat.***
2PL be 2PL **PL** **people** **bad**
'You are bad people.' (Matthew 16:4)

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

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

(5.44) *Nenia ve **na** Gebriel e ...*
1SG be **ART** Gabriel and
'I am Gabriel and ...' (Luke 1:19)

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

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

(5.46) *a mo aava **mataa** taa num=e o ngan=e*
ART thing REL **man** FUT drink=3SG or eat=3SG
'the things that a man drinks or eats' (Matthew 15:11)

Nor is there an article after *aava* with the noun phrase *mu vovau saat* 'bad spirits' in (5.47).[24]

(5.47) *A mataa aava* ***mu vovau saat*** *ri fo ta'ulan=e,*
ART man REL **PL spirit bad** 3PL PERF leave=3SG

a nung na Yesus ...
3SG ask ART Jesus

'The man who the demons had gone out of asked Jesus ...' (Luke 8:38)

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

(5.48) *... put aava* ***na Yesus*** *a feng nari xe xulu-na.*
mountain REL **ART Jesus** 3SG send 3PL to ON-3SG
'[So the eleven disciples went to Galilee to] the mountain that Jesus had sent them to.'
(literally 'the mountain that Jesus had sent them to on it') (Matthew 28:16)

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

(5.49) ***Nemaam mu Juda,*** *maam pera-roxo se-ri aava*
1EXCL.PL PL Jew 1EXCL.PL COMPAR-good PREP-3PL REL

ri pife Juda, bo?
3PL NEG Jew Q

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

(5.50) ***Nami mu rabuna*** *mi pi namkai e ...*
2PL PL people 2PL never believe
'You people never believe ...' (Matthew 17:17)

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

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

(5.51) *Layaan nane xalum na Pita* ***nare*** *Jon ...*
when 3SG see ART Peter **3DU** John
'When he saw Peter and John ...' (Acts 3:3)

---

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

[25] Recall that nouns denoting ethnic groups are common nouns in Kara (§5.1.1), so *nemaam mu Juda* 'we Jews' in (5.49) is a common noun phrase.

(5.52) *... e fala fataapus xe si Pol* ***nare Sailas*** *e ...*
... and run quickly to POSS Paul **3DU** **Silas** and
'... and ran immediately to Paul and Silas and ...' (Acts 16:29)

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

5.2. Number words

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

mu	'plural'
maana	'greater plural'
ro	'dual'
nu	'paucal'
saxa	'one, INDEF.SG'
saxano	'INDEF.PL'
saxanu	'INDEF.PAUCAL'
xasa	'other.SG'
xasano	'other.PL'
xasanu	'other.PAUCAL'

Table 5.1: Grammatical number words

5.2.1. The plural word *mu*

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

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

(5.54) *A* ***mu*** *tama-na Israel ri xinaas-an a ti-ri,*
ART **PL** father-3SG Israel 3PL jealous-TRANS ART sibling.same-3PL

na Yosep, ...
ART Joseph

'The fathers of Israel were jealous of their brother, Joseph, ...' (Acts 7:9)

[26] Numerals other than *saxa* 'one' follow the noun and are discussed below in §5.5.

5.2.2. The greater plural word *maana*

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

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

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

fa-xuvul-an i-na maana roxo-yan si-na.
CAUS-be.with-NMLZ POSS-3SG GRTR.PL good-NMLZ POSS-3SG

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

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

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

(5.58) *... nane xo i taa tavai nami pa-na*
3SG TOPIC 3SG.INCOMPL FUT give 2PL PREP-3SG

maana *mo xapiak aave vaxa.*
GRTR.PL thing all that also

'... he will give all these things to you as well.' (Matthew 6:33)

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

(5.59) *... re fe-xuus a maana rabuna xaves la*
... 3DU INCH-tell ART GRTR.PL people many LOC

maana mu *bina xapiak pa-na.*
GRTR.PL PL place all PREP-3SG

'... they told people throughout that entire region about him.' (Matthew 9:31)

5.2.3. The dual word *ro*

The dual number word *ro* is illustrated in (5.60) and (5.61), with two occurrences in the latter.

(5.60) *... ri fo savat pe la* ***ro*** *bina Tair e Saidan, ...*
3PL PERF come at LOC **DUAL** place Tyre and Sidon
'[If the miracles which you have seen] had happened in the two towns of Tyre and Sidon, ...' (Matthew 11:21)

(5.61) *A* ***ro*** *mata-mi ve re* ***ro*** *laam xena fa-malang*
ART **DUAL** eye-2PL be 3DU **DUAL** lamp PURP CAUS-light

a ta-mi.
ART skin-2PL

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

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

(5.62) *E voxo re pife ro-vaat* ***taragua*** *fulaa ...*
and so 3DU NEG DU-person **two** again
'So they are no longer two people ...' (Matthew 19:6)

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

5.2.4. The paucal word *nu*

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

(5.63) *A bret pisiguak e* ***nu*** *din modak.*
ART bread seven and **PAUC** fish small
'Seven loaves and a few small fish.' (Matthew 15:34)

(5.64) *... e la* ***nu*** *Yaan talatul i-na Fangaafusan*
and LOC **PAUC** day three POSS-3SG Sabbath

nane ferawai xuvul pa-ri.
3SG speak with PREP-3PL

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

(5.65) *E maam waan pave pa-na* ***nu*** *yaan.*
and 1EXCL.PL be.at there PREP-3SG **PAUC** day
'And we stayed there for some days.' (Acts 16:12)

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

(5.66) *Lana ma-na pamuaan nane taxa tao*
in hand-3SG right 3SG CONTIN hold

a ***nu*** *vapara pisiguak ...*
ART **PAUC** star seven

'He held seven stars in his right hand, ...' (Revelation 1:16)

There are, however, a number of examples where *nu* co-occurs with *maana*, which I have analysed as a greater plural word, such as (5.67). I am not sure how to reconcile the analysis of *nu* as a paucal word with this.

(5.67) *Na Yesus e mu fefeng si-na ri falet xe la*
ART Jesus and PL disciple POSS-3SG 3PL go to LOC

maana nu *bina faasilak se Sesaria Filipai.*
GRTR.PL **PAUC** place near PREP Caesarea Philippi

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

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

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

(5.68) *A* ***nu-tu-vaat*** *pisaxa aanabe' vaxa ri falet xe puaa*
ART **PAUC-PL-person** six this also 3PL go to north

Sesaria xuvul pa-ga e ...
Caesarea with PREP-1SG and

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

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

5.2.5. The number word *saxa* 'one, indefinite'

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

(5.69) *Mi pife lamon o a mo roxo paaliu tamo* ***saxa*** *mataa*
2PL NEG think COMP ART thing good INTENS if **one** man

i taa maat xa-na mu rabuna xapiak.
3SG.INCOMPL FUT die for-3SG PL people all

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

(5.70) *A ling i-na* ***saxa*** *mataa pe la xobingil ...*
ART voice POSS-3SG **one** man at LOC wilderness
'The voice of one man in the wilderness ...' (Matthew 3:3)

One might, therefore, refer to *saxa* as a singular word. However, it clearly means 'one' in (5.71), where none of the three occurrences is modifying a noun.

(5.71) *Ai* *Memai,* *nemaatul* *taxa* *waan,* *a* *roxo* *naak*
INTERJ lord 1EXCL.TRIAL CONTIN be.at 3SG right surely

maatul *taa* *vesan* *a* *sawat* *talatul* *xa-mutul;* ***saxa***
1EXC.TRIAL FUT make ART shelter three for-2TRIAL **one**

xaa-num, ***saxa*** *xa* *Ilaija* *e* ***saxa*** *xa* *Moses.*
for-2SG **one** for Elijah and **one** for Moses

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

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

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

(5.72) *A* *mo* *roxo* *no* *taa* *laak* *lana* *to-yan* *vulai*
3SG thing good 2SG FUT enter in live-NMLZ always

pa-na *pa-mata* ***saxa*** ***mon*** *...*
PREP-3SG SG-eye **one** **only**

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

5.2.6. Indefinite plural word *saxano*

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

---

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

(i) *A* ***saxa*** *aava* *savat* *ti* *laa'ui* *...*
3SG **one** REL come from above
'The one who comes from above ...' (John 3:31)

Since this use of the word for 'one' is not common crosslinguistically, it is most likely a calque (§Appendix.3).

(5.73) ***Saxa-no*** *Ferasi* *ri* *xalum* *a* *vil-aana* *aanabe'* *e* ...
INDEF-PL Pharisee 3PL see ART do-NMLZ this and
'Some Pharisees saw this and ...' (Matthew 9:11)

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

Saxano can also mean 'other', as in (5.75).

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

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

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

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

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

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

paaliu
INTENS

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

5.2.7. Indefinite paucal word *saxanu*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.2.8. *xasa, xasano, xasanu* 'other'

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

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

pa-na ***xasa*** *mo, ...*
PREP-3SG **other** thing

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

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

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

i-na raarum.
POSS-3SG water

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

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

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

Memai xena fin-aan-a ...
Lord PURP ask-NMLZ-3SG

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

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

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

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

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

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

(5.83) *Layaan a* ***xasa-nu*** *fefeng ri xuus=e o ...*
when ART **other-PAUC** disciple 3PL tell=3SG COMP
'When the other disciples told him that ...' (John 20:25)

5.3. Ordinal numerals

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

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

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

5.4. Adjectives

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

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

Table 5.2: Adjectives

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

(5.85) *Taasaxa* *saxa-no* *kam* *ri* *poxo* *la* ***xavala*** ***roxo*** *e* ...
but INDEF-PL seed 3PL fall LOC **ground** **good** and
'But other seeds fell on good soil and [produced many seeds].' (Matthew 13:8)

(5.86) *E saxa* ***mataa xulau*** *aava usi na Yesus, nane toxan*
and one **man young** REL follow ART Jesus 3SG have

a ***marapi pasak*** *sang mon la ta-na.*
ART **clothes white** alone only LOC skin-3SG

'A young man who was following Jesus was wearing only a linen cloth.' (Mark 14:51)

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

Example (5.88) illustrates a noun modified by an attributive adjective which is itself modified by the degree word *paaliu* 'more, very'.

(5.88) *E ri fenung xe si-na Piran pa-na* ***fenung-an***
and 3PL pray to POSS-3SG big.man PREP-3SG **pray-NMLZ**

modus paaliu *talo ...*
long **INTENS** so.that

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

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

(5.89) *A "kaamel" aava* ***tiir molava se-na hos,*** *...*
ART "camel" REL **animal big** **PREP-3SG** **horse**
'A "camel", which is an animal larger than a horse, ...' (Matthew 19:24)

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

(5.90) *E monabe' mon a tefin aave* ***a roxo.***
and immediately only ART woman that **3SG** **good**
'And the woman was immediately good (i.e. healed).' (Matthew 9:22)

(5.91) *Senaso a faat aave* ***a molava*** *paaliu.*
because ART stone that **3SG** **big** INTENS
'Because that stone is very large.' (Mark 16:3)

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

(5.92) *Nenia ve* ***ne yaamut*** *xe si-mi ..*
1SG be **1SG** **apostle** to POSS-2PL
'I am an apostle to you, ...' (Romans 11:13)

On the other hand, it is not really nouns but noun phrases without articles that follow weak subject pronouns, as in (5.93), so adjectives and verbs can be distinguished from nouns in this respect.

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

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

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

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

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

(5.96) *Taasaxa saxa-no kam ri poxo la* ***xavala roxo*** *e ri*
but INDEF/other-PL seed 3PL fall LOC **ground good** and 3PL

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

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

(5.97) *A maana* ***din roxo*** *ri fa-waan=e lana mu bi*
ART GRTR.PL **fish good** 3PL CAUS-be.at=3SG in PL basket

e maana din aava ri pife fexaxaas se-na ngan=e
and GRTR.PL fish REL 3PL NEG able PREP-3SG eat=3SG

ri tapin=e.
3PL throw=3SG

'The good fish, they put into containers and the fish that they could not eat, they threw away.' (Matthew 13:48)

There are only a few instances in which *roxo* occurs with the relative clause marker *aava*, such as (5.98) and (5.99).

(5.98) *A toxan a saxa mataa piran aava fuuna falak*
3SG exist ART one man big.man REL HABIT wear

a maana marapi raf ***aava roxo*** *e ...*
ART GRTR.PL clothes purple **REL** **good** and

'There was a rich man who wore purple clothes that were good and ...' (Luke 16:19)

(5.99) *e ne taa tavai nami pa-na mamareiai* ***aava roxo.***
and 1SG FUT give 2PL PREP-3SG wage **REL** **good**
'... and I will give you good wages.' (Matthew 20:4)

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

(5.100) *a mu rabuna aava ri fo maat*
ART PL people REL 3PL PERF die
'people who have died' (Matthew 8:22)

(5.101) *ta mataa aava taxa to*
any man REL CONTIN live
'any man who is alive' (Matthew 11:11)

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

(5.102) *xasano mo aava savat*
other thing REL come
'other things that happened' (Matthew 27:54)

(5.103) *mataa aava tamai*
man REL marry
'the man who is getting married (i.e. the bridegroom)' (Luke 5:34)

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

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

(5.104) *a maana mo* ***fa-'ipul*** *aava mi fo xalum=e*
ART GRTR.PL thing **CAUS-amazed** REL 2PL PERF see=3SG
'the amazing things (i.e. miracles) that you have seen' (Matthew 11:21)

Another is *masam*, which occurs most commonly in the texts as a bivalent stative verb (§7.9) meaning 'understand', as in (5.105), but occurs at least once directly modifying a noun, with the meaning 'smart', as in (5.106).

(5.105) *Mi* ***masam*** *se-na* *mo* *ne* *fo* *vil=e* *se-mi?*
2PL **understand** PREP-3SG thing 1SG PERF do=3SG PREP-2PL
'Do you understand what I have done for you?' (John 13:12)

(5.106) *A* *rabuna* ***masam,*** *ri* *taa* *pal* *a* *vaafa* *fa'ui* ***xena***
ART people **smart** 3PL FUT build? ART fence new **PURP**

uma *fa'ui.*
field new

'Smart people will build a new fence for a new field.' (Mark 2:22)

I am otherwise not aware of instances of intransitive verbs other than adjectives directly modifying a noun without the relative word *aava*. Examples like *fa'ipul* 'amazing' and *masam* 'smart, understand' might simply be words that are sometimes adjectives and sometimes non-adjectival verbs. If this is correct, then adjectives can be distinguished from other verbs by the criterion of being able to directly modify nouns.

Note that adjectives undergo nominalization with the suffix *-an*, like verbs. For example (5.107) contains a nominalization of *roxo* 'good', namely *roxoyan* 'goodness'.

(5.107) *...* *a* *Piran* *i* *taa* *faxalit* *netaara* *pa-na*
ART big.man 3SG.IMPF FUT show 1INCL.PL PREP-3SG

roxo-yan *si-na.*
good-NMLZ POSS-3SG

'... God will show us his goodness.' (Luke 4:19)

Similarly, (5.108) contains two nominalizations of adjectives, *lava-yan* 'large-NMLZ' and *modus-an* 'long-NMLZ'.

(5.108) *a* ***lava-yan*** *e* ***modus-an*** *si-ri*
ART **large-NMLZ** and **long-NMLZ** POSS-3PL
'their width and length' (Matthew 23:5)

However, derivational processes are not always indicative of the word class of the input to the process, so the fact that adjectives in Kara nominalize does not provide convincing evidence that they are verbs, although, since I am not aware of any other words in Kara that nominalize, it does constitute a possible basis for considering them verbs.

Adjectives also resemble verbs in that they can occur with the causative prefix *fa-*, as in (5.109) and (5.110)

(5.109) *A* *mataa* *aava* *vil* ***fa-roxoi=au*** *a* *xuus=au,* *...*
ART man REL do **CAUS-good=1SG** 3SG tell=1SG
'The man who made me well said to me, ...' (John 5:11)

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

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

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

This is not, however, strong evidence that adjectives are verbs, since there are cases where the causative prefix is added to a word that is not a verb. For example, *famalang* in (5.111) is formed by adding the causative prefix to the noun *malang* 'light'.

(5.111) *A* *ro* *mata-mi* *ve* *re* *ro* *laam* *xena* ***fa-malang***
ART DUAL eye-2PL be 3DU DUAL lamp PURP **CAUS-light**

a *ta-mi.*
ART skin-2PL

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

There are five words which denote properties (and which one might therefore expect them to be adjectives), which do not directly modify nouns in the texts but occur only in relative clauses. These are *lagai* 'hungry', *milung* 'lost', *mangil* 'ashamed', *marala* 'angry', and *tiva* 'pregnant' (although there is one only instance of a relative clause for each of the last three). The following example illustrates *lagai* 'hungry' modifying a noun but with the relative word *aava*.

(5.112) *Nari* *aava* *ri* *lamon* *vulai* *pa-na* *mu* *vil-aana-a*
3PL REL 3PL think always PREP-3SG PL do-NMLZ-3SG

fatak, *malaan* *se-na* *mataa* ***aava*** ***lagai*** *...*
straight like PREP-3SG man **REL** **hungry**

'Those who always think about good deeds are like a hungry man ...' (Matthew 5:6)

There is a sixth word denoting a property, namely *giis* 'sick', which does occur in the texts directly modifying a noun, but more often occurs in a relative clause. Note that all six of these words denote temporary properties and hence are more verb-like semantically than adjectival words that denote more permanent properties.

5.5. (Cardinal) Numerals

The cardinal numerals for 1 to 12 are given in Table 5.3, along with some higher numerals.

saxa	'one'
taragua	'two'
talatul	'three'
talafaat	'four'
pama	'five'
pisaxa	'six'
pisiguak	'seven'
pisiktul	'eight'
pisikfaat	'nine'
sangafilu	'ten'
sangafilu saxa pana saxa	'eleven'
sangafilu saxa pana taragua	'twelve'
sangafilu saxa pana talafaat	'fourteen'
sangafilu talatul	'thirty'
sangafilu talafaat pana taragua	'forty two'
sangafilu pisiktul	'eighty'
sangafilu pisktul pana talafaat	'eighty four'
sangafilu sangafilu	'one hundred'

Table 5.3: Some numerals

Cardinal numerals follow the noun, as in (5.113) to (5.117).

(5.113) *E nane siak a* ***bret pama*** *e* ***din taragua*** *e ...*
and 3SG take ART **bread five** and **fish two** and
'He took the five loaves and the two fish, and ...' (Mark 6:41)

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

(5.115) ***A saxa-nu tu-vaat talafaat*** *ri lisan*
ART INDEF-PAUC PL-person four 3PL bring

a saxa mataa a ka-na e ma-na maat e ...
ART one man ART feet-3SG and hand-3SG die and

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

(5.116) ***A nu-tu-vaat pisaxa aanabe'*** *vaxa ri falet xe puaa*
ART PAUC-PL-person six this also 3PL go to north

Sesaria xuvul pa-ga e ...
Caesarea with PREP-1SG and

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

(5.117) ... *e* *na* *Yesus* *xuvul* *pa-na* *mu* ***yaamut*** ***sangafilu***
and ART Jesus with PREP-3SG PL **disciple** **ten**

saxa ***pa-na*** ***taragua*** *si-na,* *ri* *nai* *xena* *fangan.*
one **PREP-3SG** **two** POSS-3SG 3PL sit PURP eat

'... and Jesus with his twelve disciples sat down to eat.' (Matthew 26:20)

The word *saxa* 'one' differs from other numerals in preceding the noun, as in (5.115) above and in (5.118), occurring in the position of number words (§5.2).

(5.118) *A* *ling* *i-na* ***saxa*** ***mataa*** *pe* *la* *xobingil* ...
ART voice POSS-3SG **one** **man** at LOC wilderness
'The voice of one man in the wilderness ...' (Matthew 3:3)

However, *saxa* does follow the noun when it is modified by *mon* 'only', as in (5.119).

(5.119) *A* *mo* *roxo* *no* *taa* *laak* *lana* *to-yan* *vulai*
3SG thing good 2SG FUT enter in live-NMLZ always

pa-na ***pa-mata*** ***saxa*** ***mon*** ...
PREP-3SG **SG-eye** **one** **only**

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

Also, when conjoined by *o* 'or' with *taragua* 'two', *saxa* 'one' follows the noun, as in (5.120).

(5.120) ... *xuvul* *pa-na* ***mataa*** ***saxa*** ***o*** ***taragua.***
with PREP-3SG **man** **one** **or** **two**
'... [go back to him] with one or two men.' (Matthew 18:16)

The word *xaves* 'many' patterns with numerals in the sense that it follows nouns and adjectives modifying nouns, as in (5.121), but precedes demonstratives, as in (5.122).

(5.121) *A* *vana* *a* *toxan* *a* *din* ***molava*** ***xaves,*** ...
ART net 3SG have ART fish **large** **many**
'The next contained many large fish, ...' (John 21:11)

(5.122) *faat* ***xaves*** ***aave***
stone **many** **that**
'those many stones' (Matthew 18:27)

Xaves can also mean 'much', as in (5.123).

(5.123) *Saxanofuna* *ri* *poxo* *lapi* *la* *bina* *faat* *e* *piau*
some.PL 3PL fall down LOC place stone and not.have

ta *xavala* ***xaves.***
NONSPEC ground **many/much**

'Other [seeds] fell on rocky ground and did not have much soil.' (Matthew 13:5)

The example in (5.124) is the sole example suggesting that numerals might be a subclass of verbs: it occurs in predicate position, preceded by a weak subject pronoun. However, the word *ve*, which functions either as a copula or a topic marker, suggests that *pisiguak* might also be analysed as a noun phrase here.

(5.124) *Voxo, a matafetinan ve ri* ***pisiguak*** *...*
so ART sibling.same.RECIP be 3PL **seven**
'So the brothers were seven (in number) ...' (Mark 12:20)

Xaves 'many' more clearly can function as a predicate, as in (5.125) and (5.126).

(5.125) *... e a viis la tana ri* ***xaves.***
and ART sore LOC skin-3SG 3PL **many**
'... and the sores on his body were many.' (Luke 16:20)

(5.126) *Layaan ri vil malaane ri pife fexaxaas se-na yuuf*
when 3PL do this.way 3PL NEG able PREP-3SG pull

fa-lak a vana aave senaso a mu din lana ri
CAUS-go.up ART net that because ART PL fish in 3PL

xaves paaliu.
many INTENS

'When they did this, they were not able to pull up the net because the fish in it were many.' (John 21:6)

Ordinal numerals precede the noun (§5.3). See §4.2.14 regarding adverbial numerals.

5.6. Demonstratives

There are four adnominal demonstratives in Kara: *aanabe'* 'this', *aave* 'that', *aapave* 'that', and *naang* 'that same'. It is difficult to determine the precise meanings of these words from a Bible translation, especially the difference between *aave* 'that' and *aapave* 'that' and between *aave* and *naang*, since almost all instances in the texts are anaphoric. How they might be used exophorically is not clear. It is possible that *aave* is actually a demonstrative that is neutral to distance. These adnominal demonstratives follow the noun.

The demonstrative *aanabe'* 'this' is illustrated in (5.127) and (5.128).

(5.127) *Malaafaa* ***a mataa aanabe'*** *a fexaxaas se-na tavai*
how **ART man this** 3SG able PREP-3SG give

netaara pa-na vipin i-na xena ngan-aan-a?
1INCL.PL PREP-3SG body POSS-3SG PURP eat-NMLZ-3SG

'How can this man give us his flesh to eat?' (John 6:52)

(5.128) *aava fo kuus-an-an lana* ***buuk aanabe'.***
REL PERF speak-TRANS-PASS in **book this**
'[... and he will not pick the fruit of the Tree of Life] that is spoken about in this book.' (Revelation 22:19)

The demonstrative *aave* 'that' is illustrated in (5.129) and (5.130).

(5.129) ***A rutu-vaat aave*** *ri sui=e, ...*
ART TRIAL-man that 3PL reply=3SG
'These three men replied to him, ...' (Acts 10:22)

(5.130) *A yaasok si-na mataa a pife waan tuuna lana*
ART slave POSS-3SG man 3SG NEG be.at true in

pabung si-na ***mataa aave*** *...*
family POSS-3SG **man that**

'The slave of a man does not remain in the family of that man forever, ...' (John 8:35)

Example (5.131) contains two occurrences of *aave*. The first occurrence illustrates clearly how it is used anaphorically since the demon referred to in the preceding clause.

(5.131) *Na Yesus a baras a vovau saat e* ***a vovau saat***
ART Jesus 3SG rebuke ART spirit bad and **ART spirit bad**

aave *ta'ulan* ***a lak aave*** *e ...*
that leave **ART child that** and

'Then Jesus rebuked the demon and the demon came out of the boy and [the boy was healed].' (Matthew 17:18)

The demonstrative *aapave* 'that' is illustrated in (5.132) and (5.133).

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

(5.133) *Senaso a Piran fo vil* ***a maana mo aapave,*** *...*
because ART big.man PERF do **ART GRTR.PL thing that**
'Because God has done all these things, ...' (Romans 4:1)

These demonstratives have the same forms in plural noun phrases, as illustrated by (5.129) and (5.133) above and by (5.134).

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

The fourth demonstrative word is *naang*, which means something like 'the same X' in an anaphoric sense, illustrated in (5.135) to (5.137).

(5.135) *Mi pife fexaxaas se-na faisok lapaa-na Piran e*
2PL NEG able PREP-3SG act under-3SG big.man and

la yaan naang *faisok xena fa-xuvul-aan=a faat ...*
LOC day same act PURP CAUS-with-NMLZ=ART stone

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is not clear how *naang* differs from *aave* used anaphorically.

See §5.12.2 regarding demonstrative pronouns and §7.4 regarding adverbial demonstratives.

5.7. Nominal possession

There are three constructions for nominal possession, illustrated for pronominal possessors in (5.138) to (5.140). The first of these constructions, illustrated in (5.138), involves the use of a possessive suffix on the possessed noun. See §3.5 for the forms of these possessive suffixes on nouns. I will call this construction the inalienable possession construction.

(5.138) *tama-ang*
father-1SG
'my father' (Matthew 11:25)

The other two constructions indicate a pronominal possessor by the use of one of two prepositions, *si* and *i*. When the possessor is pronominal, these prepositions inflect for the possessor, as in (5.139) and (5.140). I will refer to these as *si*-possession and *i*-possession respectively. See §3.6 for the forms of the suffixes on these two prepositions (note, for example, that the form of the 1SG suffix is different on the prepositions *si* and *i* in these two examples.).

(5.139) *a lak tefin si-ak*
ART child woman POSS-1SG
'my daughter' (Matthew 9:18)

(5.140) *a ria i-ga*
ART blood POSS-1SG
'my blood' (Mark 14:24)

The same three constructions can also be distinguished when they have nominal possessors. The example in (5.141) illustrates the inalienable possession construction. There is no morpheme coding the possession: the possessor noun phrase simply follows the possessed noun directly and, as discussed below, is always missing an article.

(5.141) *na tama Aisaak*
ART father Isaac
'the father of Isaac' (Matthew 1:2)

Si-possession and *i*-possession with nominal possessors are similar to each other. When the possessor is a proper noun phrase, there is no possessive inflection on the preposition, as in (5.142) and (5.143).

(5.142) *a lak tefin* ***si*** *Herodias*
ART child woman **POSS** Herod
'the daughter of Herod' (Matthew 14: 6)

(5.143) *ria* ***i*** *Yesus*
blood **POSS** Jesus
'the blood of Jesus' (Romans 5: 9)

When the possessor is a common noun phrase in *si*-possession or *i*-possession, the preposition occurs with the 3SG suffix *-na*, as in (5.144) and (5.145), even if the object noun phrase is plural, as in (5.146) and (5.147).

(5.144) *pabung* ***si-na*** *mataa aave*
family **POSS-3SG** man that
'the family of that man' (John 8:35)

(5.145) *xasing* ***i-na*** *put*
side **POSS-3SG** mountain
'the side of the mountain' (Matthew 8:32)

(5.146) *mu bina xapiak* ***si-na*** *mu rabuna roxo e saat*
PL place all **POSS-3SG** PL people good and bad
'all the places of good and bad people' (Matthew 5:45)

(5.147) *tangpat* ***i-na*** *maana mo xapiak*
beginning **POSS-3SG** GRTR.PL thing all
'the beginning of all things' (Matthew 13:35)

The use of the bare stem of *si* and *i* when preceding a proper noun phrase and the use of the suffix *-na* before a common noun phrase, whether the object is singular or plural, is a general property of inflecting prepositions (§6.1).

Each of these three constructions is discussed in greater detail in the next three sections.

5.7.1. Inalienable possession

The choice between the three possessive constructions is somewhat complex. Very roughly, the inalienable possession construction is used, as the name implies, for instances of what would appear to count as inalienable possession semantically. The set of nouns that occur with inalienable possession in the data are either kin terms or body part terms, plus the words for 'name', 'language' and 'footprint'. However, it is not the case that all kin terms or all body part terms are used in the inalienable possession construction (§5.7.2 and §5.7.3), though the ones that do seem to be more canonical instances of kin terms or body part terms. Table 5.4 gives a list of nouns occurring in the inalienable possession construction.

Kin terms		Body part terms		Other	
lava	'husband'	*mata*	'eyes'	*isi ~ isin*	'name'
nina	'mother'	*ta*	'body'	*pok*	'language'
tama	'father'	*vala*	'mouth'	*vase*	'footprint'
vasa	'sibling of opposite sex'	*ka*	'foot'		
		tanga	'ear'		
bu	'ancestor'	*xalema*	'tongue'		
tau	'relative'	*yaava*	'jaw'		
ti	'sibling of same sex'	*ma*	'hand'		
		pamata	'eye (SG.)'		
naasa	'wife'	*vilau*	'heart'[28]		
imu	'parent-in-law'	*putu*	'head'		
mataa tafu	'master'	*mi*	'back'		
		fa	'tooth'		
		xaka(a)ve	'wing'		

Table 5.4: Nouns occurring in the inalienable possession construction

Examples of kin terms occurring in the inalienable possession construction with pronominal possessors are given in (5.148) and (5.149).

(5.148) *Kaalum, na* ***nina-am*** *e mu* ***ti-am*** *ri taxa*
look ART **mother-2SG** and PL **sibling.same-2SG** 3PL CONTIN

waan lamalei e ...
be.at outside and

'Look, your mother and your brothers are outside and [wanting to speak to you.]' (Matthew 12:47)

(5.149) *E mu rafulak ri taa taaluugan na* ***nina-ri*** *e*
and PL child.PL 3PL FUT point ART **mother-3PL** and

tama-ri *xena punux-aan nare.*
father-3PL PURP kill-NMLZ 3DU

'Children will rise against parents and have them put to death.' (Matthew 10:21)

---

[28] The noun *vilau* 'heart' also occurs in the *i*-possession construction.

Examples of kin terms occurring in the inalienable possession construction with nominal possessors are given in (5.150) and (5.151). In (5.150) there are two instances of this construction, *na nina Yesus* 'Jesus' mother' and *mu ti Yesus* 'Jesus' brothers'.

(5.150) *La saxa yaan* ***na*** ***nina*** ***Yesus*** *xuvul pa-na*
LOC one day **ART** **mother** **Jesus** with PREP-3SG

mu ***ti*** ***Yesus*** *ri* *savat.*
PL **sibling.same** **Jesus** 3PL come

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

In (5.151), we have both an instance of pronominal possession in *tiam* 'your brother' (literally 'your sibling of the same sex') and an instance of nominal possession in *naasa tiam* 'your brother's wife'.[29]

(5.151) *Pife roxo no taa tamai si* ***naasa*** ***ti-am.***
NEG right 2SG FUT marry POSS **wife** **sibling.same-2SG**
'It is not lawful for you to marry your brother's wife.' (Mark 6:18)

An example of a body part term occurring in the inalienable possession construction with a pronominal possessor is given in (5.152), where *tangana mataa* 'the man's ears' illustrates nominal possession while *xalemana* 'his tongue' illustrates pronominal possession.

(5.152) *A* ***tanga-na*** ***mataa*** *a matavas e* ***xalema-na*** *pife*
ART **ear-3SG** **man** 3SG be.open and **tongue-3SG** NEG

pasak *fulaa.*
white back

'And immediately the man's ears were opened, and his tongue was no longer white.' (Mark 7:35)

5.7.2. Kin terms using *si*-possession

Kin terms that do not employ the inalienable possession construction always occur in the *si*-construction. A list of such kin terms, interpreting that expression broadly, is given in Table 5.5.

[29] Example (5.151) also contains the preposition *si*, one of the two prepositions used for expressing nominal possession, but its use in this construction is not for possession. Rather, the verb *tamai* 'marry' marks its second argument with *si*.

lak	'child'
tefin	'wife'
rafulak	'child.SG'
pabung	'family'
matafetama	'household'
xaiyaas	'enemy'

Table 5.5: Kin terms occurring in the *si*-construction

Pronominal possession with the *si*-construction with a kin term is illustrated by *tefin sina* 'his wife' in (5.153), where *si* inflects for the person and number of the possessor (in this case 3SG).

(5.153) ... ***a*** ***tefin*** ***si-na*** *fo* *lisan* *a* *lagasai* *xe* *si-na.*
ART **wife** **POSS-3SG** PERF bring ART news to POSS-3SG
'[As he was sitting on the judgment seat,] his wife sent a message to him.'
(Matthew 27:19)

Example (5.154) illustrates the *si*-construction with the kin term *lak* 'child'.

(5.154) ... *a* *xalum* *na* *Matiu* *Livai,* ***a*** ***lak*** ***si*** ***Elfias,*** ...
3SG see ART Matthew Levi **ART** **child** **POSS** **Alphaeus**
'[As he went along,] he saw Levi, the son of Alphaeus, [sitting at the tax booth].'
(Mark 2:14)

The fact that *tefin* 'wife' occurs with the *si*-construction rather then with the inalienable possession construction is probably due to the fact that its basic meaning is simply 'woman' or 'female'; there is in fact a separate word *naasa* which specifically means 'wife' and occurs in the inalienable possession construction, as in (5.151) above. Similarly, the fact that *lak* 'child' occurs in the *si*-construction rather than the inalienable possession construction is probably related to the fact that the word also means 'child' in a non-kin sense, as in (5.155).

(5.155) *Na* *Yesus* *a* *baras* *a* *vovau* *saat* *e* *a* *vovau* *saat*
ART Jesus 3SG rebuke ART spirit bad and ART spirit bad

aave *ta'ulan* ***a*** ***lak*** ***aave*** *e* ...
that leave **ART** **child** **that** and

'Then Jesus rebuked the demon and the demon came out of the boy and [the boy was healed].' (Matthew 17:18)

Example (5.156) involves one possessive construction embedded within another, both involving kin terms, but where the inner one involves inalienable possession (*vasaa Pol* 'Paul's sister') and the outer one the *si*-construction (*a lak tomexaan si vasaa Pol* 'the son of Paul's sister').

(5.156) *Taasaxa* ***a*** ***lak*** ***tomexaan*** ***si*** ***vasaa*** ***Pol*** *a* *langai*
but **ART** **child** **male** **POSS** **sibling.oppos** **Paul** 3SG hear

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

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

5.7.3. Body part terms using *i*-possession

Body part and part-whole terms that do not occur in the inalienable possession construction employ the *i*-construction. A list of these words is given in Table 5.6.[30]

vilau	'heart'[31]	*iti*	'side'
vipirigum	'finger(s)'	*palou*	'middle'
vipin	'body'	*xavil*	'piece'
fui	'hair'	*raarum*	'water of vine'
nonau	'face'	*vebit*	'ashes'
mamaat	'corpse'	*kam*	'seed'
ling	'voice'	*xarei*	'roots/basis'
xasing	'side'	*valof*	'hole'
xaxaalua	'shadow'	*xunus*	'soul'
paxasing	'side'		

Table 5.6: Body part and part-whole words that occur in *i*-construction

Example (5.157) illustrates *paxasing* 'side' occurring with a nominal possessor in the *i*-construction.

(5.157) *Taara* *taa* *falet* *xe* *la* ***paxasing*** ***i-na*** ***laman.***
1INCL.PL FUT go to LOC **side** **POSS-3SG** **sea**
'Let's go across to the other side of the lake.' (Mark 4:35)

Example (5.158) illustrates *vipin* 'body, flesh' occurring in the *i*-construction (*vipin ina* 'his flesh').

---

[30] Perry Schlie (pc) has brought to my attention the fact that whether a body part term occurs in the inalienable possession construction is largely if not entirely predictable phonologically: the inalienable possession construction is used when the noun ends in CV, while the *i*-construction is used elsewhere, where the noun ends in VV or VC. This does account for all the body part terms in Tables 5.4 and 5.6, except for *iti* 'side', which occurs with the *i*-construction, despite ending in CV and *vilau* 'heart', which occurs in both constructions. The same applies to the choice of the inalienable possession construction versus the *si*-construction with kin terms: it accounts for all the kin terms in Tables 5.4 and 5.5, except for *tau* 'relative' which occurs in the inalienable possession construction, despite ending in VV, and *matafetama* 'household', which occurs in the *si*-construction despite ending in in CV.

[31] The noun *vilau* 'heart' occurs either in the *i*-construction or in the inalienable possession construction.

(5.158) *Malaafaa a mataa aanabe' a fexaxaas se-na tavai netaara*
how ART man this 3SG able PREP-3SG give 1INCL.PL

pa-na ***vipin*** ***i-na*** *xena ngan-aan-a?*
PREP-3SG **body** **POSS-3SG** PURP eat-NMLZ-3SG

'How can this man give us his flesh to eat?' (John 6:52)

There is more than one instance, however, of *vipin* 'body, flesh' occurring in the *si*-construction rather than in the *i*-construction, as in (5.159); I have no explanation for this.

(5.159) *Siax=e e ngan=e, a* ***vipin*** ***si-ak*** *ve.*
take=3SG and eat=3SG 3SG **body** **POSS-1SG** be
'Take, eat, this is my body.' (Matthew 26:26)

Contrast this with the similar example in (5.160), where the *i*-construction is used.

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

Another body part term that occurs in both the *i*-construction and the *si*-construction is *fui* 'hair'. In (5.161) it occurs with *si*, while in (5.162) it occurs with *i*.

(5.161) *E a fa-pagala=ye pana* ***fui*** ***si-na*** *e a ngus=e*
and 3SG CAUS-dry=3SG PREP-3SG **hair** **POSS-3SG** and 3SG kiss=3SG

e mui tivan a mo lalas aave xulu-na ka-na.
and later pour ART thing aromatic that ON-3SG feet-3SG

'And she wiped them with her hear and kissed them and then poured the perfumed on his feet.' (Luke 7:38)

(5.162) *A maana marapi si Jon ri vesan=e pa-na*
ART GRTR.PL clothes POSS John 3PL make=3SG PREP-3SG

fui ***i-na*** ***kaamel*** *e ...*
hair **POSS-3SG** **camel** and

'John's clothes were made from camel's hair and ...' (Matthew 3:4)

The contrast between (5.161) and (5.162) might be governed by the fact that the possessor in (5.161) is human and in (5.162) nonhuman (see the next section). However, this would not account for (5.163).

(5.163) *a* ***fui*** ***i-mi***
ART **hair** **POSS-2PL**
'your hair' (Peter 3:2)

5.7.4. Other uses of *si*-possession and *i*-possession

Other uses of the *si*-construction and the *i*-construction appear to be governed for the most part by a simple principle: if the possessor is human, the *si*-construction is used; if the possessor is nonhuman, the *i*-construction is used. This is illustrated by various pairs of examples, where the same head noun occurs in the two constructions, distinguished by whether the possessor is human. For example, in (5.164), we get the *si*-construction in *bina siri* 'their country', with a human possessor, while in (5.165), we get the *i*-construction in *bina ina vipisan* 'prison (literally: place of tying up)' with a nonhuman possessor.

(5.164) *E voxo ri usi a salan patak xe la* ***bina si-ri.***
and so 3PL follow ART path different to LOC **place** **POSS-3PL**
'And so they went back by another route to their own country.' (Matthew 2:12)

(5.165) *... nane fo xuus a mu rabuna si-na o*
3SG PERF tell ART PL people POSS-3SG COMP

ri taa tao na Jon e pis fa-waan=e la
3PL FUT hold ART John and tie CAUS-be.at=3SG LOC

bina i-na vipis-an.
place **POSS-3SG** **be.tied-NMLZ**

'... he told his men to arrest John and put him in prison' (Matthew 14:3)

Similarly, in (5.166) we get the *si*-construction with a human possessor in *a lagasai si Jona* 'the message of John', while in (5.167) we get the *i*-construction with a nonhuman possessor in *a lagasai ina fatataganan* 'news about the kingdom'.

(5.166) *... layaan ri langai a* ***lagasai si Jona.***
when 3PL hear ART **news** **POSS** **John**
'... when they heard the message of Jonah' (Matthew 12:41)

(5.167) *Nari aava ri langai a* ***lagasai i-na fatataganan*** *si-na*
3PL REL 3PL hear ART **news** **POSS-3SG** **kingdom** POSS-3SG

Piran taasaxa ri pife masam ...
big.man but 3PL NEG understand

'Those who hear the word about the kingdom of God but do not understand ...'
(Matthew 13:19)

It is not immediately obvious, however, from the examples in (5.164) to (5.167) whether it is the humanness of the possessor that is the relevant factor determining the choice between the *si*-construction and the *i*-construction rather than the particular semantic relationship since in both cases, the precise semantic relationship associated with the possessive construction is different. The semantic relationship in *bina siri* 'their country' in (5.164) is not the same as that in *bina ina vipisan* 'prison (literally: place of tying up)' in (5.165) in that the latter involves some notion of purpose (a place for tying people up) which is absent in the former. Similarly, the semantic relationship in *a lagasai si Jona* 'the message of John' in (5.166) is not the same as that in *a lagasai ina fatataganan* 'news about the kingdom' in (5.167) in that the former means news or a message from John, not about John.

A further pair of examples that might argue that humanness is the relevant factor is given in (5.168) and (5.169). In (5.168), the noun *marapi* 'clothes' occurs in the *si*-construction with a human possessor, while in (5.169), the same noun occur in the *i*-construction with a nonhuman but animate possessor.

(5.168) *a* *maana* *marapi* ***si*** *Jon*
ART all clothes **POSS** John
'all John's clothing' (Matthew 3:4)

(5.169) *a* *marapi* ***i-na*** *vupung*
ART clothes **POSS-3SG** wild.animal
'the hide of a wild animal' (Matthew 9:16)

Again, however, the semantic relationship is not the same, since in (5.169), the possessed noun is a body part, while in (5.168) it is not.

A possibly stronger case is provided by the examples in (5.170) and (5.171), although again it is not obvious that the semantic relationship is the same.

(5.170) *a* *mu* *matalava* ***si-na*** *mu* *Juda*
ART PL leader **POSS-3SG** PL Jews
'the leaders of the Jews' (Mark 12:13)

(5.171) *mu* *matalava* ***i-na*** *lotu*
PL leader **POSS-3SG** worship
'the leaders of worship' (Mark 14:1)

The strongest evidence that humanness is the relevant factor rather than the semantic relationship is provided by examples involving the word *xakaaluman*, which is a nominalization of *kaalum* 'look'. In some instances the possessor is semantically the person or thing that is seen, in other cases it means 'vision' or 'sight' in the sense of the ability to see . In *a xakaaluman si Yesus* 'the appearance of Jesus' in (5.172), Jesus is the one seen.

(5.172) *Layaan* *rutul* *taxa* *faalim,* *a* ***xa-kaalum-an*** ***si*** ***Yesus***
when 3TRIAL CONTIN awake ART **HABIT-look-NMLZ** **POSS** **Jesus**

a *puk.*
3SG turn

'When they awoke, the appearance of Jesus had changed.' (Matthew 17:2)

In (5.173), in contrast, *xakaaluman* refers to an individual's vision or sight, his ability to see.

(5.173) *A* ***xa-kaalum-an*** ***si-na*** *a* *roxo* *fulaa* *...*
ART **HABIT-look-NMLZ** **POSS-3SG** 3SG right back
'His sight was restored ...' (Mark 8:25)

The semantic relationship between the possessor and the head noun is different in (5.173) from that in (5.172), but in both cases, the possessor is human and the *si*-construction is used. In (5.174), however, the *i*-construction is used. The semantic relationship of the possessor to the head noun is the same as in (5.172), where the *si*-construction is used. However, in

(5.174), the possessor is his face, which, though part of a human, is presumably considered nonhuman.

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

nonau *i-na* *a* *puk* ...
face POSS-3SG 3SG turn

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

We also find the *i*-construction in (5.175), where the possessor (the thing seen) is nonhuman, a burning bush.

(5.175) *Layaan* *na* *Moses* *a* *xalum=e,* *a* *ipul-an*
when ART Moses 3SG see=3SG 3SG amazed-TRANS

a ***xa-kaalum-an*** ***i-na.***
ART **HABIT-look-NMLZ** **POSS-3SG**

'When Moses saw it, he was amazed at the sight ...' (Acts 7:31)

Unfortunately, not all examples behave this way. In (5.176), we get the *si*-construction, despite the fact that the possessor is inanimate, *mu fur* 'flowers'.

(5.176) *Taasaxa* *ne* *xuus* *nami* *o* *a* ***xa-kaalum-an*** ***si-na***
but 1SG tell 2PL COMP ART **HABIT-look-NMLZ** **POSS-3SG**

mu ***fur*** *a* *pera-roxo* *se* *Solomon* ...
PL **flowers** 3SG COMPAR-good PREP Solomon

'Yet I tell you, the appearance of the flowers is better than Solomon ...' (Luke 12:27)

There are other examples which do not conform to the pattern of human possessors with the *si*-construction and nonhuman possessors with the *i*-construction. With the head noun *tateaxan* 'authority' (a nominalization of the word for 'strong'), the *i*-construction is always used, even when the possessor is human, as in (5.177).

(5.177) *tateax-an* *i-ga*
strong-NMLZ POSS-1SG
'my authority' (Matthew 8: 9)

Perhaps, however, this is considered like a body part in some metaphorical sense, though it is not clear why this should be a body part in a metaphorical sense while *xakaaluman* 'vision, appearance', illustrated above in (5.173), is not.[32]

---

[32] Perry Schlie (pc) has brought the following contrast to my attention that clearly cannot be handled in terms of the humanness of the possessor:

(i) *xaxalua* *i-ga*
picture POSS-1SG
'picture of me'

(ii) *xaxalua* *si-ak*
picture POSS-1SG
'a picture belonging to me'

5.8. Relative clauses

5.8.1. Subject relatives

Relative clauses in Kara are introduced by the word *aava*, as in (5.178) and (5.179).

(5.178) *a* *maana* *rabuna* ***aava*** *ri* *bai-an* *a* *Piran*
ART GRTR.PL people **REL** 3PL not.want-TRANS ART big.man
'people who hate God' (Matthew 11:12)

(5.179) *mataa* ***aava*** *tapalan* *a* *mu* *kam* *roxo* *la* *uma* *si-na*
man **REL** spread ART PL seed good LOC field POSS-3SG
'the man who sowed the good seed in his field' (Matthew 13:37)

Both of these examples illustrate relative clauses where the head of the relative clause is functioning as subject in the relative clause.

The weak subject pronoun *a* is never used in relative clauses. Where we might expect it, as in (5.179), it is always absent. The same is not true for other weak subject pronouns. When the subject in the relative clause is 3PL, in contrast, the 3PL weak subject pronoun *ri* is normally used, as in (5.178). Similarly, the 3SG incompletive weak subject pronoun *i* can be used, as in (5.180).

(5.180) *fata* ***aava*** ***i*** *taa* *pife* *maat*
fire **REL** **3SG.INCOMPL** FUT NEG die
'fire that will not die (inextinguishable fire)' (Matthew 3:12)

Although the weak subject pronoun *a* is obligatorily absent, preverbal particles can be used, like the perfect particle *fo*, as in (5.181).

(5.181) *a* *kam* *roxo* ***aava*** ***fo*** *boak*
ART seed good **REL** **PERF** grow
'the good seeds that have grown' (Matthew 13:29)

And while the 3SG incompletive particle *i* is generally used in relative clauses when the subject is 3SG and one of the preverbal particles governing the use of the incompletive is used, there are many instances in which it is absent when the continuative particle *taxa* is used, as in (5.182).

(5.182) *ta* *mataa* ***aava*** ***taxa*** *to*
NONSPEC man **REL** **CONTIN** live
'any man that is alive' (Matthew 11:11)

With other preverbal particles that govern the use of the incompletive weak subject pronoun *i*, the *i* is always or almost always present in relative clauses, as in (5.180), where the preverbal particle is the future particle *taa*.

He suggests that the difference between the i-construction and the si-construction is often one of the former indicating inalienable possession and the latter alienable possession and that some of my examples involving human versus nonhuman possessors really involve this contrast.

5.8.2. Object relatives

Examples illustrating relative clauses where the head is functioning as object in the relative clause are given in (5.183) to (5.185).

(5.183) *a maana mo fa-'ipul* ***aava mi fo xalum=e***
ART GRTR.PL thing CAUS-amazed **REL 2PL PERF see=3SG**
'the amazing things (i.e. miracles) that you have seen' (Matthew 11:21)

(5.184) *a mataa aava mu vovau saat ri fo ta'ulan=e*
ART man REL PL spirit bad 3PL PERF leave=3SG
'the man who the demons had gone out of' (Luke 8:38)

(5.185) *vapara pisiguak aava no xalum=e lana pa-ma-ak muaan*
star seven REL 2SG see=3SG in SG-hand-1SG right
'the seven stars that you saw in my right hand' (Revelation 1:20)

Note that when the object is relativized, the 3SG object suffix always occurs on the verb, not only when the head is singular, but also when the head is plural and nonhuman, as in (5.183) and (5.185). When the head is plural and human, the strong pronoun *nari* '3PL' is used, as in (5.186) and (5.187), and if the head is dual, the strong pronoun *nare* '3DU' is used, as in (5.188).

(5.186) *a mu rabuna xapiak aava ri tingin* ***nari***
ART PL people all REL 3PL find **3PL**
'all the people that they found' (Matthew 22:10)

(5.187) ... *taasaxa nari aava ne fo fin* ***nari*** *pa-na fili-maan* ...
but 3PL REL 1SG PERF ask **3PL** PREP-3SG come-come
'... but those that I have asked to come ...' (Matthew 22:8)

(5.188) *xa-na ro-vaat aava nane fo siak fati* ***nare***
for-3SG DU-man REL 3SG PERF take ?? **3DU**
'for the people that he has prepared it for' (Matthew 20:23)

5.8.3. Object of preposition relatives

Examples in which the head of the relative clause is functioning as the object of a preposition are given in (5.189) to (5.191). In (5.189), the head of the relative clause, *Maria Mekdala* 'Mary Magdalene' is functioning as object of the preposition *xase* 'from'.

(5.189) ... *nane savat paamua si Maria Mekdala* ***aava*** *nane fo*
3SG come first POSS Mary Magdalene **REL** 3SG PERF

gei tapin a mu vovau saat pisiguak ***xase-na.***
cast.out away ART PL spirit bad seven **from-3SG**

'... he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, from whom he had driven out seven demons.' (Mark 16:9)

In (5.190), the head, *put* 'mountain', is functioning as the object of the preposition *xulu* 'on' in the relative clause.

(5.190) ... *put* ***aava*** *na* *Yesus* *a* *feng* *nari* *xe* ***xulu-na.***
mountain **REL** ART Jesus 3SG send 3PL to **ON-3SG**
'[So the eleven disciples went to Galilee to] the mountain that Jesus had sent them to.' (literally 'the mountain that Jesus had sent them to on it') (Matthew 28:16)

In (5.191), the head, *a miridingan* 'the glory', is functioning as object of the preposition *pa*, which always marks the theme of the verb *tavai* 'give'.

(5.191) *a* *miridingan* ***aava*** *Piran* *a* *tavai=e* ***pa-na***
ART glory **REL** big.man 3SG give=3SG **PREP-3SG**
'the glory that God has given to him' (Matthew 24:30)

When the head of the relative clause functions as object of a preposition in the relative clause, that preposition always occurs with the 3SG suffix *-na*, even if the head is plural, as in (5.192) and (5.193). In both examples, the head *a maana mo* 'the things' is plural and functions as the object of the preposition *pa*, here meaning 'about'.

(5.192) *a* *maana* *mo* ***aava*** *Xakalayan* *Taap* *a* *ferawai* ***pa-na***
ART GRTR.PL thing **REL** writing sacred 3SG speak **PREP-3SG**
'the things that the Scriptures speak about' (Matthew 26:54)

(5.193) *a* *maana* *mo* ***aava*** *mi* *fakali-maan* ***pa-na*** *xe*
ART GRTR.PL thing **REL** 2PL swear-come **PREP-3SG** to

si-na *Memai.*
POSS-3SG Lord

'the things that you have made an oath about to the Lord' (Matthew 5:33)

The use of prepositions with the 3SG suffix *-na* with plural heads mirrors the fact that when an inflecting preposition takes a common noun phrase as object following it, it occurs with the suffix *-na*, even when the object is plural, as in (5.194) and (5.195) (see §6).

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

(5.195) ... *ri* *ferawai* *faa-xaves* ***se-na*** *mu* *Juda* *ti* *Judia,* ...
3PL speak times-many **PREP-3SG** PL Jew from Judea
'[the Jews from the Greek regions] spoke often about the Jews from Judea ...' (Acts 6:1)

It is only with inflecting prepositions (see §6.1) that we find relative clauses where the head of the relative clause is the object of the preposition. There are no instances of relative clauses where the head is functioning as object of an noninflecting preposition, except with *lana* 'in'. Although *lana* may have originally been an inflected form of *la*, synchronically it is in most respects simply a distinct preposition, meaning 'in' in contrast to the more general locative preposition *la*. However, one respect in which *lana* does behave synchronically like a

preposition inflected for 3SG is that it can occur in relative clauses where the head of the relative clause functions as its object, as in (5.196) and (5.197).

(5.196) ... *xena* *lisan* *fa-lax=e* *xe* *la* ***lifu*** *aava* *na* *Yesus*
PURP bring CAUS-go.up=3SG to LOC **house** REL ART Jesus

i *taxa* *waan* ***lana.***
3SG.INCOMPL CONTIN be.at **in**

'... in order to bring him into the house that Jesus was in.' (Luke 5:18)

(5.197) *a* ***nobina*** *aava* *fa-fanai-an* *si-mi* *i* *taxa*
ART **place** REL CAUS-promise-NMLZ POSS-2PL 3SG.INCOMPL CONTIN

waan ***lana***
be.at **in**

'the place where your money is' (Luke 12:34)

This mirrors the fact (§6.3.2) that *lana* is like an inflecting preposition in that it can be used without a noun phrase following it, where its object is interpreted pronominally. Furthermore, just as *lana* does not specifically mean 'in' but can also mean 'at' when it occurs in main clauses without a noun phrase following it, the same is true in relative clauses when the head is object of *lana*, as in (5.197). In other words, it behaves as if it is an inflected form of the general locative preposition *la* in this context.

5.8.4. Possessor relatives

Examples illustrating relative clauses in which the head is functioning as a possessor are given in (5.198) to (5.200). In (5.198), the head is functioning as possessor of the subject.

(5.198) *a* *ro-vaat* *aava* ***mata-re*** *piif*
ART DU-man REL **eye-3DU** blind
'two men whose eyes were blind' (Matthew 9:27)

In (5.199), the head is functioning as possessor of the object of a preposition.

(5.199) ... *se-na* *mataa* *aava* *mu* *vovau* *saat* *mo* *waan*
PREP-3SG man REL PL spirit bad thing be.at

la ***ta-na*** ...
LOC **skin-3SG**

'[Those who had seen what had happened to] the man that the evil spirits were in the body of ...' (Mark 5:16)

In the two preceding examples, the head of the relative clause is a possessor in the inalienable possession construction (see §5.7.1). In (5.200), the head of the relative clause is functioning as a possessor in the *si*-construction, which involves alienable possession.

(5.200) *a* *mataa* *vipis* *aava* *mu* *rabuna* *xapiak* *ri* *texaas* *se-na*
ART man be.tied REL PL people all 3PL know PREP-3SG

vil-aan-a ***saat*** ***si-na*** ***...***
do-NMLZ-3SG **bad** **POSS-3SG**

'a prisoner whose bad deeds all people knew about' (Matthew 27:16)

5.8.5. Ambiguous relatives

The example in (5.201) is an interesting one since, as far as I can determine, the relative clause *aava ri xalum nari* is in principle ambiguous between 'who see them' and 'who they see' (though it is clear that, in the context of (5.201) in the text, it means the first of these).

(5.201) *...* *nari,* *ri* *vil* *malaane* *la* *lifu* *i-na* *fa-xuvul-an*
3PL 3PL do like.that LOC house POSS-3SG CAUS-with-NMLZ

si-ri *e* *la* *salan* *talo* *a* *mu* *rabuna* ***aava***
POSS-3PL and LOC path so.that ART PL people **REL**

ri ***xalum*** ***nari,*** *ri* *taa* *faatul-an* *nari.*
3PL **see** **3PL** 3PL FUT praise-TRANS 3PL

'... they act like this in the synagogues and on the street so that people who see them will praise them.' (Matthew 6:2)

In other words, the use of a retained pronoun in the relative clause that is coreferential to the head of the relative clause rather than using a gap creates the possibility of ambiguities that would not exist if the language used gaps rather than retained pronouns. While the intended reading in (5.201) is one where the head is functioning as the subject in the relative clause, the intended readings of (5.202) and (5.203) are ones where the intended reading is one where the head is functioning as object in the relative clause.

(5.202) *a* *sensurian* *lana* *parabuna* *i-na* *fevis-an*
ART centurion in group POSS-3SG fight-NMLZ

aava *ri* *xali* ***nari*** *pa-na* *"Regimen* *ti* *Itali".*
REL 3PL call **3PL** PREP-3SG Regiment from Italy

'the centurion of the group of soldiers that they call the Italian Cohort' (Acts 10:1)

(5.203) *...* *ti* *la* *palou* *i-na* *pisiguak* ***aava*** *ri* *siak* *fati*
from LOC middle POSS-3SG seven **REL** 3PL take choose?

nari *pe* *Jerusalem* *...*
3PL at Jerusalem

'... from among the seven who they chose in Jerusalem ...' (Acts 21:8)

Formally, all three examples are similar in expressing the subject with the weak subject pronoun *ri* '3PL' and the object with the strong pronoun *nari* '3PL'. Thus relative clauses of this form are apparently ambiguous out of context.

This ambiguity is not restricted to ambiguities between subject and object relatives. In (5.204), the context makes clear that the intended meaning is 'the people who were with him', but in another context, this could presumably mean 'the people who they were with'.

(5.204) *mu rabuna aava ri waan xuvul pa-na*
PL people REL 3PL be.at with PREP-3SG
'the people who were with him' (Matthew 8:10)

In other words, out of context, it is not clear whether the head of the relative clause in (5.204) is functioning as subject or object of the preposition *pa*.

5.8.6. The absence of a after the relative word *aava*

It was noted above that the 3SG weak subject pronoun *a* is not used in relative clauses. This is true regardless of the function of the head in the relative clause. Examples (5.179) and (5.181) above illustrate that this is true when the head is functioning as subject in the relative clause. When the head is something other than subject in the relative clause but the subject of the relative clause is pronominal and 3SG, the subject in the relative clause is expressed by the strong pronoun *nane* and the weak subject pronoun *a* is not used, as illustrated by (5.205) and (5.206).

(5.205) *a mu rabuna si-na Piran* ***aava nane*** *maraan=e pa-na*
ART PL people POSS-3SG big.man **REL** **3SG** obtain=3SG PREP-3SG
ria i-na.
blood POSS-3SG
'the people of God that he obtained with his blood (i.e. the blood of his own Son)' (Acts 20:28)

(5.206) *a mo* ***aava nane*** *taa ngan=e*
ART thing **REL** **3SG** FUT eat=3SG
'the thing that he will eat' (Mark 7:19)

But not only is the relative word *aava* never followed by the weak subject pronoun *a*, regardless of the role of the head of the relative clause in the relative clause; it is never followed by the common article *a*, either. In other words, if the subject of the relative clause is a common noun phrase, the common article is always absent, as in (5.207) and (5.208) (or (5.184) above).

(5.207) ... *a malaan se-na kam i-na mastaat aava* ***mataa***
3SG like PREP-3SG seed POSS-3SG mustard REL **man**
a siax=e e fe xapis=e la uma si-na.
3SG take=3SG and go.and sow=3SG LOC field POSS-3SG
'[The kingdom of heaven] is like a mustard seed that a man took and sowed in his field.' (Matthew 13:31)

(5.208) *a* *nobina* *aava* ***fa-fanai-an*** ***si-mi*** *i* *taxa*
ART place REL **CAUS-promise-NMLZ** **POSS-2PL** 3SG.INCOMPL CONTIN

waan *lana*
be.at in

'the place where your money is' (Luke 12:34)

A diachronic explanation for the fact that neither the weak subject pronoun *a* nor the common article *a* occur following the relative word *aava* might be that the relative word *aava* arose historically from a combination of the demonstrative *aave* and either the weak subject pronoun *a* or the common article. But this is not a possible synchronic analysis since the relative word is always *aava*, even when what follows is something that could not be preceded by either the common article or the weak subject pronoun *a*, such as another weak subject pronoun, as in (5.203) and other examples above, or the proper article, as in (5.209).

(5.209) *a* *maana* *mo* *roxo* *aava* *na* *Yesus* *taxa* *vil=e*
ART GRTR.PL thing good REL ART Jesus CONTIN do=3SG
'the good things that Jesus was doing' (Matthew 21:15)

5.8.7. Relative clauses with pronouns as head

The head of the relative clause can be a strong pronoun, as in (5.187) above and (5.210).

(5.210) ***Nari*** ***aava*** *ri* *langai* *a* *lagasai* *i-na* *fatataganan* *si-na*
3PL **REL** 3PL hear ART news POSS-3SG kingdom POSS-3SG

Piran *taasaxa* *ri* *pife* *masam* ...
big.man but 3PL NEG understand

'Those who hear the word about the kingdom of God but do not understand ...'
(Matthew 13:19)

A strong pronoun that is head of a relative clause can be first or second person, as in (5.211) and (5.212).

(5.211) *Ai,* ***nano*** ***aava*** *no* *fo* *kuus* *o* *no* *taa* *ngas* *tapin*
aha **2SG** **REL** 2SG PERF say COMP 2SG FUT remove away

a *lifu* *lotu* *e* *no* *taa* *vesan* *fa-'uli=e*
ART house worship and 2SG FUT make CAUS-return=3SG

lana *yaan* *talatul,* ...
in day three

'Aha! You who has said that you will destroy the temple and rebuild it in three days, ...' (Mark 15:29)

(5.212) ***nami*** ***aava*** *mi* *vil* *a* *mu* *vil-aan-a* *saat*
2PL **REL** 2PL do ART PL do-NMLZ-3SG bad
'you who do bad deeds' (Matthew 7:23)

Note that when the head of a relative clause is a strong pronoun functioning as subject in the relative clause, the weak subject pronoun in the relative clause agrees with the head in person and number. This is illustrated in the two preceding examples, where the weak subject pronouns *no* '2SG' and *mi* '2PL' are used. When the head of the relative clause is functioning as something other than subject in the relative clause, any pronominal morphemes in the relative clause will also agree with the head, as in (5.213). In this example, the relative clause involves four conjoined clauses and the head functions as object of the verb in the first three clauses (all expressed by the strong object pronoun *nami* '2PL') and as possessor in the fourth clause (*isimi* 'your (PL) name').

(5.213) ***nami*** *aava* *rabuna* *ri* *bai-an* ***nami*** *e* *ri* *feng* *tapin*
2PL REL people 3PL not.want-TRANS **2PL** and 3PL send away

nami *e* *ri* *ferawai* *fakasal* ***nami*** *e* *ri* *gilis* *a*
2PL and 3PL speak insult **2PL** and 3PL reject ART

isi-mi ...
name-2PL

'you who people hate and exclude and insult and reject the name of ...' (Luke 6:22)

The head of the relative clause can also be the pronominal object of a preposition, as in (5.214). It is not clear how best to analyse examples like this. Formally, the prepositional phrase in (5.214) consists of the preposition *xulu-ri* 'on-3PL' plus a relative clause, so, unless we say that the relative clause is modifying the suffix *-ri*, it is not clear what, if anything, the relative clause is modifying.[33]

(5.214) *E* *a* *malang* *fo* *savat* ***xulu-ri*** *aava* *ri* *taagul* *lapaa-na*
and ART light PERF come **on-3PL** REL 3PL stay under-3SG

xaxaalua *i-na* *maat-an.*
shadow POSS-3SG die-NMLZ

'And the light has come onto those who stay under the shadow of death.' (Matthew 4:16)

Examples (5.215) and (5.216) are similar, but with the prepositions *siri* and *seri* respectively.

(5.215) *a* *mu* *ivin* ***si-ri*** *aava* *ri* *faasot* *pa-na* *vaalus*
ART PL chair **POSS-3PL** REL 3PL sell PREP-3SG dove
'the chairs of those selling doves' (Matthew 21:12)

(5.216) *Nemaam* *mu* *Juda,* *maam* *pera-roxo* ***se-ri*** *aava*
1EXCL.PL PL Jew 1EXCL.PL COMPAR-good **PREP-3PL** REL

ri *pife* *Juda,* *bo?*
3PL NEG Jew Q

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

[33] The possibility that examples like these are calques cannot be discounted.

5.9. Prepositional phrases modifying nouns

The most common prepositional phrase modifiers of nouns are possessors expressed with either of the two possessive prepositions *si* and *i*, discussed above in §5.7.2 and §5.7.3, and illustrated in (5.217) and (5.218).

(5.217) *a maana mo **si** **tama-maame***
ART GRTR.PL thing **POSS** **father-1EXCL.DU**
'our father's things' (Luke 12:13)

(5.218) *... a malang **i-na** **laam** a lang xulu-m.*
ART light **POSS-3SG** **lamp** 3SG shine ON-2SG
'... the light of a lamp shines on you.' (Luke 11:36)

Other sorts of prepositional phrases modifying nouns are given in (5.219) and (5.220). In (5.219), the noun *salan* 'path' is modified by the prepositional phrase *xe la bina siri* 'to their place'.

(5.219) *E voxo ri usi a salan patak **xe** **la** **bina** **si-ri.***
and so 3PL follow ART path other **to** **LOC** **place** **POSS-3PL**
'And so they followed another route to their country.' (Matthew 2:12)

The example in (5.220) contains two prepositional phrases modifying the noun *rabuna* 'people'.

(5.220) *saxa-no rabuna [pa-na texaas-an] [ti paa lasuun paaliu]*
INDEF-PL people [PREP-3SG know-NMLZ] [from east far INTENS]
N PP PP
'some people with knowledge (i.e. wise men) from the east very far away'
(Matthew 2:1)

Prepositional phrases modifying nouns often contain nothing other than an inflected preposition, like *sina* in (5.221).

(5.221) *... **a** **tefin** **si-na** fo lisan a lagasai xe si-na.*
ART **wife** **POSS-3SG** PERF bring ART news to POSS-3SG
'[As he was sitting on the judgment seat,] his wife sent a message to him.'
(Matthew 27:19)

Prepositional phrases follow modifiers other than relative clauses, *vaxa* 'also' and *(sang) mon* 'only'. This is true even for prepositional phrases consisting of a single word, like *sina* in (5.222), which follows the demonstrative *aave* 'that'.

(5.222) *... a lak **aave** **si-na** fo ulaa fa-roxo.*
ART child **that** **POSS-3SG** PERF return ADV-good
'his son has returned safe and sound.' (Luke 15:27)

5.10. Miscellaneous other modifiers of nouns

5.10.1. *xapiak* 'all'

The word *xapiak* 'all' resembles the numerals in following adjectives and preceding demonstratives and possessors. Example (5.223) shows it following an adjective and preceding a possessor while (5.224) shows it preceding a demonstrative.

(5.223) *...* *a* *vuputkai* *si* *Moses* *pife* *fexaxaas* *se-na* *mulus*
ART command POSS Moses NEG able PREP-3SG release

tapin *nami* *se-na* *mu* ***vil-aan-a*** ***saat*** ***xapiak*** ***si-mi,***
away 2PL PREP-3SG PL **do-NMLZ-3SG** **bad** **all** **POSS-2PL**

piau.
no

'... the commandments of Moses cannot forgive you all your bad deeds (all your sins), no.' (Acts 13:38)

(5.224) *A* *maana* ***mo*** ***xapiak*** ***aanabe'*** *ri* *savat* *...*
ART GRTR.PL **thing** **all** **this** 3PL come
'All these things happened ...' (Matthew 1:22)

But there is a small amount of evidence that it can co-occur with a numeral, following it, as in (5.225).

(5.225) *a* *mu* *matalava* *sangafilu* *taragua* *pa-na* *talafaat* ***xapiak*** *aave*
ART PL leader ten two PREP-3SG four **all** that
'all twenty four of those leaders' (Revelation 4:10)

There is only other example of *xapiak* following a numeral, given in (5.226), although in this case *xapiak* and the numeral are modifying a pronoun rather than a noun.

(5.226) *E* ***nari*** ***pisiguak*** ***xapiak*** *ri* *tamai* *si-na* *tefin* *aanabe'* *...*
and **3PL** **seven** **all** 3PL marry POSS-3SG woman this
'And all seven of them married this woman ...' (Mark 12:22)

This word *xapiak* can also follow prepositions, where it is associated semantically with the object of the preposition, as in (5.227) and (5.228). In (5.227), for example, it is associated with the 1INCL.PL suffix *-taara* on the possessive preposition *i*.

(5.227) *E* *taara* *taa* *suai* *se-na* *pa-na* *xunus* ***i-taara***
and 1INCL.PL FUT honour PREP-3SG PREP-3SG soul **POSS-1INCL.PL**

xapiak *e* *...*
all and

'And we will honour him with all our hearts and ...' (Mark 12:33)

(5.228) *Naak maam taa fe maraan bret* ***xa-ri xapiak*** *bo?*
surely 1EXCL.PL FUT go.and obtain bread **for-3PL** **all** Q
'Surely, we have to go and obtain bread for all of them, don't we?' (Luke 9:13)

5.10.2. *xurul* 'whole'

The word *xurul* 'whole' is illustrated in (5.229) modifying a noun.

(5.229) *... a* ***ta-mi*** ***xurul*** *i taa bas pa-na malang.*
ART **skin-2PL** **whole** 3SG.INCOMPL FUT full PREP-3SG light
'... your whole body will be full of light.' (Matthew 6:22)

This word is one of only a limited set of words, like demonstratives, which can follow numerals within the noun phrase, as illustrated in (5.230).

(5.230) *E na Yesus a falfaal pa-na* ***yaan*** ***sangafilu*** ***talafaat***
and ART Jesus 3SG fast PREP-3SG **day** **ten** **four**

xurul *e fe-lagai.*
whole and INCH-hungry

'Jesus fasted forty days and forty nights and became famished.' (Matthew 4:2)

5.10.3. *(sang) mon* 'only'

The meaning 'only' is expressed either by the word *mon* alone or by the combination *sang mon*. The meaning of *sang* itself is not clear, though it may mean 'alone' when not followed by *mon*. When *sang* and *mon* occur together, they are probably best viewed as a two-word expression meaning 'only'. *Mon* by itself is illustrated in (5.231).

(5.231) *Nane xewai e xalum a marapi i-na mamaat* ***mon***
3SG bend.down and see ART clothes POSS-3SG corpse **only**

taxa waan e ...
CONTIN be.at and

'He bent down and saw only the cloth from the corpse there and ...' (Luke 24:12)

Sang mon is illustrated in (5.232).

(5.232) *A Piran* ***sang mon*** *a roxo.*
ART big.man **alone** **only** 3SG good
'Only God is good.' (Matthew 19:17)

The distribution of *sang mon* versus *mon* alone is predictable to a large extent in terms of whether the preceding noun phrase is subject or not: when the preceding noun phrase is subject, *sang mon* normally occurs; when the preceding noun phrase is not subject, *mon* alone is generally used. The two previous examples illustrate this: in (5.231) we get *mon* alone following an object noun phrase, while in (5.232) we get *sang mon* following a subject. Examples of exceptions to this generalization are given in (5.233) and (5.234).

(5.233) *Nenia* ***mon*** *ne* *mataa* *aave.*
1SG **only** 1SG man that
'Only I am that man.' (John 4:26)

(5.234) *Nane* *toxan* *a* *marapi* *pasak* ***sang*** ***mon*** *la* *ta-na.*
3SG have ART clothes white **alone** **only** LOC skin-3SG
'He had only white clothes on this body.' (i.e. 'He was only wearing white clothes')
(Mark 14:51)

Mon can also be used to modify a verb, as in (5.235).

(5.235) *...* *a* *tefin* *a* *pife* *maat,* *i* *taxa* *matef* ***mon.***
ART woman 3SG NEG die 3SG.INCOMPL CONTIN sleep **only**
'The woman did not die, she is only sleeping.' (Luke 8:52)

But this raises a question about examples like (5.231) above. Is *mon* in this example modifying *a marapi ina mamaat* 'the cloth from the corpse', or is it modifying the verb *xalum* 'see'? Semantically, it clearly goes with *a marapi ina mamaat*, but this does not mean that it modifies this noun phrase syntactically. After all, in English *John only saw two children* has a natural reading where the scope of *only* is *two*, but syntactically, it is modifying the verb *saw*. This analysis is more difficult for examples like (5.232) since there is in general very little material that is allowed to occur between the subject noun phrase and the weak subject pronoun. The fact that we get *mon* alone when it is specifically the verb that is modified, as in (5.235), while we get *sang mon* when it is unambiguously modifying a noun, as in (5.232), suggests that perhaps the contrast between *mon* and *sang mon* is that the former modifies verbs while the latter modifies nouns.

Because of the difficulty determining whether postverbal *mon* is modifying a noun or the verb, I will restrict further discussion to occurrences of *sang mon* or occurrences of *mon* alone modifying a subject (which there are few instances of). *Sang mon* invariably occurs at the end of the noun phrase. In (5.236) it follows a prepositional phrase modifying the noun.

(5.236) *...* *e* *mu* *fefeng* *si* *Yesus* ***sang*** ***mon*** *ri* *fo* *falet* *...*
and PL disciple POSS Jesus **alone** **only** 3PL PERF go
'... and only Jesus' disciples had gone ...' (John 6:22)

In (5.237), *sang mon* follows a relative clause; there are only a couple of expressions in Kara that can follow a relative clause within a noun phrase (another of which is the topic particle *ve*, which follows *sang mon* in (5.237)).

(5.237) *A* *rabuna* *aava* *ri* *giis* ***sang*** ***mon*** *ve* *ri* *vubux-an* *...*
ART people REL 3PL sick **alone** **only** TOPIC 3PL want-TRANS
'Only people who are sick want ...' (Luke 5:31)

In (5.238), however, *sang mon* precedes the relative clause.

(5.238) *Na Tama-mi* ***sang*** ***mon*** *aava mi pife fexaxaas*
ART father-2PL **alone** **only** REL 2PL NEG able

se-na xalum=e, nane xa taa texaas.
PREP-3SG see=3SG 3SG REFL/RECIP FUT know

'Only your father who you cannot see, he himself will know.' (Matthew 6:18)

There are cases where the scope of *mon* is a numeral, as in (5.239).

(5.239) *Xalei a vaan pisiktul* ***mon.***
write ART jar eight **only**
'Write only fifty jars.' (Luke 16:6)

In most such cases, however, we cannot be sure that *mon* is modifying the numeral rather than the verb. However, in (5.240), *mon* occurs with the subject, so this would appear to be a clearer case where *mon* is modifying the noun or the numeral.

(5.240) *... ri texaas o a xaati saxa* ***mon*** *fo waan pave ...*
3PL know COMP ART boat one **only** PERF be.at there
'... they knew that only one boat was there ...' (John 6:22)

In fact, since the word *saxa* 'one' precedes the noun, except when followed by *mon*, this is an argument that *mon* combines with *saxa* syntactically (since it would otherwise be an odd constraint on the order of *saxa* and the noun).

5.10.4. *vaxa* 'also'

The word *vaxa* 'also' occurs at the end of a noun phrase, as in (5.241) and (5.242).

(5.241) *A* ***nu-tu-vaat*** ***pisaxa*** ***aanabe'*** ***vaxa*** *ri falet xe puaa*
ART **PAUC-PL-person** **six** **this** **also** 3PL go to north

Sesaria xuvul pa-ga e ...
Caesarea with PREP-1SG and

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

(5.242) *... nane xo i taa tavai nami pa-na maana*
3SG TOPIC 3SG.INCOMPL FUT give 2PL PREP-3SG GRTR.PL

mo xapiak aave vaxa.
thing all that also

'... he will give all these things to you as well.' (Matthew 6:33)

As with *mon* 'only', it is not obvious whether instances of *vaxa* at the end of a clause are modifying the preceding noun phrase or the verb; instances where it follows a subject are more convincing examples of it modifying a noun phrase. Thus (5.241) above is a more convincing example than (5.242). On the other hand, it seems more likely that *vaxa* in (5.243) is modifying the noun, despite its clause-final position, since the noun that it goes with semantically, namely *rabuna* 'people', is itself a modifier of *tamana* 'father'.

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

If *vaxa* is modifying *rabuna* in (5.243), then this example shows that *vaxa* is like *mon* (or *sang mon*) 'only' in occurring after relative clauses. Another example showing the same point more unambiguously is (5.244), where *vaxa* follows a subject noun phrase, although strictly speaking the noun phrase *a mu rabuna Juda aava si savatmaan xuvul pana vaxa* 'the Jewish people who came with her also' is both the object of the matrix verb *xalum* 'see' and subject of the verb *tangiis* 'weep' at the end of the sentence.

(5.244) *Na Yesus a xalum na Maria taxa taangiis e a*
ART Jesus 3SG see ART Mary CONTIN weep and ART

mu rabuna Juda ***aava ri savat-maan xuvul pa-na vaxa***
PL people Juda **REL 3PL come-come with PREP-3SG also**

ri taxa taangiis.
3PL CONTIN weep

'Jesus saw Mary weeping, and also the Jewish people who had come with her weeping.' (John 11:33)

5.10.5. *sait* 'also'

There is a second word meaning 'also' that can modify nouns, namely *sait*, illustrated in (5.245) and (5.246)

(5.245) ... *tavai=e pa-na marapi i-na xakaafutan* ***sait.***
give=3SG PREP-3SG clothes POSS-3SG covering **also**
'[And if someone wants to sue you and to take your tunic,] give him your coat also.' (Matthew 5:40)

(5.246) *E mu vasaa-na* ***sait,*** *a sou ri pife waan*
and PLUR sibling.oppos-3SG **also** 3SG why 3PL NEG be.at

la palou i-taara?
LOC middle POSS-1PL.INCL

'And aren't his sisters also with us? (Mark 6:3)

How *sait* differs from *vaxa* is not clear.

5.10.6. The reflexive/reciprocal word *xa*

The reflexive/reciprocal word *xa* can be used after a pronoun to express the equivalent of a reflexive pronoun, as in (5.247) and (5.248).

(5.247) ... *tapin* *fa-sivi* ***nano*** ***xa*** ...
throw CAUS-go.down **2SG** **REFL/RECIP**
'[If you are the Son of God,] then throw yourself down.' (Matthew 4:6)

(5.248) *E* *muta* *lamon* *o* *mi* *taa* *xuus* ***nami*** ***xa*** ...
and PROHIB think COMP 2PL FUT tell **2PL** **REFL/RECIP**
'And don't think you can say to yourselves, ...' (Matthew 3:9)

When plural, pronouns plus *xa* can be either reflexive in meaning, as in the preceding example, or reciprocal, as in (5.249) and (5.250).

(5.249) *E* *ri* *fe-mataut* *paaliu* *e* *ri* *fe-fi-ai-an*
and 3PL INCH-afraid INTENS and 3PL RECIP-ask-INTRANS-TRANS

nari ***xa*** *malaan,* ...
3PL **REFL/RECIP** thus

'They became very afraid and asked one another, ...' (Mark 4:41)

(5.250) ... *a* *mu* *fatataganan* *ri* *taa* *fe-falou-an*
ART PL kingdom 3PL FUT RECIP-attack-TRANS

nari ***xa.***
3PL **REFL/RECIP**

'[For nation will rise up in arms against nation,] and kingdoms will attack each other.' (Matthew 24:7)

The reciprocal prefix on the verb (see §4.2.6), as in the two preceding examples, disambiguates reciprocal from reflexive meaning.

The reflexive/reciprocal word can follow a preposition, adding reflexive/reciprocal meaning to the object of the preposition, which is expressed only by a suffix on the preposition, as in (5.251) and (5.252). In (5.251), for example, *siri xa* means 'their own', making it clear that the reference of the pronominal object on *siri* refers back to the subject of the verb.

(5.251) *Usi=au* *e* *ta'ulan* *a* *mu* *rabuna* *aava* *ri* *fo* *maat*
follow=1SG and leave ART PL people REL 3PL PERF die

xena *xaafan* *a* *mamaat* ***si-ri*** ***xa.***
PURP bury ART corpse **POSS-3PL** **REFL/RECIP**

'Follow me, and let the dead bury their own dead corpses.' (Matthew 8:22)

(5.252) *Mi* *pife* *fexaxaas* *se-na* *faisok* *lapaa-na* *Piran* *e* *la*
2PL NEG able PREP-3SG act under-3SG big.man and LOC

yaan *naang* *faisok* *xena* *fa-xuvul-aan=a* *faat* ***xaa-num***
day same act PURP CAUS-with-NMLZ=ART stone **for-2SG**

xa.
REFL/RECIP

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

The word *xa* is also found after inalienably possessed nouns, adding reflexive/reciprocal meaning to the possessor. In (5.253), for example, *isiri xa* ‘means ‘their names’, referring back to the subject of the clause.

(5.253) *nari aava ri lamon fa-sivi a **isi-ri** **xa***
3PL REL 3PL think CAUS-go.down ART **name-3PL** **REFL/RECIP**
‘those who think “down” their names (i.e. the meek)’ (Matthew 5:5)

Similarly, *mata-am xa* ‘eye-2SG REFL/RECIP’ in (5.254) means your own eye, referring back to the subject of the clause.

(5.254) *... siak tapin a wai modus la **mata-am** **xa** ...*
take away ART tree long LOC **eye-2SG** **REFL/RECIP**
‘... remove the beam from your own eye ...’ (Matthew 7:5)

The word *xa* is not the only way to express reflexivity in Kara. The noun *ta* ‘body’ is sometimes used with reflexive meaning, as in (5.255) and (5.256).

(5.255) *E xasanofuna aava ri fuuna vil vulan a maana mo*
and others.PL REL 3PL HABIT do always ART GRTR.PL thing

*xena fa-faamamaas-aan=a **ta-ri** mon ...*
PURP CAUS-happy-NMLZ=ART **skin-3PL** only

‘And others who always do things in order to please only themselves ...’ (Romans 2:8)

(5.256) *Falet, fa-xalum a mu priis pa-na **ta-mi.***
go CAUS-see ART PL priest PREP-3SG **skin-2PL**
‘Go and show yourselves to the priests.’ (Luke 17:14)

The reflexive/reciprocal word *xa* can also be used as a type of focus particle, illustrated in (5.257) and (5.258), analogous to the use of a reflexive pronoun following a noun phrase in English, as in *he himself*. This is apparently the only interpretation when it occurs on a subject noun phrase, as in both of these examples.

(5.257) *Na Tama-mi sang mon aava mi pife fexaxaas*
ART father-2PL alone only REL 2PL NEG able

*se-na xalum=e, **nane** **xa** taa texaas.*
PREP-3SG see=3SG **3SG** **REFL/RECIP** FUT know

‘Only your father who you cannot see, he himself will know.’ (Matthew 6:18)

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

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

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

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

While the majority of instances of *xa* used as a focus particle follow pronouns, examples where it follows a noun are given in (5.259) to (5.261).

(5.259) *Senaso lana mu Yangan-an,* ***na Devit xa*** *a kuus:*
because in PL sing-NMLZ **ART David REFL/RECIP** 3SG say
'For in the Book of Psalms, David himself says ...' (Luke 20:42)

(5.260) ... *ne taa ulaa-maan e* ***na Sera xa*** *i*
1SG FUT return-come and **ART Sarah REFL/RECIP** 3SG.INCOMPL

taa luk a lak tomexaan.
FUT give.birth ART child male

'... I will return and Sarah (herself) will give birth to a son.' (Romans 9:9)

(5.261) *e* ***nemaam xapiak xa,*** *maam xalum=e.*
and **1EXCL.PL all REFL/RECIP** 1EXCL.PL see=3SG
'... and we all saw it ourselves.' (Acts 2:32)

5.10.7. The topic particle *ve ~ va*

The word *ve ~ va* primarily functions as a nonverbal copula in clauses with nominal predicates (§7.10). What the difference between *ve* and *va* might be is not clear. But it also occurs occasionally following a subject of a verbal clause, as in (5.262).

(5.262) *Taasaxa,* ***lak tuaan va*** *taxa waan la uma.*
but **child older TOPIC** CONTIN be.at LOC field
'Now his older son was in the field.' (Luke 15:25)

Describing *ve ~ va* as a topic marker is potentially problematic since there is a tendency in the linguistic literature to use the term "topic" in extremely varied ways. However, it is possible to be more specific about *ve ~ va* and to tentatively describe it as a marker of *contrastive* topics. In the case of (5.262), for example, the subject marked by *va*, namely *lak tuaan* 'the older son', represents a contrastive topic, since the preceding text dealt with another son, and attention shifts in this sentence to the older son. At least some other instances of *ve* or *va* seem to be marking contrastive topics. In (5.263), *ve* marks *na Yesus* 'Jesus', who is being contrasted with the disciples.

(5.263) *E* ***na*** ***Yesus*** ***ve,*** *i* *taxa* *waan* *pe* *xulu-na*
and **ART** **Jesus** **topic** 3SG.INCOMPL CONTIN be.at at ON-3SG

put.
mountain

'[The place become dark and the disciples were traveling on the boat in the middle of the Sea of Galilee.] And Jesus was on the mountain.' (Mark 6:47)

Examples (5.264) to (5.266) similarly all involve some sort of contrast.

(5.264) ... ***nane*** ***ve*** *taxa* *sangas* *paamuin* *nari.*
3SG **TOPIC** CONTIN walk before 3PL
'[When Jesus and his disciples were going up to Jerusalem,] he was walking ahead of them.' (Mark 10:32)

(5.265) ***A*** ***paamua*** ***ve*** *a* *vungut* *se-na* *fufu-na* *wain* *aave,*
ART **first** **TOPIC** 3SG not.know PREP-3SG source-3SG wine that

taasaxa *mu* *sisiak* *ri* *texaas.*
but PL servant 3PL know

'The head steward did not know the source of the wine, but the servants knew.' (John 2:9)

(5.266) *A* *rabuna* *aava* *ri* *giis* *sang* *mon* *ve* *ri* *vubux-an*
ART people REL 3PL sick alone only TOPIC 3PL want-TRANS

a *mataa* *xena* *irin* *fa-roxoi* *nari* *taasaxa* ***rabuna*** ***aava***
ART man PURP cure CAUS-good 3PL but **people** **REL**

ri ***pi*** ***ta*** ***giis-an*** ***ve,*** *piau.*
3PL **never.have** **NONSPEC** **sick-NMLZ** **TOPIC** no

'Only people who are sick need a doctor, but people who never have any sickness don't.' (Luke 5:31)

However, some instances of *ve ~ va* marking subjects of verbs do not seem to be marking contrastive topics at all. There is no obvious contrast, for example, in (5.267).

(5.267) *E* ***a*** ***mo*** ***mosaat*** ***talatul*** ***aanabe'*** ***ve*** *rutul* *savat* ...
and **ART** **thing** **bad** **three** **this** **TOPIC** 3TRIAL come
'And these three plagues (literally 'bad things') came [from the mouths of horses: fire, smoke and sulfur.]' (Revelation 9:18)

A question arises whether instances of *ve ~ va* before nominal predicates are also topic markers rather than nonverbal copulas, as they are analysed here (§7.10). But this does not seem possible for a number of reasons. First, while relatively few subjects of verbal predicates are marked with *ve ~ va*, the clear majority of subjects of nominal predicates are followed by *ve ~ va*. Second, the sort of contrastiveness associated with most subjects of verbal predicates followed by *ve ~ va* is generally absent from most subjects of nominal predicates followed by *ve ~ va*. And third, there are instances of interrogative phrases that are subjects of nominal predicates followed by *ve ~ va*, as in (5.268) and (5.269), which is not expected if these are

some sort of topic marker, since interrogative phrases more often behave like focus rather than topic (though these examples might be calques).

(5.268) *E* ***nase'*** ***ve*** *a* *mu* *tau-ga?*
and **who** **be** 3SG PL neighbour-1SG
'And who are my neighbours?' (Luke 10:29)

(5.269) *A* *so* *ta* *buk* *ferawai-an* ***va*** *nabe'?*
ART what NONSPEC kind speak-NMLZ/PASS **be** this
'What sort of teaching is this?' (Luke 4:36)

5.10.8. *buk* 'kind, sort'

The miscellaneous modifiers of nouns discussed in the preceding sections all follow the nouns. The word *buk* 'kind, sort', in contrast, immediately precedes nouns, as in (5.270) to (5.272).

(5.270) *E* *a* *maana* ***buk*** *giis-an* *aava* *fo* *sip* *a* *rabuna,*
and ART GRTR.PL **kind** sick-NMLZ REL PERF beat ART people

nane *vil* *fa-roxoi=e.*
3SG do CAUS-good=3SG

'And all kinds of sickness among the people, he healed.' (Matthew 4:23)

(5.271) *A* *kam* *i-na* *wai* *mastaat* *a* *pema-modak* *se-na*
ART seed POSS-3SG tree mustard 3SG COMPAR-small PREP-3SG

xasano ***buk*** *kam* *...*
other **kind** seed

'The mustard seed is smaller than other kinds of seeds.' (Matthew 13:32)

(5.272) *A* *so* *ta* ***buk*** *ferawai-an* *va* *nabe'?*
ART what NONSPEC **kind** speak-NMLZ be this
'What sort of teaching is this?' (Luke 4:36)

From a semantic point of view, it is not obvious that *buk* is modifying the noun that follows it (rather than being modified by it), but syntactically it seems better analysed as a modifier.

5.10.9. The prenominal words *fomirak* 'unexpectedly small' and *tang* 'huge'

There is a prenominal word *fomirak* whose meaning is given by Schlie and Schlie (1993) as 'unexpectedly small', illustrated in (5.273) and (5.274).

(5.273) *Nane* *toxan* *a* ***fomirak*** *buuk* *aava* *taxa* *talakas* *lana* *ma-na.*
3SG have ART **small** book REL CONTIN open in hand-3SG
'He held in his hand a little scroll that was open.' (Revelation 10:2)

(5.274) ... *layaan* *me* *taa* *savat* *lana* *me* *taa* *xalum* *a* ***fomirak***
when 2DU FUT come in 2DU FUT see ART **small**

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

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

This word is unusual in that it resembles adjectives semantically but precedes the noun, occurring between the number word and the noun, as in (5.275), unlike adjectives, which follow the noun (§5.4).

(5.275) ... *e* *na* *Tamaam* *a* *punuk* *a* ***saxa*** ***fomirak*** ***bulmakau***
and ART father-2SG 3SG kill ART **one** **small** **cow**

senaso *a* *lak* *aave* *si-na* *fo* *ulaa* *fa-roxo.*
because ART child that POSS-3SG PERF return ADV-good

'... and your father has killed a calf because his son has returned safe and sound.' (Luke 15:27)

One might consider this word a diminutive word, since most modifiers of nouns which precede nouns are function words.

Another word that translates as an adjective, but which precedes the noun, is *tang* 'huge', illustrated in (5.276) and (5.277).

(5.276) ... *e* *a* ***tang*** *malila* *ri* *savat* *xena* *xalum=e.*
and ART **huge** crowd 3PL come PURP see=3SG
'... and a large crowd came to see him.' (John 12:9)

(5.277) *Mi* *punuk* *na* *Sekaraia* *la* *palou* *i-na* ***tang*** *lifu*
2PL kill ART Zecharia LOC middle POSS-3SG **huge** house

lotu *e* *a* *ivin* *i-na* *fa-raam-an* *si-na*
worship and ART table POSS-3SG CAUS-burn-NMLZ POSS-3SG

Piran.
big.man

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

5.11. Combinations of noun modifiers

The general structure of noun phrases can be described by the following formula (leaving out a few minor complications), repeated from the beginning of this chapter. Asterisks mean that more than one of that element can occur.

NP = (Art) + (Number Word) + N + (Adj)* + (Num) + (Dem) + (PP)* + (RC)

Examples illustrating various combinations of two or more postnominal modifiers follow.

N + Adj + Dem

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

(5.279) *... e a* ***vovau saat aave*** *ta'ulan a lak aave e ...*
and ART **spirit bad that** leave ART child that and
'Then Jesus rebuked the demon and the demon came out of the boy and [the boy was healed].' (Matthew 17:18)

(5.280) *A* ***mataa fa'ui aave*** *a kuus, ...*
ART **man new that** 3SG say
'The young man said ...' (Matthew 19:20)

(5.281) *a* ***lak modak aanabe'***
ART **child small this**
'this small child' (Luke 9:48)

N + Adj + Num

(5.282) *E ne xalum a* ***vovau saat talatul*** *...*
and 1SG see ART **spirit bad three**
'I saw three unclean spirits ...' (Revelation 16:13)

N + Adj + *xaves* 'many'

(5.283) *A vana a toxan a* ***din molava xaves,*** *...*
ART net 3SG have ART **fish large many**
'The net contained many large fish, ...' (John 21:11)

N + Adj + *xapiak* 'all' + PP

(5.284) *... a vuputkai si Moses pife fexaxaas se-na mulus tapin*
ART command POSS Moses NEG able PREP-3SG release away

nami se-na mu ***vil-aan-a saat xapiak si-mi,*** *piau.*
2PL PREP-3SG PL **do-NMLZ-3SG bad all POSS-2PL** no

'... the commandments of Moses cannot forgive you all your bad deeds (all your sins), no.' (Acts 13:38)

N + *mata* 'first' + PP

(5.285) *la* ***yaan mata i-na Fenamo i-na Bret Aava***
LOC **day eye/first POSS-3SG feast POSS-3SG bread REL**

Piau *Ta Yiis*
not.have NONSPEC yeast

'on the first day of the feast of Unleavened Bread' (Matthew 26:17)

N + Adj + *mata* ‘first’ + Rel

(5.286) *a* ***mo*** ***fa-'ipul*** ***mata*** ***aava*** ***na*** ***Yesus*** ***a*** ***vesan=e***
ART **thing** **CAUS-amazed** **eye/first** **REL** **ART** **Jesus** **3SG** **make=3SG**

e ***nane*** ***vil=e*** ***la*** ***bina*** ***Kena*** ***pe*** ***Galili***
and **3SG** **do=3SG** **LOC** **place** **Cana** **at** **Galilee**

‘the first miracle that Jesus performed in Cana in Galilee’ (John 2:11)

N + Num + Dem

(5.287) *Lami-na* ***yaan*** ***taragua*** ***aave*** *nane* *ta'ulan* *nari* *xena* *falet* *xe*
after-3SG **day** **two** **that** 3SG leave 3PL PURP go to

puaa *Galili.*
north Galilee

‘After the two days he left them to go (north) to Galilee.’ (John 4:43)

(5.288) ... *e* *ri* *timin* *a* *ma-ri* *la* *putu-na*
and 3PL put ART hand-3PL LOC head-3SG

nu-tu-vaat ***pisiguak*** ***aanabe'*** *e* ...
PAUC-PL-person **seven** **this** and

‘... and they put their hands on the heads of these seven men and ...’ (Acts 6:6)

(5.289) *Na* *Yesus* *a* *feng* *a* *mu* ***yaamut*** ***sangafilu*** ***saxa***
ART Jesus 3SG send ART PL **disciple** **ten** **one**

pa-na ***taragua*** ***aanabe'*** *e* ...
PREP-3SG **two** **this** and

‘Jesus sent out these twelve disciples and ...’ (Matthew 10:5)

N + Num + Dem + *vaxa* ‘also’

(5.290) *A* ***nu-tu-vaat*** ***pisaxa*** ***aanabe'*** ***vaxa*** *ri* *falet* *xe* *puaa*
ART **PAUC-PL-person** **six** **this** **also** 3PL go to north

Sesaria *xuvul* *pa-ga* *e* ...
Caesarea with PREP-1SG and

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

N + *xaves* ‘many’ + Dem

(5.291) ***faat*** ***xaves*** ***aave***
stone **many** **that**
‘those many stones’ (Matthew 18:27)

N + *xapiak* 'all' + Dem

(5.292) ... *nane* *xo* *i* *taa* *tavai* *nami* *pa-na*
3SG TOPIC 3SG.INCOMPL FUT give 2PL PREP-3SG

maana ***mo*** ***xapiak*** ***aave*** *vaxa.*
GRTR.PL **thing** **all** **that** also

'... he will give all these things to you as well.' (Matthew 6:33)

(5.293) *A* *maana* ***mo*** ***xapiak*** ***aanabe'*** *ri* *savat* ...
ART GRTR.PL **thing** **all** **this** 3PL come
'All these things happened ...' (Matthew 1:22)

N + Num + *xapiak* 'all' + Dem

(5.294) *a* *mu* *matalava* *sangafilu* *taragua* *pa-na* *talafaat* *xapiak* *aave*
ART PL leader ten two PREP-3SG four all that
'all twenty four of those leaders' (Revelation 4:10)

N + Adj + Num + Dem + *ve* 'topic'

(5.295) *E* *a* ***mo*** ***mosaat*** ***talatul*** ***aanabe'*** ***ve*** *rutul* *savat* ...
and ART **thing** **bad** **three** **this** **TOPIC** 3trial come
'And these three plagues (literally 'bad things') came ...' (Revelation 9:18)

N + Num + Poss

(5.296) *a* *mu* ***pabung*** ***sangafilu*** ***pa-na*** ***taragua*** ***si-maam***
ART PL **family** **ten** **PREP-3SG** **two** **POSS-1EXCL.PL**
'our twelve tribes' (Acts 26:7)

(5.297) ... *o* *re* *taa* *laak* *xuvul* *pa-na* *e* *a*
... COMP 3DU FUT enter with PREP-3SG and ART

fefeng ***talatul*** ***si-na.***
disciple **three** **POSS-3SG**

'[And he called the child's father and his mother] to go inside with him and his three disciples.' (Mark 5:40)

N + *xapiak* 'all' + PP

(5.298) ***a*** ***mu*** ***rabuna*** ***xapiak*** ***pe*** ***Jerusalem***
ART **PL** **people** **all** **at** **Jerusalem**
'all the people in Jerusalem' (Acts 1:19)

(5.299) ... *e* *fe* *faasot* *pa-na* *maana* ***mo*** ***xapiak*** ***si-na*** ...
and go.and sell PREP-3SG GRTR.PL **thing** **all** **POSS-3SG**
'... and he went and sold all his things ...' (Matthew 13:44)

N + Num + *xurul* ‘whole’

(5.300) *E na Yesus a falfaal pa-na* ***yaan sangafilu talafaat***
and ART Jesus 3SG fast PREP-3SG **day ten four**

xurul *e fe-lagai.*
whole and INCH-hungry

‘Jesus fasted forty days and forty nights and became famished.’ (Matthew 4:2)

N + Rel + *mon* ‘only’

(5.301) *a rabuna [aava ri vubux-an xasingit nami] mon*
ART people [REL 3PL like-TRANS greatly 2PL] only
‘only people who love you’ (Matthew 5:46)

N + Adj + Rel

(5.302) *a xalana mopaak [aava pife roxo].*
ART fruit sour [REL NEG good]
‘[but the tree that does not grow well bears] sour fruit that is not good.’ (Matthew 7:17)

N+ PP + Rel

(5.303) *a mu kuus fanai-an [si-na Piran] [aava mu rabuna*
ART PL say promise-NMLZ [POSS-3SG big.man] [REL PL people

i-na kuus fatuxai ri fo mo kuus-an=e]
POSS-3SG say prophecy 3PL PERF ?? say-TRANS=3SG]

‘the promises of God that the prophets talked about’ (Acts 3:25)

N + Poss + *vaxa* ‘also’

(5.304) *tama-na mu rabuna [aava ri vuputuk] vaxa*
father-3SG PL people [REL 3PL cut] also
‘the father of the circumcised as well’ (Romans 4:12)

N + Adj + Rel

(5.305) *a maana mo roxo [aava na Yesus taxa vil=e]*
ART GRTR.PL thing good [REL ART Jesus CONTIN do=3SG]
‘the good things that Jesus was doing’ (Matthew 21:15)

(5.306) *a maana mo fa-'ipul [aava mi fo xalum=e]*
ART GRTR.PL thing CAUS-amazed [REL 2PL PERF see=3SG]
‘the amazing things (i.e. miracles) that you have seen’ (Matthew 11:21)

N + A+ Rel + *vaxa* ‘also’

(5.307) *Piau, layaan mi put a latan mi tamaa put*
no when 2PL pull.up ART weeds 2PL may pull.up

a kam roxo [aava fo boak] vaxa.
ART seed good [REL PERF grow] also
ART N A REL also

‘No, when you pull up the weeds, you may pull up the good seeds that have grown as well.’ (Matthew 13:29)

N + AdjP + Rel

(5.308) *a maana mo [roxo paaliu] [aava Piran a vesan=e]*
ART GRTR.PL thing [good INTENS] [REL big.man 3SG make=3SG]
ART NUMB N ADJP REL
‘the great deeds God has done’ (Acts 2:11)

(5.309) *fafanaian [roxo paaliu] [aava fun-an la uma]*
money [good INTENS] [REL hide-PASS LOC field]
N ADJP REL
‘[The kingdom of heaven is like] a treasure that is hidden in a field’ (Matthew 13:44)

N + Num + Rel

(5.310) *vapara pisiguak [aava no xalum=e lana pa-ma-ak muaan]*
star seven [REL 2SG see=3SG in SG-hand-1SG right]
N NUM REL
‘the seven stars that you saw in my right hand’ (Revelation 1:20)

N + *xaves* ‘many’ + Rel

(5.311) *rabuna xaves [aava ri roxo]*
people many [REL 3PL good]
‘many people who are good’ (Luke 15:7)

N + *xapiak* ‘all’ + Rel

(5.312) *a mu rabuna xapiak [aava ri tingin nari]*
ART PL people all [REL 3PL find 3PL]
ART NUMB N ALL REL
‘all the people that they found’ (Matthew 22:10)

N + Adj + Num + Rel

(5.313) *E* *nane* *fe* *xel* *fa-xuvul* *a* *xasa-no* *vovau* *saat*
and 3SG go.and call CAUS-with ART other-PL spirit bad
ART NUMB N A

pisiguak *[aava* *ri* *pema-mosaat* *paaliu* *se-na]* *...*
seven [REL 3PL COMPAR-bad INTENS PREP-3SG]
NUM REL

'And he went and called together the seven other bad spirits which were worse than him ...' (Luke 11:26)

N + Dem + Rel

(5.314) *a* *ferawai-an* *aanabe'* *[aava* *mi* *fo* *langai=e]*
ART speak-NMLZ this [REL 2PL PERF hear=3SG]
ART N DEM REL
'these words that you have heard' (John 14:24)

(5.315) *Layaan* *a* *Ferasi* *naang* *[aava* *fo* *xel* *na* *Yesus*
when ART Pharisee DEM [REL PERF call ART Jesus
ART N DEM REL ...

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

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

N + Num + Dem + Rel

(5.316) *...* *taasaxa* *xa-na* *mu* *rabuna* *xaves* *aanabe'* *[aava* *ri*
but for-3SG PL people many this [REL 3PL
NUMB N NUM DEM REL...

taxa *ti* *langai,* *ne* *kuus* *malaan]* *...*
CONTIN stand.and hear 1SG say thus]

'... but I said this for the sake of the many people standing listening...' (John 11:42)

N + PP + Rel

(5.317) *mu* *angelo* *[pe* *la* *xunavata]* *[aava* *faxatang* *nari]*
PL angel [at LOC heaven] [REL take.care.of 3PL]
N PP REL

'the angels in heaven that take care of them' (Matthew 18:10)

(5.318) *Nenia, ne pife Mataa Failai [si-na Piran] [aava mi*
1SG 1SG NEG man Christ [POSS-3SG big.man] [REL 2PL
N PP REL...

taxa waan bang=e].
CONTIN be.at wait=3SG]

'I am not the Christ of God that you are waiting for.' (Acts 13:25)

(5.319) ... *a malaan se-na kam [i-na mastaat] [aava mataa*
ART like PREP-3SG seed [POSS-3SG mustard] [REL man
N PP REL ...

a siax=e e fe xapise la uma si-na].
3SG take=3SG and go.and sow-3SG LOC field POSS-3SG]

'[The kingdom of heaven] is like a mustard seed that a man took and sowed in his field.' (Matthew 13:31)

5.12. Pronouns

Weak subject pronouns, which are part of the verbal complex, are discussed in §3.1.

5.12.1. The strong pronouns

The forms and uses of strong pronouns are discussed in §3.2 above. Here we discuss possible ways of modifying strong pronouns. All modifiers of strong pronouns follow the pronoun.[34] They can be modified by *xapiak* 'all', as in (5.320).

(5.320) ... ***netaara xapiak*** *taara taa tigina la no-na*
1INCL.PL **all** 1INCL.PL FUT stand LOC in.front.of-3SG

Piran.
big.man

'All of us will stand in front of God.' (Romans 14:10)

They can be modified by relative clauses, as in (5.321).

(5.321) *netaara [aava taara namkai o a Piran a fatatoi*
1INCL.PL [REL 1INCL.PL believe COMP ART big.man 3SG raise

fa-'uli na Yesus], ...
CAUS-return ART Jesus]

'we who believe that God raised Jesus ...' (Romans 4:24)

They can combine with noun phrases, as in (5.322) and (5.323). When they do, no article is used.

---

[34] Some of these possibilities may be calques on the English.

(5.322) ***Nemaam mu Juda,*** *maam pera-roxo se-ri aava*
1EXCL.PL PL Jew 1EXCL.PL COMPAR-good PREP-3PL REL

ri pife Juda, bo?
3PL NEG Jew Q

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

(5.323) ***Nami mu rabuna*** *mi pi namkai e ...*
2PL PL people 2PL never believe
'You people never believe ...' (Matthew 17:17)

5.12.2. Demonstrative pronouns

Adnominal demonstratives are discussed above in §5.6. There is only one word that could be classified as a demonstrative pronoun, *nabe'* 'this', illustrated in (5.324) and (5.325).

(5.324) ***Nabe'*** *ve a lak si-ak aava ne vubux-an xasingit=e.*
this be 3SG child POSS-1SG REL 1SG like-TRANS greatly=3SG
'This is my Son, who I love.' (Matthew 17:5)

(5.325) ***Nabe'*** *ve a vuputkai si-ak:*
this be 3SG command POSS-1SG
'This is my command:' (John 15:17)

However, as a pronoun, *nabe'* has a very restricted distribution, only occurring in subject position in clauses with nominal predicates, as in the last two examples.

Nabe' is more commonly used as a demonstrative adverb meaning 'here', as in (5.326) (§7.4).

(5.326) *Nai* ***nabe'*** *e ne taa falet patak ...*
sit **here** and 1SG FUT go away
'Sit here and I will go away ...' (Matthew 26:36)

The fact that *nabe'* as a pronoun only occurs before the copula *ve* suggests that that construction may be a calque on English *Here is X*.

5.12.3. Interrogative pronouns

There is one word that can be called an interrogative pronoun, namely *nase'* 'who', illustrated in (5.327) and (5.328).

(5.327) ***Nase'*** *pebukan nami pa-na sinuf-an-aan=a*
who warn 2PL PREP-3SG run.away-TRANS-NMLZ=ART

fakasanam-an lava aava i taa savat?
harm-NMLZ big REL 3SG.INCOMPL FUT come

'Who warned you to flee from the coming wrath?' (Matthew 3:7)

(5.328) *Mi taxa seng* ***nase'?***
2PL CONTIN look.for **who**
'Who are you looking for?' (John 18:4)

Note that *nase'* is formally a strong pronoun, in that it begins with *na* and ends with the same suffix *-se'* that marks interrogative possessors on nouns and interrogative objects of prepositions (see §3.5, §3.6).

The word *so* 'what' is strictly speaking a noun, not a pronoun, since it occurs with the common article *a*, as in (5.329).

(5.329) *Mi falet xena xalum a* ***so?***
2PL go PURP see ART **what**
'What did you go out to see?' (Matthew 11:8)

See §8.1.2 for more discussion of content questions.

5.12.4. Indefinite pronouns

There are six words, listed in Table 5.7, that are semantically indefinite pronouns, but are strictly speaking nouns in Kara, since they can occur with the common article *a*.

saxa	'someone'		
saxafuna	'another'	*xasafuna*	'another'
saxanofuna	'some, others'	*xasanofuna*	'others'
saxanufuna	'some, others (paucal)'		

Table 5.7: Indefinite "pronouns"

The forms in the lefthand column in Table 5.7 are those that are formed from *saxa*, while those in the righthand column are formed from *xasa*. The forms with *xasa* specifically mean 'other'. The forms with *saxa* sometimes mean either 'some' or 'other' or both. The first two rows in Table 5.7 are singular, the third row plural, and the last row paucal. One can extrapolate that there is probably a sixth unattested form *xasanufuna* 'others (paucal)' not attested in the texts examined. Note that if we remove the final *funa* from these words, we get the corresponding modifiers of nouns (see §5.2.6 to §5.2.9).

The word *saxa* 'someone' is illustrated in (5.330) and (5.331).[35]

(5.330) ***Saxa*** *fo taw=au.*
one PERF touch=1SG
'Someone touched me.' (Luke 8:46)

(5.331) ***Saxa*** *la palou i-ri a xuus na Yesus, ...*
one LOC middle POSS-3PL 3SG tell ART Jesus
'Someone amongst them told Jesus, ...' (Matthew 12:47)

[35] As discussed in Appendix.3, there are many uses of *saxa* in the texts that look like possible calques. It is possible that *saxa* used as 'someone' is a calque.

However, this is also the word for ‘one’ (§5.5) and it also functions like an indefinite marker, as in (5.332).

(5.332) *... a **saxa** mataa a fala-maan xe si-na e ...*
ART **one** man 3SG run-come to POSS-3SG and
‘... a man ran up to him and ...’ (Mark 10:17)

The singular *saxafuna* occurs only twice in the texts examined, and in both cases means ‘another one’, as in (5.333).

(5.333) *A **saxafuna** aava usi na Yesus, a kuus ...*
ART **another.one** REL follow ART Jesus 3SG say
‘Another of the disciples (literally ‘Another who followed Jesus’) said, ...’
(Matthew 8:21)

The fact that this form is not used for ‘someone’ is probably related to the fact that *saxa*, illustrated above in (5.330) and (5.331), is used for that purpose.

The plural of *saxafuna*, namely *saxanofuna*, is illustrated in (5.334).

(5.334) *E **saxanofuna** aava ri ti faasilak, ri langai=e ...*
and **some.PL** REL 3PL stand.and near 3PL hear=3SG
‘And some who were standing nearby heard him and ...’ (Matthew 27:47)

Note that these pronouns are not specifically human. In (5.335), *saxanofuna* refers to seeds. Although the English translation uses the word *other* here, the word *some* could have been used instead.

(5.335) ***Saxanofuna** ri poxo lapi la bina faat e piau ...*
some.PL 3PL fall down LOC place stone and not.have
‘Other [seeds] fell on rocky ground and did not have much soil.’ (Matthew 13:5)

The paucal form of *saxafuna*, namely *saxanufuna*, is illustrated in (5.336).

(5.336) ***Saxanufuna** ri ilisai o naak na Yesus fo xuus=e ...*
some.PAUC 3PL think COMP surely ART Jesus PERF tell=3SG
‘Some thought that Jesus must be telling him ...’ (John 13:29)

The singular form *xasafuna* ‘another one’ is illustrated in (5.337) and (5.338).

(5.337) *E mui fa-dak a **xasafuna** a xalum=e e fin=e ...*
and then ADV-small ART **another** 3SG see=3SG and ask=3SG
‘Then a little later someone else saw him and asked him ...’ (Luke 22:58)

(5.338) *... o maam taa waan bang a **xasafuna**?*
or 1EXCL.PL FUT be.at wait ART **another**
‘... or should we wait for another?’ (Matthew 11:3)

Note that these indefinite words can occur as subject, as in (5.337), as object, as in (5.338), or as object of a preposition, as in (5.339).

(5.339) *E* *tamo* *no* *pife* *faxatang* *fa-roxoi* *a* *mo*
and if 2SG NEG look.after ADV-good ART thing

si-na ***xasafuna*** *...*
POSS-3SG **another**

'And if you don't take good care of someone else's property, ...' (Luke 16:12)

The plural of *xasafuna* is *xasanofuna*, illustrated in (5.340) and (5.341).

(5.340) *Muta* *tiis* *a* ***xasanofuna*** *talo* *no* *taa* *pife* *tiis-an.*
PROHIB judge ART **other.PL** so.that 2SG FUT NEG judge-PASS
'Do not judge others so that you will not be judged.' (Matthew 7:1)

(5.341) *E* ***xasanofuna*** *ri* *yot* *a* *mu* *sisiak* *aave* *e* *...*
and **other.PL** 3PL seize ART PL servant that and
'The rest seized the slaves and ...' (Matthew 22:6)

5.13. Conjoined noun phrases

There are two ways in which noun phrases can be conjoined in Kara with the meaning 'and', one with the general conjunction *e*, the other with the third person dual pronoun *nare*, discussed in §5.13.1 and §5.13.2 respectively.

5.13.1. The general conjunction *e*

One way to conjoin noun phrases is with the conjunction *e* 'and', as in (5.342) to (5.344).

(5.342) *Na* *Tama-ang* ***e*** *nenia* *maame* *saxa.*
ART father-1SG **and** 1SG 1EXCL.DU one
'My Father and I are one.' (John 10:30)

(5.343) *a* *bret* *pisiguak* ***e*** *nu* *din* *modak.*
ART bread seven **and** PAUC fish small
'seven loaves and a few small fish' (Matthew 15:34)

(5.344) *Na* *Yesus* ***e*** *mu* *fefeng* *si-na* *ri* *falet* *xe* *la*
ART Jesus **and** PL disciple POSS-3SG 3PL go to LOC

maana *nu* *bina* *faasilak* *se* *Sesaria* *Filipai.*
GRTR.PL PAUC place near PREP Caesarea Philippi

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

The conjunction *e* is also used to conjoin clauses, either ones sharing the same subject, as in (5.345) and (5.346), or ones with different subjects, as in (5.347) and (5.348).

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

(5.346) *E voxo ne mataut se-ma* ***e*** *ne fe fun*
and so 1SG afraid PREP-2SG **and** 1SG go.and hide

a faat si-im lana vaa'ul.
ART stone POSS-2SG in hole

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

(5.347) *Nane sait,* ***ri*** *punux=e* ***e*** *a mu fangaasik si-na*
3SG also **3PL** kill=3SG **and** ART PL follower POSS-3SG

ri sinuf.
3PL run.away

'He too was killed, and all who followed him were scattered.' (Acts 5:37)

(5.348) *A tanga-na mataa a matavas* ***e*** *xalema-na pife pasak*
ART ear-3SG man 3SG be.open **and** tongue-3SG NEG white

fulaa.
back

'And the man's ears were open, and his tongue was no longer white.' (Mark 7:35)

The conjunction *e* can also be used to conjoin prepositional phrases, as in (5.349).

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

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

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

It is possible for the first conjunct of a conjoined noun phrase to be the implicit object of a preposition, as in (5.350), where the first conjunct *e* 'and' is expressed by the 3SG suffix *-na* on the preposition *pana*.

(5.350) *... o re taa laak xuvul pa-na* ***e*** ***a***
... COMP 3DU FUT enter with PREP-3SG **and** **ART**

fefeng talatul si-na.
disciple three POSS-3SG

'[And he called the child's father and his mother] to go inside with him and his three disciples.' (Mark 5:40)

It is noted in §5.1.4 that articles are absent from noun phrases that function as the object of prepositions and or as possessors in the inalienable possession construction. However, with noun phrases conjoined with *e*, the article is only absent in these contexts

5.13.2. Conjoining noun phrases with the 3DU strong pronoun

The second way to conjoin noun phrases is with the 3DU strong pronoun *nare ~ narie* (see §3.2), as in (5.351) and (5.352), the latter containing instances of both *narie* and *nare* used as conjunctions.

(5.351) *Layaan nane xalum na Pita* ***nare*** *Jon ...*
when 3SG see ART Peter **3DU** John
'When he saw Peter and John ...' (Acts 3:3)

(5.352) *E na Maria Mekdala* ***narie*** *Maria, na nina*
and ART Mary Magdalene **2DU** Mary ART mother
Jems ***nare*** *Joses, re taxa ti falim nari ...*
James **3DU** Joses 3DU CONTIN stand.and see 3PL
'And Mary Magdalene and Mary, the mother of James and Joses, went and saw them ...' (Mark 15:47)

The use of the 3DU strong pronouns as conjunctions is more constrained than the general conjunction *e*, both because the 3DU pronouns can not be used to conjoin anything other than noun phrases and because they are normally used only for conjoining proper noun phrases, including, not only noun phrases with proper nouns, as in (5.51) and (5.352), but also noun phrases with kin terms, as in (5.353).[36]

(5.353) *Na nina-na* ***nare*** *tama-na re kuus ...*
ART mother-3SG **3DU** father-3SG 3DU say
'His mother and father said ...' (John 9:20)

If one of the conjuncts is a proper noun phrase and the other a common noun phrase, then the conjunction *e* is always used, as in (5.354), where it is the first noun phrase which is a common noun phrase, and (5.355), where it is the second noun phrase which is a common noun phrase.

(5.354) *... ri waan xuvul pa-na saxa-no lutefin* ***e*** *na Maria,*
3PL be.at with PREP-3SG INDEF-PL woman.PL **and** ART Mary
na nina Yesus, e a mu ti-na ...
ART mother Jesus and ART PL sibling.same-3SG
'... they were with some women and Mary, the mother of Jesus, and his brothers ...' (Acts 1:14)

---

[36] This explains why only dual pronouns are used as conjunctions, not plural pronouns: proper noun phrases are always singular, so each of the two conjuncts will always be singular and the conjoined noun phrase dual.

(5.355) ... *maa* *nai* *fangan* *xuvul* *pa* *Yesus* ***e*** *mu* *fefeng*
come.and sit eat with PREP Jesus **and** PL disciple

si-na.
POSS-3SG

'[As Jesus was having a meal in Matthew's house, many tax collectors and sinners] came and sat and ate with Jesus and his disciples.' (Matthew 9:10)

However, there is at least one instance of the 3DU pronoun being used when the second conjunct is a common noun phrase, given in (5.356).

(5.356) *Na* *Saimon* *Pita* ***narie*** *xasa* *fefeng* *si* *Yesus* *re*
ART Simon Peter **2DU** other disciple POSS Jesus 3DU

taxa *usi* *nari* ...
CONTIN follow 3PL

'Simon Peter and another disciple of Jesus followed them ...' (John 18:15)

No more than two noun phrases can be conjoined with *nare* ~ *narie*. Example (5.357) contains a noun phrase with three conjuncts, the first two of which (*na Maria* and *Yosep*) are conjoined with *narie*, the last two with *e*. This apparently reflects the fact that the two conjuncts conjoined with *narie* are both proper noun phrases, while the last conjunct is a common noun phrase.

(5.357) ... *e* *ri* *fe* *tingin* *na* *Maria* ***narie*** *Yosep* ***e***
and 3PL go.and find ART Mary **2DU** Joseph **and**

a *lak* *popo* *aava* *i* *taxa* *mati* ...
ART child infant REL 3SG.INCOMPL CONTIN lie

'So they went and found Mary and Joseph and the baby who was lying [in a manger].' (Luke 2:16)

There are also a few instances in the texts of *e* being used to conjoin two proper nouns phrases, as in (5.358).

(5.358) *Se-na* *fufu-na* *aanabe'* *a* *mataa* *taa* *ta'ulan* *na* *tama-na*
PREP-3SG base-3SG this ART man FUT leave ART father-3SG

e *na* *nina-na* ...
and ART mother-3SG

'For this reason a man will leave his father and his mother ...' (Matthew 19:5)

An important difference between conjoining noun phrases with *e* and conjoining them with the 3DU strong pronoun is that with the conjunction *e*, the second conjunct is more often marked with an article, whereas with the 3DU strong pronoun, the second conjunct is never marked with an article. Contrast, for example, the article *na* on the second conjunct *na ninana* 'his mother' in (5.358), following the general conjunction *e*, with the absence of an article in the example in (5.359) with the same *ninana* 'his mother' as second conjunct following the 3DU pronoun.

(5.359) *A* *fenamo* *fe-taxapus* *e* *na* *tama-na* ***nare*** *nina-na*
ART feast MID-stop and ART father-3SG **3DU** mother-3SG

re *taxa* *ulaa* *xo* *xe* *la* *bina* *si-re.*
3DU CONTIN return TOPIC to LOC place POSS-3DU

'The feast finished and his father and his mother were returning home.' (Luke 2:43)

When there are three or more conjuncts, all of them proper noun phrases, the most common construction is one in which the first and last conjuncts are marked with the proper article *na* and the conjunction *e* occurs between the last two conjuncts, as in (5.360), where there are three conjuncts, and (5.361), where there are four conjuncts.

(5.360) ... ***na*** *Abrahem,* *Aisaak* ***e*** ***na*** *Yaakop,* ...
... **ART** Abraham Isaac **and** **ART** Jacob
'[I am the God who your ancestors,] Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob [worshipped.]'
(Matthew 22:32)

(5.361) ... *mu* *ti-na* *ve* ***na*** *Jems,* *Yosep,* *Simon* ***e*** ***na***
PL sibling.same-3SG be **ART** James Joseph Simon **and** **ART**

Juut.
Jude.

'... his brothers are James, Joseph, Simon, and Judas.' (Matthew 13:55)

The use of the conjunct *e* here rather than a 3DU pronoun might be due to the fact that there are more than two conjuncts, so the phrase itself is not dual, although in (5.357) above, we do get a case of the 3DU pronoun being used between the first two of three conjuncts ('Mary and Joseph and the baby ...'), though this may be because Mary and Joseph form a natural set to the exclusion of the baby Jesus, while, for example, in (5.361), Abraham and Isaac do not form a natural set to the exclusion of Jacob.

There is also one instance, given in (5.362), in which the third person trial strong pronoun *narutul* is used as a conjunction between the first two of three conjuncts, otherwise being similar to the preceding two examples, with the first and last conjuncts marked with the proper article *na*.

(5.362) *na* *Pita* ***narutul*** *Jems* ***e*** *na* *Jon*
ART Peter **3TRIAL** James **and** ART John
'... Peter, James, and John ...' (Luke 9:28)

Although strong pronouns in Kara often behave like proper noun phrases, they differ in that when conjoined with a proper noun phrase, the conjunction *e* is always used, as in (5.363), though this could be due to the fact that if the 3DU strong pronoun were used, there would be two strong pronouns in a row.

(5.363) *nane* ***e*** *na* *nina-na* *xuvul* *pa-na* *mu* *ti-na*
3SG **and** ART mother-3SG with PREP-3SG PL sibling.same-3SG

e *mu* *fefeng* *si-na*
and PL disciple POSS-3SG

'he and his mother with this brothers and his disciples' (John 2:12)

This example also illustrates the use of *xuvul pa* ‘with’ (§6.2.3) in a context where a conjunction might have been used.

5.13.3. o ‘or’

Noun phrases can also be conjoined by *o* ‘or’, as in (5.364) and (5.365). This word may be a borrowing from Tok Pisin.

(5.364) *Nane toxan a giis-an la putu-na e fuuna gaga e*
3SG have ART sick-NMLZ LOC head-3SG and HABIT crazy and

maana yaan fuuna poxo xe lana fata ***o*** *raarum.*
GRTR.PL day HABIT fall to in fire **or** water

‘He has a sickness in his head and he is crazy and he often falls into the fire or the water.’ (Matthew 17:15)

(5.365) *E i taa pi nu-num a raarum tateak* ***o***
and 3SG.INCOMPL FUT never HABIT-drink ART water strong **or**

xasano mo malaan e ...
other thing like and

‘And he must never drink wine or other things like it ...’ (Luke 1:14)

The conjunction *o* is also used to conjoin various types of words or constituents other than noun phrases. It can conjoin clauses, as in (5.365), prepositional phrases, as in (5.367), adjectives, as in (5.368), or numerals, as in (5.369).

(5.366) *Xuus nemaam, nano, no saxa aava na Jon a kuus o*
tell 1PL.EXCL 2SG 2SG one REL ART John 3SG say COMP

i taa savat ***o*** *maam taa waan bang a*
3SG.INCOMPL FUT come **or** 1PL.EXCL FUT be.at wait ART

xasafuna?
another.one

‘Tell us, are you the one who is to come, or should we look for another?’ (Matthew 11:3)

(5.367) *Naak a mataa i taa timin a laam lapaana bi*
surely ART man 3SG.IMPF FUT put ART lamp under basket

o *lapaana ivin, bo?*
or under bed Q

‘Will a man put a lamp under a basket or under a bed?’ (Mark 4:21)

(5.368) *Layaan mi savat la bina lava* ***o*** *modak, laak lana e ...*
when 2PL come LOC place large **or** small enter in and
‘Whenever you enter a large or small village, enter it and ...’ (Matthew 10:11)

(5.369) ... *falet* *fulaa* *xe* *si-na* *xuvul* *pa-na* *mataa* *saxa* *o*
go again to POSS-3SG with PREP-3SG man one or

taragua.
two

'... go back to him with one or two men.' (Matthew 18:16)

6 *Prepositions and prepositional phrases*

6.1. Inflecting versus noninflecting prepositions

There are two classes of prepositions in Kara, those that inflect and those that do not inflect. A list of each of these is given in Table 6.1.

inflecting prepositions		noninflecting prepositions	
si	'possessive, etc.'	*la*	general locative
i	'possessive'	*lana*	'in'
pa	various uses	*pe*	'at (for large places)'
se	various uses	*xe*	'to'
xa ~ xaa	'for'	*ti*	'from'
xulu	'on'	*xena*	'purpose'
no	'in front of'	*paamuin*	'before'
xase	'from, against'	*fefexaxaas*	'until'
lapaa	'under'	*faasilak*	'near'
lami	'behind, after'		

Table 6.1: Inflecting and noninflecting prepositions

The morphology of the inflecting prepositions is discussed in §3.6. In this chapter, I discuss their syntax and the meanings and functions of each preposition.

Syntactically, the inflecting prepositions share the property that the uninflected form of the preposition is used before proper noun phrases, illustrated by the preposition *se* in (6.1), while the 3SG form with the suffix *-na* is used before common noun phrases whether the noun phrase is singular or plural, illustrated by *sena* in (6.2).

(6.1) *Taasaxa ne xuus nami o a xa-kaalum-an si-na mu*
but 1SG tell 2PL COMP ART HABIT-look-NMLZ POSS-3SG PL

fur a pera-roxo ***se Solomon*** *...*
flowers 3SG COMPAR-good **PREP** **Solomon**

'Yet I tell you, the appearance of the flowers is better than Solomon ...' (Luke 12:27)

(6.2) *... nane a pera-roxo* ***se-na xasano fangan-an lana uma.***
3SG 3SG COMPAR-good **PREP-3SG** **other.PL** **eat-NMLZ** **in** **field**
'... it is better than other food in the field.' (Mark 4:32)

The other inflected forms are only used when the preposition does not have a noun phrase object, i.e. where the object is realized only by the suffix on the preposition, illustrated by *sema* in (6.3).

(6.3) ... *saxa mataa aava pe-lalava* ***se-ma*** *tamaa savat.*
one man REL COMPAR-big **PREP-2SG** may come
'... a person more distinguished than you may come.' (Luke 14:8)

One syntactic difference between inflecting and noninflecting prepositions is that noninflecting prepositions cannot occur without a full noun phrase as object, while inflecting prepositions can, as illustrated by *xuluna* 'on it' in (6.4), by *xana* 'for him' in (6.5), and by *pana* 'about it' in (6.6).

(6.4) ... *put aava na Yesus a feng nari xe* ***xulu-na.***
mountain REL ART Jesus 3SG send 3PL to **ON-3SG**
'[So the eleven disciples went to Galilee to] the mountain that Jesus had sent them to.'
(literally 'the mountain that Jesus had sent them to on it') (Matthew 28:16)

(6.5) *Narutul aave rutul faigot-an a fangan-an* ***xa-na.***
3TRIAL that 3TRIAL prepare-TRANS ART eat-NMLZ **for-3SG**
'So they prepared a dinner for him.' (John 12:2)

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

Both inflecting and noninflecting prepositions share the property that the common article and proper article are always absent from noun phrases following a preposition. In (6.1) above, for example, the proper article *na* is missing from *Solomon* following the inflecting preposition *se*. The proper article is also missing from *Nasaret* 'Nazareth' in (6.7) following the noninflecting preposition *xe* 'to'.

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

Analogous examples are given in (6.8) and (6.9) illustrating the absence of the common article *a*, following the inflecting preposition *i* (in the form *ina*) in (6.8) and following the noninflecting general locative preposition *la* in (6.9).

(6.8) *Taara taa falet xe la paxasing* ***i-na*** ***laman.***
1INCL.PL FUT go to LOC side **POSS-3SG** **sea**
'Let's go across to the other side of the lake.' (Mark 4:35)

(6.9) *Taasaxa, lak tuaan va taxa waan* ***la*** ***uma.***
but child older TOPIC CONTIN be.at **LOC** **field**
'Now his older son was in the field.' (Luke 15:25)

A further difference between inflecting and noninflecting preposition is that in general, only the former can occur with human objects. This is clearly related to the fact that the only way in Kara of expressing a first or second person object of a preposition is by suffixes on the preposition, which is only possible with inflecting prepositions. Some of the noninflecting prepositions do occur with human objects, but only if an inflecting preposition is used as well.

For example, the preposition *xe* ‘to’ can take a human object, but only in conjunction with the inflecting preposition *si*, as in (6.10) (§6.2.1).

(6.10) *Ri* *fa-falax=e* *pa-na* *marapi* *i-na* *piran* *e*
3PL CAUS-wear=3SG PREP-3SG clothes POSS-3SG big.man and

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

‘They dressed him in elegant clothes and sent him back to Pilate.’ (Luke 23:11)

Similarly, the word *faasilak* ‘near’, whose status as a preposition is unclear (§6.3.9) combines with the inflecting preposition se when it occurs with a human object, as in (6.11).

(6.11) *a* *mu* *rabuna* *aava* *ri* *fuuna* *taagul* ***faasilak*** ***se-na***
ART PL people REL 3PL HABIT stay **near** **PREP-3SG**
‘the people who lived near him’ (John 9:8)

The word *paamuin* ‘before’, whose status as a preposition is also unclear, can take human objects expressed by a strong pronoun, as in (6.12).

(6.12) *...* *nane* *ve* *taxa* *sangas* ***paamuin*** ***nari.***
3SG TOPIC CONTIN walk **before** **3PL**
‘[When Jesus and his disciples were going up to Jerusalem,] he was walking ahead of them.’ (Mark 10:32)

However, as discussed below in §6.3.7, this property of *paamuin* is one reason to think it might be better analyzed as a verb. The noninflecting preposition *lana* ‘in’ can also occur with a human object without any additional preposition, as in (6.13).

(6.13) *Piau* *ta* *mo* *i* *taa* *laak* ***lana*** ***mataa*** *...*
no NONSPEC thing 3SG.IMPF FUT enter **in** **man**
‘Nothing can enter a man ...’ (Mark 7:15)

However, as discussed in §6.3.2, while the preposition *lana* is noninflecting, it does behave in a few ways like inflecting prepositions.

There are many instances of prepositions in the texts that may be calques (see Appendix 1.5). The discussion here is limited to uses that are least likely to be calques.

6.2. Inflecting prepositions

6.2.1. The possessive preposition *si*

The preposition *si* , illustrated in (6.14) to (6.16), is one of two prepositions used in possessive constructions; the second one is *i*, discussed in §6.2.2. See §5.7.2 for more detailed discussion.

(6.14) *Tiis* ***fa-roxoi=au*** *xase-na* *mu* *xaiyaas* *si-ak.*
judge **ADV-good=1SG** against-3SG PL enemy POSS-1SG
'Judge me well against my adversaries.' (Luke 18:3)

(6.15) *Muta* *falet* *xe* *lan'* *ta* ***bina*** ***si-na*** ***mu*** ***rabuna*** ***aava***
PROHIB go to in NONSPEC **place** **POSS-3SG** **PL** **people** **REL**

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

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

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

a *saxa* *pa-tanga-na.*
ART one SG-ear-3SG

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

Si is also required after the preposition *xe* 'to', when the object of *xe* is human, as in (6.10) above and (6.17).

(6.17) *...* *e* *fala* *fataapus* ***xe*** ***si*** ***Pol*** ***nare*** ***Sailas*** *e*
... and run quickly **to** **POSS** **Paul** **3DU** **Silas** and

a *poxo* *radakui* *la* *no-re.*
3SG fall tremble LOC in.front.of-3DU

'... and ran immediately to Paul and Silas, and fell down trembling in front of them.' (Acts 16:29)

The use of *si* after *xe* with human objects makes it possible to express the equivalent of a first or second object with *xe*, by using the appropriately inflected form of *si* after *xe*, such as the 2SG form *siim* in (6.18).

(6.18) *Tamo* *nane* *pife* *mataa* *saat,* *maam* *taa* *pife* *lisan-maan=e*
if 3SG NEG man bad 1EXCL.PL FUT NEG bring-come=3SG

xe ***si-im.***
to **POSS-2SG**

'If he were not a criminal, we would not have handed him over to you.' (John 18:30)

However, the preposition *xe* is the only noninflecting preposition that takes *si* with human objects. This is probably due to the fact that most noninflecting prepositions have meanings that are less likely to occur with human objects. We might expect *ti* 'from' to be similar to *xe* 'to' in combining with *si* with human objects. However, the inflecting preposition *xase* 'against' is used instead of *ti* in these contexts, as in (6.19).

(6.19) *...* *senaso* *a* *malasuf* *i-na* *a* *fun-an* ***xase-ri*** *e* *...*
because ART meaning POSS-3SG 3SG hide-PASS **from-3PL** and
'... because its meaning was hidden from them, and ...' (Luke 18:34)

The meanings of *lana* ‘in’ and *faasilak* ‘near’ seem compatible with human objects, but neither occur in the texts with first or second person objects, though *faasilak* with a third person human object in (6.20), but combines with *se*.

(6.20) ... *a* *saxa* *paamua* *aava* *i* *taxa* *tigina* ***faasilak***
ART one first REL 3SG.IMPF CONTIN stand **near**

se-na *a* *tavaf=e* *la* *yaava-na* ...
PREP-3SG 3SG hit=3SG in jaw-3SG

‘... one of the high priest's officers who stood nearby struck him on the face ...’ (John 18:22)

6.2.2. The possessive preposition *i*

The preposition *i*, illustrated twice in (6.21), is one of two prepositions used in nominal possessive constructions and is discussed in more detail in §5.7.3. The other possessive preposition is *si*.

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

nonau ***i-na*** *a* *puk* ...
face **POSS-3SG** 3SG turn

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

The preposition *i* is frequently used (in the 3SG form *ina*) to mark abstract relationships between two nouns, often in complex expressions corresponding to single nouns in English, where for cultural reasons, Kara would be unlikely to have a word. This is illustrated in (6.22) to (6.24). In (6.22), *bina ina vipisan*, literally ‘a place of tying up’ is used to express the meaning ‘prison’.

(6.22) ... *nane* *fo* *xuus* *a* *mu* *rabuna* *si-na* *o*
3SG PERF tell ART PL people POSS-3SG COMP

ri *taa* *tao* *na* *Jon* *e* *pis* *fa-waan=e* *la*
3PL FUT hold ART John and tie CAUS-be.at=3SG LOC

bina ***i-na*** ***vipis-an.***
place **POSS-3SG** **be.tied-NMLZ**

‘... he told his men to arrest John and put him in prison’ (Matthew 14:3)

In (6.23), *rabuna ina rawen*, literally ‘people of war’, is used to express the meaning ‘soldiers’.

(6.23) *E* *nane* *fasei* *faagut-an* *a* *mu* ***rabuna*** ***i-na***
and 3SG order strong-TRANS ART PL **people** **POSS-3SG**

rawen *si-na* *o* *ri* *taa* *punuk* ...
war POSS-3SG COMP 3PL FUT kill

‘And he ordered his soldiers to kill ...’ (Matthew 2:16)

And in (6.24), *rabuna ina kuus fatuxai*, literally 'people of prophecy', is used to express the meaning 'prophet'.[37]

(6.24) *A* *mu* *kuus* ***fanai-an*** *si-na* *Piran* *aava* *mu* *rabuna*
ART PL say **promise-NMLZ** POSS-3SG big.man REL PL people

i-na *kuus* *fatuxai* *ri* *fo* *mo* *kuus-an=e,* ...
POSS-3SG say prophecy 3PL PERF ?? say-TRANS=3SG

'The promises of God that the prophets talked about ...' (Acts 3:25)

6.2.3. The preposition *pa*

The preposition *pa* has a very wide array of uses and is simply glossed 'PREP' throughout this work. Because of the wide array of uses, it is difficult to identify a basic use, but if there is one, perhaps it is as a marker of instrumentals, as in (6.25) and (6.26).

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

(6.26) *Ne* *taa* *fakasanam* *a* *nu* *tu-vaat* *aave* ***pa-na*** ***pinis*** *ti*
1SG FUT harm ART PAUC PL-man that **PREP-3SG** **sword** from

lana *vala-ak.*
in mouth-1SG

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

The most frequent use of *pa* in the texts is in combination with the word *xuvul* to express 'with' in a comitative sense, as in (6.27) to (6.30).

(6.27) ... *ne* *taa* *fangan* ***xuvul*** ***pa-na*** *mu* *fefeng* *si-ak* ...
1SG FUT eat **with** **PREP-3SG** PL disciple POSS-1SG
'... I will eat with my disciples ...' (Mark 14:14)

(6.28) *mu* *rabuna* *aava* *ri* *waan* ***xuvul*** ***pa-na***
PL people REL 3PL be.at **with** **PREP-3SG**
'the people who were with him' (Matthew 8:10)

(6.29) ... *maa* *nai* *fangan* ***xuvul*** ***pa*** *Yesus* *e* *mu* *fefeng*
come.and sit eat **with** **PREP** Jesus and PL disciple

si-na.
POSS-3SG

'[As Jesus was having a meal in Matthew's house, many tax collectors and sinners] came and sat and ate with Jesus and his disciples.' (Matthew 9:10)

---

[37] The exact meaning of *fatuxai*, glossed 'prophecy', is not clear since it only occurs in the texts in this expression meaning 'prophet'.

(6.30) *A* *nu-tu-vaat* *pisaxa* *aanabe'* *vaxa* *ri* *falet* *xe* *puaa*
ART PAUC-PL-person six this also 3PL go to north

Sesaria ***xuvul*** ***pa-ga*** *e* ...
Caesarea **with** **PREP-1SG** and

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

The preposition *pa* (in the form *pana*) can be used in a comitative sense without ***xuvul*** when the object is nonhuman, as in (6.31) to (6.33).

(6.31) *A* *mo* *roxo* *no* *taa* *laak* *lana* *to-yan* *vulai*
3SG thing good 2SG FUT enter in live-NMLZ always

pa-na ***pa-mata*** ***saxa*** ***mon*** ...
PREP-3SG **SG-eye** **one** **only**

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

(6.32) *Na* *Kornilius* *a* *xalum* *fa-tateax=e* ***pa-na*** ***mataut-an*** ...
ART Cornelius 3SG see ADV-strong=3SG **PREP-3SG** **afraid-NMLZ**
'Cornelius stared at him intently in fear.' (Acts 10:4)

(6.33) *La* *vung* *aave* *a* *rabuna* *ri* *lisan-maan* *a* *mu* *rabuna*
LOC night that ART people 3PL bring-come ART PL people

pa-na ***vovau*** ***saat*** *xe* *si* *Yesus.*
PREP-3SG **spirit** **bad** to POSS Jesus

'That night, the people brought people with demons to Jesus.' (Matthew 8:16)

In what is probably a special case of the preceding use, *pa* (in the 3SG form *pana*) is used in forming higher numerals, following the expression denoting the number of tens and preceding the expression denoting the number of units. For example, the expression for 'twenty four', illustrated in (6.34), in constructed from *sangafilu taragua* 'twenty (lit. two tens)' followed by *pana*, followed by *talafaat* 'four'.

(6.34) *sangafilu* *taragua* *pa-na* *talafaat*
ten two PREP-3SG four
'twenty four' (Revelation 4:10)

Another common use of *pa* is to mark the secondary object (the theme or theme-like argument) with ditransitive verbs. This includes the verb *tavai* 'give', as in (6.35) and (6.36), *faxalit* 'show', as in (6.37), *xuus* 'tell', as in (6.38), and *fin* 'ask', in the sense of 'ask for', as in (6.39).

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

(6.36) *Ne pi ta faat, taasaxa ne taa* ***tavai*** *nano*
1SG never NONSPEC stone but 1SG FUT **give** 2SG

pa-na xasa mo, ...
PREP-3SG other thing

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

(6.37) *E malaanabe' mi taa* ***faxalit*** *a mu rabuna* ***pa-na***
and like.this 2PL FUT **show** ART PL people **PREP-3SG**

malang si-mi ...
bright POSS-2PL

'And in the same way, show your light to people, ...' (Matthew 5:16)

(6.38) *Na Yesus a* ***xuus*** *nari* ***pa-na*** ***ferawaian*** ***paap*** *fulaa laa:*
ART Jesus 3SG **tell** 3PL **PREP-3SG** **speak-NMLZ** **holy** again again
'Jesus told them another parable:' (Matthew 13:33)

(6.39) ***Fin*** *a Piran* ***pa-na*** ***maana*** ***mo*** *aava no*
ask ART big.man **PREP-3SG** **GRTR.PL** **thing** REL 2SG

vubux-an=e
want-TRANS=3SG

'Ask God for things that you want ...' (Matthew 7:7)

The causatives of transitive verbs are formally ditransitive in Kara and behave similarly to ordinary ditransitive verbs: the subject of the basic verb is primary object of the causative verb and the object of the basic verb is secondary object of the causative verb, marked with the preposition *pa*. This is illustrated in (6.40) to (6.42).

(6.40) *Ri* ***fa-falax=e*** ***pa-na*** ***marapi*** *i-na piran e*
3PL **CAUS-wear=3SG** **PREP-3SG** **clothes** POSS-3SG big.man and

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

'They dressed him in elegant clothes (literally: 'they caused him to wear clothes of God') and sent him back to Pilate.' (Luke 23:11)

(6.41) *E rao ri* ***fa-num=e*** ***pa-na*** ***wain*** *aava toxan*
and IRREAL 3PL **CAUS-drink=3SG** **PREP-3SG** **wine** REL have

a saxa buk titiwai ...
ART one kind herb

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

(6.42) *Falet,* ***fa-xalum*** *a mu priis* ***pa-na*** ***ta-mi.***
go **CAUS-see** ART PL priest **PREP-3SG** **skin-2PL**
'Go and show yourselves to the priests.' (Luke 17:14)

Similarly, with verbs meaning 'to call something something', the expression denoting the name is marked with pa, as in (6.43) to (6.45).

(6.43) *Ri* ***xali*** *a* *mo* *lalas* *aanabe'* ***pa-na*** ***Naart.***
3PL **call** ART thing aromatic this **PREP-3SG** **nard**
'They call this aromatic substance 'nard'.' (Mark 14:3)

(6.44) *I* *taa* *luk* *a* *lak* *tomexaan* *e* *no* *taa*
3SG.INCOMPL FUT give.birth ART child male and 2SG FUT

xali=e ***pa*** ***Yesus*** ***...***
call=3SG **PREP** **Jesus**

'She will give birth to a son and you will name him Jesus, ...' (Matthew 1:21)

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

There are some verbs, like *faasot* 'sell' and *fepitaa* 'teach', which can occur with either three arguments or two arguments. When these verbs occur with two arguments, the sole nonsubject argument is the theme or theme-like argument. Even when monotransitive, these verbs mark the theme or theme-like argument with *pa*, as in (6.46) and (6.47), just as they mark the theme or theme-like argument in clauses with three arguments with *pa*.

(6.46) *a* *mu* *ivin* *si-ri* *aava* *ri* ***faasot*** ***pa-na*** ***vaalus***
ART PL chair POSS-3PL REL 3PL **sell** **PREP-3SG** **dove**
'the chairs of those selling doves' (Matthew 21:12)

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

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

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

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

Pa in the 3SG form *pana* is used to introduce clauses which are the theme-like argument (or secondary object) with *fin* 'ask' when used with the meaning 'ask someone to do something', as in (6.48).

(6.48) ... *taasaxa* *nari* *aava* *ne* *fo* ***fin*** *nari* ***pa-na*** ***fili-maan*** ...
but 3PL REL 1SG PERF **ask** 3PL **PREP-3SG** **come-come**
'... but those that I have asked to come ...' (Matthew 22:8)

Example (6.49) is similar, with *pebukan* 'warn', but here the verb in the subordinate clause is nominalized.

(6.49) *Nase'* ***pebukan*** *nami* ***pa-na*** ***sinuf-an-aan=a***
who **warn** 2PL **PREP-3SG** **run.away-TRANS-NMLZ=ART**

fakasanam-an *lava* *aava* *i* *taa* *savat?*
harm-NMLZ big REL 3SG.INCOMPL FUT come

'Who warned you to flee from the coming wrath?' (Matthew 3:7)

Another meaning associated with *pa* is 'about, concerning', as in (6.50) to (6.52), the first of which contains two occurrences of *pa* in this sense.

(6.50) *Taasaxa* ***la-lamon*** *faagut* *paaliu* ***pa-na*** *mo* *aanabe'* *aava*
but **REDUP-think** strong INTENS **PREP-3SG** thing this REL

nenia *ne* *fo* ***xuus*** ***fa-texaas*** *nami* ***pa-na.***
1SG 1SG PERF **tell** **CAUS-know** 2PL **PREP-3SG**

'Think very hard about these things that I have informed you about.' (Mark 13:23)

(6.51) *...* *re* ***fe-xuus*** *a* *maana* *rabuna* *xaves* *la* *maana* *mu*
... 3DU **together-tell** ART GRTR.PL people many LOC GRTR.PL PL

bina *xapiak* ***pa-na.***
place all **PREP-3SG**

'... they told people throughout that entire region about him.' (Matthew 9:31)

(6.52) *...* *a* *malila* *molava* *paaliu* *ri* ***langai*** ***pa-na*** *faisok*
ART crowd big INTENS 3PL **hear** **PREP-3SG** act

na *Yesus* *a* *vil=e* *e* *voxo* *ri* *savat* *fa-xuvul.*
ART Jesus 3SG do=3SG and so 3PL come ADV-with

'... a very large crowd heard about the things Jesus had done and so they came together.' (Mark 3:8)

Pa is also used as a marker of duration with temporal expressions, as in (6.53) to (6.55).

(6.53) *Nane* *fo* *toxan* *a* *giis-an* *aanabe'* ***pa-na*** ***mariaas***
3SG PERF have ART sick-NMLZ this **PREP-3SG** **year**

sangafilu ***saxa*** ***pa-na*** ***taragua.***
ten **one** **PREP-3SG** **two**

'She had had this sickness for twelve years.' (Mark 5:25)

(6.54) *E* *na* *Yesus* *a* *falfaal* ***pa-na*** ***yaan*** ***sangafilu*** ***talafaat***
and ART Jesus 3SG fast **PREP-3SG** **day** **ten** **four**

xurul *e* *fe-lagai.*
whole and INCH-hungry

'Jesus fasted forty days and forty nights and became famished.' (Matthew 4:2)

(6.55) *E* *maam* *waan* *pave* ***pa-na*** ***nu*** ***yaan.***
and 1EXCL.PL be.at there **PREP-3SG** **PAUC** **day**
'And we stayed there for some days.' (Acts 16:12)

Pa (in the 3SG form *pana*) combines with nominalizations of verbs following the verb *tangpat* ‘begin’ to express the meaning ‘begin to’, as in (6.56) and (6.57).

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

(6.57) ... *na* *Yesus* *a* ***tangpat*** ***pa-na*** ***xuus*** ***fa-matavas-aan=a***
ART Jesus 3SG **begin** **PREP-3SG** **tell** **ADV-clear-NMLZ=ART**

mu *fefeng* *si-na* *o* *a* *Piran* *a* *vubuk* *rao*
PL disciple POSS-3SG COMP ART big.man 3SG want IRREAL

i *taa* *laak* *xe* *Jerusalem.*
3SG.INCOMPL FUT enter to Jerusalem

‘... Jesus began to tell his disciples clearly that God wanted him to go to Jerusalem.’ (Matthew 16:21)

Complements of the verb *taxapus* ‘stop’ are similar, as in (6.58).

(6.58) *Ri* *fo* *maat* *e* *i* *taa* *pife* ***taxapus*** ***pa-na***
3PL PERF die and 3SG.INCOMPL FUT NEG **stop** **PREP-3SG**

taangiis-an ***si-na.***
weep-NMLZ **POSS-3SG**

‘They had died and she would not stop her weeping.’ (Matthew 2:18)

While the preposition *xa(a)* is the one generally used to express benefactive meaning, the preposition *pa* is occasionally used with this meaning, as in (6.59) and (6.60). It is not clear what, if anything, determines the choice between *xa(a)* and *pa* used benefactively.

(6.59) *Feng* *tapin* *et* *nari* *talo* *ri* *taa* *laak* *la* *nu* *bina*
send away away 3PL so.that 3PL FUT enter LOC PAUC place

faasilak *xena* *maraan* *fangan-an* ***pa-ri*** ***xa.***
near PURP obtain eat-NMLZ **PREP-3PL** **REFL/RECIP**

‘Send them away so that they can go into the villages and buy food for themselves.’ (Matthew 14:15)

(6.60) ... *na* *Krais* *a* *maat* ***pa-taara*** ***mu*** ***rabuna*** ***saat.***
ART Christ 3SG die **PREP-1INCL.PL** **PL** **people** **bad**
‘... Christ died for us sinners.’ (Romans 5:6)

6.2.4. *se* ‘second argument with semantically bivalent stative verbs’

The most common use of the preposition *se* is to mark the second argument of semantically bivalent stative verbs, as in (6.61) to (6.68).

(6.61) *Mi* ***masam*** ***se-na*** *mo ne fo vil=e se-mi?*
2PL **understand** **PREP-3SG** thing 1SG PERF do=3SG PREP-2PL
'Do you understand what I have done for you?' (John 13:12)

(6.62) *... nano no taa kuus faa-talatul o no pife* ***texaas***
2SG 2SG FUT say times-three COMP 2SG NEG **know**

se-ga.
PREP-1SG

'... you will say three times that you do not know me.' (Matthew 26:34)

(6.63) *Xenaso mi taxa* ***la-lamon*** *faa-xaves* ***se-na*** *marapi?*
why 2PL CONTIN **REDUP-think** times-many **PREP-3SG** clothes
'Why do you worry about clothing?' (Matthew 6:28)

(6.64) *A paamua ve a* ***vungut*** ***se-na*** *fufu-na wain aave,*
ART first TOPIC 3SG **not.know** **PREP-3SG** source-3SG wine that

taasaxa mu sisiak ri texaas.
but PL servant 3PL know

'The head steward did not know the source of the wine, but the servants knew.' (John 2:9)

(6.65) *Taasaxa mu Ferasi ri* ***namkai*** ***se-rutul*** *xapiak.*
but PL Pharisee 3PL **believe** **PREP-3TRIAL** all
'[The Sadducees say there is no resurrection, or angel, or spirit,] but the Pharisees believe in all three.' (Acts 23:8)

(6.66) *... ri* ***ipul*** *faagut paaliu* ***se-na*** *gut-an si Yesus.*
3PL **amazed** strong INTENS **PREP-3SG** strong-NMLZ POSS Jesus
'... they were astonished at the power of Jesus.' (Mark 5:42)

(6.67) *... senaso na Herot a* ***mataut*** ***se*** *Jon.*
because ART Herod 3SG **afraid** **PREP** John
'... because Herod stood in awe of John.' (Mark 6:20)

(6.68) *Tamo mataa taa* ***mangil*** ***se-ga*** *e* ***se-na*** *ferawai-an*
if man FUT **ashamed** **PREP-1SG** and **PREP-3SG** speak-NMLZ

si-ak, a Natu-na Mataa i taa
POSS-1SG ART son-3SG man 3SG.INCOMPL FUT

mangil-an=e vaxa ...
ashamed-TRANS=3SG also

'If a man is ashamed of me and my words, the Son of Man will be ashamed of him ...' (Luke 9:26)

Most of the bivalent stative verbs that mark their second argument with *se* are verbs denoting psychological states; however one that is not is *malaan* 'be like', illustrated in (6.69).

(6.69) *...* *a* ***malaan*** ***se-na*** *kam* *i-na* *mastaat* *aava* *mataa*
3SG **like** **PREP-3SG** seed POSS-3SG mustard REL man

a *siax=e* *e* *fe* *xapis=e* *la* *uma* *si-na.*
3SG take=3SG and go.and sow=3SG LOC field POSS-3SG

'[The kingdom of heaven] is like a mustard seed that a man took and sowed in his field.' (Matthew 13:31)

While the English verb *honour* is not obviously a stative verb, the Kara verb *suai* which corresponds to *honour* apparently is, since it marks its second argument with *se*, as in (6.70).

(6.70) ***Suai*** ***se*** *nina-mi* *e* *tama-mi.*
honour **PREP** mother-2PL and father-2PL
'Honour your father and mother' (Matthew 15:4)

A related use of the preposition *se* is to mark noun phrases to which something is being compared, similar in meaning to *than* in English, as in (6.71) to (6.73).

(6.71) *A* *kam* *i-na* *wai* *mastaat* *a* ***pema-modak*** ***se-na***
ART seed POSS-3SG tree mustard 3SG **COMPAR-small** **PREP-3SG**

xasano *buk* *kam* *...*
other kind seed

'The mustard seed is smaller than other kinds of seeds.' (Matthew 13:32)

(6.72) *E* *nami* *mi* ***pe-lalava*** ***se-na*** *mu* *maanu* *...*
and 2PL 2PL **COMPAR-big** **PREP-3SG** PL bird
'You are much more valuable than the birds [in the eyes of God]!' (Luke 12:24)

(6.73) *E* *nane* *fe* *xel* *fa-xuvul* *a* *xasa-no* *vovau* *saat* *pisiguak*
and 3SG go.and call CAUS-with ART other-PL spirit bad seven

aava *ri* ***pema-mosaat*** ***paaliu*** ***se-na*** *...*
REL 3PL **COMPAR-bad** **INTENS** **PREP-3SG**

'And he went and called together the seven other bad spirits which were worse than him ...' (Luke 11:26)

This use could also be considered an instance of marking the second argument of bivalent verbs with *se*, since when adjectives are interpreted comparatively, the thing being compared to is, in a sense, a second semantic argument of a stative verb.

While this use of *se* in comparative constructions is typically governed by adjectives bearing the comparative prefix (§4.2.12), as in (6.71) to (6.73), sometimes the adjective occurs in its simple noncomparative form, as in (6.74) and (6.75).

(6.74) *a* *mataa* *aave* *a* ***faagut*** ***se-ga***
ART man REL 3SG **strong** **PREP-1SG**
'a man who is more powerful than me' (Mark 1:7)

(6.75) *Mi* *lamon* *o* *nari,* *ri* ***vupuno*** ***temasaat*** ***se-na*** *xasanofuna*
2PL think COMP 3PL 3PL **guilty** **much** **PREP-3SG** other.PL

aava *ri* *waan* *pe* *Jerusalem,* *bo?*
REL 3PL be.at at Jerusalem Q

'Do you think they were worse offenders than the others who live in Jerusalem?' (Luke 13:4)

There are a number of other less common uses of *se*. Like the preposition pa (see (6.50) to (6.52) above), *se* can mean 'about, concerning', as in (6.76) to (6.78).

(6.76) *...* *ri* ***ferawai*** *faa-xaves* ***se-na*** *mu* *Juda* *ti*
3PL **speak** times-many **PREP-3SG** PL Jew from

Judia, *...*
Judea

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

(6.77) *...* *e* *mui* *a* *mu* *rabuna* *xapiak* *pe* *Siria* *ri* ***texaas***
and then ART PL people all at Syria 3PL **know**

se-na *e* *...*
PREP-3SG and

'... and then all the people in Syria know about him ...' (Matthew 4:24)

(6.78) *Xenaso* *mi* *taxa* ***la-lamon*** *faa-xaves* ***se-na*** *marapi?*
why 2PL CONTIN **HABIT-think** times-many **PREP-3SG** clothes
'Why do you worry about clothing?' (Matthew 6:28)

It is not clear what governs the choice between *se* and *pa* with this meaning, but *pa* rather than *se* is normally used when the verb is already transitive, as in (6.79).

(6.79) *Muta* ***xuus*** ***fa-texaas*** *ta* *mataa* ***pa-na.***
PROHIB **tell** **CAUS-know** NONSPEC man **PREP-3SG**
'Don't inform any man about it.' (Matthew 9:30)

Another more minor use of *se* corresponds to English *from* in expressions like *release someone from*, *separate someone from*, as in (6.80) to (6.82).

(6.80) *...* *a* *vuputkai* *si* *Moses* *pife* *fexaxaas* *se-na* *mulus*
ART command POSS Moses NEG able PREP-3SG release

mulus *tapin* *nami* ***se-na*** *mu* *vil-aan-a* *saat* *xapiak*
release away 2PL **PREP-3SG** PL do-NMLZ-3SG bad all

si-mi, *...*
POSS-2PL

'... the commandments of Moses cannot forgive you (literally 'release you from') all your bad deeds (all your sins) ...' (Acts 13:38)

(6.81) *Nase'* *taa* ***fepatox-an*** *netaara* ***se-na*** *vubux-an* *xasingit-an*
who FUT **separate-TRANS** 1INCL.PL **PREP-3SG** like-NMLZ greatly-NMLZ

si *Krais?*
POSS Christ

'Who will separate us from the love of Christ?' (Romans 8:35)

(6.82) ... *muta* *ti* ***vot-an=e*** ***se-na*** *siax-aan* *ta*
PROHIB stand.and **block-TRANS=3SG** **PREP-3SG** take-NMLZ NONSPEC

marapi *si-mi* *fulaa.*
clothes POSS-2PL again

'... do not prevent the taking of any of your clothes either.' (Luke 6:29)

6.2.5. *xa ~ xaa* 'for (benefactive)'

The benefactive preposition sometimes occurs with the form *xa* and other times with the form *xaa*. There does not appear to be any semantic or grammatical differences between these. In (6.83) this preposition appears in the form *xaa*, plus the 1SG suffix *-nak*, while in (6.84) it appears in the form *xa*, with the same suffix *-nak*.

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

(6.84) *A* *ling* *aanabe'* *pife* *ferawai-an* ***xa-nak*** *taasaxa*
ART voice this NEG speak-NMLZ **for-1SG** but

a *ferawai-an* ***xa-mi.***
ART speak-NMLZ **for-2PL**

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

The preceding example also contains the 2PL form *xami*.

As with other inflecting prepositions, the bare form *xa* is used with proper noun phrases, as in (6.85), while the form bearing the 3SG suffix *-na* is used when there is no noun phrase object and the object is 3SG, as in (6.86), or when there is a common noun phrase following it, even if plural, as in (6.87).

(6.85) ... *a* *Piran* *a* *fexaxaas* *se-na* *fa-savat* *a* *rafulak*
ART big.man 3SG able PREP-3SG CAUS-come ART child.PL

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

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

(6.86) *Narutul* *aave* *rutul* *faigot-an* *a* *fangan-an* ***xa-na.***
3TRIAL that 3TRIAL prepare-TRANS ART eat-NMLZ **for-3SG**
'So they prepared a dinner for him.' (John 12:2)

(6.87) *Mi pife lamon o a mo roxo paaliu tamo*
2PL NEG think COMP ART thing good INTENS if

saxa mataa i taa maat ***xa-na mu rabuna xapiak.***
one man 3SG.INCOMPL FUT die **for-3SG PL people all**

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

When the object is 3PL but there is no noun phrase following the preposition, the form *xari* is used, as in (6.88).

(6.88) *Naak maam taa fe maraan bret* ***xa-ri xapiak*** *bo?*
surely 1EXCL.PL FUT go.and obtain bread **for-3PL all** Q
'Surely, we have to go and obtain bread for all of them, don't we?' (Luke 9:13)

Example (6.89) contains four instances of *xa*, one inflected for a 2TRIAL object, one inflected for a 2SG object, and the other two uninflected forms preceding proper nouns.

(6.89) *Ai Memai, nemaatul taxa waan, a roxo naak*
INTERJ lord 1EXCL.TRIAL CONTIN be.at 3SG right surely

maatul taa vesan a sawat talatul ***xa-mutul;***
1EXC.TRIAL FUT make ART shelter three **for-2TRIAL**

saxa ***xaa-num,*** *saxa* ***xa Ilaija*** *e saxa* ***xa Moses.***
one **for-2SG** one **for Elijah** and one **for Moses**

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

6.2.6. *xulu* 'on'

The preposition *xulu* 'on' is illustrated in (6.90) to (6.92).

(6.90) *Xenaso no kawaasan a naart pa-na tivan-aan-a*
why 2SG destroy ART ointment PREP-3SG pour-NMLZ-3SG

xulu Yesus?
on Jesus

'Why do you waste this ointment by pouring it on Jesus?' (Mark 14:4)

(6.91) *... e taxa sangas* ***xulu-na laman*** *e rao i*
and CONTIN walk **ON-3SG sea** and IRREAL 3SG.INCOMPL

taa paaliu nari.
FUT pass 3PL

'.. he was walking on the sea and wanted to pass by them.' (Mark 6:48)

(6.92) *... a malang i-na laam a lang* ***xulu-m.***
ART light POSS-3SG lamp 3SG shine **ON-2SG**
'... the light of a lamp shines on you.' (Luke 11:36)

Like the other positional locative prepositions, the general locative preposition *la*, *pe* ‘at’ and *lana* ‘in’, *xulu* can be preceded by *xe* ‘to’, as in (6.93), and *ti* ‘from’, as in (6.94).

(6.93) ... *put* *aava* *na* *Yesus* *a* *feng* *nari* ***xe*** ***xulu-na.***
mountain REL ART Jesus 3SG send 3PL **to** **ON-3SG**
‘[So the eleven disciples went to Galilee to] the mountain that Jesus had sent them to.’
(literally ‘the mountain that Jesus had sent them to on it’) (Matthew 28:16)

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

But unlike these other positional locative prepositions, *xulu* is an inflecting preposition.

6.2.7. *no* ‘in front of’

The preposition *no* means ‘in front of’, as in (6.95) and (6.96).

(6.95) *Tamasiak* *e* *no* *tigina* *la* ***no-na*** *rabuna.*
get up and 2SG stand LOC **in.front.of-3SG** people
‘Get up and stand in front of the people.’ (Mark 3:3)

(6.96) ... *e* *fala* *fataapus* *xe* *si* *Pol* *nare* *Sailas* *e*
... and run quickly to POSS Paul 3DU Silas and

a *poxo* *radakui* *la* ***no-re.***
3SG fall tremble LOC **in.front.of-3DU**

‘... and ran immediately to Paul and Silas, and fell down trembling in front of them.’
(Acts 16:29)

No is always preceded by the general locative preposition *la*. This raises the question whether *no* should be considered a noun meaning ‘the front’ rather than a preposition. However, it inflects like a preposition, rather than a noun (§3.6), for example in taking the 1SG suffix *-ga*, as in (6.97).

(6.97) ... *a* *mataa* *pa-na* *marapi* *pasak* *paaliu* *a* *tigina*
ART man PREP-3SG clothes white INTENS 3SG stand

fa-'ipul *la* ***no-ga***
ADV-amazed LOC **in.front.of-1SG**

‘... a man in shining clothing stood before me’ (Acts 10:30)

6.2.8. *xase* ‘against, from’

The most frequent meaning of *xase* in the texts is ‘against’, as in (6.98) and (6.99).

(6.98) *Tiis fa-roxoi=au* ***xase-na*** *mu xaiyaas si-ak.*
judge ADV-good=1SG **against-3SG** PL enemy POSS-1SG
'Judge me well against my adversaries.' (Luke 18:3)

(6.99) *Natu-k, xenaso no vil-ai malaave* ***xase-maame?***
child-1SG why 2SG do-INTRANS in.that.way **against-1EXCL.PL**
'Child, why have you treated us like this?' (Luke 2:48)

It can also mean 'from', as in (6.100) and (6.101).

(6.100) *Ne texaas o a gut-an fo falet* ***xase-ga.***
1SG know COMP ART strong-NMLZ PERF go **from-1SG**
'I know that power has gone out from me.' (Luke 8:46)

(6.101) ... *nane savat paamua si Maria Mekdala aava nane fo*
3SG come first POSS Mary Magdalene REL 3SG PERF

gei tapin a mu vovau saat pisiguak ***xase-na.***
cast.out away ART PL spirit bad seven **from-3SG**

'... he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, from whom he had driven out seven demons.' (Mark 16:9)

The preposition *ti* (§6.3.5), illustrated in (6.102), also means 'from', but *xase* generally takes a human object while *ti* always takes a nonhuman object.

(6.102) ... *o nane ve a mataa* ***ti*** *Nasaret.*
COMP 3SG be 3SG man **from** Nazareth
'[People will say] that he is a man from Nazareth.' (Matthew 2:23)

6.2.9. *lapaa* 'under'

The preposition *lapaa* 'under' is illustrated in (6.103) and (6.104).

(6.103) ... *ne timin a mu xaiyaas si-im* ***lapaa-na*** *ka-am.*
1SG put ART PL enemy POSS-2SG **under-3SG** feet-2SG
'[Sit at my right hand, until] I put your enemies under your feet' (Matthew 22:44)

(6.104) *E vaxa mu rabuna ri taa pife fa-ram a laam*
and also PL people 3PL FUT NEG CAUS-burn ART lamp

si-ri e fun=e ***lapaa-na*** *bi o lana vuk i-na*
POSS-3PL and hide=3SG **under-3SG** basket o in jar POSS-3SG

xariu, bo?
bamboo Q

'Will people light their lamp and hide it under a basket or in a jar?' (Matthew 5:15)

Most occurrences of *lapaa* in the texts examined occur with the 3SG suffix *-na*, since this is the form when the object is a common noun phrase and most occurrences of *lapaa* in the texts

examined are with common noun phrases. However, it can occur with other suffixes, as in (6.105) where it occurs with the 1SG suffix *-ga*.

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

6.2.10. *lami* 'behind, after'

The preposition *lami* can be used spatially to mean 'behind', as in (6.106) and (6.107).

(6.106) *A tefin aave a sangas-maan* ***lami*** *Yesus e maa*
ART woman that 3SG walk-come **behind** Jesus and come.and

tao a iti-na marapi si-na e ...
touch ART side-3SG clothes POSS-3SG and

'That woman walked up behind Jesus and touched the edge of his cloak, and...' (Luke 8:44)

(6.107) *E na 'Hel' aava bina i-na fakasanam-an, a savat*
and ART hell REL place POSS-3SG harm-NMLZ 3SG come

faasilak ***lami-na.***
near **after-3SG**

'And Hades came right behind him.' (Revelation 6:8)

More commonly in the texts, *lami* has the temporal meaning 'after', as in (6.108) and (6.109).

(6.108) *...* ***lami-na*** *yaan i-na mu lagaf-an aave, a ngaas*
after-3SG day POSS-3SG PL difficult-NMLZ that ART sun

i tafe suk.
3SG.INCOMPL become.FUT dark

'... after the time of the suffering, the sun will become dark.' (Matthew 24:29)

(6.109) ***Lami-na*** *fulun saxa, ...*
after-3SG moon one
'After one month, ...' (Luke 1:23)

In its temporal use, *lami* is often followed by nominalizations, either *an*-nominalizations (§4.2.7), as in (6.110) and (6.111), or transitive *aan*-nominalizations (§4.2.8), as in (6.112).

(6.110) ***Lami-na savat-an*** *si-re, re fenung xe si-na Piran*
after-3SG come-NMLZ POSS-3DU 3DU pray to POSS-3SG big.man
'After they arrived, they prayed to God ...' (Acts 8:15)

(6.111) ***Lami-na*** ***falet-an*** *si-na* *ro* *fefeng* *si* *Jon,*
after-3SG **go-NMLZ** POSS-3SG DU disciple POSS John

na *Yesus* *a* *ferawai* *xe* *si-na* *malila* *pa* *Jon.*
ART Jesus 3SG speak to POSS-3SG crowd PREP John

'When John's messengers had gone, Jesus began to speak to the crowds about John.' (Luke 7:24)

(6.112) ***Lami-na*** ***saaxan-aan*** *nari,* *a* *mu* *matalava* *ri* *fasei*
after-3SG **beat-NMLZ** 3PL ART PL leader 3PL order

faagut-an *nari* *o* *ri* *muta* *fepitaa* *fulaa* *pa-na*
strong-TRANS 3PL COMP 3PL PROHIB teach again PREP-3SG

isi *Yesus* ...
name Jesus

'After the beating of them, the leaders ordered them not to teach again in the name of Jesus ...' (Acts 5:40)

Example (6.113) illustrates *lami* inflected for 1SG.

(6.113) *A* *mataa* *aava* *savat* ***lami-ak*** *i* *taa* ...
ART man REL come **after-1SG** 3SG.INCOMPL FUT
'A man who comes after me will ...' (John 1:30)

6.3. Noninflecting prepositions

6.3.1. *la* 'general locative'

The preposition *la* is a noninflecting preposition with general locative meaning, illustrated in (6.114) and (6.115).

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

(6.115) ... *e* *nane* *fasuf* *nari* ***la*** *Raarum* *Jordan.*
and 3SG baptize 3PL **LOC** water Jordan
'... and he baptized them in the Jordan River.' (Matthew 3:6)

By itself, it can correspond to various English prepositions, such as *at, in, on,* and *along.*

It often combines with the preposition *xe* 'to', following *xe*, as in (6.116) and (6.117).

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

i-na *raarum.*
POSS-3SG water

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

(6.117) *Na* *Yesus* *e* *mu* *fefeng* *si-na* *ri* *falet* ***xe*** ***la***
ART Jesus and PL disciple POSS-3SG 3PL go **to** **LOC**

maana *nu* *bina* *faasilak* *se* *Sesaria* *Filipai.*
GRTR.PL PAUC place near PREP Caesarea Philippi

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

It also commonly follows *ti* 'from', as in (6.118).

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

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

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

La is generally not used with noun phrases denoting large locations, where *pe* is more common, as in (6.119), where we get *la* with *bina Nasaret* 'the town Nazareth' but *pe* with *Galili* 'Galilee', the larger region in which Nazareth is located.

(6.119) *Nane* *ve* *na* *Yesus* *ti* ***la*** *bina* *Nasaret* ***pe*** *Galili.*
3SG be ART Jesus from **LOC** place Nazareth **at** Galilee
'This is Jesus, from Nazareth in Galilee.' (Matthew 21:11)

La is also used with temporal expressions, as in (6.120), where it combines with *xunavung* 'midnight' and *naang* 'same' to mean 'at midnight the same night', and in (6.121), where it means 'on' in 'on three days of the Sabbath'

(6.120) ... *e* ***rutul*** *ta'ulan* *a* *bina* *pave* *la* *xunavung* *naang*
and **3TRIAL** leave ART region there LOC midnight same

xena *falet* *xe* *pe* *Isip.*
PURP go to at Egypt

'... and they left that place during the middle of the same night to go to Egypt.' (Matthew 2:14)

(6.121) ... *e* *la* ***nu*** *Yaan* *talatul* *i-na* *Fangaafusan*
and LOC **PAUC** day three POSS-3SG Sabbath

nane *ferawai* *xuvul* *pa-ri.*
3SG speak with PREP-3PL

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

6.3.2. *lana* 'in'

The preposition *lana* 'in' is illustrated in (6.122) and (6.123).

(6.122) ... *e* *re* *ta'ulan* *na* *tama-re* ***lana*** *xaati* *xuvul*
and 3DU leave ART father-3DU **in** boat with

pa-na *mu* *sisiak* *si-ri* *e* *re* *usi* *na* *Yesus.*
PREP-3SG PL slave POSS-3PL and 3DU follow ART Jesus

'and they left their father Zebedee in the boat with the hired men and followed Jesus.' (Mark 1:20)

(6.123) *A* *mu* *vio* *xapiak* *ri* *fala* *sivi* *ti* *la* *xasing* *i-na*
ART PL pig all 3PL run down from LOC side POSS-3SG

put *xe* ***lana*** *raarum* *aave* *e* ...
mountain to **in** water that and

'The pigs all rushed down the steep slope into the lake and [drowned in the water].' (Matthew 8:32)

The form of *lana* looks as if it is form of *la*, with the *-na* as the 3SG suffix that occurs on inflecting prepositions. But while this may be the case diachronically, it is not a form of *la* synchronically. With inflecting prepositions, the bare preposition is used with proper noun phrases while the preposition with the suffix *-na* is used with common noun phrases. But this does not describe the alternation between *la* and *lana*. Most of the examples above with *la* occur with a common noun phrase and conversely, *lana* sometimes occurs with proper nouns denoting places, as in (6.124).

(6.124) *E* *a* *ro-vaat* *si-na* *re* *falet* *e* *re* *fe* *laak*
and ART DU-man POSS-3SG 3DU go and 3DU go.and enter

lana ***Jerusalem*** *e* ...
in **Jerusalem** and

'And his two disciples left and went into Jerusalem ...' (Mark 14:16)

The difference between *la* and *lana* is that *la* has general locative meaning ('at', 'in', 'on', 'along') while *lana* specifically means 'in'. For example, in (6.123) above, *lana* combines with *raarum* 'water' and the meaning is specifically 'in the water'. The same is true of (6.125) and the eight other occurrences of *lana* before *raarum* 'water' in the texts examined.

(6.125) ... *e* *nane* *fasuf* *nari* ***lana*** ***Raarum*** *Jordan.*
and 3SG baptize 3PL **in** **water** Jordan
'... and he was baptizing them in the Jordan River.' (Mark 1:5)

Conversely, in most cases where *la* is used with *raarum* 'water', the meaning is more general locative rather than the more specific 'in', as in (6.126) and (6.127).

(6.126) *Na* *Yesus* *xo* *maa* *savat* ***la*** ***Raarum*** *Jordan* *ti*
ART Jesus TOPIC come.and come **LOC** **water** Jordan from

Galili *talo* *na* *Jon* *i* *taa* *fasuf=e.*
Galilee so.that ART John 3SG.INCOMPL FUT baptize=3SG

'Then Jesus came to the Jordan River from Galilee so that John could baptize him.' (Matthew 3:13)

(6.127) ... *falet* *xe* ***la*** ***raarum*** *e* *fa-dui* *a* *yeis* *i-na*
go to **LOC** **water** and CAUS-go.down ART rope POSS-3SG

ngaul-aan=a *din.*
catch.fish-NMLZ=ART fish

'... go to the lake and throw out a hook.' (Matthew 17:27)

On the other hand, there are a few instances where *la* is used where the meaning does seem to be 'in', as in (6.128), which is the verse in Luke corresponding to the verse from the Gospel of Matthew in (6.123) above, but in the Gospel of Luke, *la* is used instead of *lana*.

(6.128) ... *ri* *fala* *ti* *laa'ui* *xulu-na* *put* *xe* *lapi* ***la*** ***raarum***
3PL run from up ON-3SG mountain to down **LOC** **water**

e *ri* *fe-xarak.*
and 3PL together-drown

'[... and the herd of pigs] ran down from above on the mountain into the lake and drowned.' (Luke 8:33)

Perhaps because the general locative meaning of *la* includes 'in', it is possible to use either *la* or *lana* when the situation denoted involves something being in something.

It is common for *lana* to occur in combination with the prepositions *xe* 'to' and *ti* 'from', following them, as we saw above with *la*. Example (6.123) above illustrates *lana* occurring with *xe*, as does (6.129).

(6.129) *E* *ta* *wai* *aava* *pife* *fa-savat* *a* *xalana* *roxo*
and NONSPEC tree REL NEG CAUS-come ART fruit good

i *taa* *tei* *tapin-an* ***xe*** ***lana*** *fata.*
3SG.INCOMPL FUT chop.down throw-PASS **to** **in** fire

'Every tree that does not bear good fruit will be cut down and thrown into the fire.' (Matthew 7:19)

Example (6.130) illustrates *lana* occurring with *ti* 'from'.

(6.130) *No* *siak* *a* *fangan-an* ***ti*** ***lana*** *uma* *aava* *no* *pife*
2SG take ART eat-NMLZ **from** **in** field REL 2SG NEG

xapis=e *e* ...
sow=3SG and

'You take food from the field that you did not sow, and ...' (Matthew 25:24)

Although *lana* is a distinct preposition and not a form of the general locative preposition *la*, there are three respects in which it behaves as if it were a form of *la*, three ways in which it behaves like the forms of inflecting prepositions ending in the 3SG suffix *-na*. The first of these is that *lana* can occur without a nominal object. It is otherwise the case that noninflecting prepositions cannot take pronominal objects and cannot occur without a nominal object. Inflecting prepositions, in contrast, can occur with *-na* without a nominal object, as in (6.131), where the preposition *pana* bears the 3SG suffix *-na* but does not occur with a nominal object and is interpreted as having a 3SG pronominal object ('about him').

(6.131) ... *re* *fe-xuus* *a* *maana* *rabuna* *xaves* *la*
... 3DU INCH-tell ART GRTR.PL people many LOC

maana *mu* *bina* *xapiak* ***pa-na.***
GRTR.PL PL place all **PREP-3SG**

'... they told people throughout that entire region about him.' (Matthew 9:31)

Lana is similar, as illustrated in (6.132), where it means 'into it'.

(6.132) ... *layaan* *me* *taa* *savat* ***lana,*** *me* *taa* *xalum* *a* *fomirak*
when 2DU FUT come **in** 2DU FUT see ART small

'donki' *aava* *ri* *pi* *na-nai* *xulu-na* *lunai.*
donkey REL 3PL never REDUP-sit ON-3SG still

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

This is apparently not possible with *la* or other noninflecting prepositions; it is apparently not possible for these prepositions to occur without a nominal object. And significantly, when *lana* is used without a nominal object, it does not specifically mean 'in', but has more general locative meaning, like *la*. For example, in (6.133), the last clause means 'they will come to it', where it means that they will come and be *at* the wedding banquet, not *in* the wedding banquet.

(6.133) *E* *nane* *fin* *a* *saxa-no* *rabuna* *o* *la* *yaan* *fatak*
and 3SG ask ART INDEF-PL people COMP LOC day straight

ri *taa* *filimaan* *xe* ***lana.***
3PL FUT come to **in**

'[The kingdom of heaven is like this: There was a king who was preparing a wedding banquet for his son.] And he asked some people to come to it on the designated (literally 'straight') day.' (Matthew 22:2)

Similarly, (6.134) is talking about a fig tree and the speaker will put manure *at* the fig tree, not *in* it.

(6.134) ... *e* *ne* *taa* *xaf* *fa-kalivan* *a* *funa* *e* *ne* *taa*
and 1SG FUT dig ADV-surround ART base and 1SG FUT

timin *a* *xawa* ***lana.***
put ART manure **in**

'I will dig around its base and put manure on it.' (Luke 13:8)

What this means is that *lana* behaves as an inflected form of *la* for the purposes of this construction.[38]

A second way in which *lana* also behaves as if it is an inflected form of *la* arises in relative clauses. As discussed in §5.8.3, the head of a relative clause can function as the object of a preposition in the relative clause only if the preposition is an inflecting preposition. But this is also possible with *lana*, though not with *la* or other noninflecting prepositions. For example, in (6.135), the head of the relative clause, *nobina* 'place', is functioning as the object of the preposition *lana*.

(6.135) *E* *ri* *laak* *xe* *la* *nobina* *aava* *lak* *taxa* *mati* ***lana.***
and 3PL enter to LOC place REL child CONTIN lie **in**
'And they entered the room where the child was' (literally 'the place that the child was lying in') (Mark 5:40)

The fact that *lana* is the only noninflecting preposition that can be used in relative clauses where the head of the relative clause functions as object of the preposition is analogous to the fact that it is the only noninflecting preposition that can be used pronominally, without a noun phrase following it. And, as with pronominal uses, *lana* appears not to mean 'in' specifically, but has more general locative meaning when the head of a relative clause functions as its object. For example, in (6.136), they are not arriving into or heading into the place by boat, but arriving at it or heading to it.

(6.136) ... *e* *fataapus* *paaliu* *ri* *savat* *la* *bina* *aava* *rao*
and quickly INTENS 3PL come LOC place REL IRREAL

ri *ung* ***lana.***
3PL arrive **in**

'[Then they wanted to take him into the boat,] and immediately they came to the land where they had been heading.' (John 6:21)

And in (6.137), just as the path goes to the place, so too the speaker is apparently going to the place, not into it.

(6.137) *Mi* *texaas* *se-na* *salan* *xe* *la* *bina* *aava* *ne* *taa*
2PL know PREP-3SG path to LOC place REL 1SG FUT

falet *xe* ***lana.***
go to **in**

'And you know the way to the place I am going to.' (John 14:4)

---

[38] The situation is somewhat analogous to modal auxiliaries in English, where, for example, *would* no longer functions in general as the past tense of *will* except as far as agreement of tenses in concerned (*He says that he will come*, *He said that he would come*).

The third way in which *lana* behaves like an inflected form is that it undergoes a process of reduction before the nonspecific article *ta* that otherwise only forms of prepositions inflected for 3SG undergo (see §5.1.3). In (6.138), for example, we see that *pa-na* 'PREP-3SG' reduces to *pan'* before *ta*, and (6.139) and (6.140) illustrate the same with *lana* reducing to *lan'*.

(6.138) *Layaan nane xalum na Pita nare Jon re taxa laak*
when 3SG see ART Peter 3DU John 3DU CONTIN enter

vaxa, nane fin nare ***pa-n'*** ***ta*** *faat.*
also 3SG ask 3DU **PREP-3SG** **NONSPEC** stone

'When he saw Peter and John about to go into the temple courts, he asked them for money.' (Acts 3:3)

(6.139) *Muta falet xe* ***lan'*** ***ta*** *bina si-na mu rabuna aava*
PROHIB go to **in** **NONSPEC** place POSS-3SG PL people REL

ri pife Juda ...
3PL NEG Jews

'Do not go to Gentile regions ...' (Literally: 'Do not go to any places of people who are not Jews') (Matthew 10:5)

(6.140) *Pa-na mariaas xaves nane pi falak ta nemarapi e*
PREP-3SG year many 3SG never wear NONSPEC clothes and

pife taagul ***lan'*** ***ta*** *saxa lifu.*
NEG stay **in** **any** one house

'For a long time this man had worn no clothes and had not lived in a house, but among the tombs.' (Luke 8:27)

Not only does this illustrate a way in which *lana* behaves as if it is an inflected preposition with suffix *-na*, but it further illustrates a way in which it a form of *la* in that there are no instances in the texts of the preposition *la* occurring before the nonspecific article *ta*.

Despite these ways in which *lana* behaves as if it were an inflected form of *la*, it otherwise does not behave as a form of *la*, in lacking any other inflected forms, in having a different meaning from *la*, and in occurring before proper noun phrases, something that is not possible with 3SG forms of true inflecting prepositions.

6.3.3. *pe* 'at (larger places)'

The preposition *pe* is somewhat like the general locative preposition *la*, but is used with location at larger places, like regions, as in (6.141) and (6.142).

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

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

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

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

Pe is used by itself only with proper nouns denoting places, as in the two preceding examples. When used with common noun phrases, it combines with some other positional locative prepositions, like the general locative preposition *la*, as in (6.143) and (6.144), *lana* 'in', as in (6.145), *xulu* 'on', as in (6.146), and *lami* 'behind', as in (6.147).

(6.143) *... e i taa tapin fa-dui-an* ***pe la laman.***
and 3SG.INCOMPL FUT throw CAUS-go.down-PASS **at** **LOC** **sea**
'... and he will be thrown down into the sea.' (Mark 9:42)

(6.144) *Taasaxa na Tama-mi* ***pe la xunavata,*** *nane texaas*
but ART father-2PL **at** **LOC** **heaven** 3SG know

o mi vubux-an a maana mo aave.
COMP 2PL want-TRANS ART GRTR.PL thing that

'But your Father in Heaven knows that you want these things.' (Matthew 6:32)

(6.145) *Taasaxa fatataganan si-ak taxa waan* ***pe lana*** *bina patak.*
but kingdom POSS-1SG CONTIN be.at **at** **in** place far
'But my kingdom is in a place far away.' (John 18:36)

(6.146) *E na Yesus ve, i taxa waan* ***pe xulu-na***
and ART Jesus topic 3SG.INCOMPL CONTIN be.at **at** **on-3SG**

put.
mountain

'[The place become dark and the disciples were traveling on the boat in the middle of the Sea of Galilee.] And Jesus was on the mountain.' (Mark 6:47)

(6.147) *E ri yot a lak si-na mataa e ri punux=e*
and 3PL seize ART child POSS-3SG man and 3PL kill=3SG

e ri tapin=e xe ***pe lami-na*** *uma.*
and 3PL throw=3SG to **at** **behind-3SG** field

'So they seized the man's son, killed him, and threw him behind the vineyard.' (Mark 12:8)

But like other positional locative prepositions, *pe* can be preceded by *xe* 'to' or *ti* 'from', as in (6.147) and (6.148).

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

When the noun phrase following *pe* is a common noun phrase, *pe* must be followed by another positional locative preposition as well, as it is in (6.147) above and in (6.149), where we get a sequence of three prepositions.

(6.149) *Na Yesus a laak **xe** **pe** **la** lifu lotu e ...*
ART Jesus 3SG enter **to** **at** **LOC** house worship and
'Jesus entered the temple area and ...' (Matthew 21:12)

6.3.4. *xe* 'to'

The preposition *xe* 'to' is illustrated in (6.150) and (6.151).

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

(6.151) *... ri ta'ulan a bina Betani rao ri taa ulaa fulaa*
3PL leave ART place Bethany IRREAL 3PL FUT return back

***xe** Jerusalem ...*
to Jerusalem

'... they left Bethany to go back to Jerusalem ...' (Mark 11:12)

Like the preposition *pe, xe* combines directly with a noun phrase only if that noun phrase is a proper noun denoting a place, as in the two preceding examples. When it occurs with a common noun phrase, as in (6.152) and (6.153), it must combine with another preposition, often a positional locative preposition like the general locative preposition *la*, as in (6.152), *lana* 'in', as in (6.153), or *xulu* 'on', as in (6.154).

(6.152) *Na Yesus e mu fefeng si-na ri falet **xe** **la***
ART Jesus and PL disciple POSS-3SG 3PL go **to** **LOC**

maana nu bina faasilak se Sesaria Filipai.
GRTR.PL PAUC place near PREP Caesarea Philippi

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

(6.153) *E ta wai aava pife fa-savat a xalana roxo*
and NONSPEC tree REL NEG CAUS-come ART fruit good

*i taa tei tapin-an **xe** **lana** fata.*
3SG.INCOMPL FUT chop.down throw-PASS **to** **in** fire

'Every tree that does not bear good fruit will be cut down and thrown into the fire.' (Matthew 7:19)

(6.154) *... put aava na Yesus a feng nari **xe** **xulu-na.***
mountain REL ART Jesus 3SG send 3PL **to** **ON-3SG**
'[So the eleven disciples went to Galilee to] the mountain that Jesus had sent them to.' (literally 'the mountain that Jesus had sent them to on it') (Matthew 28:16)

The preposition *xe* can also combine with *pe* ‘at (larger place)’, but if the object is a common noun phrase, there must be a third preposition, a positional locative preposition, following *pe*, as in (6.155), where *pe* is followed by the general locative preposition *la*, and (6.156), where *pe* is followed by *lami* ‘behind’.

(6.155) *... e ulaa **xe pe la** fufubina si-na.*
and return **to at LOC** hometown POSS-3SG
‘... and he returned to his hometown.’ (Matthew 13:54)

(6.156) *E ri yot a lak si-na mataa e ri punux=e*
and 3PL seize ART child POSS-3SG man and 3PL kill=3SG

*e ri tapin=e **xe pe lami-na** uma.*
and 3PL throw=3SG **to at behind-3SG** field

‘So they seized the man’s son, killed him, and threw him behind the vineyard.’ (Mark 12:8)

Xe also combines with the adverb *pave* ‘there’ to express the meaning ‘to there’, as in (6.157).

(6.157) *E voxo ne falet **xe pave** e ne fe susuuf e*
and so 1SG go **to there** and 1SG go.and wash and

naboxo ne fexaxaas se-na kaalum.
now 1SG able PREP-3SG look

‘And so I went there and washed, and was able to see.’ (John 9:11)

Xe cannot occur directly with a human object noun phrase. In order to express ‘to a person’, it is necessary to use the appropriate form of the possessive preposition *si* after *xe* and before the object noun phrase, as in (6.158) and (6.159) (see as well §6.2.1).

(6.158) *E lana mif-an a Piran a xuus fa-texaas nari*
and in dream-NMLZ ART big.man 3SG tell CAUS-know 3PL

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

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

(6.159) *E ri fenung **xe si-na** Piran pa-na fenung-an modus*
and 3PL pray **to POSS-3SG** big.man PREP-3SG pray-NMLZ long

paaliu talo ...
INTENS so.that

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

Similarly, in order to express the meaning ‘to a person’ where that person is referred to pronominally, *xe* is followed by the appropriately inflected form of the preposition *si*, as in (6.160) and (6.161).

(6.160) *E mui nane ulaa-maan **xe** **si-rutul** e a kuus,*
and then 3SG return-come **to** **POSS-3TRIAL** and 3SG say
'And then he returned to them and said,' (Matthew 26:45)

(6.161) *... a Piran a lisan a lagasai i-na kaaxup-an*
ART big.man 3SG bring ART news POSS-3SG be.saved-NMLZ
xe** **si-taara.
to **POSS-1INCL.PL**
'... God has brought the message of salvation to us.' (Acts 13:26)

6.3.5. *ti* 'from'

The preposition *ti*, illustrated in (6.162) to (6.165) means 'from'.

(6.162) *Nenia ne fo sivi-maan **ti** la xunavata.*
1SG 1SG PERF descend-come **from** LOC heaven
'I have come down from heaven.' (John 6:42)

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

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

(6.165) *... ri filimaan **ti** faa?*
3PL come **from** where
'... where have they come from?' (Revelation 7:13)

Like the preposition *pe* 'at (larger place)' and *xe* 'to', when *ti* occurs with a common noun phrase, it always combines with a positional locative preposition, such as the general locative preposition *la*, *lana* 'in', or *xulu* 'on', as illustrated in (6.162) to (6.164) above. It combines directly with a noun phrase only if the noun phrase is a proper noun, as in (6.166) and (6.167).

(6.166) *... nane savat si-ri aava ri fuuna sangas xuvul pa-na*
3SG come POSS-3PL REL 3PL HABIT walk with PREP-3SG
*ti Galili **xe** Jerusalem.*
from Galilee **to** Jerusalem
'... he appeared to those who had accompanied him from Galilee to Jerusalem.' (Acts 13:31)

(6.167) ... *ri* *fili-maan* ***ti*** *Jerusalem* *e* *ri* *maa* *savat*
3PL come-come **from** Jerusalem and 3PL come.and come

si *Yesus.*
POSS Jesus

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

Ti always occurs with nonhuman objects; where the meaning is 'from' with a human object, the inflecting preposition *xase* (§6.2.8) is used instead, as in (6.168).

(6.168) *Tama* *no* *feng* *tapin* *nemaam* ***xase-na*** ***ro-vaat*** ***aanabe'*** ...
father 2SG send away 1EXCL.PL **from-3SG** **DU-man** **this**
'Father, if you send us away from these men, ...' (Matthew 8:31)

6.3.6. *xena* 'purpose'

The preposition *xena* forms prepositional phrases indicating purpose, as in (6.169) and (6.170).

(6.169) *E* *voxo* *re* *faigot* ***xena*** *fenamo* *i-na* *Paaliuan.*
and so 3DU prepare **PURP** feast POSS-3SG Passover
'So they made preparations for the feast of Passover.' (Mark 14:16)

(6.170) *A* *rabuna* *masam,* *ri* *taa* *pal* *a* *vaafa* *fa'ui* ***xena***
ART people skilled 3PL FUT build? ART fence new **PURP**

uma *fa'ui.*
field new

'Smart people will build a new fence for a new field.' (Mark 2:22)

Note that while *xena* is translated as 'for' in the English sentence glosses in the preceding two examples, it is not a benefactive marker. In (6.170), for example, they are not building a new fence for the benefit of the field; rather the field is part of their purpose for building a fence.

The preposition *xena* occurs more frequently as an adverbial subordinator, introducing purpose clauses, as in (6.171) (§8.2.11).

(6.171) *Lami-na* *yaan* *taragua* *aave* *nane* *ta'ulan* *nari* ***xena*** *falet* *xe*
after-3SG day two that 3SG leave 3PL **PURP** go to

puaa *Galili.*
north Galilee

'After the two days he left them to go (north) to Galilee.' (John 4:43)

However, as discussed in §4.2.8, it often occurs with *aan*-nominalizations when the dependent verb is transitive, as in (6.172) and (6.173); since these are nominalizations, *xena* is a preposition in this use rather than an adverbial subordinator.

(6.172) *E mui, na Baanabas a ta'ulan nari* ***xena seng-aan***
and then ART Barnabas 3SG leave 3PL **PURP** **look.for-NMLZ**

na Sol pe kol Taasus.
ART Saul at west Tarsus

'Then Barnabas departed for Tarsus to look for Saul,' (Acts 11:25)

(6.173) *E xasanofuna aava ri fuuna vil vul-an a maana*
and others.PL REL 3PL HABIT do always-TRANS ART GRTR.PL

mo ***xena fa-faamamaas-aan=a*** *ta-ri mon ...*
thing **PURP** **CAUS-happy-NMLZ=ART** skin-3PL only

'And others who always do things in order to please only themselves ...' (Romans 2:8)

6.3.7. *paamuin* 'before'

There are a number of words in different word classes that are clearly based on a root *paamu* 'first', including a noun *paamua* 'leader', an adverb *paamua* 'first', a transitive verb *paamuian* 'to lead', and what looks like a preposition *paamuin*. This last word is illustrated in (6.174) and (6.175).

(6.174) *... ne taa falet* ***paamuin*** *nami xe pe Galili.*
1SG FUT go **before** 2PL to at Galilee
'... I will go ahead of you into Galilee.' (Matthew 26:32)

(6.175) *A malila aava ri sangas* ***paamuin*** *na Yesus e nari*
ART crowd REL 3PL walk **before** ART Jesus and 3PL

aava ri sangas lumui lami-na ri xukulai ...
REL 3PL walk after after-3SG 3PL shout

'The crowds that walked ahead of Jesus and those following shouted ...' (Matthew 21:9)

Paamuin looks like a preposition in that it combines with a noun phrase following it and is always preceded by a verb that it appears to modify. However, it behaves like a verb in that it can be followed by strong pronouns, like *nami* '2PL' in (6.174), and by noun phrases that occur with an article, like *na Yesus* 'Jesus' in (6.175), neither of which is otherwise possible with prepositions. It can also occur with the 3SG object clitic *=e*, as in (6.176), something which is also not possible with any other preposition.

(6.176) *Ri falet* ***paamuin=e*** *xe la mu bina aava nane buk*
3PL go **before=3SG** to LOC PL place REL 3SG want

laak lana.
enter in

'They went ahead of him into every town he wanted to go into.' (Luke 10:1)

One might try to analyse *paamuin* in (6.176) as an adverb modifying the verb. However, it is otherwise not possible for an object noun phrase or object clitic to occur after an adverb following an intransitive verb.

There is also a form *paamuina* illustrated in (6.177) and (6.178).

(6.177) *A yaan aanabe' ve* ***paamuin=a*** *vipis-an si Jon.*
ART day this be **before=ART** be.tied-NMLZ POSS John
'This day was before the imprisonment of John.' (John 3:24)

(6.178) *Taasaxa Ferasi aave a xalum na Yesus pife xamak*
but Pharisee that 3SG see ART Jesus NEG wash

a ma-na ***paamuin=a*** *fangan-an e a ipul.*
ART hand-3S **before=ART** eat-NMLZ and 3SG amazed

'But the Pharisee saw that Jesus did not wash his hands before eating and was astonished.' (Luke 11:38)

Whenever *paamuina* occurs, it is followed by a common noun phrase lacking the common article; in (6.177), *vipisan* 'imprisonment' is a nominalization, and nominalizations always behave as common nouns in Kara. One might attribute this to the fact that articles are always missing after prepositions. However, as noted above, the proper article is not missing after the shorter form *paamuin*. I therefore analyse the final /a/ in *paamuina* as the common article that goes with the common noun phrase following it.[39] This parallels the analysis I have proposed for some instances of *aan*-nominalizations (§4.2.8), in which I have analysed the final /a/ in some instances as the common article, as in (6.179).

(6.179) *Muta mataut-an a rabuna aava ri fexaxaas se-na*
PROHIB afraid-TRANS ART people REL 3PL able PREP-3SG

punux-aan=a *ta-na mataa mon ...*
kill-NMLZ=ART skin-3SG man only

'Do not be afraid of people who are able to kill only the body of a man ...' (Luke 12:4)

Analysing the final /a/ in *paamuina* as the common article means either that *paamuin* is a verb (as suggested above) or that it is unusual as a preposition in Kara in occurring before articles.

A further argument for treating the final /a/ in *paamuina* as the common article is that *paamuin* also functions as an adverbial subordinator with the same meaning 'before' (§8.2.4) and it also occurs in the form *paamuina* when followed by a common noun phrase, as in (6.180).

[39] I follow the representations used by the translators of the New Testament in representing the common article as cliticized onto the preposition. An alternative possibility is that it should not be considered part of the same phonological word as *paamuin*.

(6.180) *E* *no* *taa* *kuus* *malaan* *faa-talatul* ***paamuin=a*** *pura*
and 2SG FUT speak thus times-three **before=ART** chicken

i *taa* *rawei* *faa-taragua.*
3SG.INCOMPL FUT make.sound times-two

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

There are instances in the texts of *paamuin* plus *a* written as two words, as in (6.181).

(6.181) ... *senaso* *no* *taa* *falet* ***paamuin*** ***a*** *Memai* *xena*
because 2SG FUT go **before** **ART** Lord PURP

faigotan-aan=a *salan* *xa-na.*
prepare-NMLZ=ART path for-3SG

'... for you will go before the Lord to prepare a way for him.' (Luke 1:76)

It is not clear whether there is any significance to the representation of *paamuina* as one word or two words.

The word *paamuin* also functions as an adverb meaning 'ahead', as in (6.182), and in this function never combines with a common article following it. In this example, *paamuin* is followed by *a ro fefeng taragua* 'two disciples', which is the object of *feng* 'send'.

(6.182) ... *na* *Yesus* *a* *feng* *paamuin* *a* *ro* *fefeng* *taragua.*
ART Jesus 3SG send ahead ART DU disciple two
'... Jesus sent two of his disciples ahead.' (Mark 11:1)

6.3.8. *fefexaxaas* 'until, as far as'

The preposition *fefexaxaas* means 'as far as' spatially, as in (6.183), or 'until' temporally, as in (6.184).

(6.183) *Ri* *falet* ***fefexaxaas*** *Fonisia,* *Saipras* *e* *na* *Antiaak* *e* ...
3PL go **until** Phoenicia Cyprus and ART Antioch and
'They went as far as Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Antioch, and ...' (Acts 11:19)

(6.184) ... *ti* *la* *yaan* *aave* ***fefexaxaas*** *a* *luluux-an* *si-na*
from LOC day that **until** ART be.born-NMLZ POSS-3SG

Mataa *Failai.*
man Christ

'... from that day until the birth of Christ.' (Matthew 1:17)

Fefexaxaas is unique among prepositions in allowing an article to follow it, as in (6.184) and (6.185), though note the absence of the proper article *na* following *fefexaxaas* in (6.183).

(6.185) ***fefexaxaas*** *a* *fa-talatul-aan-a* *yaan*
until ART CAUS-three-NMLZ-3SG day
'[So give orders to secure the tomb] until the third day.' (Matthew 27:64)

Fefexaxaas also functions as a adverbial subordinator meaning ‘until’ (§8.2.5).

6.3.9. *faasilak* ‘near’

It is not clear whether the word *faasilak* ‘near’, illustrated in (6.186) and (6.187), should be considered a preposition or not.

(6.186) *E nane fe nai **faasilak** la ka Yesus xena langai*
and 3SG go.and sit **near** LOC feet Jesus PURP hear

a maana ferawai-an si-na.
ART GRTR.PL speak-NMLZ POSS-3SG

‘She sat near Jesus’ feet in order to heard what he said.’ (Luke 10:39)

(6.187) *Layaan na Yesus xuvul pa-na mu fefeng si-na*
when ART Jesus with PREP-3SG PL disciple POSS-3SG

*ri filimaan **faasilak** la bina Jerusalem ...*
3PL come **near** LOC place Jerusalem

‘When Jesus and his disciples approached Jerusalem ...’ (Matthew 21:1)

More commonly, *faasilak* is used without a complement, either modifying a verb, as in (6.188), or modifying a noun, as in (6.189).

(6.188) *E layaan a mu rabuna aava ri taxa **tigina** **faasilak***
and when ART PL people REL 3PL CONTIN **stand** **near**

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

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

(6.189) *Feng tapin et nari talo ri taa laak la*
send away away 3PL so.that 3PL FUT enter LOC

*nu **bina** **faasilak** xena ...*
PAUC **place** **near** PURP

‘Send them away so that they can go into the villages to [buy food for themselves].’ (Matthew 14:15)

There are cases where *faasilak* would appear to be a verb rather than a preposition. Although it is most commonly followed by the general locative preposition *la* when it takes a complement (as in (6.186) and (6.187) above), it also sometimes occurs with the common article *a* following it, as in (6.190) and (6.191), unlike prepositions, and sometimes is followed by a form of the preposition *se*, unlike a preposition and like semantically bivalent stative verbs (§7.9), as in (6.192) and (6.193).

(6.190) ... ***faasilak*** ***a*** *bina* *Lasea.*
near **ART** place Lasea
'[With difficulty we sailed along the coast of Crete and came to a place called Fair Havens] near the town of Lasea.' (Acts 27:8)

(6.191) *E* *voxo* *ri* *yuuf* *fa-lak* *a* *anka* *e* *ri* *kaliu*
and so 3PL pull CAUS-go.up ART anchor and 3PL sail

faasilak ***a*** *gun* *pe* *Krit.*
near **ART** shore at Crete

'So they pulled up the anchor and sailed close along the coast of Crete.' (Acts 27:13)

(6.192) *Na* *Yesus* *e* *mu* *fefeng* *si-na* *ri* *falet* *xe* *la*
ART Jesus and PL disciple POSS-3SG 3PL go to LOC

maana *nu* *bina* ***faasilak*** ***se*** *Sesaria* *Filipai.*
GRTR.PL PAUC place **near** **PREP** Caesarea Philippi

'Then Jesus and his disciples went to the villages near Caesarea Philippi.' (Mark 8:27)

(6.193) *a* *mu* *rabuna* *aava* *ri* *fuuna* *taagul* ***faasilak*** ***se-na***
ART PL people REL 3PL HABIT stay **near** **PREP-3SG**
'the people who lived near him' (John 9:8)

Whenever *faasilak* has an object which is human or a proper noun phrase denoting a place, its object is marked with the preposition *se*, as in the last two examples. While this can be taken as evidence that it is a verb, an alternative account would be to say that *faasilak* is a preposition and just as the preposition *xe* 'to' must occur with the inflecting preposition *si* whenever its object is human, analogously *faasilak* must occur with the inflecting preposition *se* whenever its object is human.

A further way in which *faasilak* behaves like a verb is that it can occur with preverbal particles (§7.7), something that only verbs otherwise do. In (6.194), *faasilak* follows the preverbal particle *ti* 'stand and' (§7.7.4.3), although in this example *faasilak* occurs without a complement.

(6.194) *E* *saxanofuna* *aava* *ri* ***ti*** ***faasilak,*** *ri* *langai=e* ...
and some.PL REL 3PL **stand.and** **near** 3PL hear=3SG
'Some of the bystanders heard it ...' (Matthew 27:47)

Similarly, *faasilak* follows the continuative and perfect preverbal particles *taxa* and *fo* in (6.195) and (6.196), like a verb.

(6.195) *A* *yaan* *i-na* *kawaasan-an* *ve* *i* ***taxa***
ART day POSS-3SG destroy-NMLZ TOPIC 3SG.INCOMPL **CONTIN**

faasilak.
near

'The time of destruction is near.' (Luke 21:8)

(6.196) ... *mi* *taa* *texaas* *o* *a* *fatataganan* *si-na* *Piran*
2PL FUT know COMP ART kingdom POSS-3SG big.man
fo ***faasilak.***
PERF **near**
'... you will know that the kingdom of God is near.' (Luke 21:31)

And in (6.197) and (6.198), *faasilak* behaves like a verb in being preceded by a weak subject pronoun, again something that prepositions otherwise do not allow.

(6.197) ... *senaso* *a* *liing* *i-na* *ma-maat* *aave* ***a*** ***faasilak.***
because ART tomb POSS-3SG REDUP-die that **3SG** **near**
'... because the tomb was nearby.' (John 19:42)

(6.198) *Mui* *xo,* *saxa* *fenamo* *si-na* *mu* *Juda* ***a*** ***faasilak*** ...
then TOPIC one feast POSS-3SG PL Jew **3SG** **near**
'Now a feast of the Jews was near ...' (John 7:2)

There is more than one way to interpret the above data. One is that the word *faasilak* is sometimes a preposition and sometimes a verb (and sometimes an adverb). The other is that it is intermediate between being a preposition and being a verb.[40] I suspect that the former is the correct analysis, but the situation remains unclear.

6.3.10. *xuvul* 'with' (comitative)

The word class of *xuvul* 'with' is unclear, like *faasilak*, the word discussed in the preceding section. However, while one might analyse *faasilak* as sometimes a verb and sometimes a preposition, this possibility does not arise with *xuvul*. Unlike both verbs and prepositions, *xuvul* is never followed by a noun phrase. Rather, it occurs either as an adverb meaning 'together', as in (6.199) and (6.200), or in a construction in which it combines with a prepositional phrase with the preposition *pa*, where the meaning of *xuvul pa* is 'with' in a comitative sense, as in (6.201) and (6.202).

(6.199) *Taasaxa* *re* *pife* *mati* ***xuvul*** *lunai* ...
but 3DU NEG lie **together** still
'But they has not yet lain together.' (Matthew 1:18)

(6.200) *A* *mu* *rabuna* *aava* *ri* *namkai* *ri* *taagul* ***xuvul*** *e* ...
ART PL people REL 3PL believe 3PL stay **together** and
'All who believed were together and ...' (Acts 2:44)

[40] The possibility that some of the instances of *faasilak* are calques on the English should not be discounted.

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

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

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

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

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

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

In its use with *pa*, *xuvul* might be a verb meaning 'to accompany'.

Xuvul can be causativized with the prefix *fa-* (§4.2.4), unlike clear instances of prepositions, where the resultant verb can further undergo nominalization with the suffix *-aan,* as in (6.203).

(6.203) ... *xena* ***fa-xuvul-aan*** *a* *faat* *xaa-num* *xa.*
PURP **CAUS-with-NMLZ** ART stone for-2SG REFL/RECIP

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

However, there are a few cases of verbs being formed by causativization of a nonverb, like *fa-'isin* 'CAUS-name', i.e. 'to give a name to', so the possibility of causativizing *xuvul* provides no convincing evidence that *xuvul* is a verb.

On the other hand, *xuvul* also occurs with the inchoative prefix *fe-* and the intransitive suffix *-ai*, as in (6.204). This is otherwise only possible with verbs.

(6.204) ... *e* *i* *taa* ***fe-xuvul-ai*** *xuvul* *pa* *naasa-na,*
and 3SG.INCOMPL FUT **INCH-with-INTRANS** with PREP wife-3SG

e *re* *taa* *savat* *vipin* *saxa* *mon.*
and 3DU FUT come body one only

'... and he will be united with his wife, and the two will become one flesh.' (Matthew 19:5)

One argument that *xuvul* is not a verb is that when in predicate position *xuvul pa* occurs with the locative copula *waan*, as in (6.205) and (6.206). There are no instances of *xuvul* appearing in predicate position without *waan,* perhaps surprising if it is a verb.

(6.205) *mu* *rabuna* *aava* *ri* ***waan*** ***xuvul*** *pa-na*
PL people REL 3PL **be.at** **with** PREP-3SG
'the people who were with him' (Matthew 8:10)

(6.206) ... *ri* ***waan*** ***xuvul*** *pa-na* *saxa-no* *lutefin* *e* *na* *Maria,*
3PL **be.at** **with** PREP-3SG INDEF-PL woman.PL and ART Mary

na *nina* *Yesus,* *e* *a* *mu* *ti-na* ...
ART mother Jesus and ART PL sibling.same-3SG

'... they were with some women and Mary, the mother of Jesus, and his brothers ...' (Acts 1:14)

The word class of *xuvul* thus remains unclear. In fact, the very question of what its word class is may be misguided, since it occurs in a construction with *pa*, and the word class of words in constructions and idioms is often indeterminate.

6.4. Combinations of prepositions

Scattered throughout the discussion above are various observations about combinations of prepositions. In this section, I discuss how one can subcategorize prepositions on the basis of what other prepositions they can combine with.

The first subclass is prepositions that do not occur as the first preposition in a combination of two prepositions. This includes *se* (§6.2.4), *pa* (§6.2.3), *i* 'POSS' (§6.2.2), *paamuin(a)* 'before' (§6.3.7), *xa(a)* 'benefactive' (§6.2.5), *xase* 'from, against' (§6.2.8), and *xena* 'purpose' (§6.3.6).

The second subclass of prepositions are those which cannot combine directly with a common noun phrase but must first combine with a positional locative preposition. This includes *pe* 'at (larger places)' (§6.3.3), *xe* 'to' (§6.3.4), and *ti* 'from' (§6.3.5). *Pe* is different from *xe* and *ti* in that it can co-occur with *xe* and *ti*, following these, but, if the object is a common noun phrase, there must be a third preposition, one expressing positional location. And *xe* is different from *pe* and *ti* in that it can be followed by the possessive preposition *si*.

The third subclass are those positional locative prepositions which satisfy the requirement for the second subclass that they must be followed by a positional locative preposition; this includes the general locative preposition *la* (§6.3.1), *lana* 'in' (§6.3.2), *lami* 'behind' (§6.2.10), *lapaa* 'under' (§6.2.9), and *xulu* 'on' (§6.2.6).

The remaining prepositions have unique combinatorial possibilities. The preposition *no* 'in front of' is unique in that it must be preceded by the general locative preposition *la*. The possessive preposition *si* is also unique in that it must follow *xe* before human objects. If *faasilak* 'near' (§6.3.9) is a preposition, it can precede *la*, as in (6.207).

(6.207) *A* *mu* *rabuna* *ri* *falet* *xe* *si-na* *ti* *pe* *Jerusalem*
ART PL people 3PL go to POSS-3SG from at Jerusalem

e *a* *mu* *bina* *pe* *Judia* *e* *ti* *pe* *la* *mu*
and ART PL place at Judea and from at LOC PL

bina ***faasilak*** ***la*** *Raarum* *Jordan.*
place **near** **LOC** water Jordan

'Then people were going to him from Jerusalem and from places in Judea and from the regions near to the River Jordan.' (Matthew 3:5)

6.5. Directional words in prepositional phrases

A typological oddity in Kara is the optional use of directional words in prepositional phrases. This includes, at least, the terms for the four cardinal directions, *puaa* 'north', *pul* 'south', *paa* 'east', and *kol* 'west'.[41] These words occur in prepositional phrases following the preposition and preceding the object of the preposition, so that the general structure of prepositional phrases (ignoring the possibility of combining prepositions) is Preposition + (Directional Word) + Noun Phrase. Examples are given in (6.208) and (6.209).

(6.208) *A* *nu-tu-vaat* *pisaxa* *aanabe'* *vaxa* *ri* *falet* ***xe*** ***puaa***
ART PAUC-PL-person six this also 3PL go **to** **north**

Sesaria *xuvul* *pa-ga* *e* ...
Caesarea with PREP-1SG and

'These six men also went north to Caesarea with me, and ...' (Acts 11:12)

(6.209) *E* *bak* *nane* *sivi* ***xe*** ***kol*** *Kapanam,* ...
and then 3SG descend **to** **west** Capernaum
'So he went down west to Capernaum, ...' (Luke 4:31)

The preposition *xe* 'to' is the most common one in the texts to occur with a directional word, as in the two preceding examples. Since *xe* occurs with a verb of motion, the directional word apparently indicates the direction of motion towards the location denoted by the object of the preposition. For example, in (6.209), the movement towards Capernaum was apparently westward. Note that in the English glosses, it is necessary to place the directional word outside the prepositional phrase, unlike Kara.

Two other prepositions which occur in this construction are *ti* 'from' and *pe* 'at', as in (6.210) and (6.211).

(6.210) *Xel* *na* *Saimon,* *aava* *ri* *xali=e* *pa* *Pita,* ***ti*** ***pul***
call ART Simon REL 3PL call=3SG PREP Peter **from** **south**

Jaapa.
Jaapa

'Therefore summon Simon, who is called Peter, from Jaapa (in the south).' (Acts 10:32)

(6.211) *E* *mui,* *na* *Baanabas* *a* *ta'ulan* *nari* *xena* *seng-aan*
and then ART Barnabas 3SG leave 3PL PURP look.for-NMLZ

na *Sol* ***pe*** ***kol*** *Taasus.*
ART Saul **at** **west** Tarsus

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

---

[41] It is not clear exactly what these directional words mean in ordinary Kara. From what we know about other Oceanic languages, they probably have meanings that are more accurately 'inland/landwards', 'seawards', and the two directions parallel to the shore. However, in the context of their occurrence in the Bible translation, they appear to be used in a way closer to the cardinal direction terms.

Note that in (6.210), the direction represented by the directional word is the direction from (not to) the location denoted by the object of the preposition. And in (6.211), where the preposition *pe* ‘at’ does not itself involve motion, the direction represented by the directional word involves the direction of movement by the verb *ta'ulan* ‘leave’ in the higher clause.

Note that the three prepositions involved in this construction with directional words, *xe* ‘to’, *ti* ‘from’ and *pe* ‘at (larger place)’ are the three prepositions which require a positional locative preposition when the object is a common noun phrase. The examples given so far all involve ones where the object of the preposition is a proper noun phrase. When the object is a common noun phrase in this construction, a positional locative preposition in addition is required. This positional locative preposition follows the directional word, so that the general structure of such prepositional phrases is Prep + Directional Word + Positional Locative Prep + Noun Phrase. Examples of prepositional phrases of this sort are given in (6.212), where the positional locative preposition is the general locative preposition *la*, and (6.213), where the second preposition is *lana* ‘in’.

(6.212)

E	*mui*	*na*	*Yesus*	*e*	*mu*	*fefeng*	*si-na,*	*ri*	*sivi*
and	then	ART	Jesus	and	PL	disciple	POSS-3SG	3PL	go.down

xe	***puaa***	***la***	***saxa***	***bina***	***Saidan***	*e*	*ri*	*falet*	*ulaa*	*...*
to	**north**	**LOC**	**one**	**place**	**Sidon**	and	3PL	go	return	

‘Then Jesus and his disciples went out again north to a place Sidon and they returned.’ (Mark 7:31)

(6.213)

Na	*Yesus*	*a*	*tamasiak*	*xuvul*	*pa-na*	*mu*	*fefeng*	*si-na*
ART	Jesus	3SG	get up	with	PREP-3SG	PL	disciple	POSS-3SG

e	*ri*	*falet*	***xe***	***kol***	***lana***	***nu***	***bina***	***faasilak***	***Tair.***
and	3PL	go	**to**	**west**	**in**	**PAUC**	**place**	**near**	**Tyre**

‘Jesus got up with his disciples and they went west into the towns near Tyre.’ (Mark 7:24)

There are two other words that occur in this construction, *laa'ui* ‘up’ and *lapi* ‘down’, as in (6.214) and (6.215).

(6.214)

...	*nane*	*ta'ulan*	*nari*	*e*	*a*	*xel*	*fa-lax-an*	***xe***	***laa'ui***
	3SG	leave	3PL	and	3SG	call	CAUS-go.up-PASS	**to**	**up**

la	***xunavata.***
LOC	**heaven**

‘... he left them and was summoned up to heaven.’ (Luke 24:51)

(6.215)

Layaan	*rutul*	*langai*	*a*	*ling*	*aave*	*rutul*	*mataut*	*temasaat*
when	3TRIAL	hear	ART	voice	that	3TRIAL	afraid	much

e	*rutul*	*poxo*	*turung*	***xe***	***lapi***	***la***	***xavala.***
and	3TRIAL	fall	kneel	**to**	**down**	**LOC**	**ground**

‘When they heard the voice, they were overwhelmed with fear and fell kneeling to the ground.’ (Matthew 17:6)

Example (6.216) contains both *laa'ui* ‘up’ and *lapi* ‘down’ in prepositional phrases.

(6.216) ... *ri* *fala* ***ti*** ***laa'ui*** ***xulu-na*** *put* ***xe*** ***lapi*** ***la*** *raarum*
3PL run **from** **up** **ON-3SG** mountain **to** **down** **LOC** water

e *ri* *fe-xarak.*
and 3PL together-drown

'[... and the herd of pigs] ran down from above on the mountain into the lake and drowned.' (Luke 8:33)

It is apparently possible for a prepositional phrase to contains two directional words, as in (6.217), where both *paa* 'east' and *laa'ui* 'up' occur. This example also contains *puaa* 'north' in a prepositional phrase.

(6.217) *Layaan* *nane* *ung* *pe* *Sesaria,* *nane* *laak* ***xe*** ***paa*** ***laa'ui***
when 3SG arrive at Caesarea 3SG enter **to** **east** **up**

Jerusalem *e* *fe* *luxurau* *si-ri* *aava* *ri* *namkai* *e*
Jerusalem and go.and greet?? POSS-3PL REL 3PL believe and

mui *a* *sivi* ***xe*** ***puaa*** ***Antiaak.***
then 3SG go.down **to** **north** **Antioch**

'When he arrived at Caesarea, he went up east to Jerusalem and greeted those who believed and then went down north to Antioch.' (Acts 18:22)

The directional words can occur with prepositions without any nominal object, as in (6.218), where they look like they are nominal, functioning as objects of the preposition.

(6.218) *Ne* *xuus* *nami* *o* *maana* *rabuna* *ri* *taa* *savat* ***ti*** ***paa***
1SG speak 2PL COMP GRTR.PL people 3PL FUT come **from** **east**

e ***ti*** ***kol*** *e* ***...***
and **from** **west** and

'I tell you, many will come from the east and west ...' (Matthew 8:11)

6.6. Three analyses of articles and prepositions

Throughout this description of Kara, I have assumed a particular analysis of the proper and common articles. There are two alternative analyses of these articles, however. In this section, I discuss these two alternative analyses and compare them to the one assumed throughout this work. Because one of the two alternative analyses treats the proper and common articles as prepositions rather than articles and because the other alternative involves a different analysis of prepositions, these analyses are discussed in this chapter. I will conclude that all three analyses explain facts that the other two fail to explain but that there are problems with all three analyses. I will argue that some of the facts that one or another of these three analyses would account for are probably best seen as synchronic anomalies that are best explained diachronically.

The analysis assumed throughout this description, which I will refer to as Analysis 1 in what follows, makes the assumptions listed in (6.219).

(6.219) a. The proper and common articles are articles, not prepositions.
b. The proper and common articles are always absent after all prepositions, both inflecting and noninflecting, except for the preposition *fefexaxaas* 'until, as far as'.
c. The nonspecific article *ta* does occur following prepositions.
d. The proper and common articles are always absent from possessor noun phrases following inalienably possessed nouns.
e. Inflecting prepositions take the form with the 3SG suffix *-na* before common noun phrases, whether those common noun phrases are singular or plural.
f. Inflecting prepositions take a reduced form of the 3SG suffix, just *-n* rather than *-na*, before the nonspecific article *ta*.

If we ignore the preposition *fefexaxaas* 'until, far as', which is different from other prepositions in allowing articles after it, then, since the proper and common articles never occur after a preposition, they are in complementary distribution with prepositions. Because these articles do not occur after prepositions, they have a fairly restricted distribution, being found (with a few exceptions to be mentioned shortly) only on subjects and objects. This leads to Analysis 2: these articles are really prepositions marking subjects and objects, with one form of the preposition used to mark proper noun phrases, the other to mark common noun phrases. In (6.220), for example, the word *na* marks *Yesus* 'Jesus' as a proper noun phrase functioning as subject or object, while the word *a* following *feng* 'send' marks *mu yaamut sangafilu saxa pana taragua aanabe'* 'these twelve disciples' as a common noun phrase functioning as subject or object.

(6.220) ***Na*** *Yesus* *a* *feng* ***a*** *mu* *yaamut* *sangafilu* *saxa*
ART Jesus 3SG send **ART** PL disciple ten one

pa-na *taragua* *aanabe'* *e* ...
PREP-3SG two this and

'Jesus sent out these twelve disciples and ...' (Matthew 10:5)

While Analysis 1 is the one that familiarity with other languages, including those most closely related to Kara, might lead one to adopt, it is not clear how a child learning Kara would ever come up with such an analysis: since the proper and common articles have the same distribution as prepositions, what would ever lead them to analyse these words as anything other than prepositions? What would ever lead them to an analysis in which these words are always deleted or absent after prepositions rather than being prepositions themselves. It is true that having adpositions that mark a noun phrase as either a subject or an object are not common crosslinguistically, this has little bearing on what analysis children learning Kara would adopt.[42]

Under Analysis 1, it is necessary to stipulate that the proper and common articles do not occur on possessor noun phrases following inalienably possessed nouns, as in (6.221), where the proper article is absent from both occurrences of *Yesus* 'Jesus', both occurrences following inalienably possessed nouns.

[42] Martin Haspelmath has brought to my attention the fact that Retuarã (Strom 1992), a Tucanoan language spoken in Colombia, does have a postpositional clitic that marks both subjects and objects.

(6.221) *La saxa yaan na* ***nina*** ***Yesus*** *xuvul pa-na*
LOC one day ART **mother** **Jesus** with PREP-3SG

mu ***ti*** ***Yesus*** *ri savat.*
PL **sibling.same** **Jesus** 3PL come

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

Under Analysis 2, however, this follows directly from the fact that these articles are really prepositions marking subjects and objects: since possessors are not subjects or objects, we would not expect to find the proper and common articles on possessors.

If the articles are really prepositions marking subjects and objects, then since it is otherwise the case that prepositions that allow first and second person subjects are inflecting prepositions, we might expect the articles to inflect the way that inflecting prepositions do. For example, we might expect the proper article *na* to have a 2PL form *nami*, used when the subject is 2PL. And this is correct: what are analysed as strong pronouns under Analysis 1, like *nami*, are analysed as inflected forms of the subject/object preposition *na* under Analysis 2. And this would account for the fact that the strong pronouns are restricted, by and large, to subject and object.

There are still, however, complications for Analysis 2. The first of these is that not all the strong pronouns are formed by adding a suffix to the stem *na*. Examine again Table 6.2 listing the forms of the strong pronouns.

	Sg	Du	Trial	Pl
1excl	*nenia*	*nemaame*	*nemaatul*	*nemaam*
1incl	--	*netaare*	*[netaatul]*	*netaara*
2	*nano*	*name*	*namutul*	*nami*
3	*nane*	*nare ~ narie*	*narutul*	*nari*
int	*nase'*			

Table 6.2: Strong pronouns

The 3SG strong pronoun *nane*, for example, seems to add a suffix *-ne* to *na*, where we would expect instead a suffix *-na*, yielding a form *nana*. However, we can simply analyse this as an irregular. As discussed in §3.6, a number of inflecting prepositions have irregular forms. We can similarly treat the 1SG strong pronoun *nenia* as an irregular form. A number of the strong pronouns have a stem *ne* rather than *na*: *nemaam* '1EXCL.PL', *nemaame* '1EXCL.DU', *nemaatul* '1EXCL.TRIAL', *netaara* '1INCL.PL', and *netaare* '1INCL.DU'. But, apart from the irregular 1SG form *nenia*, whether the stem is *na* or *ne* is predictable phonologically by a disharmony rule, with *ne* occurring when the next vowel is /a/, *na* when the next vowel is not /a/.

Similarly, the word *nase'* 'who', illustrated in (6.222), is analysed as an interrogative pronoun under Analysis 1 (see §5.12.3) but is analysed as the interrogative form of the subject/object preposition *na* (see §3.6) under Analysis 2.

(6.222) ***Nase'*** *sip nano?*
who beat 2SG
'Who hit you?' (Matthew 26:68)

The common article *a* would, under Analysis 2, be a noninflecting preposition.[43] It would be unique in Kara, however, in being a preposition which can occur with human objects but which cannot inflect. However, we might explain this by saying that *a* does not inflect since it does not occur with pronominal objects because pronominal reference would always be coded by the proper article rather than the common article, which could in turn be explained in terms of the fact that pronouns share semantic properties with proper nouns that they do not share with common nouns, such as the fact that they directly refer to things, while common nouns denote kinds.

There are two syntactic environments where articles appear other than subject or object position and which present a possible problem for Analysis 2. The first of these is appositional noun phrases, as in (6.223) and (6.224). In (6.223), *na Yaakop* 'Jacob' is in apposition to *butaara* 'out ancestor'. The noun *butaara* does not occur with an article because it is the object of the preposition *sena*. Yet *Yaakop* does occur with the article *na*, despite the fact that it is in apposition to *butaara*, which is not a subject or object. If *na* is a preposition marking subjects and object, as Analysis 2 claims, then it is surprising that *Yaakop* occurs with an article, since it is not a subject or object and is in apposition to a noun phrase which is not a subject or object.

(6.223) *Nano* *no* *matalava* *molava* *se-na* *bu-taara* ***na*** ***Yaakop***
2SG 2SG leader big PREP-3SG ancestor-1INCL.PL **ART** **Jacob**

aava *tavai* *netaara* *pa-na* *raakaaf* *aanabe',* *bo?*
REL give 1INCL.PL PREP-3SG well this Q

'Are you a greater leader than our ancestor Jacob, who gave us this well?' (John 4:12)

Example (6.224) is similar. In this case, *na Marta* 'Martha', is in apposition to *tina* 'sibling of same sex', which is the second conjunct of the noun phrase *Maria narie tina*, which is object of the preposition *si*.[44]

(6.224) ... *e* *nane* *ve* *ti* *Betani,* *a* *bina* *si* *Maria*
and 3SG be from Bethany ART place POSS Mary

narie *ti-na* ***na*** ***Marta.***
2DU sibling.same-3SG **ART** **Martha**

'... and he was from Bethany, the village of Mary and her sister Martha.' (John 11:1)

Perhaps, though, we might explain this as reflecting the use of default case in caseless environments, like apposition. Note how in English, a pronoun in apposition to a subject occurs in default object form when it is in apposition to a subject, as shown in (6.225).[45]

---

[43] I will continue to refer to *na* and *a* as articles in this discussion, with the understanding that these words are not articles under Analysis 2.

[44] Note also that *tina* 'sibling of same sex' lacks an article in (6.224) not because the noun phrase it is a conjunct of is the object of a preposition but because the second conjunct of a noun phrase conjoined with the 3DU pronoun *nare* ~ *narie* always lacks an article (§5.13.2).

[45] Example (6.225) would be more natural with *namely* preceding *us*, but all that matters for present purposes is that it is at least possible to have this example without *namely*.

(6.225) The people who care most about what happens, us, have the least influence on the results.

One type of noun phrase where articles are used which is more difficult to explain away under Analysis 2 is the last conjunct in conjoined noun phrases conjoined with *e* 'and', illustrated by in (6.226).

(6.226) *senaso ri mu bu Abrahem, Aisaak e* ***na Yaakop.***
because 3PL PL descendant Abraham Isaac and **ART** **Jacob**
'because they are the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.' (Romans 11:28)

The first conjunct in (6.226), *Abrahem*, lacks an article because the entire conjoined noun phrase is the possessor of the inalienably possessed noun *bu* 'descendant'. The second conjunct, *Aisaak*, lacks an article because only the first and last conjuncts in a conjoined noun phrase ever occur with an article. But the occurrence of an article on the third conjunct *na Yaakop* is difficult to explain if *na* is really a preposition marking subjects or objects, since *Yaakop* in this example is neither, but is rather the third conjunct of a noun phrase functioning as a possessor.

How would we account for the presence of articles on the final conjunct under Analysis 1? We would apparently have to say that the absence of articles following prepositions and inalienably possessed nouns reflects an adjacency constraint: the article is absent if it would be immediately adjacent to the preposition or possessum noun. If the article is marking a later conjunct, it is not immediately adjacent to the preposition or possessum noun. Such an account is odd, to say the least.

Both Analysis 1 and Analysis 2 thus have their own strengths and shortcomings. However, there is a third possible analysis of articles, which I will call Analysis 3. It more closely resembles the analysis of prepositions that Volker (1998) proposes for the adjacent language Nalik. It takes as its point of departure an odd fact about Kara that remains an unexplained anomaly under both Analysis 1 and Analysis 2. Namely, as discussed in §5.1.3, when the nonspecific article *ta* is preceded by an inflected preposition, we get a reduced form of the preposition; instead of a form ending in *-na*, we find a shorter form *-n*, illustrated by *xulun'* in (6.227), where the Bible translators use the symbol <'> to indicate that it is a contracted form of *xuluna*.

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

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

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

Under Analysis 3, however, the form *xulun* is not a contracted form of *xuluna*. Rather, it is analysed as a distinct form that is used before common noun phrases (while the form *xulu* would be used before proper noun phrases). Under Analysis 3, the form *xuluna* is analysed as a sequence of the preposition *xulun* and the common article *a*. For example, what is represented as *xulu-na ivin* 'on-3SG bed' in (6.228) would, under Analysis 3, be analysed as in (6.229), where the /a/ is not analysed as part of a suffix *-na* but as a separate word, the common article *a*.

(6.228) *Na imu Saimon i taxa mati xulu-na ivin.*
ART parent.in.law Simon 3SG.INCOMPL CONTIN lie ON-3SG bed
'Simon's mother-in-law was lying on the bed.' (Mark 1:30)

(6.229) *xulun a ivin*
on ART bed
'on the bed'

A proponent of Analysis 3 could argue that a child learning Kara exposed to *xulun ta ivin* and *xuluna ivin*, when they elsewhere are aware of *ta* versus *a* as the two articles that occur with common noun phrases, is unlikely to analyse the final /a/ on *xuluna* as part of that word but are much more likely to analyse it as the common article, since that would mean that *a* and *ta* were patterning the same way.[46] One might respond to this argument by saying that the child learning Kara is also exposed to instances of *xuluna* where it is not followed by a noun phrase, as in (6.230), where the /a/ is clearly part of a 3SG suffix *-na* and not the common article.

(6.230) ... *put aava na Yesus a feng nari xe* ***xulu-na.***
mountain REL ART Jesus 3SG send 3PL to **ON-3SG**
'[So the eleven disciples went to Galilee to] the mountain that Jesus had sent them to.' (literally 'the mountain that Jesus had sent them to on it') (Matthew 28:16)

Why, one might ask, would children analyse the /a/ in *xuluna ivin* in (6.229) as a separate word, but the /a/ in *xuluna* in (6.230) as part of that word?

I should point out that there are two other cases where I have analysed an /a/ that the Bible translators treated as part of the end of a word as really being an instance of the common article. As discussed in §4.2.8, while the final /a/ in *punuxaana* in (6.231) is the 3SG object suffix that occurs on *aan*-nominalizations, the final /a/ in *punuxaana* in (6.232) is best analysed as the common article that goes with the noun phrase that follows. The basis for this is that the common article *a* never occurs on noun phrases following *aan*-nominalizations that end in /a/, as in (6.232), where *punuxaana* is followed by the noun phrase *mataa* 'man', which lacks an article.

(6.231) ... *senaso a rabuna sangafilu talafaat ri taxa fun-ai*
because ART people ten four 3PL CONTIN hide-INTRANS

bang xena ***punux-aan-a.***
wait PURP **kill-NMLZ-3SG**

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

[46] This argument assumes, however, that the assignment of word and phrase stress in *xulun ta ivin* and *xuluna ivin* are the same. I do not know whether this is the case, but my understanding from the discussion of stress in Schlie and Schlie (1993) is that in both cases the /a/ would be unstressed. However, there might be a difference in phrase stress predicted by the two analyses.

(6.232) ... *Lami-na* ***punux-aan=a*** ***mataa*** *a* *fexaxaas* *se-na*
after-3SG **kill-NMLZ=ART** **man** 3SG able PREP-3SG

tapin *fa-sivi-aan-a* *xe* ...
throw CAUS-go.down-NMLZ-3SG to

'... after killing a man, he is able to throw him down to ...' (Luke 12:5)

Contrast (6.232) with (6.233), where we get *punuxaan* without a final /a/ before a noun phrase marked with the proper article *na*, and with (6.234) where we get *fasavataan* 'produce' without a final /a/ before the nonspecific article *ta*.

(6.233) *La* *paanen* *lolof* *a* *mu* *paamua* *priis* *xuvul* *pa-na* *mu*
LOC morning early ART PL first priest with PREP-3SG PL

matalava *ri* *la-lamon* *pa-na* ***punux-aan*** ***na*** *Yesus.*
leader 3PL INCH-think PREP-3SG **kill-NMLZ** **ART** Jesus

'When it was early in the morning, the chief priests and the elders thought about killing Jesus.' (Matthew 27:1)

(6.234) *Lavaxa,* *nane* *texaas* *o* *nane* *pife* *fexaxaas* *se-na*
then 3SG know COMP 3SG NEG able PREP-3SG

fa-savat-aan ***ta*** *lak* *senaso* ...
CAUS-come-NMLZ **NONSPEC** child because

'He knew that he was not able to produce any children because ...' (Romans 4:19)

I also analyse the final /a/ in *paamuina* in (6.235) as the common article (see §6.3.7).

(6.235) ... *nane* *fo* *fasuf=au* *pa- na* *mo* *lalas* *paamuin=a*
3SG PERF anoint=1SG PREP-3SG thing aromatic before=ART

xaxaafai-an *si-ak.*
bury-NMLZ POSS-1SG

'... she anointed my body before my burial.' (Mark 14:8)

The situation with inflecting prepositions is similar. We get a form ending in /a/ before noun phrases missing an article, a form ending in /a/ where there is no noun phrase following (which is interpreted as having a 3SG object), and a form without the final /a/ before the specific article *ta*. The only difference between inflecting prepositions and *aan*-nominalizations is that when inflecting prepositions occur with a proper noun phrase, the article does not occur and the preposition occurs in a form that lacks not only the final /a/, but the preceding /n/ as well. For example, with the *aan*-nominalization in (6.233), we get a form *punuxaan*, without the final /a/, followed by the proper article *na*. When the preposition *si*, for example, occurs in the same context, as in (6.236), we get *si Yesus* rather than *sin na Yesus*.

(6.236) ... *e* *ri* *timin* *a* *bolo* ***si*** ***Yesus*** *la* *mi-na*
and 3PL put ART cross **POSS** **Jesus** LOC back-3SG

xena *yaas-aan-a.*
PURP carry-NMLZ-3SG

'... and they placed Jesus' cross on his back for him to carry it.' (Luke 23:26)

There are two facts that Analysis 3 would explain that are unexplained under the other two analyses. The first of these is that while inflecting prepositions ending in *-na* are specifically 3SG when there is no noun phrase following, as in (6.230) above, they are not specifically singular when there is a noun phrase following, as in (6.237).

(6.237) *a* *mu* *matalava* ***si-na*** *mu* *Juda*
ART PL leader **POSS-3SG** PL Jews
'the leaders of the Jews' (Mark 12:13)

Under Analysis 3, the final /a/ in forms like *sina* in (6.237) is really the common article, so the occurrence with a plural noun phrase is expected since the common article *a* is not specifically singular.

Analysis 3 would also explain the fact that in conjoined phrases following a preposition, the article is missing from the first conjunct but is still present with the last conjunct, as in (6.238), where there is no article on the first conjunct *tang lifu lotu* 'temple' following the preposition *ina*, but there is on the second conjunct *a ivin faraaman sina Piran* 'the altar'.[47]

(6.238) *Mi* *punuk* *na* *Sekaraia* *la* *palou* *i-na* *tang* *lifu* *lotu*
2PL kill ART Zecharia LOC middle POSS-3SG huge house worship

e ***a*** *ivin* *i-na* *fa-raam-an* *si-na* *Piran.*
and **ART** table POSS-3SG CAUS-burn-NMLZ POSS-3SG big.man

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

Under Analysis 3, the final /a/ in *ina* is actually the common article for the first conjunct. Hence both conjuncts would occur with the common article and the apparent absence of an article from the first conjunct would be explained.

An immediate problem with this argument, however, is that the absence of an article with the first conjunct also applies to proper nouns phrases, as in (6.239).

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

Analysis 3 would have to say that proper articles are absent only from the first conjunct of a conjoined noun phrase but that common articles are present. This removes much of the attractiveness of Analysis 3.

Furthermore, Analysis 3 would have to say that inflecting prepositions have two forms, a form with a suffix *-n* before common noun phrases and a form without that suffix before proper noun phrases. It would also have to say that this suffix also appears before common

---

[47] I represent the form *ina* in (6.238) as it would be represented under Analysis 1. Under Analysis 3, it would be represented as *in a* 'POSS ART'.

noun phrases after inalienably possessed nouns, as in (6.240), where Analysis 3 would analyse the final /a/ on *tamana* as the common article for the noun phrase that follows it, meaning that the /n/ in *tamana* would be a suffix that appears on inalienably possessed nouns before a common noun phrase.

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

In short, while Analysis 3 would explain some otherwise anomalous facts, it is overall no better than the first two analyses.

We are left then with three analyses none of which is ideal. What are we to conclude from this? Part of what I think is going on here is that some of the facts that Analysis 3 would explain may not provide an argument for this analysis synchronically but are nevertheless not accidental in the sense that they are probably fossil remains of patterns in an earlier stage of the language. The reduced forms of prepositions that occur before the nonspecific article *ta* may in fact represent unreduced forms at an earlier stage of the language. Prepositions in the neighbouring language Nalik also have a form ending in /n/ alternating with a form without the /n/, just as Analysis 3 posits for Kara, although Volker (1998) describes the contrast between the two forms as phonologically conditioned in Nalik, the form with /n/ occurring before words beginning with a vowel. However, almost all instances that Volker cites of the forms ending in /n/ occurring before a vowel are in fact preceding the common article *a*, just as Analysis 3 posits for Kara. Furthermore, contrary to Volker's claim, some of the Nalik examples show forms ending in /n/ before words beginning in a consonant. So it is not clear how different Nalik is from Kara in this respect. But if these reduced forms in Kara represent fossil remains of forms ending in /n/ from an earlier stage, the synchronic analysis apparently is one where these reduced forms idiosyncratically occur now only with the nonspecific article *ta*. The final /a/ in forms ending in /na/ may historically be the common article, but these forms ending in /na/ have now been reanalysed as the 3SG forms of prepositions. The fact that that these forms ending in /na/ occur before plural objects is synchronically now an oddity, but may reflect the fact that the final /a/ was originally the common article, which occurs with both singular and plural noun phrases. And the fact that the first conjunct in conjoined noun phrases functioning as objects of prepositions is missing its article may have arisen because the final /a/ before common noun phrases was originally the common article, but the facts have been reanalysed as a general rule that was extended to conjoined noun phrases where the first conjunct is a proper noun phrase. In other words, all of the facts supporting Analysis 3 would be synchronic idiosyncrasies but reflect the fact that something like Analysis 3 was the correct analysis at an earlier stage of the language.

What then of the choice between Analyses 1 and 2? The problem with Analysis 1 is that it posits a distinction between articles and prepositions for which there is no basis in the data, since both appear at the beginning of noun phrases. Two problems with Analysis 2 were noted, one, the fact that the articles occur on appositional noun phrases, the other that the articles occur on the last conjunct of conjoined noun phrases. There is little question that Analysis 1 was the correct analysis at an earlier stage of the language. If Analysis 2 is now the correct analysis, what has happened is that what were articles at an earlier stage of the language were reanalysed as prepositions when a tendency for articles to be missing after prepositions to become a rigid constraint. In the neighbouring language Tigak (Beaumont 1979), many of the prepositions do not allow an article following them, and judging from examples, the article is more often absent even after prepositions that allow them. The two problems with Analysis 2 could be explained diachronically: both facts noted above would

simply reflect earlier stages of the language where the articles were not prepositions. The problem with Analysis 1 seems more severe in that it is far from clear that it is even learnable. This leads me to tentatively propose that Analysis 2 is the best analysis. However, because there is room for debate about this and because Analysis 1 is the analysis that first comes to mind from the perspective of other languages, I have assumed that analysis in this descriptions.

7 *Clause structure*

7.1. Introduction

The general structure of verbal clauses in Kara is as follows:

Clause = Subject + Verbal Complex + Manner Adverb + Object

$$+ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Prepositional Phrase} \\ \text{Other Adverb} \end{array} \right\}$$

More than one manner adverb, other adverb, or prepositional phrase is allowed. The only obligatory element is the verbal complex. The verbal complex, consists of the weak subject pronouns, various preverbal particles, most of which occur between the weak subject pronoun and the verb, and the verb, followed occasionally by a second verb. The weak subject pronouns are discussed in §3.1. I discuss preverbal particles in §7.7.

Example (7.1) illustrates the five basic components of clauses. The verbal complex in (7.1) illustrates the three basic components of the verbal complex: *ri* '3PL' is a weak subject pronoun; *taa* 'future' is a preverbal particle; and *kas* 'open' is the verb.

(7.1) ... *[mu sisiak si-na] [ri taa kas] fa-tapusan*
[ART PL servant POSS-3SG] [3PL FUT open] ADV-quick
SUBJECT VERBAL COMPLEX MANNER ADV

[a mata-na lifu] [xe si-na].
[ART eye-3SG house] [to POSS-3SG]
OBJECT PP

'... his servants will open the door quickly for him.' (Luke 12:36)

Sections 7.2 to 7.7 deal with various constituents of clauses. The remaining sections deal with four specific types of clauses.

7.2. Subjects and objects

Subjects precede the verb, both in intransitive clauses, as in (7.2) and (7.3), and in transitive clauses, as in (7.4) and (7.5). The last two examples also illustrate objects following the verb.

(7.2) ... ***mu fefeng si-na*** *ri maa savat.*
PL **disciple** **POSS-3SG** 3PL come.and come
'... his disciples came.' (Matthew 5:1)

(7.3) ***A lak si-im*** *fo maat xong;*
ART **child** **POSS-2SG** PERF die ??
'Your daughter has died.' (Mark 5:35)

(7.4) ***Na Yesus*** *a xalum* ***a namkai-an si-ri*** *e ...*
ART **Jesus** 3SG see **ART** **believe-NMLZ** **POSS-3PL** and
'Jesus saw their faith and ...' (Mark 2:5)

(7.5) ***Nane*** *xalum* ***na Yesus*** *i taxa sangas-maan lasuun ...*
3SG see **ART** **Jesus** 3SG.INCOMPL CONTIN walk-come far
'He saw Jesus walking far away ...' (Mark 5:6)

Strong pronouns functioning as subject and object occur in the same positions as nominal subjects and objects, subjects before the verb and objects after the verb (or following a manner adverb, if there is one). This is illustrated by the transitive subject in (7.5), the intransitive subject in (7.6) and the object in (7.7).

(7.6) *E voxo* ***nane*** *falet e fe su-suuf ...*
and so **3SG** go and go.and REDUP-wash
'And so he went away and washed, ...' (John 9:7)

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

Note that subjects are not obligatory, as in (7.7), where the word *ne* '1SG' in (7.7) is a weak subject pronoun (§3.1) that I am analysing as part of the verbal complex and therefore not in subject position. The example in (7.8) illustrates a strong pronoun *nenia* '1SG' in subject position, a weak pronoun *ne* '1SG' in the verbal complex, and a strong pronoun *nami* '2PL' in object position.

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

Object clitics (§3.3) occur in the same syntactic position as object noun phrases, following the verb, as in (7.9), or, if there is a manner adverb, following the manner adverb, as in (7.10), though in both cases, they attach phonologically to the end of the preceding word.

(7.9) *Ne taa* ***fa-bas=e*** *pa-na Vovau si-ak e ...*
1SG FUT **CAUS-full=3SG** PREP-3SG spirit POSS-1SG and
'I will fill him with my spirit and ...' (Matthew 12:18)

(7.10) *Na Kornilius a xalum* ***fa-tateax=e*** *pa-na mataut-an ...*
ART Cornelius 3SG see **ADV-strong=3SG** PREP-3SG afraid-NMLZ
'Cornelius stared at him intently in fear.' (Acts 10:4)

If there is a degree word modifying the manner adverb, the object clitic attaches to that degree word, as in (7.11).

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

7.3. Prepositional phrases

Prepositional phrases follow the verb, and the object if there is one, as illustrated in (7.7) above by *pana raarum* 'with water', and in (7.12) by *ti la faxuvul ina maana roxoyan sina* 'from his good treasury'.

(7.12) *[A mataa roxo] [a lisan] [a maana roxo-yan]* ***[ti***
[ART man good] [3SG bring] [ART GRTR.PL good-NMLZ] **[from**
SUBJ VC OBJ PP ...

la fa-xuvul-an i-na maana roxo-yan si-na].
LOC CAUS-be.with-NMLZ POSS-3SG GRTR.PL good-NMLZ POSS-3SG]
... PP

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

Note that prepositional phrases can consist of just a preposition, inflected for its object, like *xamutul* 'for you (TRIAL)' in (7.13).

(7.13) *... maatul taa vesan a sawat talatul* ***xa-mutul;***
1EXC.TRIAL FUT make ART shelter three **for-2TRIAL**
'... let us make three shelters for the three of you;' (Mark 9:5)

One can have multiple prepositional phrases, as in (7.14), where there are two prepositional phrases modifying the verb, namely *ti la xasing ina put* 'from the side of the mountain' and *xe lana raarum aave* 'into the water'.

(7.14) *A mu vio xapiak ri fala sivi [ti la xasing*
ART PL pig all 3PL run go.down [from LOC side

i-na put] [xe lana raarum aave] e ...
POSS-3SG mountain] [to in water that] and

'The pigs all rushed down the steep slope into the lake and [drowned in the water].'
(Matthew 8:32)

Similarly, (7.15) has two prepositional phrases, *xa Abrahem* 'for Abraham' and *pana mu faat aanabe*' 'with these stones'.

(7.15) *... a Piran a fexaxaas se-na fa-savat a rafulak*
ART big.man 3SG able PREP-3SG CAUS-come ART child.PL

[xa Abrahem] [pa-na mu faat aanabe']!
[for Abraham] [PREP-3SG PL stone this]

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

7.4. Adverbs

There are two types of adverbs in Kara, distinguished by their position in the clause. The first type, represented primarily by manner adverbs, immediately follow the verb, preceding an object noun phrase if there is one, as in (7.16) to (7.18).

(7.16) *A maana rabuna ri taxa falim* ***fa-tateak*** *na Jon ...*
ART GRTR.PL people 3PL CONTIN watch **ADV-strong** ART Jon
'The people watched John closely ...' (Luke 3:15)

(7.17) *No fo faxatang* ***fa-roxoi*** *a maana mo modak nabe' ...*
2SG PERF look.after **ADV-good** ART GRTR.PL thing small here
'You have looked after these small things well...' (Matthew 25:21)

(7.18) *Taasaxa a lak tomexaan si vasaa Pol a*
but ART child male POSS sibling.oppos Paul 3SG

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

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

Most adverbs that occur between the verb and the object are manner adverbs beginning with the adverb prefix *fa-* (deriving them from adjectives or verbs). An exception is *vulan* 'always', as in (7.19).

(7.19) *Senaso ne taxa vil* ***vulan*** *a maana mo*
because 1SG CONTIN do **always** ART GRTR.PL thing

xena fa-faamamaas=e.
PURP CAUS-happy=3SG

'Because I always do those things in order to please him.' (John 8:29)

Like nominal objects, the object clitics *=e* '3SG' and *=au* '1SG' follow an adverb following the verb, attaching to the adverb, as in (7.20) to (7.23).

(7.20) *Na Kornilius a xalum* ***fa-tateax=e*** *pa-na mataut-an ...*
ART Cornelius 3SG see **ADV-strong=3SG** PREP-3SG afraid-NMLZ
'Cornelius stared at him intently in fear.' (Acts 10:4)

(7.21) *... no taa yuuf fa-lak* ***fa-tapusan=e,*** *bo?*
2SG FUT pull CAUS-go.up **ADV-quick=3SG** Q
'... will you quickly pull him up?' (Luke 14:5)

(7.22) *Tiis* ***fa-roxoi=au*** *xase-na mu xaiyaas si-ak.*
judge **ADV-good=1SG** against-3SG PL enemy POSS-1SG
'Judge me well against my adversaries.' (Luke 18:3)

(7.23) *Ne texaas o no fuuna langai* ***vulan=au,*** *...*
1SG know COMP 2SG HABIT hear **always=1SG**
'I know that you always listen to me, ...' (John 11:42)

The second type of adverb, mostly not manner adverbs, are ones that always seem to follow rather than precede the object. This includes the locative demonstrative adverbs *pave* 'there', as in (7.24) and (7.25), and *nabe'* 'here', as in (7.26).

(7.24) *E nane pife vil a maana mo fa-'ipul* ***pave*** *senaso*
and 3SG NEG do ART GRTR.PL thing CAUS-amazed **there** because
ri pife namkai se-na.
3PL NEG believe PREP-3SG
'And he did not do many miracles there because they did not believe him.' (Matthew 13:58)

(7.25) *... e voxo re famati a vipin i Yesus* ***pave*** *...*
and so 3DU put ART body POSS Jesus **there**
'And so they placed Jesus' body there.' (John 19:42)

(7.26) *Tamo no vubux-an=e ne taa vesan a sawat talatul*
if 2SG want-TRANS=3SG 1SG FUT make ART shelter three
nabe' *...*
here
'If you want, I will make three shelters here ...' (Matthew 17:4)

And just as nominal objects precede these adverbs, object clitics precede these adverbs, attaching to the verb, as in (7.27), in contrast to their attaching to manner adverbs following the verb, as in (7.20) to (7.23) above.

(7.27) *... taasaxa mi pife* ***yot=au*** ***pave.***
but 2PL NEG **grab=1SG** **there**
'... but you did not arrest me there.' (Mark 14:49)

The adverbial interrogative words *faa* 'where' and *malaafaa* 'how' also follow object noun phrases, as in (7.28) and (7.29).

(7.28) *Nane siak a texaas-an molava* ***faa?***
3SG take ART know-NMLZ big **where**
'Where did he get such wisdom?' (Matthew 13:54)

(7.29) *Nane vil a maana mo fa-'ipul* ***malaafaa?***
3SG do ART GRTR.PL thing CAUS-amazed **how**
'How does he perform miracles?' (Matthew 13:54)

Other examples of adverbs following object noun phrases or object clitics are given in (7.30) to (7.34).

(7.30) *... no taa faaxolus-an=au* ***faatalatul.***
2SG FUT deny-TRANS=1SG **three.times**
'... you will deny me three times.' (Luke 22:61)

(7.31) *Tavai=au* ***monabe'*** *mon, pa-na putu Jon I-na*
give=1SG **immediately** only PREP-3SG head John POSS-3SG

Fasuf-an xulu-na "plet".
baptize-NMLZ ON-3SG plate

'Give me the head of John the Baptist immediately on a platter.' (Matthew 14:8)

(7.32) *... e mi pife taraxali=au* ***lunai?***
and 2PL NEG recognize=1SG **still**
'... and you still do not recognize me?' (John 14:9)

(7.33) *... e nane fapiti nari* ***malaan:***
and 3SG teach 3PL **thus**
'Then he began to teach them by saying:' (Matthew 5:2)

(7.34) *E na Yesus a fataxapin a xuuskuus aave* ***malaanabe':***
and ART Jesus 3SG finish ART story that **like.this**
'And Jesus finished the story like this:' (Matthew 20:16)

Example (7.35), illustrates both types of adverbs in the same clause: the adverb *fatateak* 'ADV-strong' precedes the object *a xaati* 'the boat' while the adverb *pave* 'there' follows it.

(7.35) *... e pis* ***fa-tateak*** *a xaati* ***pave.***
and tie **ADV-strong** ART boat **there**
'... and tied the boat firmly there.' (Mark 6:53)

As discussed in §4.2.3, some postverbal adverbs occur with the transitivizing suffix *-an* when followed by an object noun phrase or object clitic, as in (7.36) to (7.38).

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

(7.37) *xena fa-maat* ***fa-tapus-an*** *narutul*
PURP CAUS-die **ADV-quick-TRANS** 3TRIAL
'[and so the Jews asked Pilate that the soldiers break their legs] in order to cause them to die quickly [so that they could take away their bodies].' (John 19:31)

(7.38) ... *no taa yuuf fa-lak* ***fa-tapus-an=e,*** *bo?*
2SG FUT pull CAUS-go.up **ADV-quick-TRANS=3SG** Q
'... will you not immediately pull him out?' (Luke 14:5)

The adverb *fulaa* 'back, again' sometimes precedes and sometimes follows the object. In (7.39) it follows the object noun phrase *a xasa rofetinan* 'two other brothers'.

(7.39) ... *e xalum a xasa ro-fetinan* ***fulaa*** ...
and see ART other DU-RECIP.sibling.same **again**
'[He went on a short time later] and saw two other brothers again, ...' (Matthew 4:21)

And in (7.40) it follows the object clitic *=e* '3SG'.

(7.40) *E mui a tefin aave a* ***xalum=e*** ***fulaa*** *e* ...
and then ART woman that 3SG **see=3SG** **again** and
'And then the slave girl saw him again ...' (Mark 14:69)

However, in (7.41), it precedes the object, occurring with the transitivizing suffix *-an*.

(7.41) *E nane fin* ***ful-an*** *nari* ...
and 3SG ask **again-TRANS** 3PL
'And he asked them again ...' (Mark 8:29)

And in (7.42), it precedes the object clitic *=e*, contrasting clearly with (7.40), where the same verb *xalum* 'see' is involved, but where the object clitic occurs on the verb.

(7.42) ... *o ri taa pife xalum* ***fulan=e.***
COMP 3PL FUT NEG see **again=3SG**
'... that they would not see him again.' (Acts 20:38)

Similarly, *faatalatul* 'three times' follows its object in (7.30) above, but precedes the object clitic in (7.43).

(7.43) *Na Pita a mamaxus senaso na Yesus a fin*
ART Peter 3SG troubled because ART Jesus 3SG ask

faa-talatul-an=e ...
times-three-TRANS=3SG

'Peter was distressed because Jesus asked him three times ...' (John 21:17)

7.5. Degree words

7.5.1. The degree words *paaliu, faagut,* and *temasaat*

There are three words that can be used as degree words with intensifying meaning, modifying adjectives. These are *paaliu*, illustrated in (7.44) to (7.46), *faagut*, illustrated in (7.47) to (7.49), and *temasaat*, illustrated in (7.50) to (7.52). It is not clear how these three words differ in meaning, though they exhibit some syntactic differences, as discussed below.

(7.44) *E ri* ***fe-mataut*** ***paaliu*** *e ...*
and 3PL **INCH-afraid** **INTENS** and
'They became very afraid ...' (Mark 4:41)

(7.45) *Senaso a faat aave* ***a*** ***molava*** *paaliu.*
because ART stone that **3SG** **big** INTENS
'Because that stone is very large.' (Mark 16:3)

(7.46) *... a maana maanu aanabe' ri* ***modak*** ***paaliu*** *...*
ART GRTR.PL bird this 3PL **small** **INTENS**
'... these birds are very small ...' (Luke 12:6)

(7.47) *... nane* ***marala*** ***faagut.***
3SG **angry** **strong**
'[When Herod realized that he had been tricked by the wise men], he became very angry.' (Matthew 2:16)

(7.48) *... senaso rutul* ***mataut*** ***faagut.***
because 3TRIAL **afraid** **strong**
'... because they were very afraid.' (Mark 16:8)

(7.49) *A gut-an si-na a* ***molava*** ***faagut...***
ART strong-NMLZ POSS-3SG 3SG **big** **strong**
'His power was very great ...' (Mark 5:4)

(7.50) *Layaan rutul langai a ling aave rutul* ***mataut*** ***temasaat***
when 3TRIAL hear ART voice that 3TRIAL **afraid** **much**

e rutul poxo turung xe lapi la xavala.
and 3TRIAL fall kneel to down LOC ground

'When they heard the voice, they were overwhelmed with fear and fell kneeling to the ground.' (Matthew 17:6)

(7.51) *Layaan a mu fefeng ri xalum=e ri faamamaas* ***temasaat.***
when ART PL disciple 3PL see=3SG 3PL happy **much**
'When the disciples saw him, they were very happy.' (John 20:20)

(7.52) *... ne texaas o a falet-an si-taara i taa*
1SG know COMP ART go-NMLZ POSS-1INCL.PL 3SG.INCOMPL FUT

lagaf ***temasaat*** *...*
difficult **much**

'... I know that our voyage will be very difficult ...' (Acts 27:10)

I gloss *paaliu* as 'INTENS', since its only function appears to be as an intensifier. I gloss *faagut* as 'strong' since it can occur by itself as an adjective with this meaning, as in (7.53) and (7.54).

(7.53) *a* *mataa* *aave* *a* ***faagut*** *se-ga*
ART man REL 3SG **strong** PREP-1SG
'a man who is more powerful than me' (Mark 1:7)

(7.54) *...* *layaan* *a* *reref* ***faagut*** *taxa* *fa-gusaang=e.*
when ART wind **strong** CONTIN CAUS-shake=3SG
'... when a fierce wind shakes it.' (Revelation 6:13)

Faagut can also modify nonstative verbs, with a meaning like 'strongly', as in (7.55) and (7.56).

(7.55) *E* *nane* ***fenung*** ***faagut*** *xe* *si* *Yesus* *malaan* *...*
and 3SG **pray** **strong** to POSS Jesus thus
'He begged Jesus urgently, ...' (Mark 5:23)

(7.56) *...* *e* *a* *marapi* *si-na* ***fe-rarapak*** ***faagut*** *malaan*
and ART clothes POSS-3SG **INCH-shine** **strong** like

se-na *yaamit.*
PREP-3SG lightning

'... and his clothes began to shine brightly, like lightning.' (Luke 9:29)

I gloss *temasaat* as 'much' since in addition to modifying adjectives, it can modify nonstative verbs with this meaning, as in (7.57) and (7.58).

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

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

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

(7.58) *taasaxa* *ri* *la-lamon* ***temasaat*** *pa-na* *mo* *ti* *la*
but 3PL HABIT-think **much** PREP-3SG thing from LOC

xavala *...*
ground

'But they think a lot about things from the world ...' (Mark 4:19)

There is one occurrence of *temasaat* as a main predicate, given in (7.59) (this example also shows *temasaat* modifying a nonstative verb, *sivi* 'go down').

(7.59) *A* *xavala* *pife* ***temasaat*** *xulu-na* *e* *pife* *sivi* ***temasaat***
ART ground NEG **much** ON-3SG and NEG go.down **much**

lapia *e* *...*
down and

'The soil was not much and did not go down much and ...' (Mark 4:5)

In addition to modifying adjectives serving as predicates, *paaliu* and *temasaat* also occur as modifiers of attributive adjectives; there are no instances of *faagut* in this function. Examples illustrating *paaliu* in this function are given in (7.60) to (7.62).

(7.60) *E ri fenung xe si-na Piran pa-na **fenung-an** **modus***
and 3PL pray to POSS-3SG big.man PREP-3SG **pray-NMLZ** **long**

***paaliu** talo ...*
INTENS so.that

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

(7.61) *pa-na faat **lava** **paaliu***
PREP-3SG stone **big** **INTENS**
'with a very large stone' (Matthew 18:6)

(7.62) *... fo vil a maana **mo** **roxo** **paaliu** pa-ga e ...*
PERF do ART GRTR.PL **thing** **good** **INTENS** PREP-1SG and
'[because he who is mighty] has done very good things for me ...' (Luke 1:49)

An example of *temasaat* modifying an attributive adjective is given in (7.63).

(7.63) *a reref **molava** **temasaat***
ART wind **big** **much**
'a very strong wind' (Acts 27:14)

Paaliu and *temasaat* can also modify adverbs modifying verbs; again there are no instances of *faagut* in this function. Examples illustrating this for *paaliu* are given in (7.64) to (7.67).

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

(7.65) *... e a tigina **fa-tateak** **paaliu** senaso nane*
and 3SG stand **ADV-strong** **INTENS** because 3SG

vesan fa-roxoi=e.
make CAUS-good=3SG

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

(7.66) *E mui nane sivi xe puaa Nasaret xuvul pa-re*
and then 3SG go.down to north Nazareth with PREP-3DU

*e a langai **fa-roxo** **paaliu** si-re.*
and 3SG hear **ADV-good** **INTENS** POSS-3DU

'Then he went down with them to Nazareth, and heard them very well (i.e. was obedient to them).' (Luke 2:51)

(7.67) ***Fataapus*** ***paaliu*** *a* *mu* *angelo* *xaves* *ti* *laa'ui*
quickly **INTENS** ART PL angel many from up

ri *maa* *savat* ...
3PL come.and come

'Very suddenly many angels from above came ...' (Luke 2:13)

Examples of *temasaat* modifying adverbs are given in (7.68) and (7.69) (in the first of them modifying *faagut*, here functioning as an adverb).

(7.68) *Nane* *taxa* *usi* *netaara* *e* *i* *taxa* *xukulai*
3SG CONTIN follow 1INCL.PL and 3SG.INCOMPL CONTIN shout

faagut ***temasaat.***
strong **much**

'She followed us and shouted very loudly.' (Matthew 15:23)

(7.69) *Nane* *kaalum* *laak* *xe* *laa'ui* *e* *xalum* *na* *Abrahem* *nare*
3SG look enter to up and see ART Abraham 3DU

Lasarus *re* *taxa* *waan* ***lasuun*** ***temasaat.***
Lazarus 3DU CONTIN be.at **far** **much**

'He looked up and saw Abraham and Lazarus very far off.' (Luke 16:23)

Paaliu can also modify directional words (§6.4), as in (7.70).

(7.70) *A* *rabuna* *ti* *Jerusalem,* *ti* *Idumia* *e* *ti* *lu*
ART people from Jerusalem from Idumea and from MID.DISTANCE

paa ***paaliu*** *se* *Jordan* *e* ...
east **INTENS** PREP Jordan and

'People from Jerusalem, from Idumea, and from further east than the Jordan River, and ...' (Mark 3:8)

Paaliu and *temasaat* can also be used in comparative constructions, with the object of comparison marked with the preposition *se* (§6.2.4); again there are no instances of this possibility for *faagut.* Examples of *paaliu* in this function are given in (7.71) and (7.72).

(7.71) *E* *nane* *fe* *xel* *fa-xuvul* *a* *xasa-no* *vovau* *saat* *pisiguak*
and 3SG go.and call CAUS-with ART other-PL spirit bad seven

aava *ri* ***pema-mosaat*** ***paaliu*** ***se-na*** ...
REL 3PL **COMPAR-bad** **INTENS** **PREP-3SG**

'And he went and called together the seven other bad spirits which were worse than him ...' (Luke 11:26)

(7.72) *a* *maana* *vovau* *pisiguak* *aava* *ri* ***saat*** ***paaliu*** ***se-na***
ART GRTR.PL spirit seven REL 3PL **bad** **INTENS** **PREP-3SG**
'seven spirits more evil than it' (Matthew 12:45)

An example of *temasaat* in the comparative construction is given in (7.73).

(7.73) ... *taasaxa* *muta* *siak* *ta* *faat* *a* *moxaves* ***temasaat***
but PROHIB take NONSPEC stone 3SG many **much**

se-na *vuputkai* *a* *kuus* *pa-na.*
PREP-3SG command 3SG say PREP-3SG

'... but don't collect more money than the law says to.' (Luke 3:13)

Paaliu can further modify *faagut* and *temasaat*, apparently further intensifying them. In this function *paaliu* follows *faagut* and *temasaat*. Examples of *paaliu* modifying *faagut* are given in (7.74) and (7.75).

(7.74) ... *ri* ***ipul*** ***faagut*** ***paaliu*** *se-na* *gut-an* *si* *Yesus.*
3PL **amazed** **strong** **INTENS** PREP-3SG strong-NMLZ POSS Jesus
'... they were astonished at the power of Jesus.' (Mark 5:42)

(7.75) *Taasaxa* ***la-lamon*** ***faagut*** ***paaliu*** *pa-na* *mo* *aanabe'* *aava*
but **REDUP-think** **strong** **INTENS** PREP-3SG thing this REL

nenia, *ne* *fo* *xuus* *fa-texaas* *nami* *pa-na.*
1SG 1SG PERF tell CAUS-know 2PL PREP-3SG

'Think very hard about these things that I have informed you about.' (Mark 13:23)

Examples of *paaliu* modifying *temasaat* are given in (7.76) and (7.77).

(7.76) *E* *ri* *xaves* ***temasaat*** ***paaliu.***
and 3PL many **very** **INTENS**
'They were very many.' (Revelation 5:11)

(7.77) *A* *vilau* *i-ga* *a* *mamaxus* ***temasaat*** ***paaliu*** ...
ART heart POSS-1SG 3SG troubled **much** **INTENS**
'My soul is deeply grieved, ...' (Mark 14:34)

7.5.2. Degree words with the transitivizing suffix

As discussed in §4.2.3, the three degree words occur with the transitivizing suffix *-an* when they are followed by an object noun phrase or object clitic, as in (7.78) to (7.81), even when the degree word is modifying an adverb that is modifying a verb (rather than directly modifying the verb), as in the last two of these examples.

(7.78) ... *senaso* *nane* *taxa* *faisok* *xena* *siak* *faat* *mon* *e*
because 3SG CONTIN act PURP take stone only and

pife *muluk* ***temasaat-an*** *a* *mu* *sipsip.*
NEG have.mercy **much-TRANS** ART PL sheep

'... because he is a hired hand and is not concerned about the sheep.' (John 10:13)

(7.79) *Mi fe seng* ***faagut-an*** *a lak aave ...*
2PL go.and look.for **strong-TRANS** ART child that
'Go and look carefully for the child.' (Matthew 2:8)

(7.80) *mu Ferasi aava ri usi fatak* ***paaliu-an*** *a mu*
PL Pharisee REL 3PL follow straight **INTENS-TRANS** ART PL
vuputkai i-na lotu si-na Piran.
command POSS-3SG worship POSS-3SG big.man
'the Pharisees who follow very strictly the laws of the worship of God.' (Acts 26:5)

(7.81) *A lifu aave ri fa-maus fa-roxoi* ***paaliu-an=e***
ART house that 3PL CAUS-wear ADV-good **INTENS-TRANS=3SG**
pa-na maana faat roxo e ...
PREP-3SG GRTR.PL stone good and
'That house, they adorned it with fine stones and ...' (Luke 21:5)

See §4.2.3 for further discussion.

7.6. Multi-verb predicates

The predicate can consist of a sequence of verbs, as in (7.82), where the verb *fala* 'run' and the verb *sivi* 'go down' combine to form a two-word predicate with the meaning 'run down'.

(7.82) *A mu vio xapiak ri* ***fala sivi*** *ti la xasing*
ART PL pig all 3PL **run go.down** from LOC side
i-na put xe lana raarum aave e ...
POSS-3SG mountain to in water that and
'The pigs all rushed down the steep slope into the lake and [drowned in the water].' (Matthew 8:32)

Further examples are given in (7.83) to (7.86), in this case with transitive verbs. If there is an object clitic, it appears only on the second verb, as in the first three examples.

(7.83) *...* *e ri* ***finis fakasanam=e.***
and 3PL **beat harm=3SG**
'... and they flogged him severely.' (John 19:1)

(7.84) *... i taa* ***yuuf fa-lax=e*** *ti lana vaa'ul, bo?*
3SG.INCOMPL FUT **pull CAUS-go.up=3SG** from in hole Q
'and he will pull it up from the hole?' (Matthew 12:11)

(7.85) *... xena* ***tapin fa-dui=e*** *lapi ...*
PURP **throw CAUS-go.down=3SG** down
'... in order to throw him down ...' (Luke 4:29)

(7.86) ... *ri* *fo* ***xamak*** ***fa-pasak*** *a* *marapi* *si-ri* *pa-na*
3PL PERF **wash** **CAUS-white** ART clothes POSS-3PL PREP-3SG

ria *i-na* *Natu-na* *Sipsip.*
blood POSS-3SG son-3SG sheep

'... they have washed their clothes white with the blood of the Lamb.' (Revelation 7:14)

The two verbs in this construction apparently must share not only the same subject, but must be both intransitive or both transitive, and if transitive, must share the same object. For example, in (7.82) above, *fala* 'run' combines with *sivi* 'go down', both intransitive verbs, while in (7.86), *xamak* 'wash' and *fapasak* 'cause to be white' are both transitive, sharing not only the same subject, but also the same object.

In fact, in general, verbal suffixes (§4.2) occur only on the second verb in two-verb predicates. For example, the passive suffix (see §4.2.2) occurs only on the second verb in (7.87) and (7.88).

(7.87) ... *nane* *ta'ulan* *nari* *e* *a* ***xel*** ***fa-lax-an*** *xe* *laa'ui*
3SG leave 3PL and 3SG **call** **CAUS-go.up-PASS** to up

la *xunavata.*
LOC heaven

'... he left them and was summoned up to heaven.' (Luke 24:51)

(7.88) ... *e* *i* *taa* ***tapin*** ***fa-dui-an*** *pe* *la* *laman.*
and 3SG.INCOMPL FUT **throw** **CAUS-go.down-PASS** at LOC sea
'... and he will be thrown down into the sea.' (Mark 9:42)

The same is true for the general nominalizing suffix *-an* (see §4.2.3), as in (7.89) and (7.90).

(7.89) ... *a* ***kuus*** ***faatul-ai-an*** *si-na* *mu* *rabuna* *a*
ART **say** **praise-INTRANS-NMLZ** POSS-3SG PL people 3SG

pe-lalava *se-na* ***kuus*** ***faatul-ai-an*** *si-na* *Piran.*
COMPAR-big PREP-3SG **say** **praise-INTRANS-NMLZ** POSS-3SG big.man

'[People think that] praise from men is more important than praise from God.' (John 12:43)

(7.90) ... *nane* *fexaxaas* *se-na* *sinuf-an* *a* ***kuus***
3SG able PREP-3SG run.away-TRANS ART **say**

fakali-maan-an *aave.*
swear-come-NMLZ that

'... he is able to escape that oath.' (Matthew 23:16)

It is also true for the transitive nominalization suffix *-aan* (see §4.2.8), as in (7.91) and (7.92).[48]

[48] When used as a main verb and as the first verb in two-verb predications, as in (7.85) and (7.88), *tapin* means 'throw'. But when used as the second verb in a two-verb predication, as in (7.91), it adds the more general meaning 'away' to the first verb.

(7.91) *Lami-na* ***mulus*** ***tapin-aan*** *nare,* *na* *Pol* *nare* *Sailas* *re* *falet*
after-3SG **release** **away-NMLZ** 3DU ART Paul 3DU Silas 3DU go

xe *la* *lifu* *si* *Lidia* *e* ...
to LOC house POSS Lydia and

'After the release [from prison] of the two of them, Paul and Silas went to Lydia's house and ...' (Acts 16:40)

(7.92) ... *Lami-na* *punux-aan=a* *mataa* *a* *fexaxaas* *se-na*
after-3SG kill-NMLZ=ART man 3SG able PREP-3SG

tapin ***fa-sivi-aan-a*** *xe* ...
throw **CAUS-go.down-NMLZ-3SG** to

'... after killing a man, he is able to throw him down to ...' (Luke 12:5)

7.7. Preverbal particles

There is a closed set of grammatical particles which precede the verb, all of which follow the weak subject pronoun, except for *rao* 'irrealis', which precedes the weak subject pronoun. These are listed in Table 7.1 and discussed further in the rest of this section. Most of them are grouped into semantic categories in the discussion that follows: §7.7.1 discusses non-future aspectual particles; §7.7.2 discusses future particles; §7.7.3 discusses negative particles; and §7.7.4 discusses associated motion particles.

fo	perfect
taxa	continuative
fuuna	habitual
tamu	previous state
taa	future
tamaa	may
tafo	would have
tafe	become (future)
pife	not
pi	never
muta	prohibitive, should not
muneta	must not
bai	not want
maa	associated motion towards deictic centre (come and)
fe	associated motion away from deictic centre (go and)
ti	stand and
buk	want
lo	function unclear
mo	function unclear
rao	irrealis

Table 7.1: Preverbal particles

7.7.1. Non-future tense and aspect preverbal particles

7.7.1.1. *fo* 'perfect'

The particle *fo,* illustrated in in (7.93) to (7.96), correlates strongly with the use of a perfect in the English translations, implying a past or present state resulting from an earlier event.

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

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

(7.95) *Nenia ne* ***fo*** *sivi-maan ti la xunavata.*
1SG 1SG **PERF** descend-come from LOC heaven
'I have come down from heaven.' (John 6:42)

(7.96) *Layaan a Ferasi naang aava* ***fo*** *xel na Yesus*
when ART Pharisee same REL **PERF** call ART Jesus
xe la lifu si-na ...
to LOC house POSS-3SG
'Now when the Pharisee who had invited Jesus to his house ...' (Luke 7:39)

In some cases, the English translation does not use a perfect, as in (7.97).

(7.97) *... senaso ri **fo** bai-an=au paamuin ri*
because 3PL **PERF** not.want-TRANS=1SG before 3PL

bai-an nami.
not.want-TRANS 2PL

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

While it is not clear that the first clause in this example involves a state resulting from an earlier event, it does at least involve a state. Exactly why the perfect is used in examples like these is not clear.

7.7.1.2. *taxa* 'continuative'

The particle *taxa* indicates a continuing act or state, as in (7.98) to (7.100), often occurring where the English translation uses the progressive.

(7.98) *... a tefin a pife maat, i **taxa** matef mon.*
ART woman 3SG NEG die 3SG.INCOMPL **CONTIN** sleep only
'The woman did not die, she is only sleeping.' (Luke 8:52)

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

nonau i-na a puk ...
face POSS-3SG 3SG turn

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

(7.100) *Mi **taxa** seng nase'?*
2PL **CONTIN** look.for who
'Who are you looking for?' (John 18:4)

Example (7.101) contains two occurrences of *taxa*.

(7.101) *Rutul **taxa** waan xulu-na xaati e rutul **taxa***
3TRIAL **CONTIN** be.at ON-3SG boat and 3TRIAL **CONTIN**

faigot-an a vana si-rutul.
prepare-TRANS ART net POSS-3TRIAL

'They were in a boat, mending their nets.' (Matthew 4:21)

Note that the first occurrence in (7.101) does not correspond to a progressive in the English translation, but does involve a continuing state.

The continuative particle is the only non-future particle which requires the use of the incompletive 3SG weak subject pronoun *i* (§3.1.3) when the subject is 3SG, as in (7.98) and (7.99) above.

7.7.1.3. *fuuna* ‘habitual’

The habitual particle *fuuna* is illustrated in (7.102) to (7.104); there are two occurrences in (7.104).

(7.102) *Xenaso nemaam e mu Ferasi maam **fuuna** falfaal*
why 1EXCL.PL and PL Pharisee 1EXCL.PL **HABIT** fast

faa-xaves ...
times-many

‘Why do we and the Pharisees fast often ...?’ (Matthew 9:14)

(7.103) *E nane **fuuna** ngan a sakawa e vevoi.*
and 3SG **HABIT** eat ART locust and honey
‘And his diet consisted of locusts and wild honey.’ (Matthew 3:4)

(7.104) *Nane toxan a giis-an la putu-na e **fuuna** gaga e*
3SG have ART sick-NMLZ LOC head-3SG and **HABIT** crazy and

*maana yaan **fuuna** poxo xe lana fata o raarum.*
GRTR.PL day **HABIT** fall to in fire or water

‘He has a sickness in his head and he is crazy and he often falls into the fire or the water.’ (Matthew 17:15)

Fuuna often co-occurs with the adverb *vulai* ~ *vulan* ‘always’, as in (7.105) and (7.106).

(7.105) *Ne texaas o no **fuuna** langai vul-an=au, ...*
1SG know COMP 2SG **HABIT** hear always-TRANS=1SG
‘I knew that you always listen to me, ...’ (John 11:42)

(7.106) *E xasanofuna aava ri **fuuna** vil vul-an a maana*
and others.PL REL 3PL **HABIT** do always-TRANS ART GRTR.PL

mo xena fa-faamamaas-aan=a ta-ri mon ...
thing PURP CAUS-happy-NMLZ=ART skin-3PL only

‘And others who always do things in order to please only themselves ...’ (Romans 2:8)

In addition to the preverbal particle *fuuna*, there is also a morphological process using reduplication that I have tentatively also labeled habitual (§4.2.11), illustrated in (7.107); it is not clear how these two constructions differ, though *fuuna* is more clearly habitual and seems never to be negative, unlike the reduplication process, which is usually negative, occurring with the preverbal particle *pi* ‘never’.

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

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

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

7.7.1.4. *tamu* ‘previous state’

The function of the particle *tamu* is not entirely clear, primarily because there are relatively few examples. However, it appears to mark states that were previously the case but no longer are. For example, in (7.108), *tamu* occurs in a relative clause ‘who had been lost’ (referring to a sheep) but the clause in which this is embedded refers to finding the sheep that had been lost.

(7.108) *... i taa faamamaas paaliu layaan a tingin a*
3SG.INCOMPL FUT happy INTENS when 3SG find ART

saxa aava tamu milung.
one REL PREV.STATE lost

‘... [he] will be very happy when he finds the one who had been lost.’ (Matthew 18:13)

Example (7.109) contains five occurrences of *tamu*, all consistent with the idea that marks states that are no longer the case.

(7.109) *A mu rabuna aava ri **tamu** piif ri kaalum fulaa;*
ART PLUR people REL 3PL **PREV.STATE** blind 3PL see again

*a mu rabuna aava ri **tamu** maalapen ri sangas;*
ART PLUR people REL 3PL **PREV.STATE** lame 3PL walk

*nari aava tari **tamu** tapak ri roxo paaliu; nari*
3PL REL skin-3PL **PREV.STATE** leprosy 3PL good INTENS 3PL

*aava ri **tamu** vaang, ri langai; nari aava ri*
REL 3PL **PREV.STATE** deaf 3PL hear 3PL REL 3PL

***tamu** maat ri to fa-'ulaa e a mu valagof*
PREV.STATE die 3PL live ADV-return and ART PLUR poor

ri taxa langai a Lagasai Roxo.
3PL CONTIN hear 3SG news good

‘The blind see, the lame walk, lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, and the poor hear the good news.’ (Matthew 11:5)

The first occurrence of *tamu* in (7.109) is in ‘the blind see’, or more accurately ‘those who had been blind now see’. The next three occurrences of *tamu* in (7.109) are similar: ‘those who were lame now walk’, ‘those who were lepers are now cleansed’, and ‘those who were deaf now hear’. The fifth occurrence is in ‘those who had died now live again’; while the verb *maat* normally means ‘die’, it could just as easily be construed as a stative verb meaning ‘dead’. Significantly, the last clause in this set *a mu valagof* ‘the poor’ does not use tamu; but this seems to be because they are still poor, unlike the five previous sets of people who are no longer in their previous state.

7.7.2. Future preverbal particles

7.7.2.1. *taa* ‘future’

The future particle *taa* is illustrated in (7.110) and (7.111).

(7.110) ... *e* *no* ***taa*** *sisiak* *si-na* *mon.*
and 2SG **FUT** servant POSS-3SG only
‘... and you will only be his servant.’ (Matthew 4:10)

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

The examples in (7.112) and (7.113) each contain two occurrences of *taa*.

(7.112) *E* *no* ***taa*** *kuus* *malaan* *faa-talatul* *paamuin=a* *pura*
and 2SG **FUT** speak thus times-three before=ART chicken

i ***taa*** *rawei* *faa-taragua.*
3SG.INCOMPL **FUT** make.sound times-two

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

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

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

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

The future particle is also used where English uses *must*, *should*, or *have to*, as in (7.114) to (7.116).

(7.114) *Naak* *maam* ***taa*** *fe* *maraan* *bret* *xa-ri* *xapiak* *bo?*
surely 1EXCL.PL **FUT** go.and obtain bread for-3PL all Q
‘Surely, we have to go and obtain bread for all of them, don’t we?’ (Luke 9:13)

(7.115) ... *o* *maam* ***taa*** *waan* *bang* *a* *xasafuna?*
or 1EXCL.PL **FUT** be.at wait ART another
‘... or should we wait for another?’ (Matthew 11:3)

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

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

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

It is used in result clauses referring to the future, as in (7.117) and (7.118).

(7.117) *Feng tapin et nari talo ri* ***taa*** *laak la*
send away away 3PL so.that 3PL **FUT** enter LOC

nu bina faasilak xena ...
PAUC place near PURP

'Send them away so that they can go into the villages to [buy food for themselves].' (Matthew 14:15)

(7.118) *... e layaan mi fo tingin=e mi maa xuus=au*
and when 2PL PERF find=3SG 2PL come.and tell=1SG

talo nenia sait ne ***taa*** *fe nangus=e.*
so.that 1SG also 1SG **FUT** go.and worship=3SG

'... and when you find him, inform me so that I can go and worship him as well.' (Matthew 2:8)

It is sometimes used in imperative clauses, as in (7.119) and (7.120).

(7.119) *Mutul* ***taa*** *waan pave fefexaxaas ...*
2TRIAL **FUT** be.at there until
'Stay there until ...' (Matthew 2:13)

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

It is used in hortative contexts, as in (7.121) and (7.122).

(7.121) *Taara* ***taa*** *falet xe la paxasing i-na laman.*
1INCL.PL **FUT** go to LOC side POSS-3SG sea
'Let's go across to the other side of the lake.' (Mark 4:35)

(7.122) *Taare* ***taa*** *ulaa xe la nu bina aava taare fo ...*
1INCL.DU **FUT** go to LOC PAUC town REL 1INCL.DU PERF
'Let's go to every town where we ...' (Acts 15:36)

It is used in indirect commands, as in (7.123) and (7.124).

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

i-na raarum.
POSS-3SG water

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

(7.124) ... *nane* *fo* *xuus* *a* *mu* *rabuna* *si-na* *o*
3SG PERF tell ART PL people POSS-3SG COMP

ri ***taa*** *tao* *na* *Jon* *e* *pis* *fa-waan=e* *la*
3PL **FUT** hold ART John and tie CAUS-be.at=3SG LOC

bina *i-na* *vipis-an.*
place POSS-3SG be.tied-NMLZ

'... he told his men to arrest John and put him in prison.' (Matthew 14:3)

7.7.2.2. *tamaa* 'may'

The particle *tamaa* is used to indicate future possibility, as in (7.125) and (7.126).

(7.125) *Ne* *bai* *feng* *tapin* *nari* *pa-na* *ri* *lagai* *senaso* *ri*
1SG not.want send away 3PL PREP-3SG 3PL hungry because 3PL

tamaa *maat* *la* *falet-an* *si-ri.*
may die LOC go-NMLZ POSS-3PL

'I don't want to send them away hungry since they may faint on the way.' (Matthew 15:32)

(7.126) *Piau,* *layaan* *mi* *put* *a* *latan* *mi* ***tamaa*** *put*
no when 2PL pull.up ART weeds 2PL **may** pull.up

a *kam* *roxo* *aava* *fo* *boak* *vaxa.*
ART seed good REL PERF grow also

'No, when you pull up the weeds, you may pull up the good seeds that have grown as well.' (Matthew 13:29)

Tamaa is common after *ulau* 'lest, in case', as in (7.127) and (7.128).

(7.127) *Fakaxup* *netaara* ***ulaa*** *taara* ***tamaa*** *xarak!*
save 1INCL.PL **lest** 1INCL.PL **may** drown
'Save us lest we die!' (Matthew 8:25)

(7.128) *Taasaxa* *ri* *kuus* *o* *ri* *taa* *pife* *vil=e* *lana* *yaan*
but 3PL say COMP 3PL FUT NEG do=3SG in day

i-na *fenamo* ***ulaa*** *mu* *rabuna* *ri* ***tamaa*** *marala*
POSS-3SG feast **lest** PL people 3PL **may** angry

e *fevis.*
and fight

'But they said that they would not do it on the day of the feast lest the people be angry and fight.' (Matthew 26:5)

Note that *tamaa* 'may' has scope over both verbs in this last example; in general, both weak subject pronouns and preverbal particles are sometimes repeated before a second verb and sometimes are not, as in this example.

7.7.2.3. *tafo* ‘would have’

The particle *tafo* is used before the verb in the apodosis of a counterfactual conditional, as in (7.129) and (7.130).

(7.129) *... tamo a maana mo fa-'ipul aava mi fo xalum=e*
if ART GRTR.PL thing CAUS-amazed REL 2PL PERF see=3SG

ri fo savat pe la ro bina Tair e Saidan, a mu
3PL PERF come at LOC DUAL place Tyre and Sidon ART PL

rabuna saat pave ri ***tafo*** *fa-lak a marapi*
people bad there 3PL **would.have** CAUS-go.up ART clothes

maxata e tapalan a vebit i-na fata la putu-ri ...
black and spread ART ashes POSS-3SG fire LOC head-3PL

‘If the miracles you have seen had happened in Tyre and Sidon, the sinners there would have worn black clothes and spread ashes on their heads ...’ (Matthew 11:21)

(7.130) *Tamo a mataa tafu-na lifu fo texaas se-na yaan*
if ART man owner-3SG house PERF know PREP-3SG day

a mataa i-na fenau i taa fili-maan
ART man POSS-3SG steal 3SG.INCOMPL FUT come-come

i ***tafo*** *kaalum vot-ai e ti*
3SG.INCOMPL **would.have** look block-INTRANS and stand.and

vot-an a mataa i-na fenau se-na laak la
block-TRANS ART man POSS-3SG steal PREP-3SG enter LOC

lifu si-na.
house POSS-3SG

‘If the owner of the house had known at what time the thief would coming, he would have been alert and would have prevented the thief from entering his house.’ (Matthew 24:43)

Note again that the preverbal particle in this example has scope over two verbs.

In (7.131), *tafo* occurs in a sentence which is not formally a conditional sentence, but still has the meaning ‘would have’.

(7.131) *E na Pariat, a memai ti Rom nane* ***tafo*** *mulus*
and ART Pilate ART lord from Rome 3SG **would.have** release

tapin=e, taasaxa mi bai.
away=3SG but 2PL not.want

‘And Pilate, the leader from Rome, would have released him, but you did not want [him to].’ (Acts 3:13)

7.7.2.4. *tafe* ‘become (future)’

The preverbal particle *tafe* has the meaning ‘will become’, as in (7.132) and (7.133).

(7.132) *E* *senaso* *a* *saat-an* *si-na* *rabuna* ***tafe***
and because ART bad-NMLZ POSS-3SG people **become.FUT**

molava ...
big

‘And because lawlessness will increase ...’ (Matthew 24:12)

(7.133) ... *lami-na* *yaan* *i-na* *mu* *lagaf-an* *aave,* *a* *ngaas*
after-3SG day POSS-3SG PL difficult-NMLZ that ART sun

i *tafe* *suk.*
3SG.INCOMPL become.FUT dark

‘... after the time of the suffering, the sun will become dark.’ (Matthew 24:29)

Most of the occurrences of *tafe* are before adjectives, as in the two preceding examples, and its meaning is clearly ‘will become’ in these cases. Its meaning is less clear when it combines with verbs, as in (7.134) and (7.135).

(7.134) *Feng* *tapin* *et* *a* *maana* *mu* *rabuna* *aanabe'* *talo* *ri*
send away away ART GRTR.PL PL people this so.that 3PL

tafe *seng* *fangan-an* *e* ...
become.FUT look.for eat-NMLZ and

‘Send these people away, so they can look for food and ...’ (Luke 9:12)

(7.135) *Memai,* *ne* ***tafe*** *xaaf-an* *na* *tama-ang* *xalak*
Lord 1SG **become.FUT** bury-TRANS ART father-1SG if.you.please

e *mui* *ne* *taa* *usi* *nano.*
and then 1SG FUT follow 2SG

‘Lord, first let me go and bury my father and then I will follow you.’ (Luke 9:59)

I suspect that *tafe* is derived from the two preverbal particles *taa* ‘future’ and *fe* ‘go and’ (see §7.7.4.2); this is consistent with the two preceding examples (‘will go and look for’ and ‘will go and bury’). However, one does get *taa* followed by *fe* as separate words, as in (7.136).

(7.136) ... *layaan* *mi* *fo* *tingin=e* *mi* *maa* *xuus=au*
when 2PL PERF find=3SG 2PL come.and tell=1SG

talo *nenia* *sait* *ne* ***taa*** ***fe*** *nangus=e.*
so.that 1SG also 1SG **FUT** **go.and** worship=3SG

‘When you have found him, come and inform me so that I can go and worship him as well.’ (Matthew 2:8)

7.7.3. The negative preverbal particles

7.7.3.1. *pife* 'not'

Pife is the standard way of negating a clause, as in (7.137) to (7.139).

(7.137) ... *a* *tefin* *a* ***pife*** *maat,* *i* *taxa* *matef* *mon.*
ART woman 3SG **NEG** die 3SG.INCOMPL CONTIN sleep only
'The woman did not die, she is only sleeping.' (Luke 8:52)

(7.138) ... *nano* *no* *taa* *kuus* *faa-talatul* *o* *no* ***pife*** *texaas*
2SG 2SG FUT say times-three COMP 2SG **NEG** know
se-ga.
PREP-1SG
'... you will say three times that you do not know me.' (Matthew 26:34)

(7.139) *E* *tamo* *no* ***pife*** *faxatang* *fa-roxoi* *a* *mo*
and if 2SG **NEG** look.after ADV-good ART thing
si-na *xasafuna* ...
POSS-3SG another
'And if you don't take good care of someone else's property, ...' (Luke 16:12)

As discussed in §7.10, *pife* is also used with nominal predicates; the copula *ve* ~ *va*, which is optional in affirmative clauses with nominal predicates, is not used in such clauses, as in (7.140).

(7.140) *Nemaam* *mu* *Juda,* *maam* *pera-roxo* *se-ri* *aava*
1EXCL.PL PL Jew 1EXCL.PL COMPAR-good PREP-3PL REL
ri ***pife*** *Juda,* *bo?*
3PL **NEG** Jew Q
'Are we Jews better than those who are not Jews?' (Romans 3:9)

The interjection meaning 'no' is *piau*, as in (7.141).

(7.141) ***Piau,*** *layaan* *mi* *put* *a* *latan* *mi* *tamaa* *put*
no when 2PL pull.up ART weeds 2PL FUT.IRR pull.up
a *kam* *roxo* *aava* *fo* *boak* *vaxa.*
ART seed good REL PERF grow also
'No, when you pull up the weeds, you may pull up the good seeds that have grown as well.' (Matthew 13:29)

The word *piau* also functions as a verb meaning 'not have', as in (7.142) and (7.143).

(7.142) *... o ri* ***piau*** *ta bret.*
COMP 3PL **not.have** NONSPEC bread
'[So they began to discuss with one another] that they did not have any bread.'
(Mark 8:16)

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

7.7.3.2. *pi* 'never'

Despite being morphologically simpler than the general negative particle *pife*, *pi* has the more specific meaning 'never', as in (7.144) to (7.146).

(7.144) *Nami mu rabuna mi* ***pi*** *namkai e ...*
2PL PL people 2PL **never** believe and
'You people never believe and ...' (Matthew 17:17)

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

(7.146) *E i taa* ***pi*** *nu-num a raarum tateak o*
and 3SG.INCOMPL FUT **never** HABIT-drink ART water strong or
xasano mo malaan e ...
other thing like and
'And he must never drink wine or other things like it ...' (Luke 1:14)

The particle *pi* is often accompanied by the reduplicated habitual form of the verb, as in the last two examples.

7.7.3.3. *muta* 'prohibitive, should not'

The particle *muta* functions as a prohibitive (negative imperative) marker, as in (7.147) to (7.149).

(7.147) ***Muta*** *tiis a xasanofuna talo no taa pife tiis-an.*
PROHIB judge ART other.PL so.that 2SG FUT NEG judge-PASS
'Do not judge others so that you will not be judged.' (Matthew 7:1)

(7.148) ***Muta*** *tavai a mu piu pa-na mo motaap.*
PROHIB give ART PL dog PREP-3SG thing holy
'Do not give what is holy to dogs.' (Matthew 7:6)

(7.149) ***Muta*** *mataut-an* *a* *rabuna* *aava* *ri* *fexaxaas* *se-na*
PROHIB afraid-TRANS ART people REL 3PL able PREP-3SG

punux-aan=a *ta-na* *mataa* *mon* ...
kill-NMLZ=ART skin-3SG man only

'Do not be afraid of people who are able to kill only the body of a man ...' (Luke 12:4)

Muta is also used with third person subjects to mean 'should not', as in (7.150) and (7.151).

(7.150) *E* *lana* *mif-an* *a* *Piran* *a* *xuus* *fa-texaas* *nari*
and in dream-NMLZ ART big.man 3SG tell CAUS-know 3PL

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

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

(7.151) *E* *tamo* *ta* *mataa* *i* *taxa* *tigina* *xulu-na*
and if NONSPEC man 3SG.INCOMPL CONTIN stand ON-3SG

lifu *i* ***muta*** *sivi* *xe* *lana* ...
house 3SG.INCOMPL **PROHIB** go.down to in

'And if a man stands on the roof of the house, he must not come down and go inside ...' (Mark 13:15)

7.7.3.4. *muneta* 'must not'

There is another, less common, preverbal particle *muneta* which also has prohibitive meaning, illustrated in (7.152) and (7.153). It is not clear how it differs in meaning from *muta*.

(7.152) ***Muneta*** *taangiis!*
must.not weep
'Stop weeping!' (Revelation 5:5)

(7.153) *Na* *Yesus* *a* *ferawai* *faagut* *xe* *si-ri* *xapiak* *o* *ri*
ART Jesus 3SG speak strong to POSS-3PL all COMP 3PL

taa ***muneta*** *xuus* *fa-texaas* *a* *mu* *rabuna* *pa-na.*
FUT **must.not** speak CAUS-know ART PL people PREP-3SG

'Jesus ordered them all not to tell the people about it.' (Mark 7:36)

7.7.3.5. *bai* 'not want'

It is not obvious whether *bai* 'not want' is a verb or a preverbal particle (an issue that also arises with *buk* 'want'; see §7.7.5). Syntactically, it occurs in the same position as preverbal

particles, following weak subject pronouns and immediately preceding a verb, as in (7.154) and (7.155).

(7.154) *Ne* ***bai*** *feng tapin nari pa-na ri lagai senaso ri*
1SG **not.want** send away 3PL PREP-3SG 3PL hungry because 3PL
tamaa maat la falet-an si-ri.
FUT.IRR die LOC go-NMLZ POSS-3PL
'I don't want to send them away hungry since they may faint on the way.' (Matthew 15:32)

(7.155) *... nane* ***bai*** *falet xe Jerusalem senaso a mataut.*
3SG **not.want** go to Jerusalem because 3SG afraid
'... he did not want to go to Jerusalem because he was afraid.' (Matthew 2:22)

There are arguments, however, for considering *bai* a verb. Namely, unlike other preverbal particles (including *buk* 'want'), *bai* can occur with some verbal affixes. In (7.156), it occurs with the transitivizing suffix *-an,* to yield a verb *baian* 'not like'.

(7.156) *a maana rabuna aava ri* ***bai-an*** *a Piran*
ART GRTR.PL people REL 3PL **not.want-TRANS** ART big.man
'people who hate God' (Matthew 11:12)

In (7.157), it occurs both with the transitivizing suffix *-an* and with the reciprocal prefix *fe*.

(7.157) *Ri taa pet lisan nari xa e* ***fe-bai-an***
3PL FUT betray bring 3PL REFL/RECIP and **RECIP-not.want-TRANS**
nari.
3PL
'Then many will be led into sin, and they will betray one another and hate one another.' (Matthew 24:10)

7.7.4. The associated motion preverbal particles

There are three preverbal particles which indicate motion (or position) immediately preceding or simultaneous with the time of the event of the verb. These are *maa* 'come and', *fe* 'go and' and *ti* 'stand and'.

7.7.4.1. *maa* 'come and'

The preverbal particle *maa* indicates motion towards the deictic centre (the speaker or the primary character in a narrative passage), as in (7.158) and (7.159), often best glossed as 'come and'.

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

(7.159) ... ***maa*** *nai* *fangan* *xuvul* *pa* *Yesus* ***e*** *mu* *fefeng*
come.and sit eat with PREP Jesus **and** PL disciple

si-na.
POSS-3SG

'[As Jesus was having a meal in Matthew's house, many tax collectors and sinners] came and sat and ate with Jesus and his disciples.' (Matthew 9:10)

Example (7.160) contains both *maa* 'come and' and *fe* 'go and' (§7.7.4.2).

(7.160) ... *e* *layaan* *mi* *fo* *tingin=e* *mi* ***maa*** *xuus=au*
and when 2PL PERF find=3SG 2PL **come.and** tell=1SG

talo *nenia* *sait* *ne* *taa* ***fe*** *nangus=e.*
so.that 1SG also 1SG FUT **go.and** worship=3SG

'... and when you find him, come and tell me so that I can go and worship him as well.' (Matthew 2:8)

Maa often accompanies the verb *savat* 'come', as in (7.161) and (7.162); how this might differ from *savat* without *maa* is unclear.

(7.161) ... *mu* *fefeng* *si-na* *ri* ***maa*** ***savat.***
PL disciple POSS-3SG 3PL **come.and** **come**
'... his disciples came to him.' (Matthew 5:1)

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

maa ***savat.***
come.and **come**

'... when your accusers arrive.' (Acts 23:35)

The verbal suffix *-maan* (§4.2.10) conveys a somewhat similar meaning, as in (7.163) (which also contains an instance of *maa*).

(7.163) ... *a* *saxa* *mataa* *a* ***fala-maan*** *xe* *si-na* *e*
ART one man 3SG **run-come** to POSS-3SG and

maa *turung* *la* *no-na* *e* *fin=e,* ...
come.and kneel LOC in.front.of-3SG and ask=3SG

'... a man ran up to him, fell on his knees in front of him, and asked him, ...' (Mark 10:17)

The difference between the suffix *-maan* and the preverbal particle *maa* seems to be that with the suffix *-maan*, the event of coming is simultaneous with the event denoted by the verb, while with *maa*, the event of coming immediately precedes the event denoted by the verb. In (7.163), for example, the motion of coming with *falamaan* is simultaneous with the event of running, while with *maa turung*, the motion of coming precedes the kneeling. The other examples of *maa* above involve sequential events, as does (7.164).

(7.164) *... saxa-no kam ri poxo la salan e mu maanu*
INDEF-PL seed 3PL fall LOC path and PL bird

ri ***maa*** *ngan xapin=e.*
3PL **come.and** eat completely=3SG

'... some seeds fell along the path, and the birds came and devoured them.' (Matthew 13:4)

7.7.4.2. *fe* 'go and'

The preverbal particle *fe*, illustrated in (7.165) to (7.167), is similar to the preverbal particle *maa* except that it denotes motion away from the deictic centre.

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

(7.166) *Mi* ***fe*** *seng faagut-an a lak aave ...*
2PL **go.and** look.for strong-TRANS ART child that
'Go and look carefully for the child.' (Matthew 2:8)

(7.167) *E voxo ne mataut se-ma e ne* ***fe*** *fun*
and so 1SG afraid PREP-2SG and 1SG **go.and** hide

a faat si-im lana vaa'ul.
ART stone POSS-2SG in hole

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

As with *maa*, the motion away from the deictic centre immediately precedes the event denoted by the verb. There is no verbal suffix corresponding to *-maan* to indicate simultaneous motion away from the deictic centre (see §7.7.4.1).

7.7.4.3. *ti* 'stand and'

The third associated motion preverbal particle *ti* 'stand and' does not involve motion, but is nevertheless in paradigmatic opposition to the associated motion particles *maa* and *fe*. Examples illustrating *ti* are given in (7.168) to (7.170).

(7.168) *... xa-na mu rabuna xaves aanabe' aava ri taxa* ***ti***
for-3SG PL people many this REL 3PL CONTIN **stand.and**

langai, ...
hear

'... for the sake of the many people standing listening...' (John 11:42)

(7.169) *Saxa mataa ti Mesidonia a* ***ti*** *fenung xe si-na*
one man from Macedonia 3SG **stand.and** beg to POSS-3SG

malaan ...
thus

'A man from Macedonian was standing there urging him,' (Acts 16:9)

(7.170) *E saxanofuna aava ri* ***ti*** *faasilak, ri langai=e ...*
and some.PL REL 3PL **stand.and** near 3PL hear=3SG
'And some who were standing nearby heard him and ...' (Matthew 27:47)

Unlike *maa* and *fe*, the particle *ti* does not denote an event of standing preceding the event denoted by the verb, but simultaneous standing. This also means that it refers to a state of standing, not an event of standing up.

7.7.5. The preverbal particle *buk* 'want'

The preverbal particle *buk* 'want' is illustrated in (7.171) and (7.172).

(7.171) *Na Herot a* ***buk punuk*** *na Jon taasaxa ...*
ART Herod 3SG **want kill** ART John but
'Herod wanted to kill John but ...' (Matthew 14:5)

(7.172) *... taasaxa mi* ***buk xalum*** *a mo fa-'ipul.*
but 2PL **want see** ART thing CAUS-amazed
'... but you want to see miracle.' (Matthew 12:39)

I classify *buk* as a preverbal particle rather than a verb because it has the same distribution as other preverbal particles, occurring between weak subject pronouns and the verb. Unlike its negative counterpart *bai*, *buk* does not occur with any verbal morphology. Nor are there any cases where it combines with another preverbal particle, an odd distribution if it were a verb.

There are two words for 'want' in Kara; one is *buk* and the other is *vubuk*. *Buk* is used for "same subject" wants, corresponding to English *want to do something,* as in the two preceding examples. For different subject wants, corresponding to English *want someone to do something*, the verb *vubuk* is used, along with a complement clause introduced by the complementizer *o* (see §8.2.1), as in (7.173) and (7.174), or with a clause lacking the complementizer *o* but with the irrealis preverbal particle *rao* (§7.7.7), as in (7.175).

(7.173) *... maam* ***vubuk o*** *no taa vil a mo fa-'ipul.*
1EXCL.PL **want COMP** 2SG FUT do ART thing CAUS-amazed
'... we want you to perform a miracle.' (Matthew 12:38)

(7.174) *No* ***vubuk o*** *maam taa faigotan a fangan-an xena*
2SG **want COMP** 1EXCL.PL FUT prepare ART eat-NMLZ PURP

Fenamo i-na Paaliu-an xa-num faa?
feast POSS-3SG pass-NMLZ for-2SG where

'Where do you want us to prepare for you to eat the Passover?' (Matthew 26:17)

(7.175) *No* ***vubuk*** ***rao*** *maam* *taa* *fe* *put* *tapin* *a*
2SG **want** **IRREAL** 1EXCL.PL FUT go.and gather away ART

latan *aave?*
weeds that

'Do you want us to go and pick the weeds?' (Matthew 13:28)

The word *vubuk*, unlike *buk*, is clearly a verb. Apart from appearing in the same syntactic context as other complement-taking verbs, it also occurs with verbal morphology, such as the transitivizing suffix *-an* (when it takes a nominal object as opposed to a clausal complement), as in (7.176).

(7.176) *Layaan* *ta* *mataa* *a* ***vubux-an*** *a* *mo* *si-im,*
when NONSPEC man 3SG **want-TRANS** ART thing POSS-2SG

muta *kuus* *o* *piau.*
PROHIB say COMP no

'When a man wants something of yours, do not refuse.' (Matthew 5:42)

There is one construction in which *buk* behaves more like a verb. In this construction it occurs with the particle *rao* (§7.7.7), as in (7.177).

(7.177) *...* *e* *ri* *buk* ***rao*** *ri* *taa* *ferawai* *xuvul* *pa-ma.*
and 3PL want **IRREAL** 3PL FUT speak with PREP-2SG
'... and they want to speak with you.' (Matthew 12:47)

Since there are two weak subject pronouns *ri* '3PL' in (7.177), one preceding *buk*, the other preceding *taa ferawai* 'will speak', the most natural analysis is one where *buk* is a verb, taking a complement clause marked with *rao*.

7.7.6. The preverbal particles *lo* and *mo*

There are two preverbal particles whose function is not clear. The first of these, *lo*, always co-occurs with another preverbal particle that precedes it, as in (7.178) to (7.180).[49]

(7.178) *...* *mu* *Juda* *ri* *taxa* ***lo*** *seng=e* *e* *...*
PL Jew 3PL CONTIN **??** look.for=3SG and
'... the Jewish leaders were looking for him and ...' (John 7:11)

(7.179) *Muta* ***lo*** *fa-sorak* *a* *mataa* *i-na* *fepitaa.*
PROHIB **??** CAUS-trouble ART man POSS-3SG teach
'Do not trouble the teacher any longer.' (Luke 8:49)

[49] The draft dictionary provided to me by Perry Schlie lists a particle *lo* with the meaning 'have done this in the past'. This does not seem to fit, however, the examples cited here.

(7.180) *Ne taa **lo** falet tanin, mafu e la yaan mui lami-na ...*
1SG FUT **??** go today tomorrow and LOC day then after-3SG
'Nevertheless I must go on my way today and tomorrow and the next day ...' (Luke 13:33)

The second preverbal particle whose function is unclear is *mo*, illustrated in (7.181) and (7.182).

(7.181) *A mu kuus fanai-an si-na Piran aava mu rabuna*
ART PL say promise-NMLZ POSS-3SG big.man REL PL people

*i-na kuus fatuxai ri fo **mo** kuus-an=e, ...*
POSS-3SG say prophecy 3PL PERF **??** say-TRANS=3SG

'The promises of God that the prophets talked about ...' (Acts 3:25)

(7.182) *... nari ri taa siak a maasax-an malaan se-na*
3PL 3PL FUT take ART suffer-NMLZ like PREP-3SG

*vil-aan-a a rabuna ri **mo** vil=e se Yesus.*
do-NMLZ-3SG ART people 3PL **??** do=3SG PREP Jesus

'... they will take the suffering like the things that the people did to Jesus.' (Acts 5:41)

7.7.7. Particles that occur between the subject and the weak subject pronoun

There are a small number of words that occur between the subject noun phrase and the weak subject pronoun. Some words that appear in this position in the texts examined are words that occur so infrequently that their function is unclear. Others are possible calques on the English, like *vulai* 'always' (English is fairly unusual crosslinguistically in normally placing an adverb meaning 'always' between the subject and the verb). In this section, I restrict discussion to two words that occur in this position.

7.7.7.1. *rao* 'irrealis'

Clauses with the particle *rao* have future meaning, but in what might described as an irrealis sense: it is used in a variety of contexts referring to the future where the event only may happen, where there is in general no prediction that it actually will happen. My glossing it 'irrealis' is at best a crude way to characterize its meaning.

Rao is used in two different ways: in some cases, its use is triggered by other words with irrealis implications, while in other cases, there is no word triggering the use of *rao*. Examples illustrating the first of these possibilities are given in (7.183) to (7.188). Note that in none of these contexts is *rao* obligatory; what conditions the occasions when it is used in these contexts are not clear. In (7.183), its use is triggered by *buk* 'want'.

(7.183) *... e ri buk **rao** ri taa ferawai xuvul pa-ma.*
and 3PL want **IRREAL** 3PL FUT speak with PREP-2SG
'... and they want to speak with you.' (Matthew 12:47)

In (7.184), its use is triggered by *layaan* ‘when’ interpreted habitually (and thus not denoting a specific actual event).

(7.184) *Ri pife usi a vil-aan-a si-taara layaan* ***rao***
3PL NEG follow ART do-NMLZ-3SG POSS-1INCL.PL when **IRREAL**

ri fangan e ri pife xamak a ma-ri.
3PL eat and 3PL NEG wash ART hand-3PL

‘They do not follow our traditions when they eat and they do not wash their hands.’ (Matthew 15:2)

In (7.185), its use is triggered by *faasilak* ‘near, almost’.

(7.185) *A lak tefin si-ak faasilak* ***rao*** *i maat.*
ART child female POSS-1SG near **IRREAL** 3SG.INCOMPL die
‘My daughter is near death.’ (Mark 5:23)

In (7.186), its use is triggered by *tamo* ‘if’.

(7.186) *Tamo ta saxa mataa* ***rao*** *i taa fenau ...*
if NONSPEC one man **IRREAL** 3SG.INCOMPL FUT steal
‘If a man steals ...’ (Mark 3:27)

In (7.187) and (7.188), *rao* occurs in indirect commands, its use triggered by the higher verbs *fin* ‘ask’, in the sense of ‘ask someone to’, and *xuus* ‘tell’, in the sense of ‘tell someone to’.

(7.187) *... a fin na Yesus* ***rao*** *i taa falet xuvul*
3SG ask ART Jesus **IRREAL** 3SG.INCOMPL FUT go with

pa-na.
PREP-3SG

‘[the man who had been demon-possessed] asked Jesus to go with him.’ (Mark 5:18)

(7.188) *... e mui a xuus a mu fefeng* ***rao*** *ri taa*
and then 3SG tell ART PL disciple **IRREAL** 3PL FUT

tavai a mu rabuna pa-na sait.
give ART PL people PREP-3SG also

‘... and then he told his disciples to give these to the people as well.’ (Mark 8:7)

Rao triggers the incompletive 3SG weak subject pronoun *i* when the subject is 3SG, like future particles and the continuative particle, as in (7.185) to (7.187) above.

Examples in which there is nothing in the grammatical context that triggers the use of *rao*, and *rao* is the sole indication of irrealis status, are given in (7.189) to (7.191).

(7.189) *E* ***rao*** *ri* *fa-num=e* *pa-na* *wain* *aava* *toxan*
and **IRREAL** 3PL CAUS-drink=3SG PREP-3SG wine REL have

a *saxa* *buk* *titiwai* ...
ART one small.amount herb

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

(7.190) ... *ri* *ta'ulan* *a* *bina* *Betani* ***rao*** *ri* *taa* *ulaa* *fulaa*
3PL leave ART place Bethany **IRREAL** 3PL FUT return back

xe *Jerusalem* ...
to Jerusalem

'... they left Bethany to go back to Jerusalem ...' (Mark 11:12)

(7.191) ... *e* *taxa* *sangas* *xulu-na* *laman* *e* ***rao*** *i*
and CONTIN walk ON-3SG sea and **IRREAL** 3SG.INCOMPL

taa *paaliu* *nari.*
FUT pass 3PL

'.. he was walking on the sea and wanted to pass by them.' (Mark 6:48)

Rao also occurs in *why*-questions, as in (7.192) and (7.193), which are not really irrealis.

(7.192) ... *xenaso* ***rao*** *me* *fe-sopan* *name?*
why **IRREAL** 2DU RECIP-hurt 2PL
'Why are you hurting one another?' (Acts 7:26)

(7.193) *Xenaso* *mi* ***rao*** *mi* *fulung=au?*
why 2PL **IRREAL** 2PL test=1SG
'Why are you testing me?' (Matthew 22:18)

7.7.7.2. The particle *xo*

A second particle which occurs between the subject noun phrase and the weak subject pronoun is *xo*, whose function is not clear from examples in the New Testament. However, the draft dictionary shared with me by Perry Schlie characterizes its function as 'highlights a topic, introduces a change of topic'. Examples are given in (7.194) to (7.197).

(7.194) *Na* *Yesus* ***xo*** *maa* *savat* *la* *Raarum* *Jordan* *ti*
ART Jesus **TOPIC** come.and come LOC water Jordan from

Galili *talo* *na* *Jon* *i* *taa* *fasuf=e.*
Galilee so.that ART John 3SG.INCOMPL FUT baptize=3SG

'Then Jesus came to the Jordan River from Galilee so that John could baptize him.' (Matthew 3:13)

(7.195) *E mui na Setan a ta'ulan=e e a mu angelo*
and later ART Satan 3SG leave=3SG and ART PLUR angel

xo *ri maa savat si-na e ri xavang=e.*
TOPIC 3PL come.and come POSS-3SG and 3PL help=3SG

'Then the devil left him, and angels came and began ministering to his needs.' (Matthew 4:11)

(7.196) *La leaaf a mu fefeng* ***xo*** *ri maa savat*
LOC evening ART PLUR disciple **TOPIC** 3PL come.and come

si-na e ri xuus=e ...
POSS-3SG and 3PL speak=3SG

'In the evening, his disciples came to him saying ...' (Matthew 14:15)

(7.197) *... e layaan na nina-na e mu ti-na* ***xo***
and when ART mother-3SG and PL sibling.same-3SG **TOPIC**

ri savat xena xalum-aan-a ri pife fexaxaas se-na laak
3PL come PURP see-NMLZ-3SG 3PL NEG able PREP-3SG enter

soxot=e.
INTENS=3SG

'... and when his mother and his brothers came to him, they could not get near him.' (Luke 8:19)

7.7.8. Combinations of preverbal particles

There are very few combinations of preverbal particles in the texts examined. Three of the combinations I have found have *taa* 'future' as the first preverbal particle, followed by *pife* 'not', *pi* 'never', or *fe* 'go and', as in (7.198) to (7.200).

(7.198) *... na Tama-mi i* ***taa pife*** *lamon tapin*
ART father-2PL 3SG.INCOMPL **FUT NEG** think away

a vil-aan-a saat si-mi.
ART do-NMLZ-3SG bad POSS-2PL

'[But if you do not forgive others,] your Father will not forgive your sins.' (Matthew 6:15)

(7.199) *E i* ***taa pi*** *nu-num a raarum tateak o*
and 3SG.INCOMPL **FUT never** HABIT-drink ART water strong or

xasano mo malaan e ...
other thing like and

'And he must never drink wine or other things like it ...' (Luke 1:14)

(7.200) *Naak maam* ***taa fe*** *maraan bret xa-ri xapiak bo?*
surely 1EXCL.PL **FUT go.and** obtain bread for-3PL all Q

'Surely, we have to go and obtain bread for all of them, don't we?' (Luke 9:13)

In (7.201), the perfect particle *fo* occurs with the preverbal particle *ti* ‘stand and’.

(7.201) *Na Yesus a langai o nari, ri* ***fo ti***
ART Jesus 3SG hear COMP 3PL 3PL **PERF** **stand.and**

vot-an a mataa aave e ...
block-TRANS ART man that and

‘Jesus heard that they had thrown [??] the man out and ...’ (John 9:35)

Other combinations not represented in the texts examined are probably possible, such as *fo* ‘perfect’ and *maa* ‘come and’.

7.8. Semantically trivalent clauses

Kara allows at most one object per clause (either a noun phrase or an object clitic). Semantically trivalent clauses typically express the more theme-like argument in a prepositional phrase marked with the preposition *pa*, as in (7.202) and (7.203) (see also §6.2.3).

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

(7.203) *Falet, fa-xalum a mu priis* ***pa-na ta-mi.***
go CAUS-see ART PL priest **PREP-3SG** **skin-2PL**
‘Go and show yourselves to the priests.’ (Luke 17:14)

This applies not only to the sorts of clauses standardly considered ditransitive, but also to the verb *xali* ‘to call someone or something something’, as in (7.204), where name occurs in a prepositional phrase with the preposition *pa* (§6.2.3).

(7.204) *Ri xali a mo lalas aanabe'* ***pa-na*** ***Naart.***
3PL call ART thing aromatic this **PREP-3SG** **nard**
‘They call this aromatic substance ‘nard’.’ (Mark 14:3)

7.9. Semantically bivalent intransitive clauses

Semantically bivalent stative verbs are not transitive in Kara. Rather, their second argument is marked with the preposition *se* (see §6.2.4), as in (7.205) to (7.208); this is the basic use of this preposition. For example, in (7.205), the second semantic argument with *texaas* ‘know’, is not an object of the verb, but is marked with the preposition *se*.

(7.205) *Mi texaas* ***se-na xakalay-an*** *aava kuus malaan:*
2PL know **PREP-3SG** **write-NMLZ** REL say thus
‘You know the writings which say ...’ (Matthew 5:43)

(7.206) *Taasaxa mu Ferasi ri namkai* ***se-rutul*** *xapiak.*
but PL Pharisee 3PL believe **PREP-3TRIAL** all
'[The Sadducees say there is no resurrection, or angel, or spirit,] but the Pharisees believe in all three.' (Acts 23:8)

(7.207) *E voxo ne* ***mataut*** ***se-ma*** *e ...*
and so 1SG **afraid** **PREP-2SG** and
'And so I was afraid of you and ...' (Matthew 25:25)

(7.208) *E taara taa* ***suai*** ***se-na*** *pa-na xunus*
and 1INCL.PL FUT **honour** **PREP-3SG** PREP-3SG soul

i-taara xapiak e ...
POSS-1INCL.PL all and

'And we will honour him with all our hearts and ...' (Mark 12:33)

Some of these verbs also allow transitivization by the transitivizing suffix *-an* (§4.2.3). The resultant verbs are normal transitive verbs, treating their second argument as an object of the verb, without the use of a preposition, as in (7.209), where *mataut* 'afraid', the same verb as in (7.207), has been transitivized to *matautan* 'afraid of'.

(7.209) *Muta* ***mataut-an*** *a rabuna aava ri fexaxaas se-na*
PROHIB **afraid-TRANS** ART people REL 3PL able PREP-3SG

punux-aan=a ta-na mataa mon ...
kill-NMLZ=ART skin-3SG man only

'Do not be afraid of people who are able to kill only the body of a man ...' (Luke 12:4)

Similarly, while the first occurrence of *mangil* 'ashamed' in (7.210) combines with *se*, the second occurrence is transitivized with *-an*.

(7.210) *Tamo mataa taa* ***mangil*** ***se-ga*** *e* ***se-na*** *ferawai-an*
if man FUT **ashamed** **PREP-1SG** and **PREP-3SG** speak-NMLZ

si-ak, Mataa i taa ***mangil-an=e*** *vaxa ...*
POSS-1SG man 3SG.INCOMPL FUT **ashamed-TRANS=3SG** also

'If a man is ashamed of me and my words, the Son of Man will be ashamed of him ...' (Luke 9:26)

It is not clear why *mangil* might be used in these two ways in this example.

7.10. Clauses with nominal predicates

An optional copula word *ve ~ va* is used in clauses with nominal predicates, as in (7.211) to (7.214).

(7.211) *Nami* ***ve*** *mi mu rabuna saat.*
2PL **be** 2PL PL people bad
'You are bad people.' (Matthew 16:4)

(7.212) *A* ***ro*** *mata-mi ve re* ***ro*** *laam xena fa-malang*
ART **DUAL** eye-2PL be 3DU **DUAL** lamp PURP CAUS-light
a ta-mi.
ART SKIN-2PL
'Your eyes are the lamps for lighting your body.' (Matthew 6:22)

(7.213) *A mu rabuna aava ri usi a ferawai-an si-na*
ART PL people REL 3PL follow ART speak-NMLZ POSS-3SG
Piran, nari ***ve*** *ri mu ti-ak e vasaa-k*
big.man 3PL **be** 3PL PL sibling.same-1SG and sibling.oppos-1SG
e nina-ang!
and mother-1SG
'For whoever does the will of God, they are my brother and sister and mother.' (Mark 3:35)

(7.214) *Tamo nano* ***ve*** *no Natu-na Piran, ...*
if 2SG **be** 2SG Son-3SG big.man
'If you are the Son of God, [command these stones to become bread].' (Matthew 4:3)

There are a few peculiarities in these clauses, however. The first is that these clauses contain weak subject pronouns which follow the copula rather than precede it, namely *ri* '3PL' in (7.213), *no* '2SG' in (7.214) and *mi* '2PL' in (7.211). As discussed further below, this suggests that the copula is not a verb.

A second peculiarity is that when the subject is pronominal, the strong pronouns are obligatory, as in (7.211) and (7.214). This contrasts with the fact that strong pronouns as subject are otherwise always optional.

The third peculiarity is that a nominal predicate never occurs with the common article *a*. In (7.211) and (7.212), one might expect the common article *a*, but it is absent. The kin term *natuna* 'son' in (7.214) might elsewhere occur with either the proper article or the common article, but kin terms never occur with the common article when they are nominal predicates; the same applies to (7.213). The proper article, on the other hand, does occur with nominal predicates that are proper names, as in (7.215) and (7.216).

(7.215) *... e a xaiyaas aava xapis a latan, nane* ***ve*** ***na*** *Setan.*
and ART enemy REL sow ART weeds 3SG **be** **ART** Satan.
'... and the enemy who sows weeds is the devil.' (Matthew 13:39)

(7.216) *Nenia* ***ve*** ***na*** *Gebriel e ...*
1SG **be** **ART** Gabriel and
'I am Gabriel and ...' (Luke 1:19)

In addition, while there are cases where there is no article with a kin term, as in (7.214) above, it is also possible for kin terms as predicates to occur with the proper article, as in (7.217) and (7.218).

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

(7.218) *Naak nane* ***ve*** ***na*** *Natu Devit, bo?*
surely 3SG **be** **ART** son David Q
'Could he be the Son of David?' (Matthew 12:23)

When the predicate is a proper noun phrase, however, there is never any weak subject pronoun. We do not get the 1SG weak subject pronoun *ne* in (7.216) above, for example. And as with common noun phrases as predicates, when the subject of a clause with a proper noun phrase as predicate is pronominal, the strong pronoun is apparently obligatory, as in (7.215), (7.216), and (7.217) above.

It is not immediately obvious whether the weak subject pronoun forms a constituent with the predicate noun phrase, the way articles do; it might simply follow the copula and precede the nominal predicate without forming a constituent with the nominal predicate. However, evidence that the weak subject pronoun does indeed form a constituent with the nominal predicate is provided by nominal predicates involving conjoined noun phrases, where the weak subject pronoun can precede both conjuncts. In (7.219), for example, the 1SG weak subject pronoun *ne* occurs at the beginning of both conjuncts, *ne Ferasi* 'a Pharisee' and *ne lak sina saxa Ferasi* 'a son of a Pharisee'.

(7.219) *Mu fetinan, nenia ve* ***ne*** *Ferasi e*
PL sibling.same.RECIP 1SG be **1SG** Pharisee and

ne *lak si-na saxa Ferasi.*
1SG child POSS-3SG one Pharisee

'Brothers, I am a Pharisee and a son of a Pharisee.' (Acts 23:6)

Similarly, in (7.220), the weak subject pronoun *ri* '3PL' occurs before both conjuncts, *vovau* 'spirit' and *toyan* 'life'.

(7.220) *A mu vapaling aava ne fo xuus nami pa-na,*
ART PL word REL 1SG PERF tell 2PL PREP-3SG

nari ***ve*** ***ri*** *vovau e* ***ri*** *toy-an xa-na mataa.*
3PL **be** **3PL** spirit and **3PL** live-NMLZ for-3SG man

'The words that I have spoken to you are spirit and are life for man.' (John 6:63)

The fact that nominal predicates are introduced by either the proper article or a weak subject pronoun raises the question of whether the weak subject pronoun is somehow occurring in article position. An alternative view is that the weak subject pronouns simply mark predicates, whether those predicates be nominal or verbal. Under this view, the absence of the common article could be seen as reflecting the fact that nominal predicates involving common nouns are less referential than nominal predicates involving proper nouns or noun phrases in other positions.

The examples above of nominal predicates do not include cases where the nominal predicate is a common noun phrase and the subject is 3SG, as in (7.221) and (7.222).

(7.221) *Nabe'* ***ve*** ***a*** *vuputkai* *si-ak:*
this **be** **3SG** command POSS-1SG
'This is my command:' (John 15:17)

(7.222) ... *o* *nane* ***ve*** ***a*** *mataa* *ti* *Nasaret.*
COMP 3SG **be** **3SG** man from Nazareth
'[People will say] that he is a man from Nazareth.' (Matthew 2:23)

It is not immediately obvious whether the *a* that follows *ve* 'be' in (7.221) and (7.222) is the common article *a* or the 3SG weak subject pronoun *a*. On the one hand, since it is followed by a common noun, it looks like the common article. On the other hand, since we have seen that common noun phrases functioning as nominal predicates occur with weak subject pronouns when the subject is anything other than 3SG, it would make sense that these are weak subject pronouns. An additional reason for analysing them as weak subject pronouns rather than as common articles is that the weak subject pronoun is specifically singular while the common article is not specified for number and when common noun phrases functioning as nominal predicates begin with the word *a*, they are always singular (whereas if they are plural, they will occur with *ri*).[50] For this reason, these occurrences of *a* with nominal predicates are glossed as '3SG' throughout this work.

The copula *ve* occasionally occurs in an alternative form *va*, as in (7.16), where *va* occur twice.

(7.223) *A* *uma* *lava* ***va*** *xavala* *e* *a* *kam* *roxo* ***va*** *mu* *rabuna*
ART field big **be** ground and ART seed good **be** PL people
aava *ri* *waan* *la* *fatataganan* *si-na* *Piran.*
REL 3PL be.at LOC kingdom POSS-3SG big.man
'The field is the world and the good seed are the people of the kingdom of God.'
(Matthew 13:38)

It is not clear what, if anything, governs the choice between *ve* and *va*. However, one important difference between *ve* and *va* is that *va* is never followed by the 3SG weak subject pronoun *a*, while *ve* is always followed by *a* when preceding a singular common noun phrase functioning as predicate. This might suggest that we analyse *va* as a contraction of *ve* plus the 3SG weak subject pronoun. There are a number of problems with such an analysis, however. First, *va* occurs before plural nominal predicates, like *mu rabuna* 'people' in (7.223); as noted above, the 3SG weak subject pronoun does not occur before plural predicates. Second, we get *va* preceding non-3SG weak subject pronouns, as in (7.224), where it is followed by the 1SG

---

[50] There is one exception to this in the texts, given in (i).

(i) *E* ***nase'*** ***ve*** *a* *mu* *tau-ga?*
and **who** **be** 3SG PL neighbour-1SG
'And who are my neighbours?' (Luke 10:29)

Perhaps this example is an error.

weak subject pronoun *ne*; under the analysis in which *va* is a contraction of *ve* and *a*, we would thus have two weak subject pronouns, differing in person and/or number.

(7.224) *... e nenia **va** **ne** saxa aava mi taxa seng=e.*
and 1SG **be** **1SG** one REL 2PL CONTIN look.for=3SG
'I am the one that you are looking for.' (John 18:8)

Third, *va* occurs before the interrogative pronoun *nase'*, as in (7.225); it is apparently not possible for a weak subject pronoun to precede *nase'* in predicate position.

(7.225) *Nenia **va** **nase'?***
1SG **be** **who**
'Who am I?' (Acts 13:25)

And fourth, *va* appears before prepositional phrase predicates, as in (7.226) and (7.227); as will be discussed in §7.11, weak subject pronouns do not occur before prepositional phrase predicates.

(7.226) *... nari **va** **xa-taara** xapiak.*
3PL **be** **for-1INCL.PL** all
'... they are for all of us.' (Acts 3:25)

(7.227) *... senaso a fatataganan si-na Piran **va** **si-ri.***
because ART kingdom POSS-3SG big.man **be** **POSS-3PL**
'... for the kingdom of heaven belongs to them.' (Matthew 5:10)

We are apparently forced to simply say that the 3SG weak subject pronoun is not used after the copula when it occurs in the form *va*. It is possible, however, that *va* arose historically as a contraction of *ve* and *a* but later became generalized to occur in other syntactic contexts. (See §5.8.6 for a somewhat parallel situation with the relative word *aava*. Both the common article *a* and the weak subject pronoun *a* are obligatorily absent after *aava*. I suggest that this may have arisen due to a contraction of the demonstrative *aave* and the common article *a* or the weak subject pronoun *a*. But similar to the situation with the copula *va*, this will not work as a synchronic account.)

The copula *ve* ~ *va* is actually optional. When it is absent, however, we still get the same pattern as when the copula is present, with the weak subject pronoun preceding the predicate noun phrase, as in (7.228) and (7.229).

(7.228) *A rabuna aanabe' **ri** mu Juda.*
ART people this **3PL** PL Jews
'These men are Jews.' (Acts 16:20)

(7.229) *Nare **re** ro yaamut si-na Piran e ...*
3DU **3DU** DUAL apostle POSS-3SG big.man and
'They are apostles of God and ...' (Romans 16:7)

In (7.230), both clauses have a weak subject pronoun preceding the predicate noun phrase, *no* '2SG' in the first clause, *maam* '1EXCL.PL' in the second clause.

(7.230) *Nano* ***no*** *fefeng* *si-na,* *taasaxa*
2SG **2SG** disciple POSS-3SG but

nemaam ***maam*** *mu* *fefeng* *si* *Moses!*
1EXCL.PL **1EXCL.PL** PL disciple POSS Moses

'You are his disciple, but we are disciples of Moses!' (John 9:28)

Predicate nominals can also occur with preverbal particles, as in (7.231) and (7.232), where the nominal predicate is preceded by the future particle *taa*. When there is a preverbal particle, the copula is absent.

(7.231) ... *a* *tefin* *aave* *i* ***taa*** ***tefin*** *si-se'?*
ART woman that 3SG.INCOMPL **FUT** **woman** POSS-INTER
'... whose wife will that woman be?' (Matthew 22:28)

(7.232) ... *e* *no* ***taa*** ***sisiak*** *si-na* *mon.*
and 2SG **FUT** **servant** POSS-3SG only
'... and you will only be his servant.' (Matthew 4:10)

In (7.233), the nominal predicate *ria* 'blood' occurs with the preverbal particle *tafe* 'become.FUT'.

(7.233) *E* *nare,* *re* *toxan* *a* *gut-an* *xena* *xul* *a* *raarum*
and 3DU 3DU have ART strong-NMLZ PURP change ART water

i ***tafe*** *ria.*
3SG.INCOMPL **become.FUT** blood

'They have the power to turn the water to blood.' (Revelation 11:6)

As with verbal predicates, nominal predicates are negated with the preverbal particle *pife*, as in (7.234) and (7.235). The copula is absent in clauses with *pife*, as it is with other preverbal particles.

(7.234) *Nenia,* *ne* ***pife*** *Mataa* *Failai* *si-na* *Piran* *aava* *mi* *taxa*
1SG 1SG **NEG** man Christ POSS-3SG big.man REL 2PL CONTIN

waan *bang=e.*
be.at wait=3SG

'I am not the Christ of God that you are waiting for.' (Acts 13:25)

(7.235) *Tamo* *nane* ***pife*** *mataa* *saat,* ...
if 3SG **NEG** man bad
'If he were not a criminal, ...' (John 18:30)

Note that in predicate nominal clauses with a preverbal particle, the structure of the predicate is the same as in verbal clauses, with a weak subject pronoun followed by the preverbal particle, followed by the noun. This contrasts with predicate nominal clauses with a copula, which have a structure unlike verbal predicates, with the copula followed by the weak subject pronoun.

The word *ve ~ va* also functions as kind of topic marker. See §7.10 for arguments that its use with predicate nominals is not simply a topic marker. It is quite possible that the copula is a grammaticization from its use as a topic marker. The form of *ve* resembles a component of demonstratives (e.g. *aave* 'that', *pave* 'there'), so *ve* was likely originally some sort of demonstrative.

There are instances of nominal predicates apparently preceding the copula, as in (7.236) to (7.239).

(7.236) *A rongan ve!*
3SG ghost be
'[When the disciples saw him walking on the water they were terrified and said,]
"It's a ghost!"' (Matthew 14:26)

(7.237) *Kaalum, a Mataa Failai ve!*
look 3SG man Christ be
'Look, here is the Christ!' (Matthew 24:23)

(7.238) *A Memai ve!*
3SG LORD be
'It is the Lord!' (John 21:7)

(7.239) *Siax=e e ngan=e, a vipin si-ak ve.*
take=3SG and eat=3SG ART body POSS-1SG be
'Take, eat, this is my body.' (Matthew 26:26)

What all these examples have in common is that they are presentative: there is no other overt subject and the referent of the subject is determined by the physical context. It is possible that what appears to be a nominal predicate is actually grammatically the subject in these examples.[51]

7.11. Clauses with prepositional phrase predicates

There are two constructions in Kara for prepositional phrase predicates. In one construction the prepositional phrases functioning as predicates occur with the copula *ve ~ va*, but without weak subject pronouns, as in (7.240) to (7.243).

(7.240) *A yaan aanabe' **ve paamuin=a** vipis-an si Jon.*
ART day this **be before=ART** be.tied-NMLZ POSS John
'This day was before the imprisonment of John.' (John 3:24)

[51] I gloss the word *a* that occurs with the nominal predicate in these examples as 3SG on the assumption that these noun phrases are predicates and not subjects. If they are subjects, these instances of a would be instances of the common article *a*, not the weak subject pronoun. We would need to see what happens with plural noun phrases in this position to decide. If *a* also occurs with plural noun phrases in this position, then that would be an argument that *a* is the common article and that these noun phrases are subjects.

(7.241) *... e nane* ***ve ti*** *Betani, ...*
and 3SG **be from** Bethany
'... he was from Bethany...' (John 11:1)

(7.242) *A kuus fanaian aanabe'* ***ve xa-mi*** *...*
ART say promise this **be for-2PL**
'This promise is for you ...' (Acts 2:39)

(7.243) *senaso a fatataganan si-na Piran* ***va si-ri***
because ART kingdom POSS-3SG big.man **be POSS-3PL**
'for the kingdom of heaven belongs to them' (Matthew 5:10)

The second construction employs the locative copula *waan* rather than the copula *ve ~ va*, as in (7.244) and (7.245). This is the usual construction when the predicate expresses a location.

(7.244) *Taasaxa, lak tuaan va taxa* ***waan la uma.***
but child older TOPIC CONTIN **be.at LOC field**
'Now his older son was in the field.' (Luke 15:25)

(7.245) *A vave-se' e a isi-se' taxa* ***waan xulu-na***
ART footprint-INTER and ART name-INTER CONTIN **be.at ON-3SG**

faat aanabe'?
stone this

'Whose image and whose name is on this stone?' (Matthew 22:20)

Locative adverbs similarly follow the locative copula *waan*, as in (7.246) and (7.247).

(7.246) *Mutul taa* ***waan pave*** *fefexaxaas a yaan ne xuus*
2TRIAL FUT **be.at there** until ART day 1SG tell

namutul pa-na.
2TRIAL PREP-3SG

'Stay there until I tell you.' (Matthew 2:13)

(7.247) *Kaalum, na nina-am e mu ti-am ri taxa*
look ART mother-2SG and PL sibling.same-2SG 3PL CONTIN

waan lamalei *e ...*
be.at outside and

'Look, your mother and your brothers are outside and [wanting to speak to you.]' (Matthew 12:47)

Waan is also used with comitative predicates marked with *xuvul pa* 'with' (§6.2.3), as in (7.248) and (7.249).

(7.248) *mu rabuna aava ri* ***waan xuvul pa-na***
PL people REL 3PL **be.at with PREP-3SG**
'the people who were with him' (Matthew 8:10)

(7.249) ... *ri* ***waan*** ***xuvul*** ***pa-na*** *saxa-no* *lutefin* *e* *na* *Maria,*
3PL **be.at** **with** **PREP-3SG** INDEF-PL woman.PL and ART Mary

na *nina* *Yesus,* *e* *a* *mu* *ti-na* ...
ART mother Jesus and ART PL sibling.same-3SG

'... they were with some women and Mary, the mother of Jesus, and his brothers ...'
(Acts 1:14)

The locative copula *waan* is clearly a verb (in contrast to the copula *ve* ~ *va*) in that it can occur with preverbal particles, as in (7.244) and (7.245) above, where it occurs with the continuative preverbal particle *taxa*, and (7.246), where it occurs with the future particle *taa*.

8 *Sentence structure*

In this chapter, I examine two aspects of sentence structure, first, interrogative sentences and second, sentences containing more than one clause.

8.1. Interrogative sentences

8.1.1. Polar questions

Polar questions are most often marked with the sentence-final particle *bo*, as in (8.1) to (8.3).

(8.1) *Nano ve no paamua king si-na mu Juda,* ***bo?***
2SG be 2SG first king POSS-3SG PL Jew **Q**
'Are you the king of the Jews?' (Matthew 27:11)

(8.2) *Mi fo masam pa-na maana mo aanabe'* ***bo?***
2PL PERF understand PREP-3SG GRTR.PL thing this **Q**
'Have you understood all these things?' (Matthew 13:51)

(8.3) *Me namkai o ne fexaxaas se-na vil fa-roxoi*
2DU believe COMP 1SG able PREP-3SG do CAUS-good
name, ***bo?***
2DU **Q**
'Do you believe that I am able to do good things for you?' (Matthew 9:28)

But they are sometimes unmarked, having the same form as the corresponding declarative sentence, as in (8.4) to (8.6) (although these might be distinct in intonation from the corresponding declarative sentences).

(8.4) *Nano, no Ilaija?*
2SG 2SG Elijah
'Are you Elijah?' (John 1:21)

(8.5) *Mi masam se-na mo ne fo vil=e se-mi?*
2PL understand PREP-3SG thing 1SG PERF do=3SG PREP-2PL
'Do you understand what I have done for you?' (John 13:12)

(8.6) *A* *roxo* *tamo* *a* *saxa* *mataa* *i* *taa* *ta'ulan* *tapin*
3SG good if ART one man 3SG.INCOMPL FUT leave away

a *tefin* *si-na?*
ART woman POSS-3SG

'Is it lawful for a man to divorce his wife?' (Mark 10:2)

It is not clear what conditions the use versus absence of the particle *bo*. *Bo* does seem to be used more often with leading questions (including rhetorical questions), where the speaker expects an answer 'yes', as in (8.7) to (8.9).

(8.7) *Nenia* *sang* *ne* *vesan* *a* *maana* *mo* *xapiak* *aanabe'* ***bo?***
1SG alone 1SG make ART GRTR.PL thing all this **Q**
'Did my hand not make all these things?' (Acts 7:50)

(8.8) *Mi* *texaas* *vaxa* *se-na* *xuuskuus* *pa* *Ilaija* *aava* *waan*
2PL know also PREP-3SG story PREP Elijah REL be.at

lana *Xakalayan* *Taap,* ***bo?***
in writing sacred **Q**

'Do you not know the story of Elijah in the Scriptures?' (Romans 11:2)

(8.9) *A* *toy-an* *si-mi* *a* *molava* *se-na* *fangan-an* *e*
ART live-NMLZ POSS-2PL 3SG big PREP-3SG eat-NMLZ and

a *ta-mi* *a* *molava* *se-na* *marapi,* ***bo?***
ART skin-2PL 3SG big PREP-3SG clothes **Q**

'Aren't your lives worth more than food and your bodies more than clothing?' (Matthew 6:25)

But for many instances of *bo*, there is little reason to think that the speaker expects a 'yes' answer, such as, perhaps, (8.1) to (8.3) above and (8.10).

(8.10) *No* *savat* *xena* *kawaasan* *xapin* *nemaam,* ***bo?***
2SG come PURP destroy completely 1EXCL.PL **Q**
'Have you come to destroy us?' (Luke 4:34)

There are also instances of questions like (8.11) where the speaker would seem to assume a 'yes' answer where *bo* is not used.

(8.11) *Tuuna* *no* *vubux-an=au?*
true 2SG want-TRANS=1SG
'Do you love me' (John 21:17)

And in (8.12), *bo* is used when the expected answer appears to be 'no'.

(8.12) *Mi* *lamon* *o* *a* *Piran* *ve* *a* *Piran* *si-na*
2PL think COMP ART big.man be 3SG big.man POSS-3SG

mu *Juda* *mon,* ***bo?***
PL Jew only **Q**

'Do you think that God is the God of only the Jews?' (Romans 3:29)

8.1.2. Content questions

8.1.2.1. *nase'* 'who' and *so* 'what'

The interrogative pronoun *nase'* 'who' is illustrated in (8.13) to (8.15).

(8.13) ***Nase'*** *taa* *fepatox-an* *netaara* *se-na* *vubux-an* *xasingit-an*
who FUT separate-TRANS 1INCL.PL PREP-3SG like-NMLZ greatly-NMLZ

si *Krais?*
POSS Christ

'Who will separate us from the love of Christ?' (Romans 8:35)

(8.14) *Nenia* *va* ***nase'?***
1SG be **who**
'Who am I?' (Acts 13:25)

(8.15) *Mi* *taxa* *seng* ***nase'?***
2PL CONTIN look.for **who**
'Who are you looking for?' (John 18:4)

Most occurrences of *nase'* in the texts are one of two types: either they are functioning as subjects and occur in sentence-initial position, as in (8.13), or they are functioning as nominal predicates and occur in sentence-final position, as in (8.14). The only examples where it functions as object are (8.15) and other almost identical examples with the same verb *seng* 'look for'; in these examples, *nase'* occurs in object position. The apparent conclusion is that *nase'* occurs *in situ*, the position in which noninterrogative noun phrases of the same function would occur.

The word *so* 'what', illustrated in (8.16) and (8.17), is not a pronoun, but a noun, since it occurs with the common article *a*.[52]

(8.16) *Mi* *falet* *xena* *xalum* *a* ***so****?*
i *2PL* *go* *PURP* *see* *ART* ***what***
'What did you go out to see?' (Matthew 11:8)

(8.17) *A* *mu* *rabuna* *ti* *tanin,* *ri* *malaan* *se-na* ***so?***
3SG PLUR people from today 3PL like PREP-3SG **what**
'To what should I compare this generation?' (*literally* 'What are the people from today like?') (Matthew 11:16)

---

[52] The absence of the common article in (8.17) is reflects the general rule that the common and proper articles are absent following a preposition (§5.1.4).

Noun phrases containing *so* appear in *in situ* position, like *nase'* .

In the texts examined, *what*-questions often take the form 'which thing', using the adnominal expression *a so ta* 'which' (§8.1.2.6) plus the noun *mo* 'thing', as in (8.18).

(8.18) *Maam taa toxan* ***a so ta mo?***
1EXCL.PL FUT have **ART what NONSPEC thing**
'What will we have?' (Matthew 19:27)

The majority of questions in the text examined which use this construction place the interrogative noun phrase at the beginning of the sentence, as in (8.19).

(8.19) ***A so ta mo*** *me vubuk rao ne taa vil=e*
ART what NONSPEC thing 2DU want IRREAL 1SG FUT do=3SG
pa-me?
PREP-2DU
'What do you want me to do for you?' (Matthew 20:32)

It is possible that the high frequency of this word order may reflect influence of English.

See §5.12.3 for more discussion of *nase'* and *so*.

8.1.2.2. *faa* 'where'

The interrogative adverb for 'where' is *faa*, illustrated in (8.20) and (8.21).

(8.20) *A Mataa Failai i taa lux-an* ***faa?***
ART man Christ 3SG.INCOMPL FUT give.birth.to-PASS **where**
'Where will the Christ be born?' (Matthew 2:4)

(8.21) *Nane siak a texaas-an molava* ***faa****?*
3SG take ART know-NMLZ big **where**
'Where did he get such wisdom?' (Matthew 13:54)

Faa can occur as the object of a preposition, as in (8.22) and (8.23).

(8.22) *A xasanofuna ri paan xe* ***faa****?*
ART other.PL 3PL go to **where**
'Where did the others go?' (Luke 17:17)

(8.23) ... *ri filimaan ti* ***faa****?*
3PL come from ***where***
'... where have they come from?' (Revelation 7:13)

Faa occurs in postverbal position, as in the above examples.

8.1.2.3. *senasou, xenaso* ‘why’

There are two words for ‘why’, *senasou*, illustrated in (8.24) and (8.25), and *xenaso*, illustrated in (8.26) and (8.27).

(8.24) ***Senasou*** *mutul* *fo* *fili-maan?*
why 2TRIAL PERF come-come
‘Why have you come?’ (Acts 10:21)

(8.25) *Mu Israel,* ***senasou*** *mi* *xalum* *fa-tateak* *nemaatul?*
PL Israel **why** 2PL see ADV-strong 1EXCL.TRIAL
‘Israelites, why do you stare at us?’ (Acts 3:12)

(8.26) ***Xenaso*** *mi* *taxa* *la-lamon* *faa-xaves* *se-na* *marapi?*
why 2PL CONTIN REDUP-think times-many PREP-3SG clothes
‘Why do you worry about clothing?’ (Matthew 6:28)

(8.27) ***Xenaso*** *a* *mataa* *aanabe'* *a* *kuus* *fa-saat* *malaan?*
why ART man this 3SG say CAUS-bad thus
‘Why does this man speak badly this way?’ (Mark 2:7)

Both of these words are consistently sentence-initial, except for cases where they are preceded by vocative expressions, like *mu Israel* ‘Israelites’ in (8.25).

It is not clear what conditions the choice between *senasou* and *xenaxo*. Etymologically, *senasou* consists of the preposition *sena* plus the word *so* ‘what’ plus an additional *u* (there is a word *senaso* meaning ‘because’). The preposition *se* (of which *sena* is a form) has a number of uses but most commonly marks the second argument of bivalent stative verbs (§6.2.4). *Xenaso* consists of the preposition *xena* ‘for (in the sense of purpose)’ plus *so* ‘what’, a natural way to express ‘why’.

8.1.2.4. *malaafaa* ‘how’

The word *malaafaa* expresses the meaning ‘how’, as in (8.28) and (8.29).

(8.28) *Nane* *vil* *a* *maana* *mo* *fa-'ipul* ***malaafaa?***
3SG do ART GRTR.PL thing CAUS-amazed **how**
‘How does he perform miracles?’ (Matthew 13:54)

(8.29) *A* *wai* *xakaap* *a* *maiyang* *fa-'ipul* ***malaafaa?***
ART tree fig 3SG dry.up ADV-amazed **how**
‘How did the fig tree wither so quickly?’ (Matthew 21:20)

As in many languages, the word for ‘how’ is used with the complements of verbs meaning ‘say’ and ‘think’, saying literally ‘how did you say’ for ‘what did you say’, as in (8.30) and (8.31).

(8.30) *No* *kuus* ***malaafaa*** *se-na* *mataa* *aapave* *...*
2SG say **how** PREP-3SG man that
‘What do you say about him, ...?’ (John 9:17)

(8.31) *Mi lamon* ***malaafaa*** *se-na Mataa Failai?*
2PL think **how** PREP-3SG man Christ
'What do you think about the Christ?' (Matthew 22:42)

The word *malaafaa* normally follows the verb (and object if there is one), as in the above examples, but occasionally occurs in sentence-initial position in the texts.

8.1.2.5. *laso ta yaan* 'when'

The meaning 'when' is expressed periphrastically, with *laso ta yaan*, literally 'on what day, at what time', as in (8.32) and (8.33).

(8.32) *...* ***la-so ta yaan*** *no fo savat nabe'?*
LOC-what NONSPEC day 2SG PERF come here
'Rabbi, when did you get here?' (John 6:25)

(8.33) ***La-so ta yaan*** *a lak si-ak fo savat fa-roxo?*
LOC-what NONSPEC day ART child POSS-1SG PERF come ADV-good
'When did my child become well?' (John 4:52)

All occurrences in the texts are sentence-initial.

8.1.2.6. *a so ta* 'which' (adnominal modifier)

The expression *a so ta* is used to convey the meaning 'which' as a nominal modifier, as in (8.34), preceding the noun.

(8.34) *...* ***a so ta*** *fefasai-an lana vuputkai*
ART what NONSPEC order-NMLZ in command
a pe-lalava?
ART COMPAR-big
'[Teacher,] which commandment in the law is the greatest?' (Matthew 22:36)

8.1.2.7. *talivisan* 'how many'

Talavisan 'how many' follows the noun it modifies, as in (8.35) and (8.36).

(8.35) *Mi toxan a bret* ***talavisan****?*
2PL have ART bread **how.many**
'How many loaves do you have?' (Matthew 15:34)

(8.36) *Memai, a mu rabuna* ***talavisan*** *ri taa fakaxup-an?*
Lord ART PL people **how.many** 3PL FUT save-PASS
'Lord, how many people will be saved?' (Luke 13:23)

The noun phrase containing *talivisan* occurs in the position in which a corresponding noninterrogative noun phrase would occur in: in (8.35) *a bret talavisan* 'how many loaves' occurs in object position after the verb, while in (8.36) *a mu rabuna talavisan* 'how many people' occurs in subject position before the verb.

This word occurs in the same position within the noun phrase as numerals, following adjectives, as in (8.37), but preceding the modifier *xapiak* 'all', as in (8.38) (see §5.5).

(8.37) *... mi tifi a bi* ***molava talavisan?***
2PL fill ART basket **big** **how many**
'[When I broke the seven loaves for the four thousand,] how many large baskets did you pick up?' (Mark 8:20)

(8.38) *Nane texaas se-na fui* ***talavisan xapiak*** *i taxa*
3SG know PREP-3SG hair **how many** **all** 3SG.INCOMPL CONTIN
waan la putu-mi.
be.at LOC head-2PL
'He knows how many hairs are on your head.' (Luke 12:7)

It is difficult to gloss (8.38) in a way that captures the meaning of *xapiak* 'all', since English does not allow *all* and *how many* to co-occur; the meaning is more loosely expressed by 'He knows how many all the hairs on your head are'. Example (8.38) is actually an indirect question, an embedded content question.

8.1.2.8. *-se', ise', sise'* 'whose'

Interrogative possessors are expressed by the interrogative suffix *-se'*, attached to the noun in the case of inalienable possession (§3.5, §5.7.1), as in (8.39), or to the possessive prepositions *si* and *i* (§5.7.2 to §5.7.4), as in (8.40) and (8.41).

(8.39) *... a tefin aave i taa* ***naasa-se'*** *tuuna?*
ART woman that 3SG.INCOMPL FUT **wife-INTER** true
'... whose wife will the woman be?' (Luke 20:33)

(8.40) *Mi langai a fepitai-an* ***si-se'*** *...?*
2PL hear ART teach-NMLZ **POSS-INTER**
'Whose teaching did you hear?' (Acts 19:3)

(8.41) *No taxa vil a maana mo aanabe' lapaa-na*
2SG CONTIN do ART GRTR.PL thing this under-3SG
tateax-an ***i-se'?***
strong-NMLZ **POSS-INTER**
'By whose authority are you doing these things?' (Matthew 21:23)

8.2. Subordinate clauses.

All words marking subordinate clauses occur at the beginning of the clause. Table 8.1 is a list of such words.

o	complementizer
layaan	when
lamina	after
paamuin, paamuina yaan	before
fefexaxaas	until
tamo	if
naapalan	although, even if
ulaa	lest, in case
senaso	because
talo	so that
xena	in order to
sena	(able) to

Table 8.1: Subordinators

8.2.1. Complement clauses

Complement clauses are marked with the complementizer *o*, as in (8.42) to (8.47).

(8.42) *Ne* ***texaas*** ***o*** *no* *fuuna* *langai* *vulan=au,* ...
1SG **know** **COMP** 2SG HABIT hear always=1SG
'I knew that you always listen to me, ...' (John 11:42)

(8.43) *Taasaxa* *ri* ***kuus*** ***o*** *ri* *taa* *pife* *vil=e* *lana* *yaan*
but 3PL **say** **COMP** 3PL FUT NEG do=3SG in day

i-na *fenamo* *ulaa* *mu* *rabuna* *ri* *tamaa* *marala*
POSS-3SG feast lest PL people 3PL FUT.IRR angry

e *fevis.*
and fight

'But they said that they would not do it on the day of the feast lest the people be angry and fight.' (Matthew 26:5)

(8.44) *E* *lana* *mif-an* *a* *Piran* *a* ***xuus*** ***fa-texaas*** *nari*
and in dream-NMLZ ART big.man 3SG **tell** **CAUS-know** 3PL

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

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

(8.45) *A mataa aanabe' a* ***lamon*** ***o*** *nane ve a Piran!*
ART man this 3SG **think** **COMP** 3SG be 3SG big.man
'This man thinks that he is God.' (Matthew 9:3)

(8.46) *... netaara aava taara* ***namkai*** ***o*** *a Piran a*
1INCL.PL REL 1INCL.PL **believe** **COMP** ART big.man 3SG
fatatoi fa-'uli na Yesus, ...
raise CAUS-return ART Jesus
'... we who believe that God raised Jesus ...' (Romans 4:24)

(8.47) *E mui ri* ***masam*** ***o*** *a pife ferawai pa-na ...*
and then 3PL **understand** **COMP** 3SG NEG speak PREP-3SG
'Then they understood that he was not speaking about ...' (Matthew 16:12)

Indirect commands are most commonly expressed with the complementizer *o*, as in (8.48).

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

The complementizer *o* is also used with clausal complements of nominalizations of verbs, as in (8.49), where the complement clause *o ri taa pife xalum fulane* 'that they would not see him again' modifies the noun *paferawaian*, a nominalization of *ferawai* 'speak'.

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

8.2.2. *layaan* 'when'

The subordinator *layaan* introduces *when*-clauses, as in (8.50).

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

The time of the event in the *layaan*-clause can precede the event of the main clause, as in (8.50), or be simultaneous, as in (8.51).

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

nonau *i-na* *a* *puk* ...
face POSS-3SG 3SG turn

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

The word *layaan* is transparently derived from the general locative preposition *la* plus *yaan* 'day, time'.

8.2.3. *lamina* 'after'

The word *lamina* is strictly speaking a preposition, formally the 3SG form of the preposition *lami* 'behind, after'. But it combines with nominalizations of verbs to give the semantic equivalent of *after*-clauses, as in (8.52) and (8.53).

(8.52) ***Lami-na*** *falet-an* *si-ri* ...
after-3SG go-NMLZ POSS-3PL
'After they had gone, ...' (Matthew 2:13)

(8.53) ***Lami-na*** *maat-an* *si* *Stefan,* ...
after-3SG die-NMLZ POSS Stephen
'After Stephen died, ...' (Acts 11:19)

With intransitive verbs, *an*-nominalizations are used (§4.2.7), as in (8.52) and (8.53). With transitive verbs, transitive *aan*-nominalizations are used (§4.2.8), as in (8.54) to (8.56).

(8.54) ***Lami-na*** *siax-aan=a* *xavil* *i-na* *bret* *nane* *tamasiak*
after-3SG take-NMLZ=ART pieces POSS-3SG bread 3SG get up

e *falet.*
and go

'After he took pieces of bread, he got up and left.' (John 13:30)

(8.55) ***Lami-na*** *yot-aan* *na* *Pita* *nane* *timin=e* *lana* *lifu*
after-3SG seize-NMLZ ART Peter 3SG put=3SG in house

i-na *vipis-an.*
POSS-3SG be.tied-NMLZ

'After seizing Peter, he put him in prison.' (Acts 12:4)

(8.56) ... *nemaam* *xo* *maam* *fangan* *e* *num* *xuvul* *pa-na*
1EXCL.PL TOPIC 1EXCL.PL eat and drink with PREP-3SG

lami-na *fatatoi* *fa-'uli-aan-a* *ti* *la* *maat-an.*
after-3SG raise CAUS-return-NMLZ-3SG from LOC die-NMLZ

'... we ate and drank with him after the raising of him from the dead.' (Acts 10:41)

8.2.4. *paamuin, paamuina yaan* 'before'

There are a number of related expressions which occur occasionally introducing clauses with the meaning 'before'. In (8.57) and (8.58), the word *paamuin* (which also functions as a preposition (§6.3.7)) is used.

(8.57) ***Paamuin*** *na* *Filip* *fe* *xel* *nano* *ne* *fo* *xalum* *nano*
before ART Philip go.and call 2SG 1SG PERF see 2SG

no *taxa* *nai* *lapaa-na* *wai* *xakaap.*
2SG CONTIN sit under-3SG tree fig

'Before Philip called you, I saw you sitting under the fig tree.' (John 1:48)

(8.58) ... *senaso* *ri* *fo* *bai-an=au* ***paamuin*** *ri*
because 3PL PERF not.want-TRANS=1SG **before** 3PL

bai-an *nami.*
not.want-TRANS 2PL

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

When *paamuin* occurs before a common noun phrase functioning as subject of the *before*-clause, the form *paamuina* is used, as in (8.59).

(8.59) *E* *no* *taa* *kuus* *malaan* *faa-talatul* ***paamuin=a*** *pura*
and 2SG FUT speak thus times-three **before=ART** chicken

i *taa* *rawei* *faa-taragua.*
3SG.INCOMPL FUT make.sound times-two

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

As shown in (8.59), I analyse *paamuina* as *paamuin* plus the common article *a* that goes with the common noun phrase that immediately follows, since that common noun phrase is always lacking the common article after *paamuina*. As discussed in §6.3.7, the same process occurs with the preposition *paamuin*: it often occurs in the form *paamuina*, followed by a common noun phrase lacking the common article.

More common than *paamuin* as an adverbial subordinator, however, is the expression *paamuina yaan*, literally 'before the day/time', as in (8.60) and (8.61).

(8.60) ... ***paamuin=a*** ***yaan*** *mi* *fin=e* *pa-na.*
before=ART **day** 2PL ask=3SG PREP-3SG
'[Do not be like them, for your Father knows what you need] before you ask him for it.' (Matthew 6:8)

(8.61) *A* *maana* *mo* *aanabe'* *ri* *taa* *savat* ***paamuin=a*** ***yaan***
ART GRTR.PL thing this 3PL FUT come **before=ART** **day**

a *mu* *rabuna* *xapiak* *ti* *tanin,* *ri* *taa* *maat.*
ART PL people all from today 3PL FUT die

'These things will not happen before all the people from today have died.' (Matthew 24:34)

8.2.5. *fefexaxaas* 'until'

The word *fefexaxaas* (which also functions as a preposition, see §6.3.8) introduces clauses with the meaning 'until', as in (8.62) and (8.63).

(8.62) *Taasaxa mi taa waan la bina* ***fefexaxaas*** *a gut-an*
but 2PL FUT be.at LOC place **until** ART strong-NMLZ

ti laa'ui i taa sivi-maan xulu-mi.
from up 3SG.INCOMPL FUT descend-come ON-2PL

'But stay in the city until the power from above descends upon you.' (Luke 24:49)

(8.63) *Ri sangas la xurunusa xurul* ***fefexaxaas*** *ri savat pe Pafos.*
3PL walk LOC island whole ***until*** *3PL come at Paphos*
'They walked over the whole island until they came to Paphos.' (Acts 13:6)

More commonly *fefexaas,* like *paamuin* 'before', combines with *a yaan* 'the day/time', as in (8.64) and (8.65).

(8.64) *Taasaxa nane pife mati xuvul pa-na* ***fefexaxaas*** ***a yaan***
but 3SG NEG lie with PREP-3SG **until** **ART** **day**

nane luk a lak tomexaan aave.
3SG give.birth ART child male that

'But he did not have marital relations with her until she gave birth to the son.' (Matthew 1:25)

(8.65) ***fefexaxaas*** ***a*** ***yaan*** *a Piran a tavai na Moses*
until **ART** **day** ART big.man 3SG give ART Moses

pa-na mu vuputkai si-na
PREP-3SG PL command POSS-3SG

'until God gave Moses his commandments' (Romans 5:14)

8.2.6. Conditional clauses with *tamo* 'if'

Conditional clauses are introduced by the word *tamo* 'if', as in (8.66) to (8.68).

(8.66) *E* ***tamo*** *ta mataa i taxa tigina xulu-na*
and **if** NONSPEC man 3SG.INCOMPL CONTIN stand ON-3SG

lifu i muta sivi xe lana ...
house 3SG.INCOMPL PROHIB go.down to in

'And if a man stands on the roof of the house, he must not come down and go inside ...' (Mark 13:15)

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

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

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

(8.68) ***Tamo*** *nano ve no Natu-na Piran, ...*
if 2SG be 2SG Son-3SG big.man
'If you are the Son of God, [command these stones to become bread].' (Matthew 4:3)

There is no special form for the protasis clause of counterfactual conditionals, but the preverbal particle *tafo* 'would have' (§7.7.2.3) is often used in the apodosis, as in (8.69) and (8.70).

(8.69) *E* ***tamo*** *a maana mo fa'ipul aava mi fo xalum=e,*
and **if** ART GRTR.PL thing amazing REL 2PL PERF see=3SG

ri fo savat pe la bina Sodom, tanin nari ***tafo***
3PL PERF come at LOC place Sodom today 3PL **would.have**

waan lunai.
be.at still

'And if the miracles that you have seen had been done in Sodom, they would have continued to this day.' (Matthew 11:23)

(8.70) ***Tamo*** *Piran pa-na Gut-an Xapiak a pife ta'ulan a*
if big.man PREP-3SG strong-NMLZ all 3SG NEG leave ART

saxa-nu bu-taara, taara ***tafo*** *malit malaan*
INDEF-PAUC ancestor-1INCL.PL 1PL.INCL **would.have** lose like

se-na rabuna pe la ro bina Sodom e Gomora ...
PREP-3SG people at LOC DU place Sodom and Gomorrah

'If the Lord of armies had not left our descendants, we would have lost like the people in Sodom and Gomorrah ...' (Romans 9:29)

However, *tafo* is not always used in the apodosis of counterfactual conditionals, as in (8.71), though this example is puzzling in that the future particle *taa* occurs in the apodosis, despite the lack of future meaning.

(8.71) ***Tamo*** *nane pife mataa saat, maam* ***taa*** *pife lisan-maan=e*
if 3SG NEG man bad 1EXCL.PL **FUT** NEG bring-come=3SG

xe si-im.
to POSS-2SG

'If he were not a criminal, we would not have handed him over to you.' (John 18:30)

8.2.7. *naapalaan* 'although, even if'

One meaning of the subordinator *naapalaan* is 'although', as in (8.72) and (8.73).

(8.72) ***Naapalaan*** *mi* *xalum* *a* *mo* *aanabe'* *mi* *pife* *xul*
although 2PL see ART thing this 2PL NEG change

a *lamon-an* *si-mi* ...
ART think-NMLZ POSS-2PL

'Although you saw this, you did not later change your minds and ...' (Matthew 21:32)

(8.73) *Mu* *fetinan,* ***naapalaan*** *ne* *pife* *bilai* *fa-saat* *xe*
PL sibling.same.RECIP **although** 1SG NEG do ADV-bad to

si-na *mu* *rabuna* *si-taara* ...
POSS-3SG PL people POSS-1INCL.PL

'Brothers, although I had done nothing against our people ...' (Acts 28:17)

The meaning of *naapalaan* subsumes the related sense 'even if' (which is semantically similar to 'although', but lacks the presupposition that the proposition in the clause is true), as in (8.74) and (8.75).

(8.74) ... ***naapalaan*** *mi* *bai* *namkai* *se-ga,* *namkai* *se-na*
although 2PL not.want believe PREP-1SG believe PREP-3SG

mu *faisok* ...
PL act

'... even if you do not believe me, believe the deeds, ...' (John 10:38)

(8.75) *Nenia,* *ne* *taa* *pife* *ta'ulan* *nano* ***naapalaan*** *a* *xasanofuna*
1SG 1SG FUT NEG leave 2SG **although** ART other.PL

xapiak *ri* *taa* *ta'ulan* *nano!*
all 3PL FUT leave 2SG

'I will never leave you, even if everyone else leaves you.' (Matthew 26:33)

With the meaning 'even if', *naapalan* sometimes combines with the conditional word *tamo*, as in (8.76).

(8.76) *Ne* *taa* *pife* *kuus* *malaan* ***naapalaan*** ***tamo*** *ne* *taa* *maat*
1SG FUT NEG say thus **although** **if** 1SG FUT die

xuvul *pa-ma.*
with PREP-2SG

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

8.2.8. *ulaa* 'lest, in case'

The subordinator *ulaa* means 'lest' or 'in case of', illustrated in (8.77) and (8.78).

(8.77) *Taasaxa ri kuus o ri taa pife vil=e lana yaan*
but 3PL say COMP 3PL FUT NEG do=3SG in day

i-na fenamo ***ulaa*** *mu rabuna ri tamaa marala*
POSS-3SG feast **lest** PL people 3PL FUT.IRR angry

e fevis.
and fight

'But they said that they would not do it on the day of the feast lest the people be angry and fight.' (Matthew 26:5)

(8.78) *Fakaxup netaara* ***ulaa*** *taara tamaa xarak!*
save 1INCL.PL **lest** 1INCL.PL FUT.IRR drown
'Save us lest we die!' (Matthew 8:25)

Ulaa is homophonous with the verb for 'return', illustrated in (8.79); it is not clear whether this is a coincidence.

(8.79) *E lana mif-an a Piran a xuus fa-texaas nari*
and in dream-NMLZ ART big.man 3SG tell CAUS-know 3PL

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

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

8.2.9. *senaso* 'because'

The subordinator *senaso*, illustrated in (8.80) and (8.81), introduces *because*-clauses.

(8.80) ... *e a tigina fa-tateak paaliu* ***senaso*** *nane*
and 3SG stand ADV-strong INTENS **because** 3SG

vesan fa-roxoi=e.
make CAUS-good=3SG

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

(8.81) *Ne bai feng tapin nari pa-na ri lagai* ***senaso*** *ri*
1SG not.want send away 3PL PREP-3SG 3PL hungry **because** 3PL

tamaa maat la falet-an si-ri.
FUT.IRR die LOC go-NMLZ POSS-3PL

'I don't want to send them away hungry since they may faint on the way.' (Matthew 15:32)

Senaso appears to be derived from *sena* 'PREP-3SG' plus *so* 'what'.

8.2.10. *talo* 'so that'

The subordinator *talo* 'so that' introduces purpose clauses where the subject of the clause is different from the subject of the matrix clause, as in (8.82) and (8.83).

(8.82) *... e layaan mi fo tingin=e mi maa xuus=au*
and when 2PL PERF find=3SG 2PL come.and tell=1SG

talo *nenia sait ne taa fe nangus=e.*
so.that 1SG also 1SG FUT go.and worship=3SG

'... and when you find him, inform me so that I can go and worship him as well.'
(Matthew 2:8)

(8.83) *Feng tapin et nari* ***talo*** *ri taa laak la*
send away away 3PL **so.that** 3PL FUT enter LOC

nu bina faasilak xena ...
PAUC place near PURP

'Send them away so that they can go into the villages to [buy food for themselves].'
(Matthew 14:15)

When the subject of the subordinate clause is the same as the subject of the matrix clause, the word *xena* is normally used (see next section) rather than *talo*. However, (8.84) is an exception to this in that the subject of the *talo*-clause is the same as the subject of the matrix clause.[53]

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

8.2.11. *xena* 'in order to'

The word *xena* introduces purpose clauses, as in (8.85) and (8.86).

(8.85) *... e rutul ta'ulan a bina pave la xunavung naang*
and 3TRIAL leave ART region there LOC midnight same

xena *falet xe pe Isip.*
PURP go to at Egypt

'... and they left that place during the middle of the same night to go to Egypt.'
(Matthew 2:14)

---

[53] Note that English *Do not judge in order not to be judged* has perhaps as a preferred reading one where the scope of the negative is the subordinator (i.e. you should judge for some other reason). The same may apply to Kara as well or perhaps the use of *talo* in (8.84) is a calque on the English.

(8.86) *... na Yesus sang mon a laak xulu-na put*
ART Jesus alone only 3SG enter ON-3SG mountain

***xena** fenung.*
PURP pray

'... Jesus went up the mountain by himself to pray.' (Matthew 14:23)

These purpose clauses always lack a subject noun phrase and a weak subject pronoun and the implicit subject is always the same as the subject of the matrix clause.

The previous two examples involve purpose clauses where the verb is intransitive. When the verb is transitive, two possibilities are found. One possibility is that the verb in the purpose clause will be an *aan*-nominalization (see §4.2.8), as in (8.87) to (8.89).

(8.87) *E mui, na Baanabas a ta'ulan nari **xena***
and then ART Barnabas 3SG leave 3PL **PURP**

***seng-aan** na Sol pe kol Taasus.*
look.for-NMLZ ART Saul at west Tarsus

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

(8.88) *E xasanofuna aava ri fuuna vil vulan a maana mo*
and others.PL REL 3PL HABIT do always ART GRTR.PL thing

***xena fa-faamamaas-aan=a** ta-ri mon ...*
PURP CAUS-happy-NMLZ=ART skin-3PL only

'And others who always do things in order to please only themselves ...' (Romans 2:8)

(8.89) *Mi pife fexaxaas se-na faisok lapaa-na Piran e la*
2PL NEG able PREP-3SG act under-3SG big.man and LOC

*yaan naang faisok **xena** **fa-xuvul-aan=a** faat xaa-num*
day same act **PURP** **CAUS-with-NMLZ=ART** stone for-2SG

xa.
REFL/RECIP

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

The second possibility is that the verb in the purpose clause will be an ordinary (non-nominalized) verb, as in (8.90) to (8.92) (as it always is if the verb in the purpose clause in intransitive, as in (8.98) and (8.85) above).

(8.90) *Mi falet **xena** **xalum** a so?*
2PL go **PURP** **see** ART what
'What did you go out to see?' (Matthew 11:8)

(8.91) *Man, taara taa punux=e* ***xena siak*** *a maana mo*
come! 1INCL.PL FUT kill=3SG **PURP take** ART GRTR.PL thing

xapiak si-na.
all POSS-3SG

'Come, let's kill him in order to take all his things!' (Matthew 21:38)

(8.92) *Mi lamon o ne savat-maan* ***xena lisan*** *a luai-an, bo?*
2PL think COMP 1SG come-come **PURP bring** ART calm-NMLZ Q
'Do you think I have come to bring peace?' (Luke 12:51)

It is not clear what conditions the choice between these two possibilities. One factor, however, is that when the object is pronominal 3SG, the nominalization is generally used, as in (8.93) and (8.94), though there are exceptions, like (8.95).

(8.93) *E nane xel a xasa ro-vaat e a feng nare*
and 3SG call ART other DU-man and 3SG send 3DU

xe si Memai ***xena fin-aan-a*** *...*
to POSS Lord **PURP ask-NMLZ-3SG**

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

(8.94) *... e ri timin a bolo si Yesus la mi-na* ***xena***
and 3PL put ART cross POSS Jesus LOC back-3SG **PURP**

yaas-aan-a.
carry-NMLZ-3SG

'... and they placed Jesus' cross on his back for him to carry it.' (Luke 23:26)

(8.95) *... e a tang malila ri savat* ***xena xalum=e.***
and ART huge crowd 3PL come **PURP see=3SG**
'... and a large crowd came to see him.' (John 12:9)

Contrast (8.95) with (8.96) where the same verb *xalum* 'see' is used, but with the *aan*-nominalization.

(8.96) *... e layaan na nina-na e mu ti-na xo*
and when ART mother-3SG and PL sibling.same-3SG TOPIC

ri savat ***xena xalum-aan-a*** *ri pife fexaxaas se-na laak*
3PL come **PURP see-NMLZ-3SG** 3PL NEG able PREP-3SG enter

soxot=e.
INTENS=3SG

'... and when his mother and his brothers came to him, they could not get near him.' (Luke 8:19)

And (8.97) contains two instances of *xena*, both followed by forms of *kawaasan* 'destroy', but while the first occurrence is a finite verb, the second one is a nominalization.

(8.97) *Muta* *lamon* *o* *ne* *fo* *savat* ***xena*** ***kawaasan*** *a* *mu*
PROHIB think COMP 1SG PERF come **PURP** **destroy** ART PL

vuputkai *o* *ferawai-an* *si-na* *mu* *rabuna* *i-na* *kuus*
command or speak-NMLZ POSS-3SG PL people POSS-3SG say

fatuxai, *ne* *pife* *savat* ***xena*** ***kawaasan-aan*** *nari* *...*
prophesy 1SG NEG come **PURP** **destroy-NMLZ** 3PL

'Do not think that I have come to abolish the laws or the things said by the prophets ...' (Matthew 5:17)

The word *xena* also occurs as a preposition, as in (8.98) (§6.3.6).

(8.98) *...* *ne* *fo* *siak* *fati* *a* *mataa* *aanabe'*
1SG PERF take choose? ART man this

xena *sisiak* *si-ak.*
PURP servant POSS-1SG

'... I have chosen this man as my servant.' (Matthew 12:18)

8.2.12. *sena* complements with *fexaxaas* 'able'

The verb *fexaxaas* 'able' takes complement clauses introduced by *sena*, as in (8.99) to (8.102). The form *sena* is the 3SG form of the preposition *se*, whose basic function is to mark the second semantic argument of bivalent stative verbs (§6.2.4).

(8.99) *...* *e* *a* *mataa* ***fexaxaas*** ***se-na*** ***kaalum*** *fa-roxo.*
and ART man **able** **PREP-3SG** **look** ADV-good
'... and the man was able to see clearly.' (Mark 8:25)

(8.100) *...* *mi* *pife* ***fexaxaas*** ***se-na*** ***ferawai*** *pa-na* *mo* *roxo*
2PL NEG **able** **PREP-3SG** **speak** PREP-3SG thing good

senaso *mi* *rabuna* *saat.*
because 2PL people bad

'... you cannot say anything good because you are evil people.' (Matthew 12:34)

(8.101) *Layaan* *ri* *vil* *malaane* *ri* *pife* ***fexaxaas*** ***se-na*** ***yuuf***
when 3PL do this.way 3PL NEG **able** **PREP-3SG** **pull**

fa-lak *a* *vana* *aave* *senaso* *a* *mu* *din* *lana* *ri*
CAUS-go.up ART net that because ART PL fish in 3PL

xaves *paaliu.*
many INTENS

'When they did this, they were not able to pull up the net because the fish were many.' (John 21:6)

(8.102) *Na* *Yesus* *sang* *mon* *a* ***fexaxaas*** ***se-na*** ***lamon*** ***tapin***
ART Jesus alone only 3SG **able** **PREP-3SG** **think** **away**

a *mu* *vil-aan-a* *saat* *si-mi.*
ART PL do-NMLZ-3SG bad POSS-2PL

'Only Jesus is able to forgive your sins.' (Acts 13:38)

The verb in *sena*-complements of *fexaxaas* occurs either as a finite verb, as in the four preceding examples, or as an *aan*-nominalization, as in (8.103) and (8.104).

(8.103) *Lavaxa,* *nane* *texaas* *o* *nane* *pife* ***fexaxaas*** ***se-na***
then 3SG know COMP 3SG NEG **able** **PREP-3SG**

fa-savat-aan *ta* *lak* *senaso* ...
CAUS-come-NMLZ NONSPEC child because

'He knew that he was not able to produce any children because ...' (Romans 4:19)

(8.104) ... *lami-na* *punux-aan=a* *mataa* *a* ***fexaxaas*** ***se-na***
after-3SG kill-NMLZ=ART man 3SG **able** **PREP-3SG**

tapin ***fa-sivi-aan-a*** *xe* ...
throw ***CAUS-go.down-NMLZ-3SG*** to

'... after killing a man, he is able to throw him down to ...' (Luke 12:5)

The principles governing the form of verbs after *fexaxaas sena* are the same as those with purpose clauses introduced by *xena* (§8.2.11): intransitive verbs are always ordinary verb forms, as in (8.99) and (8.100), while transitive verbs are either finite verb forms, as in (8.101) and (8.102), or *aan*-nominalizations, as in (8.103) and (8.104). As with *xena*, it is not clear what conditions the choice between these two options.

Appendix 1: Possible calques

In this appendix, I list a number of examples that are possibly if not probably calques on the English. These examples employ structures which are not common crosslinguistically but which are found in English, suggesting that they are calques. However, it is quite possible that some, or even many, of these are not calques.[54]

Appendix 1.1: A tenth

In (A-1.1), the word *fasangafiluaana* is the ordinal form of the word for 'ten', i.e. 'tenth' (see §4.2.13). But here is it used to denote the fraction 'one tenth'. This is almost certainly a calque.[55] Apart from the rarity of using ordinal words for fractions, most languages lack terms for fractions (other than, perhaps, 'half').

(A-1.1) *Senaso mi fuuna ta-tavai xe si-na Piran pa-na*
because 2PL HABIT HABIT-give to POSS-3SG big.man PREP-3SG

fa-sangafilu-aan-a *maana mo modak ti la uma ...*
CAUS-ten-NMLZ-3SG GRTR.PL thing small from LOC field

'Because you give a tenth of small things from the field ...' (Luke 11:42)

Appendix 1.2: Interrogative pronouns as relative pronouns

The translation frequently uses the interrogative pronoun *nase'* 'who' in translations of English free relatives, as in (A-1.2) (though it also usually combines with *ta* 'nonspecific' and *mataa* 'man').

(A-1.2) ***Nase'*** *ta mataa pife tigina xuvul pa-ga, nane taxa*
who any man NEG stand with PREP-1SG 3SG CONTIN

gilis=au.
reject=1SG

'Whoever is not with me is against me, ...' (Matthew 12:30)

But Indo-European languages are unusual crosslinguistically in using the same forms both as interrogative pronouns and as relative pronouns, so this is a likely calque.

[54] John Lynch has pointed out to me that some of these calques, if they are calques, may really be calques on Tok Pisin rather than English.

[55] This example is also unusual in marking the recipient with *tavai* 'give' with the preposition *xe* 'to'; recipients of *tavai* are almost always simply objects of the verb, without a preposition.

Appendix 1.3: *ta* 'any'

The nonspecific article *ta* (§5.1.3) is used throughout the texts in the same set of contexts where English uses 'any', after negatives, as in (A-1.3), in questions, as in (A-1.4), and in conditional clauses, as in (A-1.5).

(A-1.3) *... o ri piau **ta** bret.*
COMP 3PL not.have **NONSPEC** bread
'[So they began to discuss with one another] that they did not have any bread.' (Mark 8:16)

(A-1.4) *Ai, a fexaxaas **ta** mo roxo i taa savat*
INTERJ 3SG able **NONSPEC** thing good 3SG.INCOMPL FUT come
ti Nasaret?
from Nazareth
'Can anything good come out of Nazareth?' (John 1:46)

(A-1.5) *Tamo **ta** mataa taa laak lapaa-ga, ...*
if **any** man FUT enter under-1SG
'If anyone enters through me, ...' (John 10:9)

Some of these uses may be calques.

Appendix 1.4: Uses of *saxa* 'one'

The word *saxa* functions as the word for 'one' in the sense of a numeral (§5.2.5). However, the translation often uses *saxa* in contexts where English uses *one*, not as a numeral, but as a pronoun, as in (A-1.6) and (A-1.7)

(A-1.6) *... nane a **saxa** aava mi vubux-an=e.*
3SG ART **one** REL 2PL want-TRANS=3SG
'... he is the one that you want.' (Matthew 26:48)

(A-1.7) *Muta mati xuvul pa-na **saxa** aava fo tamai.*
PROHIB lie with PREP-3SG **one** REL PERF marry
'Do not lie with one who has married.' (i.e. 'Do not commit adultery) (Matthew 5:27)

The use of the numeral for 'one' in this way is not common crosslinguistically. The example in (A-1.8) is a probable calque, not only in using *saxa* for 'one' in the pronominal sense, but also in using *ta* 'any' plus *saxa* 'one' for 'anyone'.

(A-1.8) *E tamo **ta** **saxa** taa xuus faagutan nano pa-na*
and if **any** **one** FUT speak strongly 2SG PREP-3SG
yaas-aan=a mo matafan si-na ...
carry-NMLZ=3SG thing heavy POSS-3SG
'And if anyone forces you to carry his heavy things ...' (Matthew 5:41)

Appendix 1.5: Prepositional calques

There are frequent uses of prepositions in ways that look like calques. These are mostly cases where a Kara preposition is used with a sense that is distinct from its usual sense and where the corresponding English preposition also has the same two senses but where I believe that English is somewhat unusual in using the same preposition to express both senses. An example is the use of *lana* 'in' for 'in three days' in (A-1.9).

(A-1.9) ... *e* *no* *taa* *vesan* *fa-'uli=e* ***lana*** ***yaan*** ***talatul,*** ...
and 2SG FUT make CAUS-return=3SG **in** **day** **three**
'[Aha! You who has said that you will destroy the temple and] rebuild it in three days, ...' (Mark 15:29)

The use of *for* in English *difficult for someone to do something* is not benefactive, but (A-1.10) uses the benefactive preposition *xa* 'for' in this context.

(A-1.10) *A* *lagaf* *paaliu* ***xa-na*** *mataa* *aava* *toxan* *a* *fafanaian*
3SG difficult INTENS **for-3SG** man REL have ART money

xaves *xena* *laak* *lana* *fatataganan* *si-na* *Piran.*
many PURP enter in kingdom POSS-3SG big.man

'It is very hard for the rich to enter the kingdom of God!' (Mark 10:23)

Similarly, the two instances of *xa* 'for' in (A-1.11) corresponds to a use of *for* in English that is not benefactive, in the expression *one's love for something*.

(A-1.11) *Saimon,* *natu* *Jon,* *a* *tuuna* *o* *a* *vubux-an-an*
Simon son John 3SG true COMP ART want-TRANS-NMLZ

si-im ***xa-nak*** *a* *molava* *se-na* *vubux-an-an*
POSS-2SG **for-1SG** 3SG big PREP-3SG want-TRANS-NMLZ

si-im ***xa-na*** *maana* *xasano* *mo?*
POSS-2SG **for-3SG** GRTR.PL other thing

'Simon, son of John, is your love for me greater than your love for other things?' (John 21:15)

The use of *under* in the English gloss for (A-1.12) is metaphorical; the use of *lapaa* 'under' in the Kara may thus be a calque.

(A-1.12) *No* *taxa* *vil* *a* *maana* *mo* *aanabe'* ***lapaa-na***
2SG CONTIN do ART GRTR.PL thing this **under-3SG**

tateax-an *i-se'?*
strong-NMLZ POSS-INTER

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

Appendix 1.6: Use of *xena* 'purpose'

The word *xena* introduces purpose constructions (§8.2.11). However, the translations occasionally use *xena* to mark constructions which do not involve purpose. A number of these uses are ones with meanings that English expresses by the use of infinitives (as it does to express purpose), where most other languages would not use the same construction as that used for purpose. In (A-1.13), for example, *xena* is used in a non-purpose sense in the translation of English *power to*.

(A-1.13) *E nare, re toxan a gut-an **xena** xul a raarum*
and 3DU 3DU have ART strong-NMLZ **PURP** change ART water

i tafe ria.
3SG.INCOMPL become.FUT blood

'They have the power to turn the water to blood.' (Revelation 11:6)

In (A-1.14), *xena* is used to translate what in the English is the English word *to* marking the infinitival complement of the noun *desire*.

(A-1.14) *Nabe' a fufu-na vubux-an-an tateak si-ak **xena** xuus*
this 3SG base-3SG want-TRANS-NMLZ strong POSS-1SG **PURP** tell

fa-texaas nami pe Rom vaxa pa-na Lagasai Roxo
CAUS-know 2PL at Rome also PREP-3SG news good

se Yesus.
PREP Jesus

'This is the reason for my strong desire to preach the gospel to you who are in Rome.' (Romans 1:15)

In (A-1.15), for example, *xena* is used where English uses an infinitival relative clause, which does not involve purpose.

(A-1.15) *Matalava, ne piau ta mataa **xena** xavang*
leader 1SG not.have any man **PURP** help

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

'Sir, I don't have any man to help lower me into the pool when ...' (John 5:7)

And in (A-1.16), *xena* corresponds to the infinitive marker in the English *difficult to*.

(A-1.16) *A lagaf paaliu xa-na mataa aava toxan a fafanaian*
3SG difficult INTENS for-3SG man REL have ART money

*xaves **xena** laak lana fatataganan si-na Piran.*
many **PURP** enter in kingdom POSS-3SG big.man

'It is very hard for the rich to enter the kingdom of God!' (Mark 10:23)

Appendix 1.7: Conditional *tamo* used for 'whether'

English allows the word that marks conditional clauses, *if*, to mark indirect polar questions (where it means 'whether'). While this is fairly unusual outside European languages, the Kara translations do the same with the conditional word *tamo*, as in (A-1.17).

(A-1.17) ... *e* *voxo* *ne* *fin=e* ***tamo*** *i* *taa* *laak* *xe*
and so 1SG ask=3SG **if** 3SG.INCOMPL FUT enter to

paa *Jerusalem* *xena* *tigina* *la* *bina* *i-na* *tiis-an*
east Jerusalem PURP stand LOC place POSS-3SG judge-NMLZ

pave.
there

'... and so I asked him if he would to go to Jerusalem to be tried there.' (Acts 25:20)

Appendix 1.8: Conditional 'and'

English idiosyncratically allows the use of sentences of the form 'A and B' where the intended meaning is 'If A, then B'. Example (A-1.18) from Kara does the same.

(A-1.18) ... *se-seng* ***e*** *mi* *taa* *tingin=e,*
HABIT-seek **and** 2PL FUT find=3SG
'... seek, and you will find.' (Luke 11:9)

Appendix 1.9: *xapiak* 'all' in preverbal position

In (A-1.19), the word *xapiak* 'all' appears in a position following a weak subject pronoun and before the verb, a position in which only a small set of preverbal particles can appear in (§7.7). It is unusual for a word meaning 'all' to appear in such a position in Kara, but its position mirrors the word order in the English.

(A-1.19) *Maam* *xapiak* *taxa* *waan* *nabe'.*
1EXCL.PL all CONTIN be.at this
'We all are here.' (Acts 16:28)

Appendix 2: Sample text: The story of the birth of Jesus. Matthew 1:18 to 2:16

(1:18) *A luluux-an si Yesus Krais a savat malaan:*
ART give birth to-NMLZ POSS Jesus Christ 3SG come thus

na nina-na, na Maria, ri fo fakali-maan=e
ART mother-3SG ART Mary 3PL PERF signal-come=3SG

rao i taa tamai si Yosep. Taasaxa re
IRREAL 3SG.INCOMPL FUT marry POSS Joseph but 3DU

pife mati xuvul lunai e nane texaas o a tiva
NEG lie together still and 3SG know COMP 3SG pregnant

se-na gut-an si-na Vovau Xaradak.
PREP-3SG strong-NMLZ POSS-3SG spirit straight

'Now the birth of Jesus Christ happened this way. His mother Mary was engaged to Joseph. But they had not yet lain together and she knew that she was pregnant through the Holy Spirit.'

(1:19) *Na Yosep aava na lava-na, a mataa xaradak paaliu*
ART Joseph REL ART husband-3SG 3SG man straight INTENS

e nane bai fa-mangil na Maria la mata-na mu
and 3SG not.want CAUS-ashamed ART Mary LOC eye-3SG PL

rabuna. E voxo nane lamon o i taa laxao
people and so 3SG think COMP 3SG.INCOMPL FUT ??

kasam a kuus fanai-an i-na tamai-an si-re.
quiet ART say promise POSS-3SG marry-NMLZ POSS-3DU

'Joseph, her husband to be, was a righteous man, and he did not want to disgrace her, he intended to divorce her privately.'

(1:20) *Na Yosep fo lamon xo pa-na mo aanabe' taasaxa lana*
ART Joseph PERF think TOPIC PREP-3SG thing this but in

mif-an a angelo si-na Piran a savat si-na e
dream-NMLZ ART angel POSS-3SG big.man 3SG come POSS-3SG and

a kuus, "Yosep, lak si Devit, muta lamon faa-xaves
3SG say Joseph child POSS David PROHIB think times-many

pa-na tamai-an si-me Maria senaso a Vovau
PREP-3SG marry-NMLZ POSS-2DU Mary because ART spirit

Xaradak fo savat si-na e nane taxa tiva
straight PERF come POSS-3SG and 3SG CONTIN pregnant

se-na.
PREP-3SG

'Joseph contemplated this, but in a dream, an angel of the Lord appeared to him and said, "Joseph, son of David, do not be afraid to take Mary as your wife, because the Holy Spirit came to her and she is pregnant from Him.'

(1:21) *I taa luk a lak tomexaan e no taa*
3SG.INCOMPL FUT give.birth ART child male and 2SG FUT

xali=e pa Yesus senaso i taa fakaxup a
call=3SG PREP Jesus because 3SG.INCOMPL FUT save ART

mu rabuna si-na xase-na vil-aan-a saat si-ri."
PL people POSS-3SG from-3SG do-NMLZ-3SG bad POSS-3PL

'She will give birth to a son and you will name him Jesus, because he will save his people from their sins."'

(1:22) *A maana mo xapiak aanabe' ri savat xena faxalit*
ART GRTR.PL thing all this 3PL come PURP show

fa-matavas-aan=a ferawai-an aava Piran a kuus
CAUS-clear-NMLZ=3SG speak-NMLZ REL big.man 3SG say

pa-na la ngusu-na mu rabuna i-na kuus fatuxai
PREP-3SG LOC mouth-3SG PL people POSS-3SG say prophesy

si-na.
POSS-3SG

'This all happened in order to show clearly the things that God said through the mouth of his prophets.'

(1:23) *Ri kuus malaan: "Langai, a tefin palau aava pife mati*
3PL say thus hear ART woman of.no.value REL NEG lie

xuvul pa-na saxa mataa lunai, i taa tiva e
with PREP-3SG one man still 3SG.INCOMPL FUT pregnant and

i taa luk a lak tomexaan e ri taa
3SG.INCOMPL FUT give.birth ART child male and 3PL FUT

xali=e pa Imaanuel." (A malasuf i-na isin aanabe'
call=3SG PREP Emmanuel ART meaning POSS-3SG name this

a malaan: Piran taxa waan xuvul pa-taara.)
3SG thus big.man CONTIN be.at with PREP-1INCL.PL

'They said "Listen! The virgin will conceive and bear a son, and they will call him Emmanuel, which means 'God with us'."'

(1:24) *Layaan na Yosep a para ti la matef-an si-na,*
when ART Joseph 3SG wake.up from LOC sleep-NMLZ POSS-3SG

nane usi a fefasai-an aava angelo si-na Memai a
3SG follow ART order-NMLZ REL angel POSS-3SG Lord 3SG

xuus=e pa-na. E nane xel na Maria e lisan=e
tell=3SG PREP-3SG and 3SG call ART Mary and bring=3SG

xe la lifu si-na e i taa tefin si-na,
to LOC house POSS-3SG and 3SG.INCOMPL FUT woman POSS-3SG

'When Joseph awoke from sleep he did what the angel of the Lord told him. And he called Mary and brought her to his house she would be his wife,'

(1:25) *taasaxa nane pife mati xuvul pa-na fefexaxaas a yaan nane*
but 3SG NEG lie with PREP-3SG until ART day 3SG

luk a lak tomexaan aave. E nane xali=e pa
give.birth ART child male that and 3SG call=3SG PREP

Yesus.
Jesus

'but he did not have marital relations with her until she gave birth to a son. And he named him Jesus.'

(2:1) *Na Yesus a luxan pe la bina Betlihem lana bina*
ART Jesus 3SG give.birth-PASS at LOC place Bethlehem in place

lava Judia layaan na Herot a paamuian a mu Israel.
big Judea when ART Herod 3SG leader ART PL Israel

Lami-na luluux-an si-na saxano rabuna pa-na
after-3SG give.birth-NMLZ POSS-3SG some people PREP-3SG

texaas-an ti paa lasuun paaliu ri filimaan xe pe
know-NMLZ from east far INTENS 3PL come to at

Jerusalem
Jerusalem

'After Jesus was born in Bethlehem in Judea, in the time of King Herod, wise men from the East came to Jerusalem'

(2:2) *e ri fi-ai, "A popo aava paamua king si-na mu*
and 3PL ask-INTRANS ART infant REL first king POSS-3SG PL

Juda, fo lux-an faa? Maam xalum a vapara
Jew PERF give.birth.to-PASS where 1EXCL.PL see ART star

aava fakali-maan a savat-an si-na la nobina
REL signal-come ART come-NMLZ POSS-3SG LOC place

si-maam e maam filimaan xena nangus-aan-a."
POSS-1PL.EXCL and 1EXCL.PL come PURP worship-NMLZ-3SG

'saying, "Where is the one who is born king of the Jews? For we saw his star when it rose and have come to worship him."'

(2:3) *Layaan na Herot aava paamua king, a langai pa-na, nane*
when ART Herod REL first king 3SG hear PREP-3SG 3SG

e maana rabuna pe Jerusalem vaxa ri la-lamon
and GRTR.PL people at Jerusalem also 3PL REDUP-think

faa-xaves se-na.
times-many PREP-3SG

'When King Herod heard this, he and the people of Jerusalem were alarmed.'

(2:4) *Nane xel fa-xuvul a mu memai priis e mu rabuna*
3SG call CAUS-with ART PL lord priest and PL people

i-na fepitaa pana vuputkai e fin nari, "A Mataa
POSS-3SG teach PREP-3SG command and ask 3PL ART man

Failai i taa lux-an faa?"
Christ 3SG.INCOMPL FUT give.birth.to-PASS where

'After assembling all the chief priests and experts in the law, he asked them where the Christ was to be born.'

(2:5) *E ri sui=e, "Pe Judia la bina Betlihem, senaso a*
and 3PL reply-3SG at Judea LOC place Bethlehem because ART

mataa i-na kuus fatuxai a kala malaan:
man POSS-3SG say prophecy 3SG write thus

'"In Bethlehem of Judea," they said, "for it is written this way by the prophet:"'

(2:6) *E nano, Betlihem aava waan la nobina si Juda, no bina*
and 2SG Bethlehem REL be.at LOC place POSS Judah 2SG place

modak taasaxa mu rabuna xapiak ri taa pife maluf nano
small but PL people all 3PL FUT NEG forget 2SG

senaso saxa paamua lava aava i taa paamuian a
because one first big REL 3SG.INCOMPL FUT lead ART

mu rabuna si-ak, a mu Israel, i taa
PL people POSS-1SG ART PL Israel 3SG.INCOMPL FUT

lux-an move."
give.birth.to-PASS that

'"And you, Bethlehem, in the land of Judah, are a small place, but all the people will not forget you, for a great leader who will lead my people, the people of Israel, will be born here."'

(2:7) *Lumui, na Herot a xel fun a mu rabuna pa-na*
then ART Herod 3SG call hide ART PL people PREP-3SG

texaas-an xena fin nari pa-na so ta yaan a vapara
know-NMLZ PURP ask 3PL PREP-3SG what any day ART star

aave savat e ri xuus fa-texaas=e.
that come and 3PL tell CAUS-know=3SG

'Then Herod privately summoned the wise men and determined from them when the star had appeared.'

(2:8) *E mui nane feng nari xe pe Betlihem e a xuus nari,*
and then 3SG send 3PL to at Bethlehem and 3SG tell 3PL

"Mi fe seng faagut-an a lak aave e layaan
2PL go.and look.for strong-TRANS ART child that and when

mi fo tingin=e mi maa xuus=au talo nenia
2PL PERF find=3SG 2PL come.and tell=1SG so.that 1SG

sait ne taa fe nangus=e."
also 1SG FUT go.and worship=3SG

'He sent them to Bethlehem and said, "Go and look carefully for the child. When you find him, inform me so that I can go and worship him as well."'

(2:9-10) *E voxo lana falet-an si-ri ri xalum ful-an a*
and so in go-NMLZ POSS-3PL 3PL see again-TRANS ART

vapara naang aava savat pe paa e ri bas paaliu pa-na
star same REL come at east and 3PL full INTENS PREP-3SG

faamamaas-an. A vapara aave a paamuian nari e fe
happy-NMLZ ART star that 3SG lead 3PL and go.and

waan fatak laa'ui xulu-na lifu aava lak taxa waan
be.at straight above ON-3SG house REL child CONTIN be.at

lana.
in

'And so, on their trip, they saw again the same star which appeared in the east and they were full of happiness. The star led them and went until it was directly above the house which the child was in.'

(2:11) *Layaan ri laak la lifu aave ri xalum a lak xuvul*
when 3PL enter LOC house that 3PL see ART child with

pa nina-na, na Maria. E ri bukaak e ri nangus
PREP mother-3SG ART Mary and 3PL kneel and 3PL worship

a lak aave. E mui ri kas a fafanaian si-ri e
ART child that and then 3PL open ART money POSS-3PL and

ri ta-tavai xe si-na lak pa-na 'gol', e vebit
3PL REDUP-give to POSS-3SG child PREP-3SG gold and ashes

pa-na las-an roxo e a vulut pana las-an
PREP-3SG smell-NMLZ good and 3SG sap PREP-3SG smell-NMLZ

roxo aava ri xali=e pa-na ‘mur’.
good REL 3PL call=3SG PREP-3SG myrrh

‘As they came into the house and saw the child with Mary his mother, they bowed down and worshiped him. They opened their treasure boxes and gave him gifts of gold, frankincense, and myrrh.’

(2:12) *E lana mif-an a Piran a xuus fa-texaas nari*
and in dream-NMLZ ART big.man 3SG tell CAUS-know 3PL

o ri muta ulaa xe si Herot. E voxo ri usi
COMP 3PL PROHIB return to POSS Herod and so 3PL follow

a salan patak xe la bina si-ri.
ART path other to LOC place POSS-3PL

‘After being warned in a dream not to return to Herod, they went back by another route to their own country.’

(2:13) *Lami-na falet-an si-ri a saxa angelo si-na Memai a*
after-3SG go-NMLZ POSS-3PL ART one angel POSS-3SG lord 3SG

savat si Yosep lana mif-an e a kuus, “Na Herot
come POSS Joseph in dream-NMLZ and 3SG say ART Herod

i taa feng a rabuna si-na xena
3SG.INCOMPL FUT send ART people POSS-3SG PURP

seng-aan=a lak talo ri taa punux=e. Tamasiak xo,
look.for-NMLZ=ART child so.that 3PL FUT kill=3SG get.up TOPIC

siak a lak xuvul pa nina-na e mutul sinuf xe
take ART child with PREP mother-3SG and 2TRIAL run.away to

pe Isip. Mutul taa waan pave fefexaxaas a yaan ne
PREP Egypt 2TRIAL FUT be.at there until ART day 1SG

xuus namutul pa-na.”
tell 2TRIAL PREP-3SG

‘After they had gone, an angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream and said, “Herod will send his men to look for the child so that they may kill him. Get up, take the child and his mother and flee to Egypt. Stay there until I tell you.”’

(2:14) *Na Yosep a tamasiak e a xel a ro-fenan si-na*
ART Joseph 3SG get.up and 3SG call ART DU-?? POSS-3SG

e rutul ta'ulan a bina pave la xunavung naang xena
and 3TRIAL leave ART place there LOC midnight same PURP

falet xe pe Isip.
go to at Egypt

‘Then Joseph got up, took the child and his mother during the night to go to Egypt.’

(2:15) *Nane waan pave fefexaxaas a yaan i-na maat-an si*
3SG be.at there until ART day POSS-3SG die-NMLZ POSS

Herot. A maana mo aanabe' a savat xena fa-matavas
Herod ART GRTR.PL thing this 3SG come PURP CAUS-clear

a ferawai-an si-na Memai la ngusu-na mataa i-na
ART speak-NMLZ POSS-3SG Lord LOC mouth-3SG man POSS-3SG

kuus fatuxai. A kuus malaan: "Ne fo xel a Lak
say prophecy 3SG say thus 1SG PERF call ART child

Tomexaan si-ak ti pe Isip."
male POSS-1SG from PREP Egypt

'He stayed there until Herod died. These things happened in order to fulfill the word of the Lord from the mouths of the prophets. He said "I have called my Son out of Egypt."'

(2:16) *Layaan na Herot a texaas o mu rabuna pa-na*
when ART Herod 3SG know COMP PL people PREP-3SG

texaas-an ti paa ri fo bit nane, nane marala faagut.
know-NMLZ from east 3PL PERF lie 3SG 3SG angry strong

E nane fasei faagut-an a mu rabuna i-na rawen
and 3SG order strong-TRANS ART PL people POSS-3SG war

si-na o ri taa punuk a mu rafulak tomexaan
POSS-3SG COMP 3PL FUT kill ART PL child.PL male

aava ri toxan a mariaas taragua e lapia e ri
REL 3PL have ART year two and down and 3PL

waan pe Betlihem e la mu bina faasilak. Nane lamon
be.at at Bethlehem and LOC PL place near 3SG think

o i taa vil malaane senaso a rabuna
COMP 3SG.INCOMPL FUT do this.way because ART people

pa-na texaas-an ri fo xuus=e pa-na so ta
PREP-3SG know-NMLZ 3PL PERF tell=3SG PREP-3SG what any

yaan a vapara fo savat.
day ART star PERF come

'When Herod realized that he had been tricked by the wise men, he became enraged. He sent men to kill all the children in Bethlehem and throughout the surrounding region from the age of two and under, according to the time he had learned from the wise men.'

References

Beaumont, Clive. 1979. *The Tigak language of New Ireland*. Pacific Linguistics, Series B, No. 58. Canberra: Australian National University.

Hajek, John, and Mary Stevens. 2004. Tonal activity in Kara, an Austronesian language spoken in New Britain. In S. Cassidy, F. Cox, R. Mannell & S. Palethorpe (eds) *Proceedings of the Tenth Australian International Conference on Speech Science and Technology*, Sydney: ASSTA, 295-300.

Lewis, M. Paul (ed.), 2009. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world*, Sixteenth edition. Dallas, Tex.: SIL International. Online version: http://www.ethnologue.com/.

Nordhoff, Sebastian and Harold Hammarström. 2011. Glottolog/Langdoc: Defining dialects, languages, and language families as collections of resources. In *Proceedings of the First International Workshop on Linked Science 2011*, vol. 783 of CEUR Workshop Proceedings.

Peekel, G. 1915. *Grammatik der Lamekotsprache*. Ms.

Ross, Malcolm. 1982. Aspect-marking in New Ireland: towards a historical reconstruction. In Rainer Carle, M. Heinschke, P.W. Pink, C. Rost and K. Stadtlander, eds, *Gava': Studies in Austronesian languages and cultures dedicated to Hans Kähler*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 173-196.

Schlie, Perry. 1989. Breaking in on the Kara net. In Karl Franklin (ed.), *Studies in componential analysis*, 73-82. *Data Papers on Papua New Guinea Languages* 36. Ukarumpa: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Schlie, Perry and Virginia Schlie. 1988. Disarming a loaded patient. *Language and Linguistics in Melanesia* 19: 17-35.

Schlie, Perry and Gina Schlie. 1993. A Kara phonology. In John M. Clifton (ed.), *Phonologies of Austronesian languages* 2, 99-130. *Data Papers on Papua New Guinea* Languages 40. Ukarumpa: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Schlie, Perry, Virginia Schlie, and J. T. Mokis. 1997. *A turoxoian fa'ui sina piran : Kara-Lemakot New Testament*. South Holland, Ill. : Bible League.

Schlie, Virginia. 1989. Ways and means of communication in Kara. In Karl Franklin (ed.), *Studies in componential analysis*, 39-46. *Data Papers on Papua New Guinea Languages*, 36. Ukarumpa: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Strom, Clay. 1992. *Retuarã syntax*. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Volker, Craig Alan. 1998. *The Nalik language of New Ireland, Papua New Guinea*. New York: Peter Lang.