A Grammar of Tinrin (New Caledonia)

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Declaration

Except where otherwise indicated
this thesis is my own work.

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ABSTRACT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

RESUME*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* I have included this abstract in French because among French speakers there is a considerable amount of interest in this thesis, which was awarded fourth prize in Concours Thèse-Pac 1988.

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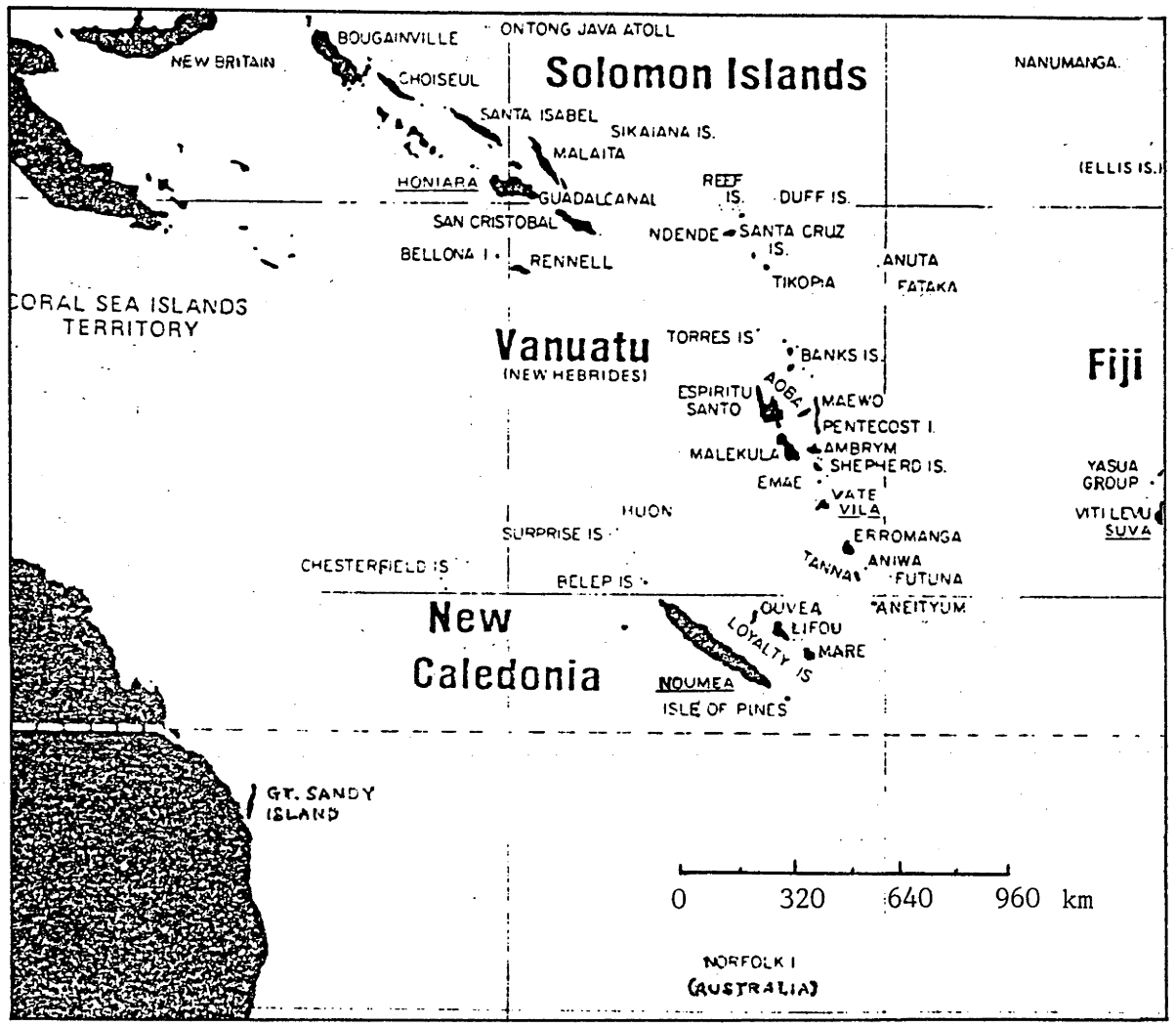
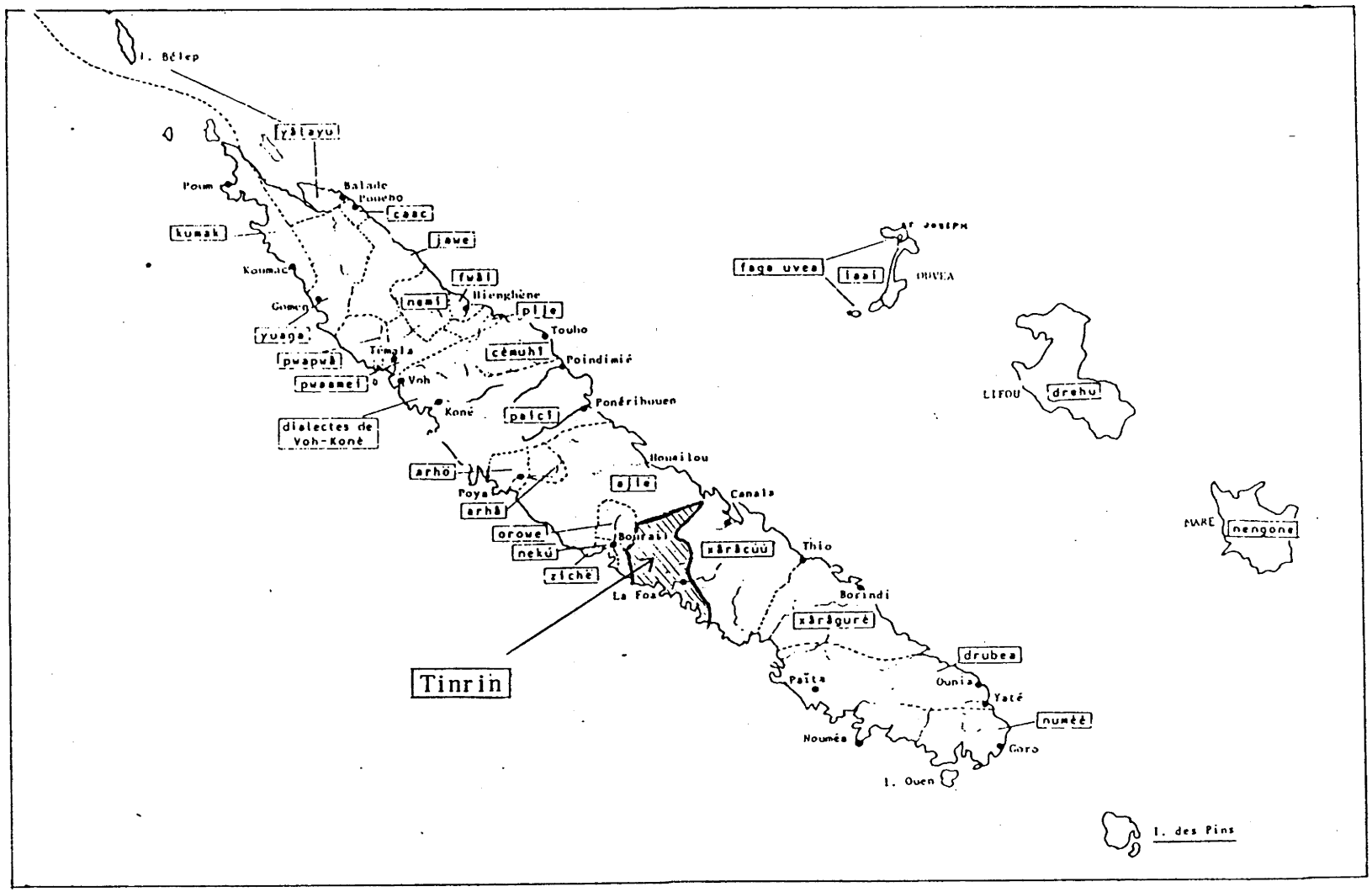
ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

A	agent/actor
ABL	ablative
ABS	abstract
ACT	actual
AD	adverb /adverbialiser
ALL	allative
ANAP	anaphoric
ASS	assertive
AT	attribute marker /attribute
AUG	augmentative
AUX	auxiliary
BEN	benefactive
C	consonant
CAUS	causal
Cl	clausal modifier
CLFR	classifier
COL	collective
COM	comitative
COMP	comparative
COMPL	completive
CMPZ	complementizer
CONJ	conjunction
CONS	consecutive
CONT	continuative
CTRFCT	contrafactual
DAT	dative
DEF	definite
DET	determiner
DEM	demonstrative
DES	desiderative
DIR	directional
DIST	distant deixis
dl	dual
DO	direct object
DUR	durative
ED	edible
EL	elative
EMPH	emphatic
EVENT	eventual
exc	exclusive
EXE	exemplificatory
Fr	French
FUT	future
GEN	generic
H	head
HAB	habitual
I.FUT	immediate future
IMP	imperative
IMPF	imperfect /imperfective
IMPN	impersonal pronoun
inc	inclusive
INCHO	inchoative
INST	instrumental
INTER	interrogative
intr	intransitive
INV	inversive
IO	indirect object
I.PST	immediate past
ITE	iterative
L	location
LINK	link morpheme
M.DIST	mid-distant deixis
Mod	modifier
N	noun, nominal
NEG	negative
NMZ	nominalizer
NP	nominal phrase
NUM	numeral
O	object
OBL	oblique
OBLG	obligation
OBV	obviative
PASS	passive
PERF	perfect
Phr	phrasal modifier
pl	plural
PN	pronoun
POSS	possessive morpheme /possessor
POT	potable
Pred	predicate
PreMod	pre-head verbal modifier
PostMod	post-head verbal /postnominal modifier
PROG	progressive

PROH	prohibitive
PROX	proximate deixis
PST	past
PURP	purposive
Q	question
QF	quantifier
RC	relative clause
REF	referential
R.PST	remote past
S	nominal subject /sentence
s	subject pronoun
sm	subject marker
sg	singular
SU	subject
SUP	superior
T	time
TA	tense-aspect (marker)
tr	transitive
V	verb/vowel
VP	verb phrase
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
*	ungrammatical sentence
[ ]	phonetic transcription
/ /	phonemic transcription
—	morpheme boundary
( )	optional

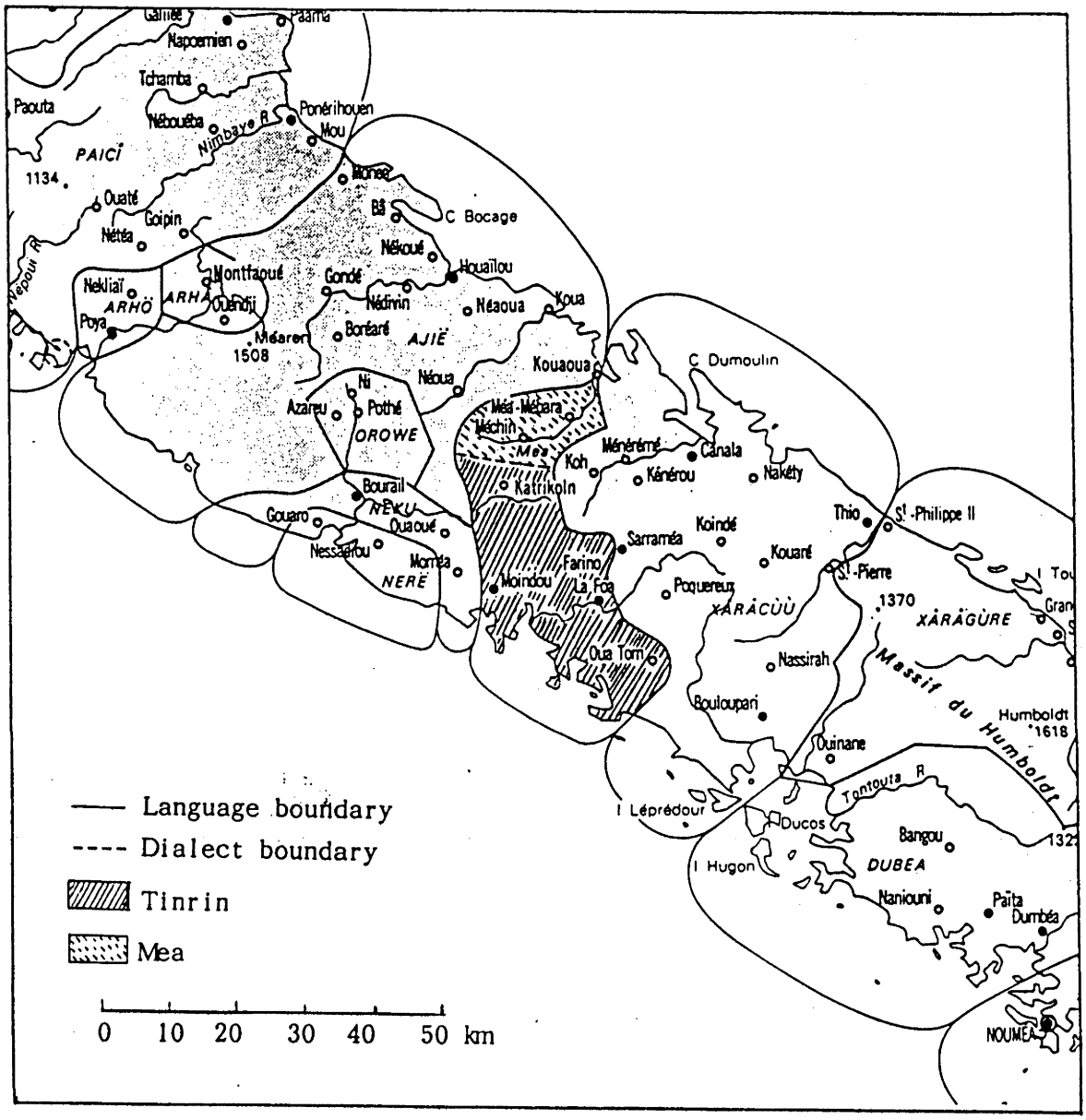


Map 1: Location of New Caledonia in the South-West Pacific



Map 2: The languages of New Caledonia

(reproduced from: Haudricourt, A.G., J.C.Rivierre, F.Rivierre, C.Moyse-Faurie and J.de la Fontinelle 1979)



Map 3: Southern New Caledonia; area where Tinrin is spoken (reproduced from : Wurm, S.A. and S.Hattori 1981)

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 General Background of the Language

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

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

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

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

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

The New Caledonian languages are notable for their aberrant nature (Grace 1973:49; Pawley 1972:4) within the Austronesian language family. The data on New Caledonian languages is still too poor to allow one to make any positive statement on subgrouping. In Lynch and Tryon (1985:41) the southern Vanuatu languages are included in a subgroup called Central-Eastern Oceanic (an expansion of the original Eastern Oceanic subgroup), and the languages in New Caledonia (including the Loyalty Islands) are assumed to be the closest relatives of them.

Grace (1973), in his attempt to compare lexicons between Xârâcùù and a reconstructed proto-language (proto-Oceanic), together with Tinrin of Grand Couli, suggested that a lot of disyllabic words in the proto-language were reduced to monosyllabic words in these languages, which resulted in a great loss of information about proto forms, as well as created a great number of homonyms (Grace 1973).[1]

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

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

Although some languages have survived remarkably in spite of the small number of speakers[2], there is a general trend for younger Kanak people to speak more in French these days, as a result of the mixing with French settlers and with speakers of other languages, and thorough French education. Children in general have less opportunity to learn their parents' language, as French is often spoken even within families. Some languages that have already disappeared (e.g. Waamwang de Voh), or have only a few remaining speakers who would more often speak in another neighboring language (e.g. Arhö; Rivierre 1981).

1.2. **Tinrin and its Dialectal Variation**

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

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

[2] Leenhardt recorded 18 speakers of Nerë (Zichë, Central New Caledonia) in 1939 and this language is still spoken at present (J-C Rivierre 1981).

It is difficult to estimate the number of Tinrin speakers, as its speakers often live in a community where other languages (French or Xârâcùù) are also spoken. Moreover, Tinrin appears to be spoken less than ever before; there may be around 500 people who know the language , but not all are necessarily fluent speakers. Probably there would be around 400 full Tinrin speakers.

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

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

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

In the revolt of 1878 many Tinrin people were either killed or deported to Ile des Pins[3]: this is one reason why there are not many Tinrin speakers left. A dialectal form of Tinrin long survived on Ile des Pins; however, Thomas Hambwewi, whom I met in Ile des Pins was the last speaker of Tinrin there in 1987 (he has since died).

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

1.2.1. Grand Couli

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

[3] 200 whites died in the fighting, with perhaps 1200 Melanesians dead. Another 1000 or so were deported to Tahiti, Ile des Pins and other offshore islands (*The Daily Mirror*, June 2, 1988).

Couli, and not in Petit Couli, people in Petit Couli went to mass in the church in Grand Couli during the Christmas season; and there was a (very small) shop only in Grand Couli. People from both reserves visited each other quite casually from time to time.

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

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

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

Grace distinguished 10 oral and 8 nasal vowels, whereas I distinguish 8 oral (one of which is marginal) and 6 nasal vowels. However, Grace expresses his uncertainty about vowels / i / and /ʌ/, suggesting the possibility that those vowels have gone to /ə/. (Grace's /ə/ roughly corresponds to my / ù / [ɯ].) These differences may be due to the lapse of time[4], as the language is changing quite rapidly. It is very likely that two sounds, which were distinct before, are now pronounced in the same way or in free variation. (Vowels in Tinrin which I distinguish in the next chapter have a wide range of phonetic realisation).

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

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

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

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[4] Although the dictionary was published only twelve years ago, my informant indicated many words in it to be either obsolete or completely unknown, and I do not think this is entirely due to the dialectal difference.

	Lafoa	Grand Couli	
fw - f	tafwirri	tafirri	"to obey"
	fwirri	firri	"to hear"
	fwidri	fidri	"be tight, having no leaks"
	fwîî	fîî	"its/his excrement"
	fwa	fa	"to rain, sprout"
f - fw	nrîfa	nrîfwa	"now, today, later"
f - p	foodrêrrê	poodrêê	"ear"
v - m	hâvânrê	hâmânrê	"be new"
pw -p	pwirri	pirrirri	"fast"
	pwò	pò	"to land, shine upon"
k - kw/g	fikoa	fikwa /figi	"to go away"
k - gh	kevi	ghevi	"1plexc"
	komu	ghomu	"1dlexc"
	kou	ghou	"2dl"
gh - k	ghe	ke(i)	"from"
Ø - k	anrù	kanrù (= Xârâcùù)	"to carry in a sling; a hook for picking fruit"
gh - Ø	agho	ao	"shoulder harness"
g - gh	mwâge	mwâghe	"to play"
	tiga	dighe	"fish, *bec de cane*"
h/hw - gh	tòhòe/tòhwee	tòghòè	"tree, *gommier*"
g - Ø	mwâgi	mwâî	"again, to redo"
h - Ø	nrîharre	nrîarre	"season"
	wihò	wiò	"the sling"
w - Ø	fowoo	fòoo	"to separate, share with"
gw - g	pòfagwâ	pòfagò	"to loosen by twisting"
t - d	torro	dorra	"giant clam"
	tiga	dighe	"fish, *bec de cane*"
d - dh	dada	dhadha	"very (white)"
dr - r	hârrîdro	hârrîro	"earthworm"
i - e	doirri	doerri	"bird, rail"
	fi	fe	"to go"
	vai	vae	"after"
i - ò	tidra	tòdra	"shell bracelet"
u - o	nrîù	nrîo	"forest"
	jarru	jarro	"to tell riddles"
ua - oo	harruadra	harroodra	"ceremonial garden for yams"

uâ - ô	nrâjuâ	nrâjô	"to hide"
ü - ee	hü	ee	"to creep"
o - u	moofadrò	muufadrò	"gift, souvenir"
o - ù	nrôdròdhorri	nrôdròdhùrri	"to recall"
o - ü	hojo	hüjü	"cricket"
o - a	torro	dorra	"giant clam"
o - ò	drorru	dròrru	"tree, *Erythrina peuplier*"
	urruo	urruò	"butterfly"
ò - a	wò	wa	"fruit, drop (of liquid)"
	fònrî	fanrî	"river"
	arròò	arrawa	"water"
	fwòtra	fwatra	"year"
	pòpònrò(w)ò	papanrewò	"be surprised"
	pwògarra	pwagarra	"European, white person"
ô -ê	wêjô	wêjê	"nose"
ô - a	ôrrômee	arramee	"eye"
e - a	merrò	marròò	"parrot fish"
	pwârewe	pwârawe	"a series of waves"
	mwâêbee	mwâibea	"a rectangular house"
	nremû	nramû	"belt"
e - ò	etrêrrê	òtrêrrê	"to bury, plant with hands"
e - ê	wâetü	wâêtü	"to dam up water"
ê - â	drêêwê	drââwâ	"sand"
	dinrêêrrê	dinrâârrê	"to lick"
	hêrrêjùù	hârrâjùù	"Canala"
êâ - ê	hwêâ	hwê	"to appear"
ê - ô	hêrrê	hô	"to choose"
a - ù	wadrò	wùdrò	"be small"
a - e	dadôrrô	dedôrrô	"to hurt the foot by swinging it against a pointed object"
	varahae	verahae	"how"
a - è	madre	mèdrè	"citrus (general)"
	kasuadra	kasuèdra	"the mud dauber wasp
â - òò	drânrù	dròònrù	"wasp"
â - ô	hâvenîâ	hôvenîâ	"all together"
	warrâbù	wôrròbù	"maternal uncle"
âû - òò	nrâûra	nròòra	"except"

In the following are listed different lexical items used in the two variants.

	Lafoa	Grand Couli	
nominals	aunê	avinê	"mother"
	bêtrùjù	wòwiraa	"seashore"
	drôdrêêwê	wòdrêêwê	"beach"
	fadi	fanî	"a stick to which food is attached for grilling"
	fòarròò	hwa	"spring"
	hêêra	hêrêhara/hââra	"food"
	hêrrêkari	hêrrêwê	"meat"
	hùarri	pôôwe (= Xarâcùù)	"a native bird, *poule sultane*"
	îgâ (îpee is used with bad connotation)	îpee	"dream"
	kò	trevò	"speech, word"
	mea	hôro	"a kind of tree"
	mêdrôrrô	pwê	"turtle"
	nrêdrêrrê	êrêdrêrrê	"yellow"
	nrîhêê	nrîhêrê	"belongings"
	nrîmwâmwâ	nrîmwâ	"today, now"
	nrunru	acaa	"grandfather, elder people"
	ponrê	pwèmwaa	"dugong"
	pwe	guru	"the scrotum"
	ri	ti	"1plinc"
	rò	nrô	"1sg object form"
	tiri	mwîhâ	"mother, vocative"
	trôrrôdri	kûrrudri	"bee"
	tòrrò	pugôrrô	"black"
	truu	hudru	"conch shell"
	vae	tawauru (tapwaaru=Xârâcùù)	"oar, paddle"
	warrabù	kanrea (=Xârâcùù)	"maternal uncle"
verbs	danra	fare	"to exchange goods"
	ferri	sùverre	"to lean against something"
	fwi	gôrrô	"to make, do"
	haa	ôê	"to fish"
	idri	îvò	"be born"
	nrorri	habo	"to give"
	saghe	waghe	"to throw stones at"
	trarrî	hwee	"to lack, not exist"
	tôpwosevirro	tôpwasirro	"to stir"
	tôrrôpee	erripee	"to illuminate
	wiria	pwâria	"to split something with a blunt instrument"
adverb	hûdrô	mèèdrôrrô	"fast"

1.2.2. Ile des Pins

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

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

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

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

In the following are some notes on dialectal differences observed.

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

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

<pronunciation>

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

	Lafoa	Ile des Pins	
g - Ø	mwâgi	mwâî	"again"
gh - k	ghe	ke	"from"
f - fw	nrîfa	nrîfwa	"now"
Ø - h	mea	meeha	"Mea"
â - Ø	ânrâha	nrâha	"here"

<lexical items>

Lafoa	Ile des Pins	
drae mwâ	nrîmwâ	"that's right"
gèè/nrôôtù	nrôôtù	"grandmother"
hawi	suu	"to talk"
	(also used in Grand Couli)	
hiretù	hôharru	"right (hand)"
hôvetü	hôverrua	"to drop down, lose"
	(obsolete in Lafoa)	
hwai	hi	"perhaps"
	(hi ae fwòtra "perhaps 4 years")	
nrôô-nrî	nrôô-nrî/ nrôô drae "a long time"	
nròrrò	sòrrò	"only"
	(used also in Lafoa rarely)	
nrunru	nrôô-nrî/nrôô drae "grandfather"	
saau	saa moo u	"once"
tròa	hwêâ	"to arrive"
	(means "to appear" in Lafoa)	
?	si	"very"
	(obsolete in Lafoa)	

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

For grandmother, *nrôôtù* is still used, but rarely, in Lafoa. Again, the term *gèè* (which may be the borrowing from Xârâcùù *gèè* , vocative form for "grandmother") is generally used in Lafoa.

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

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

The preposition *ghai* is often used in Ile des Pins to mark "comitative". In the following sentences, it occurs in the position where in Lafoa a comitative pronoun, (*kevi* in these cases) would be used instead.

(1) kevi re ha nrî guha kudei
1plexc HAB speak with language Ile des Pins

ghai rri
with 3pl
"We always speak in the language of Ile des Pins with them."

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

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

(3) rria hava hajù vai mêrrê vîê ghe
3pl DEF I.PST marry after pl women from

ânrâha
here
"They have married women from here.

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

(4a) nrâ trarrî saa trarrî mòrro
3sg lack one lack alive
"There is no one alive." (lit. ?It lacks one, lacks alive.)"

(4b) nrâ trarrî saa mwâ nrâ mòrrò
3sg lack one that 3sg alive
"There is no one alive." (lit. It lacks one who is alive.)
This can be also, *nrâ trarrî a mòrrò* (3sg,lack,AT,alive)

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

(5a) nrâ hêrrê a taa gi rò
3sg substance AT bad with 1sg
"It is bad to me." (lit. ?It is something bad to me.)

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

(6a) nrâ truu ûû-nrî ghe ânrâmwâ
3sg stay origin-3sg from there
"He is from there." (lit. ?He stays at its origin from there.)

(6b) nrâ treanrü ghe ânrâmwâ
3sg person from there
"He is (the person) from there."

In the following sentence (7a) locative preposition *ru* and complementizer *òò* is used instead of purposive preposition *nrô* and complementizer *bee* in (7b).

(7a)

nrâ	mùrrù	nrâ	wa	erre	ha	ru	òò
3sg	small	sm	DET	place	PROX	L	CMPZ

truu	nrâ	ri	ru	nrî
stay	POSS	1plinc	L	3sg

"This place is small for us living in it." (lit. This place is small at the place of our staying in it.)

(7b)

nrâ	mùrrù	nrâ	wa	erre	ha	nrô	bee
3sg	small	sm	DET	place	PROX	for	CMPZ

truu	nrâ	ri	ru	nrî
stay	POSS	1plinc	L	3sg

"This place is small for our living in it."

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

(8a)

mêrrê	vîê	bêêrrî	nrâ	see	mwaa	drô	nrô
pl	women	old	3sg	NEG	long	on	for

bee	vajù	nrâ	rri
CMPZ	die	POSS	3pl

"Old women, it is not long since they died."(lit. Old women, it is not long on their dying.")

(8b)

mêrrê	vîê	bêêrrî	nrâ	see	mwaa	ghegi
pl	women	old	3sg	NEG	long	since

bee	vajù	nrâ	rri
CMPZ	die	POSS	3pl

"Old women, it is not long since they died."(lit. Old women, it is not long since their dying.)

1.3. **Field Methods**

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

Upon my first arrival in New Caledonia, I spent approximately a month in Noumea in order to get some information on the Lafoa area and to find a way in which to start my research on the Tinrin language. I met several people who gave me useful advice and encouragement for the project[5], but there were also people who warned me that the political situation was getting very delicate and it was not a good idea for 'a tiny woman' like myself to live in a reserve with Kanak people.

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

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

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[5] Mr Jean Marie Tjibaou, then the vice president of the Territorial Congress, was one of them. He was a great Kanak leader of the independence movement, and was assassinated in May, 1989.

For the first few weeks, I tried to collect basic vocabulary and expressions from anybody available in Petit Couli or in Grand Couli, the adjacent reserve. I soon realised that people say different things, with quite different pronunciations (to my ear); the variation between individuals and between two reserves seemed quite large. I thought I should find an individual informant to avoid confusion, as the dialectal survey could be done only after the language had been thoroughly analysed.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Unlike the first time when I visited, I had already a basic knowledge of the language with lots of hypotheses to verify, so that the cooperative work advanced very well, although I had to revise my vowel chart several times as my informant changed his mind on vowels at different meetings. I noticed that Kanak people often said 'yes' when

asked something such as "are these two words pronounced differently?", even when they were homophones. What is worse, when I tested them, they would say, "that is the word A, another is B", as if they were minimal pairs. Their reason for taking this kind of attitude seems to be that they have the general habit of 'not insisting' and accepting what other people say. They generally also do not reflect about language, or any other issue which is not useful in their lives. Although Eïbo was willing to help me, he never understood why I had to worry about such a thing as whether [õ] and [ɔ̃] contrast or not. After I noticed this, I became more careful, and checked the same thing again (a couple of weeks or a month later) in order to find out whether there was consistency in what the informant said.

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

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

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

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

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

Thomas, who was a blind old man of about 70, let me record his narration about himself, his parents and the things he heard when he was a child. His Tinrin was amazingly fluent. Eïbo helped me to compare his language with that of Tinrin in Lafoa area (cf. 1.2.2).

My informant fell seriously ill after our return from Ile des Pins, and was hospitalised in Noumea. However, he wanted to continue our work on the language. I moved to Noumea, and tried to accompany him in the hospital as much as I could. When he was feeling better, we chatted in the language, and discussed some unclear points on the language.

I had to return to Australia when he was still in hospital. Now he lives with his son's family, still fighting against his sickness. He is the person who was most looking forward to hearing that our work was finally accomplished in this thesis[6].

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

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

6 Eïbo died in January 1990 after the main body of the thesis had been written.

Chapter 2

PHONOLOGY

2.1 Vowels

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

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

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

Table 2.1

Vowel Phonemes

	oral				nasal		
	front	central	back		front	central	back
high	i	ɯ [ɯ-ɨ]	u	high	ĩ	ɯ̃ [ɯ̃-ɨ̃]	ũ
mid	e		o	low	ɛ̃	ã	ɔ̃ [õ-ɔ̃-ə̃]
low	ɛ	a	ɔ				

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

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

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

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

ɛɛ/ee /gɛɛ/ "grandmother" /gee/ "to lie"

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

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

/ɯ/ spans [ɯ], high and fairly back and [ɨ] more central, with no lip rounding.

/u/ is realised as a high back vowel, well rounded.

/o/ is realised as cardinal [o], rounded, and /ɔ/ as [ɔ] slightly rounded. In some words /o/ and /ɔ/ are interchangeable word finally[7] .

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

i/e	/mʷagi/	"again"	/mʷage/ "to play"
i/ɯ	/wiri/	"2pl"	/wirɯ/ "to cut"
e/o	/ke/	"2sg"	/ko/ "to vomit"
ɯ/u	/ɯ/	"tree"	/u/ "yam"
u/o	/ɽ u/	"clam"	/ɽ o/ "be real, native"
o/ɔ	/ko/	"to vomit"	/kɔ/ "speach, message"
a/ɔ	/a/	"to laugh"	/ɔ/ "pot"

The qualities of nasal vowels /ĩ, ɛ̃, ɯ̃, ũ/ correspond to those oral vowels /i, ɛ, ɯ, u/.

/ã/ has a retracted variety after labio-velarised consonants, e.g. /mã/ [mã] "to urinate"; /mʷã/ [mʷa̠] "hut".

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

/ɛ̃/ and /ã/ are interchangeable in many words such as /hãmʷɛ̃ĩ/ ~ /hãmʷãĩ/ "to hold"; /mʷiɛ̃/ ~ /mʷiã/ "woman". One reason may be that their vowel qualities are quite close to each other. It may also come from the confusion which is occurring with the short vowel /ɛ/, the pronunciation of [ɛ] approaching the phoneme /a/ as explained earlier. /ã/ also varies with /ɔ̃/ in some words such as /tãbãɽã/ ~ /tõbãɽã/ "to tell the story"; /ɽ uuɳãɖɔ/ ~ /ɽ uuɳõɖɔ/ "to think"; /hapã/ ~ /hapɔ̃/ "to learn".

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

ĩ/ i	/ɳ ĩ/ "3sg"	/ɳ i/ "to pull out"
ĩ/ɛ̃	/ĩ/ "body"	/ɛ̃/"to burn"
ĩ/ɯ̃	/mĩ/ "to fall"	/mɯ̃/ "be cold"
ɛ̃/e	/bɛ̃/ "hand"	/be/ "be dead"

[7] Grace distinguished in his Grand Couli dictionary /hubo/ "short" and /hubɔ/ "after". However, my informant does not distinguish them. Whether this distinction existed before and has now disappeared or whether this is simply dialectal variation is unknown.

ũ /u /tũ/ "to fall (fruit)" /tu/ "to write"
ũ /ʉ̃ /hũ/ "to dig with a pick" /hʉ̃/ "to creep (of vine)"
ũ /ɔ̃ /ɳ̣ũ/ "fish" /ɳ̣ɔ̃/ "be deep (of water)"
ʉ̃ /ɯ̃ /mʉ̃/ "be cold" /mɯ̃/ *"gaiac, Lignum vitea"*
ã /a /pwãri/ "a lot" /pwari/ "stomach"
ã /ɔ̃ /gã/ "colour" /gɔ̃/ "to crawl on the stomach"
ɔ̃ /o /hɔ̃/ "to sing" /ho/ "to eat (meat)"

Each of the oral and nasal vowels has a long counterpart which shares the same articulatory features as the short vowels and differs only in duration. The contrast between short and long vowels is illustrated by the following minimal pairs:

i/ii /mi/ "hiccup" /mii/ "watermelon"
e/ee /pe/ "river fish" /pee/ "to see"
ɯ/ɯɯ /ʂɯ/ "be clear" /ʂɯɯ/ "totem"
u/uu /tu/ "to write" /tuu/"to bathe"
o/oo /t̪ o/ "be true, native" /t̪ oo/ "the earth, soil"
ɔ/ɔɔ /t̪ ɔ/ "to matter" /t̪ ɔɔ/ "back,behind"
a/aa /ha/ "to speak" /haa/ "to fish"
ĩ / ii̇̃ /ĩ / "body" /ĩ ĩ / to fly, dance"
ɛ̃ /ɛɛ̃ /ɳ̣ɛ̃/ "to taste" /ɳ̣ɛɛ̃/ "be proud, arrogant"
ʉ̃/ʉ̃ʉ̃ /ɖ̣ʉ̃/ "hawk" /ɖ̣ʉ̃ʉ̃/ "liver"
ũ/ũũ /ɳ̣ũ/ "fish, to release" /ɳ̣ũũ/ "field"
ɔ̃/ɔ̃ɔ̃ /nɔ̃/ "bone" /nɔ̃ɔ̃/ "be difficult"
a/ãã /wã/ "hair,boat" /wãã/ "to take a walk, root"

2.2 Consonants

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

Table 2.2

Consonant Phonemes

	Labial	Labial velarised	Dental	Apico-alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Velar labialized
Stop vl.	p	p^w	t [t̪]		ʈ	c	k	k^w
pre-nasalized	b [^{m}b]	b^w[^{m}b^w]	d[^{n}d̪]		ɖ[^{ɳ}ɖ]		g [^{ŋ}g]	g^w [^{ŋ}g^w]
Continuant vl.	f	f^w			ʂ[ʂ-ʃ]		h [h- x- ɸ- ç]	h^w [ʍ- $ɸ^w$]
vd.	v	w	ð	r [r- ɹ]	ɽ	j	ɣ	
Nasal	m	m^w	n [n̪]		ɳ	ɲ		

2.2.1 Stops

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

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

e.g . /iace/ "a demon" /peci/ "paper" (< ? page: English)
/wamĩca/ "coconut without water" (< ?wamẽca: Xãrãcùù)

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

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

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

p / b	/puu/ "to smell"	/buu/ "be soft"
p^W/b^W	/p^Wẽ/ "turtle"	/b^Wẽ/ "many"
t / d	/taa/ "be bad"	/daa/ "reef"
ţ / ḍ	/ţ i/ "sugarcane"	/ḍi/ "leaf, be humid"
k / g	/kã/ "papaya"	/gã/ "colour"
k^W/g^W	/k^Wã/ "contest"	/gwã/ "occupation"

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

p /p^W	/pɔ/ "to move"	/p^Wɔ/ "packet"
b /b^W	/bɛ̃/ "arm"	/b^Wɛ̃/ "many"

Velars also distinguish between labialized and non labialized sounds. Labialized velars /k^{w}, g^{w}/ are distinguished from non-labialized /k, g/ by the simultaneous rounding of the lips (secondary articulation). The contrast between non labialized and labialized velars is neutralised before vowels that are back or high central /u, ũ,ɯ ɯ̃, o, ɔ, ɔ̃ / (cf.table 2.1), in favour of non labialized velars (e.g. /kũ/ "smoke", /kɔ/ "message", /godɔwɔ/ "clumsy", /gũ/ "to move"). Labialized velars occur very rarely, and in most cases they occur in word initial position. When they occur word-medially, they follow a morpheme boundary. It is unclear whether these two phonemes are borrowings from the neighbouring languages or not.

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

k/k^{w}	/kã/ "papaya"	/k^{w}ã/ "contest"
g/g^{w}	/gã/ "colour"	/g^{w}ã/ "occupation"
	/gee/ "to lie"	/gwea/ "taboo"

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

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

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

t/ʈ	/ti/ "be big"	/ʈi/ "sugarcane"
d/ɖ	/fade/ "to hang something"	/faɖe/ "with, a piece"

2.2.2 Continuants

/f, v/[8] are realized as a voiceless and a voiced labio-dental fricative. They are distinguished from the labial stops, and from the velarized /f^{w}/ as the following minimal pairs illustrate:

f/v	/fɯ/ "excrement"	/vɯ/ "*bourao (Hibiscus tiliaceus)*"
f/p	/fɔ/ "kind, type"	/pɔ/ "to move"
v/b	/va/ "IMPN, there"	/ba/ "to cultivate"
f/f^{w}	/fi/ "to go"	/f^{w}i/ "to do, make"

The contrast between /f/ and /f^{w}/ is neutralised before high and non-front vowels /u, ũ, ɯ, ɯ̃/ in favour of /f/ (e.g. /fɯ/ "excrement"); and velarization on /f^{w}/ is very prominent when it occurs before front vowels. /f^{w}/ occurs only morpheme-initially.

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[8] C.Hagège and A.Haudricourt (1978:177-178) suggest that unvoiced spirants in some southern New Caledonian languages have derived from the series of aspirated stops in the northern languages of New Caledonia.

There is no velarized /v^{w}/, possibly because /v/ and /w/ are too proximate and are assimilated into /w/.

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

w/v /waɽa/ "yet, still" /vaɽa/ "to dodge"
w/u /wa/ "to fall, go down" /ua/ "to bear (of fruit tree)"

/ð/ is realised as a voiced interdental fricative. This phoneme is rather restricted in occurrence in the lexicon, but as it occurs in morphemes of high frequency such as grammatical morphemes, it is common in speech. In the word /oðo/ "to drink", /ð/ is interchangeable with /t/, the latter being heard more often among the younger generation. In fact, /ð/ occurs mostly intervocalically (with a few exceptions, such as /ðaða/ "very"), which may lead to the suspicion that it is the intervocalic lenited allomorph of /t/. However, I consider this to be an independent phoneme, as /ð/ is not interchangeable with /t/ or /d/ in words other than /oðo/ : e.g. /eðo/ "even", /eði/ "cousin", /midɯɯ/ "wild fig", /atado/ "pigeon", /meetõ/ "breast".

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

ð/d /eði/ "cousin" /di/ "fishing line"
/ðoɽi/ "to recall" /doiɽi/ "kind of bird, rail"
ð/t /eði/ "cousin" /t i / "earth oven"
/ðɯɽɯ/ "COMPL" /tɯɯɽɯ/ "to go about throwing sticks"

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

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

j/i /ji-(ria)/ "to divide (land)" /ii/ "long time"

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

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

/ɽ/ is realised as a sublamino-prepalatal flap. The tip of the tongue is lifted up quite far back, and it shoots forward and downward, the underside of the tongue-rim momentarily striking the prepalatal region on the way and ending by flopping down on the the floor of

the mouth (Catford 1977: 129). When it occurs word initially, a slight onglide vowel is sometimes heard.

e.g. /ɽi/ [ⁱɽi] "3pl"
/ɽoo/ [ᵒɽoo] "to dig with the hand"

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

r/ɽ /ri/ "1pl inc" /ɽi /"3pl"
/ere/ "food" /eɽe/ "habitation"
ɖ/ɽ /fʷiɖi/ "be tight" /fʷiɽi/ "to hear"

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

h/ɣ /aho/ "a big cicada" /aɣo/ "shoulder bag"

In some words (/kou / "2dl"; /komu/ "1dlexc" etc.) the pronunciation of /ɣ/ seems to have been replaced by /k/. Due to the lack of evidence, it is difficult to judge whether this is due to the influence of dialectal variation or whether the phoneme /ɣ / is losing its status in word-initial positions, especially among young people who were brought up in a French speaking environment. In the language of Ajiɛ̈ (adjacent to Tinrin), /k/ and /ɣ / alternate in some words (especially grammatical words), and the pronunciation of /k/ is attested to be more modern (de la Fontinelle 1975: 57). The distinction between /k/ and /ɣ/ is illustrated by the following minimal pairs:

k/ɣ /ke/ "2sg" /ɣe/ "from"

/hʷ/ is realized as a voiceless labialized velar [ʍ] or velarized bilabial fricative [ɸʷ]. The contrast between /h/ and its labialized counterpart /hʷ/ is neutralized before high and non-front vowels /u, ũ, ɯ, ɯ̃/ in favour of /h/ (e.g. /hu/ "weapon", /hɯwɯ/ "child"). The distinction between these continuants is further illustrated by the following minimal pairs:

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

2.2.3. Nasals

Labials /m, mʷ/ are realized with a marked closure of the lips such that one sometimes hears [mm] or [mmʷ]. The contrast between non-velarised and velarised labials is neutralised before high and non-front vowels /u, ũ, ɯ, ɯ̃ /, in favour of non velarized

labial (e.g. /muɽu/ "maggot"; /mʉ̃/ "be cold"). There are people who pronounce m^W/m as [m^W] in the context before /ʉ/ ([amwʉɽʉ] "small"), which - /m^W/ being the archiphoneme before the high central vowel - may be the remnant of ancient opposition of /m/ and /m^W/ before /ʉ/, or may be a pronunciation influenced by other dialects. /m^W/ is realised with greater velarization before front vowels. The contrast between them is illustrated in the following minimal pairs:

m/m^W /mã / "to urinate" /m^Wã / "house"

They are distinguished from prenasalized stops as in:

m/b /mõ / "fontanelle" /bõ / "to pull out"

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

n/d /ni/ "vine" /di/ "fishing line"
ɳ/ɖ /ɳõ/ "be deep (of water)" /ɖõ/ "on, the surface"
n/ɳ /ne/ "what" /ɳe/ "fire, firewood"
ɳ/ɽ /ɳi/ "to pull out" /ɽi/ "3pl"

/ɲ/, palatal nasal, occurs rarely and is usually found in the initial position. When it occurs after a nasal vowel, it can be reduced to /j/: /ɳãɲuã / > /ɳãjuã/ "to hide". The contrast between /ɲ/ and dental /n/ is neutralised before front and non-low vowels /i, ĩ, e / in favour of /n/ (e.g. /ne/ "what"; /ni/ "bow (weapon)".[9]

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

ɲ/n /ɲõ/ "to gather (sugarcane)" /nõ/ "bone, juice"

It is distinguished from retroflex as in:

ɲ/ɽ /ɲõɽõ/ "to cook" /ɳõɽõ/ "five"

2.3. **Phonotactics**

2.3.1 Syllable and Word Structure

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

(C) V

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

V /a/ "to laugh"
CV /ha/"to speak"

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[9] In his dictionary, Grace lists /ɲãwã/ "kind of fish, *mackerel*" and /ɲɛɛ/ "kind of tree, *bois de pétrole*" in which /ɲ/ occurs before low central and low front vowels.

Many words are monosyllabic, as in the above examples, but disyllabic words are also common. There are some words of more than two syllables, but they often seem to represent sequences of morphemes. The following examples show di-, tri-, and tetrasyllabic words:

CVCV	/meɣi/ "be hot"
CVCVCV	/mʷɛ̃ɽɛ̃ɖɔ̃/ "to forget"
CVCVCVCV	/ʂɯvehaɽu/ "to like"

2.3.2 Distribution of Phonemes

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

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

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

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

/meɽijo/ ~ /meɽejo/	"sleep"
/hʷai/ ~ /hʷae/	"perhaps"
/hai/ ~ /hae/	"how"
ɖai/ ~ /ɖae/	"thing"
/vai/ ~ /vae/	"oar"
/ɳ̩ooɽi/ ~ /ɳ̩ooɽe/	"place"

Any consonant can occur word-initially; but word-medially, /hʷ/ is very rare, and /gʷ, pʷ, fʷ/ occur only after a morpheme boundary.

/h, n, ʂ/ are the most common consonants, followed by /ɽ , m, t, f/. On the other hand, /c, ɲ, kʷ, gʷ/ occur very rarely. /ɲ, kʷ, gʷ/ occur word-initially in most cases, whereas /c/ mostly occurs word-medially.

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

The contrast between all the labio- velarized /pʷ, bʷ, fʷ, mʷ, kʷ, gʷ, hʷ/ and the non-labio-velarized consonants /p, b, f, m, k, g, h / is neutralised before certain vowels in favour of non-labio-velarized consonants, as described in the previous section.

In considering the restricted occurrence of the labio-velarized consonants, we can recognize three levels of occurrence: a) very restricted, b) restricted and c) least restricted.

a) /gʷ, kʷ/

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

/gʷea/ "taboo" /pɔfagʷã/ "loosen by twisting"
/gʷã/ "second shoot from a bulb"
/kʷã/ "contest" /tɯ̃kʷe/ "be wrinkled"
/kʷiiraa/ "sea fish, *carangue*"

b) /mʷ, bʷ, fʷ, hʷ/

These consonants can occur before any vowel except those that are high and non-front (/u, ũ, ɯ ɯ̃/). However, some people pronounce /amʷɯɾɯ/ for "be small", while others pronounce /amɯɾɯ/ (cf. 2.2.3). More commonly, /mʷ/ and /m/ are neutralised before /ɯ/ and the archiphoneme is realised as /m/ (as in /amɯɾɯ/).

/mʷĩẽ/ "woman" /kumʷaɾa/ "sweet potato"
/mʷẽɾẽɖɔ/ "to forget" /mʷɔiɾi/ "be grey"
/bʷa/ "be bald" /bʷẽ/ "many"
/bʷeu/ "be clean, cleared" /bʷɔ/ "crab"
/fʷa/ "sprout" /fʷɔt a/ "year"
/fʷiɾi/ "to listen" /fʷĩi/ "excrement"
/hʷari/ "to sell" /hʷẽã/ "to appear"
/hʷii/ "to chew sugarcane" /hʷɔɾɔ/ "to flee"

c) /pʷ, w/

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

/pʷɯ/ "night" /pʷidɯ/ "be wet"
/pʷãri/ "much" /pʷẽ/ "turtle"
/pʷɔpʷeɔrɔ/ "penis sheath" /wii/ "cord"
/nawa/ "coconut" /wowe/ "elephant ear taro"
/wɯ/ "belly, high ground" /wɔɾɔ/ "to dip water"

Palatal stop /c/ occurs only before front and low central vowels as discussed in the previous section.

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

/ɲõɾõ/ "to cook" /ɲõbɔ/ "to open"
/ɲɯɯworoa/ "to lift in the arms" /miɲoke/ "manioc"

2.3.3. Vowel sequence

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

/ae/ "four" /ai/ "to uncover, unload"
/ao/ "cheek" /aue/ "wild yam"
/burua/ "nautilus" /ãroa/ "over there"
/veua/ "whetstone" /adɯa/ "youth"
/t ia/ "to split"

/e/ and /i/ also can combine freely with other vowels, as illustrated in the following:

/ei/ "to scratch" /buebe/ "to kill with a blow"
/wie/ "rain" /teɯɽɯ/ "to attach"
/paheɔ/ "to prop up" /poe/ "kind of tree"
/pɔepiɽi/ "to tighten something by turning it"
/ɖjɯ/ "leaf of a tree" /nɯi/ "island"
/ɳooi/ "in vain" /aɳɔi/ "how much"
/kofio/ "sweat"

No examples were found for the sequence of /ɯo/, /ɯɔ/ /uɯ/ and /uɔ/, although /ɯu/ and /uo/ are seen in the following words:

/puɽɯu/ "dust" /tuo/ "to put"

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

/ãɯ̃/ "fog" /tĩõ/ "to spill"
/wãõ/ "hair" /nãũ/ "fast"
/mwĩẽ/ "woman" /ʂaĩ/ "to jump"
/ãĩaɣɔɽɔ/ "beams" /ãe/ "where?"
/õu/ "head of yam"

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

/huue/ "white" /husaau/ "sometimes"
/ɯɯii/ "to thank" /ɳããũ/ "to begin"
/bʷãĩĩ/ "balloon fish" /ɯɯaa/ "to yawn"

2.4. **Stress and Rhythm**

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

(a) ꝏ́ - juo ɳã ɳĩ̃
place-sit POSS 3sg
"his chair"

(b) ꝏ tá́ bwɔ ɳã ɽi
CMPZ hit (catch) crab POSS 3pl
"their catching crabs / the place where they catch crabs"

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

A stressed syllable is always on a higher pitch than an unstressed syllable. It is often, but not always, louder.

A Tinrin phrase has syllable-timed rhythm, that is, each syllable containing a short vowel has approximately the same duration. This unit is called a mora. A syllable with a long vowel has approximately twice the duration of a short vowel (two moras).

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

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

long vowel:

/ɯ̄ɯ̄ii/ "to thank" /bɛ̃ɛ̃ɽi/ "be old"
/hūūe/ "white" /mɔ̃ɔ̃wi/ "lung"

short vowels:

/wɔ́uru/ "nape of neck" /ã́ɯ̃/ "fog"
/áuɽu/ "two" /véua/ "whetstone"

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

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

(a) mɛ̀ɽɛ̃ ɖáe mʷã
pl thing M.DIST
"those things"

(b) ɳĩ pʷéɽe ɖãã
T several day
"sometimes" (lit. at several days)

(c) ɳĩ nãã ɖãã mʷã
T piece day M.DIST
"in those days"

(d) ɳí -ɖi
L- wet
"(in the)swamp"

Examples (a) and (b) both have a quantifier (*mɛ̃ɽɛ̃* and *pʷeɽe*) and a common noun (*ɖae* and *ɖãã*); however, the stress pattern is different. In (a), *ɖae*, which has primary stress, is the head of the nominal phrase, and *mɛ̃ɽɛ̃* is modifying it. In fact, *mɛ̃ɽɛ̃* behaves like an article, especially when it co-occurs with *mʷã* or *ha* (demonstratives).

In example (b), the primary stress on *pʷeɽe* suggests that *pʷeɽe* and *ɖãã* are tightly related, forming a single unit (like English blǎck bīrd "a species of bird" with the primary stress on black, contrasting to blăck bī́rd "a bird which is black" with the primary stress on bird).

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

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

2.5. **Intonation**

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

There are four basic intonation patterns:

(A) Declarative clauses; content questions; negative imperatives

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

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

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

(9)
2 2 [3]2 2 1
ke ɳãã óðo kafe
2sg want drink coffee
"you want to drink coffee."

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

2 [3] 2 1 1
ke ɳãã ðo kafe

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

< declarative clause >

(10) 2 3 2 3 2 2 3 1
u fí pʷere númea ɳiɪ̃fa ʂɛɛ̃ɖe
1sg go to Noumea today evening
"I go to Noumea this evening."

(11) 2 3 2 3 2 3 2 1
ɳã̀ jɯ̀ʈɯ́ faʈawa ɳĩ̀ ʂàʈa ɳã̀ tòni
3sg cut bread with knife sm Tony
"Tony cuts bread with the knife."

(12) 3 2 3 2 2 1
móo ɳã̀ ɳĩ̀ ɳã̀ fí ɣe mɛ̃ ʂàramea
husband POSS 3sg 3sg go from come Saramea
"Her husband comes from Saramea."

< content question >

(13) 2 3 2 1
ke ɳãã̀ hára ne?
2sg want eat what
"What do you want to eat?"

(14) 3 2 3 2 2 1
jáa ɳĩ̀ ʈ ɔ́a kaaʈɔ?
who 3sg.FUT arrive tomorrow
"Who is coming tomorrow?"

(15) 3 2 1
háe ʂoɳa?
where Sonya
"Where is Sonya?"

< negative imperative >

(16) 3 2 2 3 2 1
ʂávaa fi ɳĩ̀ pee ʈ ́eaɳ ɯ̃ ataa
PROH go PURP see people bad
"Don't go to see bad people."

(B) Imperatives (affirmative)

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

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

The following examples illustrate this:

(17) 2 3 2 3 1
wiri fʷíɽi ro véharu
2pl listen 1sg well
"(You all) listen to me carefully."

(18) 3 2 3 2 3 1
fí ɳĩ tówo kafe ruu tẽ ámʷaati
go PURP pick coffee at with chief
"Go to pick coffee beans at the chief's place."

(19) 3 2 3 2 3 1
há ɳĩ gùha ɳã ri váraha
speak with language POSS 1pl like this
"Speak in our language like this."

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

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

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

(20) 2 2 4 2 1
ke ɳãã óðo kafe?
you want drink coffee
"Do you want to drink coffee?"

(21) 2 2 4 2 2 2 1
ke ɳãã óðo kafe ra tee?
you want drink coffee or tea
"Do you want to drink coffee or tea?"

(22) 2 4 3 2 2 1
ɳã ɛ̃ɛ̃ ɣài ɳã ɳoore?
sg burn INTER sm place
"Did the place burn down?"

(23) 3 3 2 4 2 2 1
hí tòni ɳã ɽóa ɳĩfa?
wonder Tony 3sg arrive today
"Is Tony arriving today?"

(D) Tag questions

This type of polar question, which is expressed by simply adding the tag *e* after the declarative form of the clause, has a distinct intonation pattern. The tag has a very high pitch, so that the falling intonation of a normal statement is suddenly followed by a sharp

jump of a pitch. This type of question is often used when the speaker expects confirmation of the statement he has made (8.1.2.1.1).

(24) 2 3 2 1 4
ka hára ðɯɽɯ wai é?
2sg.PERF eat COMP already Q
"You have already eaten, haven't you?"

(25) 2 3 2 3 2 2 1 4
ɳã fí ɳĩ tá bwo pwere ɽ ɯjɯ é?
3sg go PURP kill crab to sea Q
"He went to the sea to catch crabs, didn't he?"

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

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

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

2.6. **Phonological Processes**

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

2.6.1 Assimilation

(A) Nasalisation

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

V > V / __N
[+nasal] [+nasal or prenasalised]

e.g. /fa-/ "CAUS" + /de/ "hang" > /fãde/ "to hang something up"
/de-/"swinging/ + /nõ/"upside down" > /dẽnõ/ "to hang down"

(B) Adjacent vowels

Two adjacent vowels are subject to assimilation to each other in the following words.

<regressive>

The second vowel modifies the first vowel , or makes it identical to the second.

V > V / __ V
[-low] [+high]

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

V1 V2 > V2 V2

/juo/ > /joo/ "to sit"
/ɳã/ "3sg" + /ei/ "FUT" > /ɳĩĩ/ "3sg FUT"

<progressive>

V1 V2 > V1 V1

/ fieʂɯ/ > /fiiʂɯ/ "to meet"
/ daeʂɯ/ > /daaʂɯ/ "to encounter"

2.6.2. Elision and conflation

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

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

/ha/ "PROX" + /ãrijɯ/ "down there" > /harijɯ/ "down there"
/mʷã/ "M.DIST" + /ãrijɯ/ "down there" > /mʷãrijɯ/ "down there"
/ɾa/ "DIST" + /ãrijɯ/ "down there" > /ɾarijɯ/ "down there"
/ha/ "PROX" + /ãva/ "down there" > /hava/ "down here"
/mʷã/ "M.DIST" + /ãva/ "down there" > /mʷãva/ "down there"
/ha/ "PROX"+ /ãroa/ "over there" > /haroa/ "over there"
/mʷã/"M.DIST" + /ãroa/ "over there" > /mʷãroa/ "over there"
/ha/ "PROX" + /ãjo/ "lower" > /hajo/ "a bit lower"
/mʷã/ "M.DIST" + /ãjo/ "lower" > /mʷãjo/ "there, down"
/ɾa/ "DIST + /ãjo/ "lower" > /ɾajo/ "down there"

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

/ri/ "1plinc" + /ei/ "FUT" > /ri(e)i/
/ke/ "2sg" + /ei/ "FUT" > /kei/
/ɾi/ "3pl" + /ei/ "FUT" > /ɾi (e)i/
/ke/ "2sg" + /a/ "PERF" > /k(e)a/

(C) When *ãe* "where?" occurs after the verb *ɾ uu* "to stay" or after prepositions such as *ruu* "at, in" *pwere/were* "towards" and *ɣe* "from", it normally drops its initial vowel and becomes an enclitic to the preceding verb or preposition.(cf. 8.1.2.1.2)

ã > ∅: ãe "where?" of the following context

e.g. /ʈ uu/ "to stay" + /ãe/ "where?" > /ʈ uu-e/ "to stay where?"
/ruu/ "at, in/ + /ãe/ "where?" > /ruu-e/ "at where?"

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

w >∅ : in the following morphemes

/mẽ- / "pl" + /wɯ/ "offspring" > /mão/ "children"
/hɯɯ- / "sg" + /wɯ/ "offspring" > /hɯ(w)ɯ/ or /hoo/ "a child"

(E) When *fʷi* "to do" is combined with *varaha* "like this", *varamʷã* "like that" , *varahae* "how?", they form a phonological unit, and are pronounced as follows:

/fʷi /+ /varaha/ > /faraha / "to do like this"
/fʷi/ + /varamʷã/ > /faramʷã/ "to do like that"
/fʷi/ + /varahae/ >/ farahae/ "to do like what?/ how to do?"

(F) When *hẽɽẽ* "impersonal pronoun" is preceded by *see* "negative", they are conflated in a word *sẽɽẽ*:

/ʂee/ + /hẽɽẽ / > /ʂẽɽẽ/

(26) ʂẽɽẽ hara hwa
NEG.IMPN eat EMPH
"People do not eat."

(G) Similarly, *fi* "to go" followed by *ãe* "where?" yields *fae*:

/fi/ + /ãe/ > /fae/

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

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

(H) When *ve* "to take, for" is used as the middle verb in a compound verb (cf. 5.4) or serialization of verbs (cf. 7.9.1.2), its initial consonant /v/ is often dropped, as in the following examples. *hõ* and *piɽi* in the examples are bound forms.

v > ∅ : in *ve* "take, for" in the following contexts:

<compound verbs>

/ʈ uu e gwã/ (stay, for, occupation) "to hesitate"
/ʈ uu (v)e gee/ "(treat, for, lie) "to suspect"
/ hõ- (v)e -piɽi/ (touch-for -firm) "to hang on, not let go"

<serialized verbs>

/ ha (v)e ɳɔ̃ʃɯ/ (speak, for, wake) "to wake up by speaking to"
/ʈ uu (v)e haɽu/ (stay, for, good) "be in order"
/hõ (v)e ti/ (sing, for, big) "to sing strongly "

(I) *w* is often dropped when *wa* "DET" follows *ɳĩ* "when, at" to form an adverbial phrase.

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

(28) ɳĩ (w)a nãã ɖãã mʷã
in DET piece day M.DIST
"in those days"

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

ɣ > Ø: in *ɣegi* "because, out of"

(29) ke ɳoɽi (ɣ)egi ne?
you give because of what
"Why did you give?".

2.6.3 Glide formation

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

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

2.7. **Morphophonemics**

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

1) /ɬ / > /v/
2) /u(u)/ > /o/ / _ /o/ or C
3) /u(u)/ > Ø / _ /a/
4) prefix /ɳĩ -/ to collective nouns

/ɬ uo/ "two men" > /voo / "men"
/ɬ ĩɛ̃/"two women" > /vĩɛ̃/"women"
/ɬ uuɽ uare/ "two siblings of same sex" > /ɳĩvovare/ "brothers or sisters"
/ɬ ĩɽ uare/ "mother and son or daughter" > /ɳĩvĩvare/ "mother and children"
/ɬ uuahɛ̃ɽɛ̃/ "a brother and a sister" > /ɳĩvahɛ̃ɽɛ̃/ "brothers and sisters"
/ɬ uavae/ "two cross cousins" > /ɳĩvavae/ "cross cousins"
/ɬ uuɽ uaɖɛ̃mʷã/"father and a child" > /ɳĩvovaɖɛ̃mʷã/ "father and children"
/ɬ uaʂõɛ̃/ "a parent and son in law" > /ɳĩvaʂõɛ̃/ "parents and sons in law"
/ɬ uuaheɽe/ "grandfather and grandchild" > /ɳĩvaheɽe/ "grandfathers and grandchildren"

(B) Some classificatory prefixes (5.1.2) can be derived from semantically related action verbs or nouns, by applying the following rules. Vowels except /i/ and /e/ are often modified. With *gũ* and *ʂɛ̃*, the nasality is lost in their prefix forms.

1) (C1) V1 (C2) V2 (C3) (V3) > (C1) V1
2) V1V1 (long vowel) > V1
3) ɔ > ɔ or o; ũ>ɔ; ã > õ ; ɛ̃ > e or a
4) h^w > h

examples

/ʈ ia/ "be torn up" > /ʈ i-/ : /ʈ i-dɔwɔ/ "to seep through something (as water)"
/wihũ / "hoe" > /wi-/ : /wi-rɯ/ "to cut in two"
/kiɽi/ "saw" > /ki-/ : /ki-rɯ/ "to cut by a saw"
/piɽa/ "drill" > /pi-/ : /pi-dɔwɔ/ "to pierce with a drill"
/teɽe/ "to tie a knot" > /te-/ : /te-b^weɽĩ/ "to tie firmly"
/ei/ "to dig by hand" > /e-/ : /e-ʈ ɛ̃ɽɛ̃/ "to bury, plant"
/kɔɳɔɖa/ "scissors" > /kɔ-/ : /kɔ-rɯ/ "to cut with scissors"
/pɔrɔ/ "to rotate" > /pɔ-/ : /pɔ-famɯɽɯ/ "to turn down the fire"

/koo/ "to vomit" > /ko-/ : /ko-rau/ "to vomit something"
/hii/ "to grate, shave" > /hi-/ : /hi-mãɽã/ "(shoot) to push, crack the earth"

/hɔi/ "to attach" > /ho-/ : /ho-via/ "to tie two things together"
/vɔi/ "to defecate" > /vo-/ : /vo-do/ "to have diarrhea"
/gũ/ "to move" > /go-/ : /go-bɛ̃ɛ̃ɽĩ/ "be adroit, skillful"
/hãm^{w}ãĩ/ "to touch,hold" > /hõ-/ : /hõ-ɣai/ "to squeeze something soft in the hand"
/ʂɛ̃/ "to throw away" > /ʂa-/ or /ʂe-/ : /ʂa-ɣe/ "to stone,hit with the stone";
/ʂe-paɳũ/ "to throw away (net)"

/hwɔɽɔ/ "to get away" > /ho-/ : /ho-ʂirɯ/ "to take refuge inside something"

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

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

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

2.8 Orthography Used for Examples and Texts

Certain phonemes are common among many of New Caledonian languages, including velarised labials and prenasalised stops. A number of digraphs and diacritics are used in place of symbols listed at 2.1 and 2.2, following the practice adopted for other New Caledonian languages, which have some tradition of writing.[10] However, the divergence in phonology among languages in New Caledonia is so great that it is

[10] The Loyalty Islands acquired the tradition of writing through the missionaries, as did some districts in the main Island, such as Houailou.

impossible to adopt any one of the established writing systems as used for other languages when describing Tinrin. Where there are similar sounds in Tinrin that can be described with the same symbols as those of other languages, I have tried to employ them as far as they are adequate. With other sounds, I have either modified the symbols or used other symbols in order to facilitate identitification of sounds, and avoid confusion between similar sounds.

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

Table 2.3: **Proposed Orthographic System**

symbols	phonemes
pw	/p^{w}/
bw	/b^{w}/
fw	/f^{w}/
mw	/m^{w}/
kw	/k^{w}/
gw	/g^{w}/
hw	/h^{w}/
dh	/ð/
tr	/ʈ/
dr	/ɖ/
nr	/ɳ/
ny	/ɲ/
rr	/ɽ/
s	/ʂ/
gh	/ɣ/
è	/ɛ/
ù	/ɯ/
ò	/ɔ/
î	/ĩ/
ê	/ɛ̃/
â	/ã/
ô	/ɔ̃/
û	/ũ/
ü	/ɯ̃/

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

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

Chapter 3

WORD CLASSES

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

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

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

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

3.1. Nominals

Nominals constitute a distinct word class in Tinrin on the basis of their ability to associate with various optional adjuncts (determiner, quantifier, attribute, demonstrative, etc.) to form a NP. A NP (except impersonal pronouns (3.1.1.2) that occur only as

subject pronoun, which is described later) can occur in any of the following syntactic positions:

a) as the nominal subject of the verb, marked by subject marker *nrâ*, agreeing in person and number with the subject pronoun in the predicate

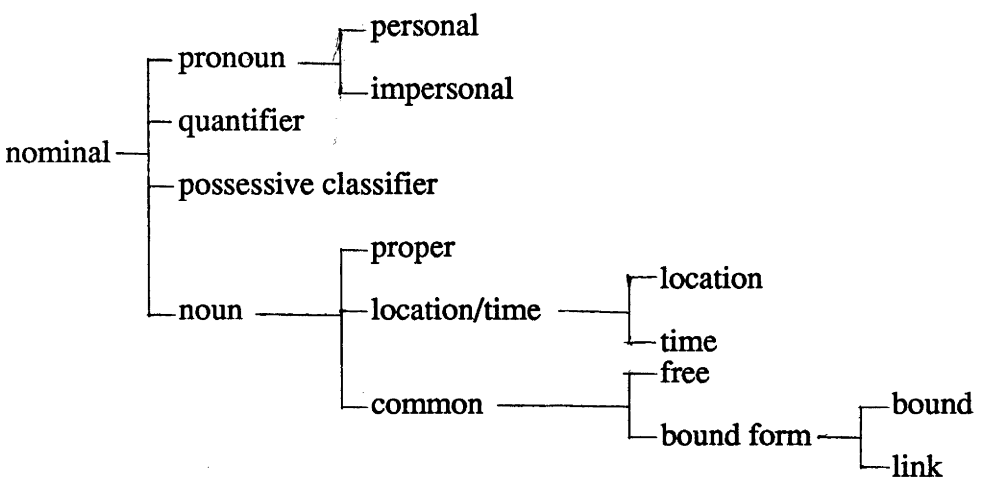
b) as the verbal object

c) as the prepositional object

d) as the head of a predicate

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

Table 3.1: **Nominal Subclasses**



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

3.1.1 Pronouns

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

3.1.1.1 Personal pronouns

Singular, dual, and plural pronouns are distinguished in first, second and third persons, as in other New Caledonian languages (Ozanne-Rivierre & Moyse-Faurie

1983:122).[11] They also contrast between inclusive and exclusive (whether or not the addressee is included) in the first person non-singular. Apart from the syntactic properties they share as nominals, they can also occur in the following syntactic constructions:

as subject pronoun

as possessive suffix

as comitative, followed either by a pronoun or a noun phrase.

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

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

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

with human referent:

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

with non-human referent:

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

with impersonal verbs:

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

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

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

[11] Haudricourt (1971:365) notes a trial in the Youanga language of Gomen.

Table 3.2: **Personal Pronouns**

	1) free/focal	2) subject	3) object/possessive
1sg	nro	u	rò
2sg	nrü	ke	nrü
3sg	nrî	nrâ	nrî
1dl(inc)	haru	ru	ru
1dl(exc)	komu	komu	komu
2dl	kou	kou	kou
3dl	nrorru	rru	rru
1pl(inc)	hari	ri	ri
1pl(exc)	kevi	kevi	kevi
2pl	wiri	wiri	wiri
3pl	nrorri	rri	rri

1) free/focal form

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

2) subject form

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

3) object/possessive form

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

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

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

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

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

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

The pronoun used this way often coincides in person, number and inclusivity with the subject of the predicate as in the examples (36a, b, c), but it can be a different pronoun whose referent always includes that of the subject pronoun (not vice versa) as in the above (35a, b, c). The pronoun or the noun phrase following it, in turn, should have the reference included in the meaning of the comitative pronoun.

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.1.1.2 Impersonal pronouns

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

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

(A) *hêrrê*

hêrrê can be glossed *on* in French, referring to "someone" or "they": singular or plural number of people - whom the speaker may or may not know. It is used when the speaker does not want to imply a particular person, or when he is not concerned about specifying a referent. Sometimes, *hêrrê* can even be "we", when the speaker is avoiding direct reference and trying not to be involved personally in what is going on.

(37) hêrrê hôdrô mwâ
IMPN burn hut
"Someone burnt the hut./The hut burnt."

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

(38) nrâ hôdrô mwâ
3sg burn hut
"He burnt the hut."

or,

(39) wa treanrü mwâ nrâ hôdrô mwâ
DET person that 3sg burn hut
"That person burnt the hut."

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

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

(40) hêrrê nrâ ta saa poka ârijù
IMPN PROG hit one pig down there
"They (impersonal) are hunting a pig down there."

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

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

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

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

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

All of the above expressions can be interpreted as compound nouns, too. They mean "meat", "bastard", "food" (Grand Couli variant for *hêêra* "food") and "drink", respectively. In this context, *hêrrê* is a bound noun, followed by a verb. The meaning may come from "contents, essence, or product" of "hunting", "crawling", "eating",

"drinking". Expressions which can be interpreted either as a sentence or a NP such as above examples are also often seen in equational sentences (8.1.1.3).

(B) *va*

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

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

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

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

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

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

(48) va nrôô-nrî nrâ nrî aunê-nrü nrâ
IMPN long time PST when mother-2sg 3sg

tròa ru ânrâha?
arrive L here
"Was it a long time ago when your mother arrived here?"

(49) va nrîrri-nrî mwâ va saafi kevi
IMPN until when IMPN together 1plexc

hâvenrîâ
all
"It was (like this) until we were all born ."

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

(51) rri nyôrrô mê ò amadrù va
3pl cook come pot ripe(cooked) IMPN

ve mê hêêra
take come food
"They cooked the pot dish, and then brought it."

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

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

(52) va go kùi
IMPN then finish
"Then, that's the end. All finished."

When *va* is followed by a future particle *ei*, it is assimilated and forms *vei*. (This form is sometimes confusing because the future form of the verb *ve* "take" is also *vei*.)

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

(54) nrî vei bee-truu nrâ nrî mwâ nrâ
if IMPN FUT NMZ-stay POSS 3sg M.DIST 3sg

harru
good
"If that will be like that, it will be all right."

3.1.2 Quantifiers

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

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

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

1) tre "another (sg)"

This can be used for either a human or non-human referent, and can follow *wa* "the": *wa tre treanrü* "that another man".

2) pwerre "several, others (pl)"

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

3) mêrrê "some, many (pl)"

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

It can refer to a big number, but does not necessarily.

4) mwârrü "some, few"

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

5) dròrrò "a few, not many"

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

6) wadrò "trifle, small, scarce"

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

7) werre "a bit"

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

8) pwòve "small piece, little lump"

This is used for either human or non-human referents. It suggests something small and not flat, as in *pwòve ù* "small piece of wood," *pwòve mwîê* "a tiny woman". *pwò* in *pwòve* may be related to *pwò* "package".

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

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

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

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

(55) nrorri hire bê-audrê-nrü
give branch arm-mother-2sg
"Help your mother." (lit. Give your mother's hand)[12]

[12] The object of 'give' is 'your mother's hand' and not 'your hand' which would appear in an English equivalent sentence 'give your hand to mother' to indicate 'help your mother.' This is the same notion used in an expression *nrorri e-nrü wî* (give, your food, banana) "give your food banana" to indicate "give banana to you". In Nemi (Rivierre and Moyse-Faurie 1983:119), '(his) hand' is used to indicate the

It is often preceded by numerals or *wa* "DET" : *saa hire nrû* "a fillet of fish", *aurru hire* "two slices", *wa hire nroorre mwâro* "that strip of land there".

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

13) sau "all, once"

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

14) anròi "how many"

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

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

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beneficiary, functioning like a preposition: i.e. give his hand "give to him". In Tinrin, there is no use of 'hand' like that.

13 An interrogative word is used this way in Lakhota (Teton Dakota) (Foley & Van Valin 1984: 23); Japanese also has a similar use of an interrogative word.

wadrò and *werre* are somewhat different. Instead of indicating the shape of the object, *wadrò* denotes "smallness" or "unsignificance" of the object, and *werre* indicates that the object is not "a whole" but "a tiny bit or part" of something.

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

sa-a "one"
a-urru "two"
a-sirri "three"
a-e "four"
a-nrôrrô "five"
a-môru "ten"

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

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

saa sometimes indicates "each":

(57)

saa	treanrü	nrâ	re	fwi	wake	nrâ	nrî
one	person	3sg	ASS	do	work	POSS	3sg

"Each does his own work."

With negative, it means "anyone":

(58)

rria	tro	see	tramwâ	nru	saa
3pl DEF	EMPH	NEG	know	at all	one

treanrü
person
"They don't know anyone."

(59)

nrâ	trarrî	saa	mwâ	nrî	mòrrò
3sg	lack	one	that	3sg	alive

"There is no one living."

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

(60)

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

nrâ	truurrò	âro	tre	nrâ	truurrò	driânrâmwâ
3sg	stand	there	another	3sg	stand	there

"This house where we are sitting in, the one (house) standing there, and another one standing over there..."

[14] This prefix may have derived from PAN causative prefix * *pa-*. The causative prefix to quantifiers indicates multiplication in many Oceanic languages (Pawley 1972:38). The use of its cognates to indicate ordinal numbers is also found in Melanesian languages (*Ibid.*:45) including Xârâcùù of New Caledonia.

When *saa* follows *tro* "EMPH, real, true", it means "only" or "same". It can even be used attributively to a pronoun as in the following example (61):

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(65) nrâ trarrî aurru
3sg lack two
"It lacks two.(Two are missing.)"

The numbers from six to nine [15] are expressed by numbers from one to four added to *a-nrôrrô* "five", with the use of *mê* "and" as in the following:

a-nrôrrô mê sa-a (five and one) "six"
a-nrôrrô mê a-urru (five and two) "seven"

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

amôru mê sa-a (ten and one) "eleven"
a-môru a-nrôrrô (ten and five) "fifteen"

Twenty is expressed as digits of one person, counting all fingers and toes, and forty as digits of two persons.[16] The numbers in between such as thirty are expressed by a combination of digits of a person and the numbers described above.

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

16 The similar counting system is often found in Papuan languages (non-Austronesian), as well as in Melanesian languages e.g. Paamese (Crowley 1982:98). \See the entry under 'Counting and Numbers' in the Encyclopaedia of Papua New Guinea

(66)	hi	sa-a	treanrü	
	fingers	one	person	
	"twenty"			
(67)	hi	sa-a	treanrü	amôru
	fingers	one	person	ten
	"thirty"			
(68)	hi	a-urru	treanrü	
	fingers	two	person	
	"forty"			

In fact, Tinrin people did not have a habit of counting big numbers, as we see from the limited numeral vocabulary. When a number exceeds ten, they often used gestures, such as clasping hands, or stretching both arms with hands open and waving forward, meaning "ten". For twenty, they repeat this, or they stand with stretching arms on tip toes. If both hands open and one arm is taken to the chest, it means "fifteen". They can produce big numbers by repeating these gestures, and when they want to remember the numbers, they mark on bark or tie knots on cord for each set of "tens".

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

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

3.1.3 Possessive classifiers

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

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

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

[17] A similar tradition is often observed in other Pacific islands. In Polynesia, for example, coconuts are traditionally counted in pairs.

For this reason, possessive classifiers often appear in an appositional phrases with another nominal phrase head which is a specifier of the generic possessive classifiers; and the same object can occur in several possessive constructions depending on the nature of the relationship between it and the possessor. I will discuss these constructions along with other types of possessive constructions in 6.1.6.1.2.

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

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

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

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

1) e-

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

2) ere-

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

3) hwee-

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

4) odho-

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

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18 Food or drink classifiers in Nemi, a New Caledonian language, also have the corresponding verbs (Ozanne-Rivierre & Moyse-Faurie 1983:148); Lynch (1973) claims that possession is largely a verbal phenomenon in Melanesian languages and that many of the possessive morphemes bear a distinct phonological resemblance to related verbs.

5) hwiie-

refers to something (such as sugarcane and bark) to be chewed. It includes sugarcane, bark, chewing gum, etc. It corresponds to the verb *hwii* "to chew".

6) êê-

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

7) hêê-

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.1.4. Nouns

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

3.1.4.1 Proper nouns

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

3.1.4.2 Location and time nouns

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

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

3.1.4.2.1 Location nouns

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

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

<locative>

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

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

<subject>

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

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

<object>

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

Location nouns can be further subdivided into two types: relative location nouns and absolute location nouns.

(A) Relative location nouns

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

nrùwù- "inside"
padrêrrê- "side"
wò- "back, side"
nrînawâ- "between"
nraamwârrâ- "front"
drô- "surface"
tê- "at, home of"
nrîtruwirri- "middle, half way"
nrîrri- "edge, at the end"
nrîpoo- "hollow part"
hodri- "top edge, tip"
mee- "end, edge"
êrrê- "content, inside"
nrime- "face"
tròò- "back"

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

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

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

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

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

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

(77) toni nrâ sê arròò êrrê-nrü
Tony 3sg throw water content-2sg
"Tony threw water on you (and you became wet)"

(78) toni nrâ mâ êrrê-wa ù
Tony 3sg urinate content-DET tree
"Tony urinated on that tree."

(79) nrâ tufarrî êrrê-treanrü
3sg spit content-people
"He spat on the people."

(80) nrâ vòi êrrê-sôbwi
3sg defecate content-mat
"He defecated on the mat."

Verbs which occur with *êrrê* seem to be limited with meanings such as "to spit, urinate, throw water, pour water (*tiô*), defecate, etc." which are the actions that bring certain physical (often negative) effects on the location expressed by the location noun and its adjunct. In the above examples, the locations referred to "got all wet or spoiled."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(B) Absolute location nouns

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

The subtype includes:

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

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

(87)

rri	mwage	nrî-ù	nrâ	maamùrrù
3pl	play	forest	sm	children

"Children played in the forest."

c) Interrogative: (â)e "where"

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

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

(88)

ka	tapirri	(pwere)	âva?
2sg DEF	look for	(toward)	down there

"Have you looked down there?"

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

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

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

In such a case, the first vowel of location nouns is reduced as in: mwâ âva > mwâva (2.6.2).

They become enclitic to the location nouns, normally when they are modifying a VP, as in:

(89) nrâ fi ghe mê ârijù-ha
3sg go from come down there-PROX
"He came from down there.".

The combined forms include the following words:

haro/âro-ha "here, there, beside"
mwâro/âro-mwâ "there, that place"
hâroa/âroa-ha "this high place"
mwâroa/âroa-mwâ "over there"
harijù/ârijù-ha "down there, down here"
mwârijù "down there"
rrarijù/ârijù-rra "down there"
hava "this place, down here,there"
mwâva "down there, downstream"
hajo "here, downstream, a bit lower"
mwâjo "there, downstream"
rrajo "down there"

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

ânrâ-ha) "here, there"

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

ânrâ-mwâ) "there, over there, that place"

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

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

ânrâ-rra) "there, that place"

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

3.1.4.2.2 Time nouns

Nouns of this type always refer to time; either a point in time or a duration of time. It can be relative to the time of utterance or to some other time.

Time nouns mark the oblique case with either zero or a preposition *rugi* "at, on" or *nrî* "at, in".

They include:

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

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

c) words listed below:

nrôônrî "a long time, long time ago"
kaarrò "tomorrow"
huurru "the day after tomorrow"
apuurru "the day or a couple of days before yesterday"
âwù "yesterday"
ânrârra "at that time"
ânrîhârro "a little while before"
ânrîmwâ "the other time, not long time ago"
(dri)ânrâmwâ "soon"
driâroa "later"
drinrî "later"
mwâroa "next"
nrîfa "today, now,later"
nrîmwâmwâ "now, present"
nrîrri "until" (this is also a location noun, "edge")

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

d) time nouns derived from non-time words by prefixing *nrî-* (4.1.3) e.g. *nrî-meghi* "summer", *nrî-wihòve* "winter", *nrî-harre* "season" , *nrî-wadrâ* "in the morning", *nrî-tròò* "after". This type of time nòun normally marks the oblique case by receiving zero-marking .

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

(90)	nrâ	kare	nrî	aurru	nrîbwerrî-asù
	3sg	run	for (PREP)	two	hour
	"He ran for two hours."				

3.1.4.2.3 Location and time correlation

As can be seen in the previous sections, a number of words occur as location nouns as well as time nouns: that is, they have both locational and temporal meaning (cf.

demonstratives 3.6). I will list them in the following table to show the location and time correlation in their meanings. I include in the table also some demonstratives, adverbs and verbs which have locational and temporal meanings.

Table 3.3: **Location and Time Correlation**

	location	time
(dri)ânrâmwâ	there	soon, a bit later
anrî	there	when
anrîmwâ	there	the other time, olden time
driâroa	over there(higher)	later
mwâroa	there	next (*bosî mwâroa* "next month")
âroa	there	next
nroorre	place (all around)	period, time, epoque
nrîrri	edge, end	until
nrîtròò	on the back	after (when)
ha (deictic)	here(near speaker) or mid-distant	this time, just now
mwâ (deictic)	there (near addressee or mid-distant)	next time, near future, then
rra (deictic)	there (distant)	then, that time (distant)
mââde (adv, verb)	in front of, go ahead	before precede
mwaa (verb)	long, far	long time (ago)
hubò (adv)	nearby, back	after, later

3.1.4.3 Common nouns

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

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

3.1.4.3.1 Free form common nouns

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

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

Number is not normally expressed except for human nouns and kinship terms, in which case it is marked by prefixes or in amalgamated forms (4.1). Animate nouns are marked for numbers by quantifiers or by determiners (6.2.1; 6.2.2). Inanimate nouns

and location/time nouns may also be marked by quantifiers or by determiners, but only rarely. The following table shows the hierarchy of the number markings among pronouns and nouns: the first person pronoun > the second person pronoun > the third person pronoun /human /kinship terms > animate nouns > inanimate /location /time nouns, where the ones on the left have more number markings formally distinct.

Table 3.4: **Number Marking on Pronouns and Nouns**

1	2	3* /human /kin	animate**	inanimate /location/time
sg	sg	sg	sg	sg
dl, inc dl, exc	dl	dl		
pl, inc pl, exc	pl	pl		

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(91) nrâ fwi nrâ ba
3sg exist sm crowd
"There is a crowd." (lit. It (crowd) exists.)

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

3.1.4.3.2 Bound form common nouns

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

(A) Bound nouns

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

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

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

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

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

(1) external body parts of an animal or human:

ô- "head"	nrime- "face"
nrîfò- "mouth"	wâ- "hair"
ôrrôme- "eye"	bê- "arm, fin"
hi- "leg"	î- "body"

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

veha- "heart"	pwari- "stomach"
drü- "liver"	nô- "bone"
wave- "joint"	wînrâ- "bowels"

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

tufârrî- "saliva"-	fwîî- "excrement"[19]
koo- "vomitus"	nô- "mucus, liquid"
wiafò- "saliva, foam"	nrirre- "snivel"

(4) personal attributes or properties:

gwâ- "occupation"	farrî- "name"
terre- "way, manner"	wò- "living place, trace"
erre- "habitation"	dòwò- "clothes"
hôdri "fault"	gee- "lie"

(5) terms for kinship or some human relationship

afiraa- "wife"	audrê- "father"
aunê- "mother"	ausòò- "elder sibling"
auti- "younger sibling"	herre- "grandchild"
nrùjù- "daughter"	auhêrrê "sibling of different sex"
apwerre- "friend, relative"	hire- "teammate, companion"

(6) effect, result, origin of human affairs

ûû- "cause, reason"	pue- "the ruins, site"
sii- "price"	êrrê- "origin, essence"
fwîrrî- "effect of speech, magic"	

(7) parts of a plant:

wò- "fruit"	wage- "flower"
êrrê- "tuber"	dri- "leaf"
wââ- "root"	noo- "spine"
ôgi- "bark"	wave- "joint, knot"

(8) a part of some inanimate thing

hêrrê- "content"	nrii- "the remains, rest"
bwîî- "rest"	

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

puu- "smell"	nô- "liquid"

(10) a collectivity/genus of something

pwò- "package"	fomee- "genre, sort"
nrûû- "field "	

[19] *fù* also means "excrement", but it is a free noun, whereas *fwîî* is bound to the following possessor.

As mentioned earlier, bound nouns may be bound to another root in a compounding construction. In the following examples, the bound noun is followed by another bound noun or a location noun (the list is not exhaustive):

<bound + bound>

nrîfò-pe- "anus" (< nrîfò- "mouth" + pe- "bum")
virri-hi- "fingernail" (<virri- "shell" + hi- "leg")
wâ-ô- "hair on the head" (<wâ- "hair" + ô- "head")
wave-bê- "elbow, wrist" (<wave- "joint" + bê- "arm")
ûû-bê- "shoulder" (<ûû- "base, origin" + bê- "arm")
nô-tròò- "spine" (<nô- "bone" + tròò- "back")
nô-wòrrò- "sperm" (<nô- "juice" + wòrrò- "penis")

<bound + location + bound>

wâ-mee-fwîî- "tail" (<wâ- "hair" + mee- "edge" + fwîî "excrement")

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

<location + bound>

padrêrrê-wêjô- "the wings of the nose" (<padrêrrê- "side" + wêjô "nose")
nrùwù-hi- "sole of foot" (<nrùwù- "inside" + hi- "leg")

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

fònrî-bê- "fork of tree"(<fònrî "river" + bê- "arm")

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

Table 3.5

Bound Nouns with Animate and Inanimate Possessors

	animate possessor	plant/inanimate possessor
ô-	head	top part, front
nrîfò -	mouth	mouth (of a river)
êrrê-	body in the shell	tuber essence, origin
bê-	arm, fin	twig, border, edge
tròò-	back	backside
hi-	leg	leg (of table, etc)
nô-	bone, bodily liquid	juice, liquid
puu-	smell	smell (of something)
gùwù-	body part	body part (of something)
î-	body	body (of axe, etc)
wave-	joint	knot, pause
wii-	soul	shade, picture

The words listed above remain bound nouns even when the possessor is not animate. We can explain this by assuming that the primary sense of those nouns is the one on the left, and that the use and meaning with inanimate possessors are the extended or anaphorical ones. This extended use of body part terms is also reported in many other languages (cf. Crowley 1988:15).

(B) Link nouns [20]

Link nouns are those that are obligatorily linked to a pronoun or the head of another nominal phrase with which they are in a possessive relationship by means of the link morpheme *-nrâ-*[21]. This *-nrâ-* is identical in form to the subject form of the third person singular pronoun.

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

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

panrea-rò (aunt-1sg) "my aunt"

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

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

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

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[20] For want of a better term, I use 'link noun' to describe a bound form noun which only occurs with the link morpheme *-nrâ-* and a possessor nominal.

[21] This link morpheme is similar in form to the construct suffix which is often seen in Micronesian languages (Elbert 1974:36; Topping 1973:222).

(1) external body parts of an animal or human

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

(2) internal body parts of an animal or human

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

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

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

(4) personal attributes or properties:

mòrrò- "life" fôdrò- "idea, thought"
îgâ- "dream" vajù- "sickness, death"

(5) terms for kinship or some human relationship

moo- "husband" hùwù- "child"
panrea- "aunt" auvae- "cousin"
pwêdri- "the youngest of siblings" edhi- "cousin"
gèè- "grandmother" ave- "chief"

(6) effect or result of human affairs

ahwai- "effect, result"

(7) parts of a plant:

wii- "fibres" hùwù- "bud, sprout"

(8) a product of some inanimate thing

kû- "smoke"

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

<bound + link>

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

<location + link>

mee-pi- "clitoris" (<mee- "edge, end" + pi- "vagina")

The following link nouns have the bound noun as the first element but the verb as the second.

<bound + verb>

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

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

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

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

Table 3.6

Link nouns with Animate and Inanimate Possessors

	animate possessor	plant/inanimate possessor
wii-	tendon	cord, vine, fibre
hùwù-	child	bud, sprout
nruâ	dirt of body	dust

(C) Correlation between bound and link nouns

At first glance the inventories of both bound and link nouns in the previous sections do not suggest that the structural distinction between them correlates with semantic factors. In fact, all the subgroups which occur with link nouns (1-8) also occur with bound nouns. However, if we look closely at the words that occur as bound or link nouns we notice some semantic difference between them. In this section, the semantic criteria to categorize nouns into bound and link nouns will be examined.

As far as external body part nouns and parts of a plant or an object are concerned, most of the nouns are expressed as bound nouns. Thirty-three bound nouns occur in my corpus, while there are only five link nouns referring to external body parts. Among those link nouns, only *ao-* "cheek" refers to a human body part; the others refer to body parts of animals, birds and insects. This suggests that apart from "cheek" human external body parts are expressed as bound nouns. The reason why "cheek" behaves differently from other human body nouns may be that a cheek is just a part of a face, and has no function of its own as a specific body part.

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

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

Contrary to the external body parts, relatively many nouns referring to internal organs occur as link nouns. These nouns often occur in alienable possessive constructions in other languages (McGregor 1988). This is most likely because these parts are normally invisible and are observed only when their possessor is dead and has been opened up, in which case they are no longer inalienably possessed by the possessor (Crowley 1988:11). Those internal body parts which occur as bound nouns (heart, stomach, liver, bone, joint, bowels) are the organs that are of primary importance and

essentially related to bodily conditions, emotions and feeling. In many Oceanic languages the liver is regarded as the seat of the emotions (Crowley 1988:12); heart, stomach, and bowels are also used to express human mood, in various languages (Koh and Wilkins 1988:9). Bones and joints form the basic structure of the body.

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

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

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

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

"impression, mark" is indicated by a productive prefix *fò-* which derives nouns from either nouns or verbs, or other bound morphemes. This prefix is discussed in 4.1.4.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(98) moo-nrâ-sonya
husband-LINK-Sonya
"Sonya's husband"

Another such noun is *warrabù-*. *warrabù-* is normally a bound noun, referring to "maternal uncle". It is used as:

(99) warrabù-rò
uncle-1sg
"my (maternal) uncle"

(100) warrabù-toni
uncle-Tony
"Tony's (maternal)uncle"

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

(101) warrabù nrâ toni
uncle POSS Tony
"(my) uncle, (father) of Tony"

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

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

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

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

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

Table 3.7

Morpho-syntactic Features of the Subclasses of Nominals

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

	QF	POSS	PROPER	LOC	TIME	COMMON	P.PN	IMPN
1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
3	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
4	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
5	+	+	+	(+)	(+)	+	+	–
6	+	+	–	(+)	–	+	–	–
7	+	–	–	+	(+)	(+)	–	–
8	(+)	+	–	(+)	–	+	–	–
9	–	+	–	–	–	(+)	–	–
10	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–
11	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+

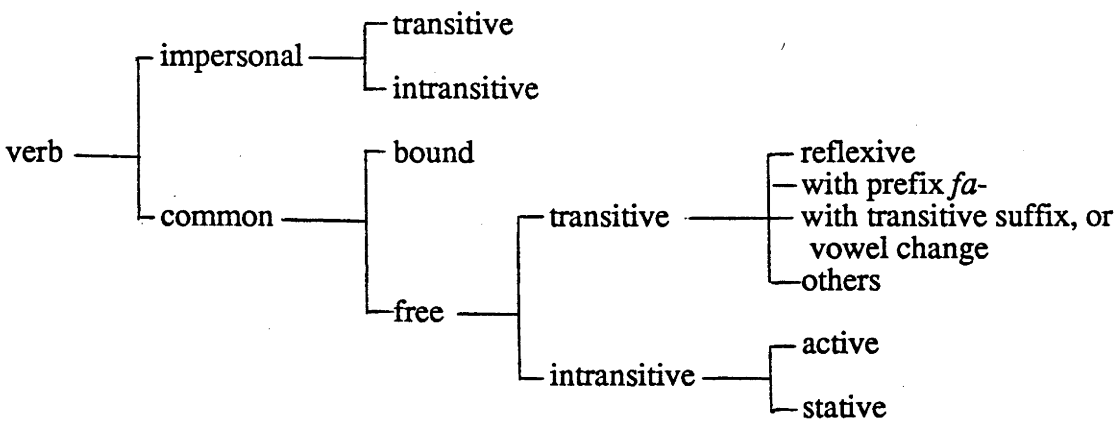
+ indicates that the subclass meets this condition.
(+) indicates that some of the members of the subclass meet this condition.
– indicates that the condition is not met.

3.2 Verbs

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

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

Table 3.8: **Verb Subclasses**



3.2.1 Impersonal verbs

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

3.2.1.1 Transitive

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

a) fwi "to amount to"

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

The impersonal subject of *fwi* "to amount to" refers to a duration of time, length, amount, etc.

In the following example, *aurru fwòtra* is an object of *fwi*, as it is not marked by the subject marker *nrâ*.

(102) nrâ fwi aurru fwòtra
3sg amount to two year
"It is now two years; two years passed." (lit. It amounts to two years.)

b) trarrî "to lack, not exist"

trarrî is used to express that something does not exist.

(103) nrâ trarrî nrî
3sg lack 3sg
"He is not there." (lit. It lacks him)

(104) nrâ trarrî terre fi nrâ simô
3sg lack means go POSS Simon
"Simon cannot go." (lit. It lacks the means to go of (for) Simon.)

One often uses *trarrî* in a construction: *A nrâ trarrî B nrâ nrî* (A, 3sg, lack, B, POSS, 3sg), in order to mean "A does not have B". Here, A is the fronted nominal possessor of B, and is coreferential to *nrî*. This is illustrated in the following example:

(105) toni nrâ trarrî rroto nrâ nrî
Tony 3sg lack car POSS 3sg
"Tony does not have a car." (lit. It lacks the car of Tony.)

c) drù "to suffice, be enough"

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

(106) nrâ drù (rò)
3sg suffice (1sg)
"It's enough (to me)./ (I have enough)."

(107) nrâ see drù bee fi rò
3sg NEG suffice CMPZ go 1sg
"I cannot go." (lit. It does not suffice my going.)

(108) nrâ drù bee ta pù nrâ wiri
3sg suffice CMPZ kill flying fox POSS 2pl
"You can kill flying foxes. / You should kill flying foxes." (lit. It suffices your (pl) killing flying foxes.)

(109) nrâ drù bee pee nrâ ri
3sg suffice CMPZ see POSS 1plinc
"We can see." (lit. It suffices our seeing.) (said as the day breaks)

3.2.1.2 Intransitive

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

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

a) fwi "to exist"

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

(110)

nrâ	fwi	nrâ	mwâmwâ	âroa-ha
3sg	exist	sm	big hut	over there-PROX

"The big hut is over there."

This often occurs in a construction: *"A nrâ fwi nrâ B nrâ nrî"* (a similar construction to the one with *trarrî* in order to express "A has B", where A is the fronted possessor of B:

(111)

toni	nrâ	fwi	nrâ	maamùrrù	nrâ	nrî
Tony	3sg	exist	sm	children	POSS	3sg

"Tony has children." (lit. Tony, his children exist.)"

b) fwa "to rain"

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

(112)

nrâ	fwa	(nrâ	wie)
3sg	rain	sm	rain

"It rains."

c) gâ "to blow, turn"

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

(113)

nrâ	gâ	(nrâ	wanre)
3sg	blow	sm	wind

"It blows. / The wind turns."

d) meghi "be hot"

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

(114)

nrâ	meghi	(nrâ	nroorre)
3sg	hot	sm	place (all around)

"It is hot (around here)."

e) hòve "be cold"

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

(115)

nrâ	hòve	(nrâ	drââ)
3sg	cold	sm	day

"It is cold (today)."

f) mü "be cold, damp"

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

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

g) marri "be dry, to clear up"

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

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

h) mirri "be half-dry"

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

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

i) drââ "daytime, light"

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

(119) nrâ drââ (nrâ nroorre)
3sg day sm place
"It is light (here)."

3.2.2 Common verbs

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

3.2.2.1 Bound form verbs

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

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

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

<physical/mental state>

-drù "be separated": in fi-drù (go-separated) "to go separately"
-fagee "to ignore": in merrò-fagee (lie-ignore) "to lie down ignoring something"
-jaarru "be calm": in truu-jaarru (stay-calm) "be consoled, stop crying"

<resultative state>

-vòò "be revealed": in hidrò-vòò "to proclaim, inform"
-esù "to meet": in fi-esù (go-meet) "to go and meet"
-pònròò "be surprised": in pò-pònròò (move-be surprised) "be surprised"

<manner>

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

3.2.2.2 Free form verbs

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

They can further be subdivided into transitive and intransitive verbs.

3.2.2.2.1 Transitive verbs

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

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

(A) Reflexive verbs

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

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

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

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

(B) Verbs with causative prefix *fa-*

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

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

<from intransitive>

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

<from transitive>

fa-soghe (CAUS-stab) "to make (someone) stab somebody"
fa-hôdrô (CAUS-burn) "to get something burnt"
fa-hara (CAUS-eat) "to make someone eat, feed"

(C) Verbs with transitive suffix or vowel change

This subgroup of transitive verbs comprise verbs which are marked with one of the transitive suffixes: *-vai*, *-bêrrê*, *-sâ*, *-bwâârrî*, *-raa* and *-tòrrò*. They are often derived from intransitive verbs by these suffixes, which can also be added to transitive verb stems. These transitive suffixes cannot be deleted when the object is a pronoun or a proper noun, as they often are in other New Caledonian languages.

Verbs of this subgroup are obligatorily followed by an object. Each one of the transitive suffixes is fully described in 5.2.2.

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

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

(121) nrâ barra nrâ hùùmùrrù
3sg afraid sm child
"The child is afraid."

(D) Other transitive verbs

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

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

3.2.2.2.2 Intransitive verbs

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

(A) Active verbs

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

1) basic motion verbs

Basic motion verbs are those in the following list:

fi "to go away" -- motion from speaker
mê "to come, approach" -- motion to speaker
si "to go, pass" -- motion level
wa "to descend, down" -- motion down
drajù "to ascend, up" -- motion up
î "to fly" -- motion up
hwê "to appear" -- motion to speaker

These verbs can occur independently, but they often combine with other verbs in serialization (7.9.1.2) to clarify the direction or the place of an action with reference to the speaker.

fi and *mê* are used not only to indicate physical direction, but also to indicate mental distance between the speaker and the object involved. This is discussed in section 7.9.1.2.

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

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

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

2) other active verbs

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

hô "to sing (intr)"
ma "to untie (intr)"
mou "to shut the eye"
a "to laugh" (cf. *a-sâ* "to laugh at")
îgâ "to dream" (cf. *îgâ-sâ* "to dream about")
de "to hang (intr)"
mâ "to urinate"
vòi "to defecate"
gee "to tell a lie"
sii "to hiss, make a noise"
ha "to speak"
ôrrê "to dig up"

(B) Stative verbs

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

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

(122) wage a harru
flower AT nice
"nice flowers (lit. flower which is nice)"

This subclass includes verbs like those below:

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

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

truu-e-arù "to stay the same"
truu-(v)e-gùwùnrrî "to stay ignorant"
truu-fi-mêâ "be half naked"

3.3 Attributes

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

1) tro "just, real, indigenous"

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

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

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

2) hùwù(nrâ) "small"

This comes from *hùwù* "child, sprout".

hùwù(nrâ) fònrî (small, river) "small river"

3) saafi "all of"

This word may have derived from *saa* "one" and *fi* "to go".

saafi kevi wanrî (all of, 1plexc, entire) "all of us (but not you) completely"

4) nrôô "old"

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

5) hâmâ(nrâ) "new, young"

hâmâ(nrâ) nawa (young, coconut) "a young coconut tree"
hâmâ(nrâ) erre (new, village) "a new village"

6) doo "used, worn out"

doo sôbwi (used, mat) "a used mat"
doo wasaa (used, plate) "a used plate"

7) drorro "outstanding, big, important"

drorro drae (important, thing) "important things"
drorro treanrü (important, person) "an important person"

8) tròò "two"

This word derives from *tròrò* "two" which is used only as a noun.

tròò mwâ (two, hut) "two huts"

3.4. Prepositions

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

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

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

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

a) nrâ subject/possessive marker, "of"

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

1) subject marker

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

2) possessive marker, "of"

The majority of free nouns (alienable) can occur in possessive constructions with *nrâ*[22]. *nrâ* links the possessor to the preceding NP head, normally suggesting a temporary possession. *nrâ* is further discussed in 6.1.6.1.1 along with other possessive markers *rrê/rre* and *ò*.

b) rrê/ rre possessive marker, "of"

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

c) ò possessive marker, "of"

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

d) ei "to, for"

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

(124)

u	hwari	nrî	ei	rri
1sg	sell	3sg	DAT	3pl

"I sold it to them."

(125)

nrâ	harru	ei	treanrü	nrî	rri	arrimêrrê
3sg	good	DAT	people	if	3pl	used to

"It is good for people, if they are used to it."

(126)

rri	truu	hubo	ei	nrü
3pl	stay	near	to	2sg

"They live near you."

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

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

1) dative

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

(127)

nrâ	truu	gi	nrü
3sg	stay	DAT	2sg

"It stays to you (as you like, it's up to you)."

(128)

toni	nrâ	haunêê	gi	nrü
Tony	3sg	talk dirty	DAT	2sg

"Tony uses indecent words to you."

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

2) locative

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

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

(130) komu treu wake mwagi gi ru rrafoa
1dlexc again work again at in Lafoa
"We two work again at Lafoa."

3) referential

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

(131) hêrrê hîdrò gi wa fò treanrü mwâ
IMPN say about DET kind people M.DIST

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

(132) nrâ hawi vetaa gi komu
3sg talk badly about 1dlexc
"He speaks ill of us two."

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

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

f) drù "because of, for"

drù indicates the cause of an event taking place.

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

(136) ke drarrî drù gèè nrâ vajù wai
2sg cry CAUS grandmother 3sg dead already
"You cried because of grandmother who died."

[23] See Svartvik 1972:310.

g) ghe "from"

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

(137)

nrâ	ta	nrî	nrâ	treanrü	ghe	âroa	giwe
3sg	hit	3sg	sm	person	from	over there	mountain

"The person (who came) from the mountain hit him."

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

ra marks comparative, obviative and origin.

1) comparative

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

(138)

nrâ	bwê	nru	ra	truu	aurru	treanrü
3sg	many	in excess	for	dl	two	people

"That's too much for two people."

(139)

wara-ha	nrâ	horro	ra	wara-mwâ
this one	3sg	strong	than	that one

"This one is stronger than that one."

2) obviative

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

(140)

ke	savaa	nrü	ra	nrî
2sg	defend	2sg	OBV	3sg

"You defend yourself from him (you pay attention to him)."

(141)

rri	barra	ra	bee	hidrò
3pl	afraid	OBV	CMPZ	speak

"They hesitate to speak."

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

(142)

ra	bee	fi	pwere	nrî	u	truu	ere	nrîfa
OBV	CMPZ	go	to	there	1sg	stay	place	now

"I stay at home now rather than going there."

3) origin

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

(143)

mââde	ra	revolt	rri	fwi	bee	truu	nrâ
before	from	revolt(Fr)	3pl	do	CMPZ	stay	POSS

nri
this
"Before the riot, they did like this."

(144)

nrâ	fòròò	sika	ra	toni
3sg	demand	cigarette	from	Tony

"He wants cigarette from Tony."

i) ghegi "because of, since, from, out of"

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

1) causal

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

(145) u nrôsù ghegi gu-rroto
1sg wake CAUS noise-car
"I was woken up by the noise of car."

2) origin

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

(146) ghegi mê voo rria vajù nrâ mê asirri
out of pl men 3pl PERF dead sm pl three
"Out of men (brothers), three died already."

(147) nrâ fwa ghegi âwù
3sg rain since yesterday
"It has rained since yesterday."

j) nrî "by, with, for, (such) as"

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

1) causal "by"

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

(148) traiki nrâ me nrî mirri
dog 3sg die CAUS hunger
"The dog died of hunger."

2) instrumental "with"

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

(149) nrâ ta traiki nrî ù
3sg hit dog with stick
"He hits a dog with a stick."

(150) u fâ nrî arrebo
1sg build a wall INST stone
"I built a wall with stones."

3) temporal "for, on"

nrî also marks temporal, generally referring to a period of time, although it may refer to a point of time as in the example (153). It can link two NPs as well as relate a NP to a VP. It also functions as a conjunction, which will be discussed in 8.3.3.

(151) nrâ merrejo nrî aurru nrî-bwerî-asù
3sg sleep for two hour
"He sleeps for two hours."

(152) nrâ saau mê tau nrî asirri fwòtra
3sg once come often for three year
"He used to come once every three years."

(153) ru hidrò nrî saa drââ
1dlinc say on one day
"We two talked one day."

4) exemplificatory "(such) as"

nrî can be used to mean "such as" when the speaker wants to exemplify. In this case, it is used only to link two NPs.

(154) ri nyôrrô druu nrî me-susu hudruu
1plinc cook leaf EXE sprout-choko(Fr) brède-morelle
"We cook leaves such as choko and *brède-morelle*."

It can also express a comparative quantity or degree:

(155) toni nrâ mwaa pa nai nanu nrî dis sâtimetùrù
Tony 3sg tall more exceed Nanu as 10 cm (Fr)
"Tony is taller than Nanu by 10 cm."

5) accompaniment

nrî means "with" when it occurs with a verb designating eating, as illustrated in the following example:

(156) rri hara nraasi nrî hêrrêkari
3pl eat rice with meat
"They eat rice with meat."

In the following sentence, *nrî* means "with, including":

(157) mê vîê anrôrrô nrî wara rra nrâ vajù
pl women five with one DIST 3sg dead
"Five women, with (including) the one who is dead."

k) bò "of, at, from"

bò marks obviative or causal. Used with verbs such as run, go, cry, it indicates that the action is taking place with a negative emotion stimulated by the object of *bò*.

(158) u moo bò soerrù
1sg shy of Joel
"I am shy of Joel."

(159) ke hôrrô bò bee mî
2sg scared OBV CMPZ fall
"You are scared of falling."

(160) bebe nrâ drarrî bò traiki
baby 3sg cry CAUS dog
"The baby cried because of the dog."

l) nrô "for, to, with"

nrô is used to mark purposive, referential or comitative; and it can link two NPs, as well as relate NPs to VPs.

1) purposive

(161) rri via rri nrô hêêra
3pl fight 3pl PURP food
"They fought each other for food."

In the following sentence, *ra* can occur in the place of *nrô*, in which case *ra* means "considering, in proportion" (example 138). Sentence (162) with *nrô* implies "too much for 'the purpose of' two people."

(162) nrâ bwê nru nrô truu aurru treanrü
3sg many in excess for dl two people
"That's too much for two people."

2) referential

nrô means "concerning with" in the following sentences, where *nrô* and *gi* can be used indifferently.

(163) ri see arrimêrrê nrô suka
1pl NEG be accustomed for sugar
"We are not accustomed to sugar."

3) comitative

nrô can also mark comitative:

(164) nrâ hwòrrò nrô nrî tau pwere âro wî
3sg run away COM 3sg often to there Wî
"He used to run away with her towards Wî."

m) ru "in, on"

ru marks locative. It indicates dimensional location (that is, the surface or area where an event takes place). It can occur with location nouns as well, as in (166). The object must always be non-human. It can relate a NP argument to a VP, as well as to another NP.

(165) wiri drajù ru giwe
2pl climb L mountain
"You (pl) climbed on the mountain."

(166) ri juo ru drô verro
1plinc sit L surface bicycle
"We rode a bicycle"

n) rugi "on, in, at, about, with"

rugi, a compounded form of *ru* and *gi* described in m) and e) above, covers a wide range of semantic roles. It can mark locative, temporal, referential and comitative.

1) locative "on, in"

rugi refers to a dimensional location like *ru*, but often 'surface' rather than 'area'. It does not occur with location nouns, and its object can be either human or non-human.

(167) ri tuo rugi ri
1plinc put on 1plinc
"We put on us. (we put on clothes.)"

(168) wei fadrò rugi arròò
1sg FUT walk in water
"I will walk in the water."

(169) mêwe nrâ pwò rugi bê-ù
bird 3sg land on arm-tree
"A bird sat on a branch of a tree."

2) temporal

rugi can express a point of time at which an event takes place. It relates a NP to a VP, and it is often preposed to an hour expression.

(170) kei fi rugi sizee
2sg FUT go at six hours(Fr)
"You will go at six o'clock."

3) referential

It can express reference to an idea, as with the verbs of locution. In this case, it can link two NPs, or a NP to a VP.

(171) treanrü rri hawi rugi bee bòrrò nrâ mwîê
people 3pl talk about CMPZ drowned sub woman
"People talk about how the woman was drowned."

4) comitative "with"

rugi can also mark comitative, indicating a person with whom an event occurs.

(172) rru mê rugi mêrrê treanrü rra hêrrê ve
3dl come with pl people DIST IMPN take

rri mê nrâ
3pl come PST
"They two came with those people who were taken to here."

o) fi "around, about"

fi (like *mê* below), functions both as a motion verb meaning "to go" and as a preposition. As a preposition it can occur after another preposition *ru* or take a prepositional object.

fi indicates "vicinity, peripheral". When used in either a locative or temporal sense it means "around" some place or time, rather than referring to a precise place or specific time. It can sometimes suggest motion away from a place or speaker, or distance from the speaker (either physical or psychological). By using *fi*, the speaker can express his objectivity or detachment from an event. This meaning is parallel to that of *fi* when used as a verb in verb serialization (cf.7.9.1.2), which is the reason I consider *fi* to have

functions both of a verb and of a preposition rather than analyzing prepositional *fi* and verbal *fi* as homophones.[24]

There are sentences which allow two interpretations: when we omit the (optional) *ru* from sentence (175), *fi* can be interpreted either as a verb or as a preposition. When it functions as a preposition, the sentence has the meaning shown in the gloss of (175), but when it functions as a verb, it means "people always live here" (*fi* in this context indicates 'duration'). The fact that *fi* can occur after the preposition *ru* as in (174) and (175), or that it can take an (prepositional) object as in (174), (verb "to go" cannot take an object), explains the prepositional use of *fi*, which is not a verb.

The following sentence (173) is an example of psychological distance. "He died one day", which to the speaker seems to be already a long time ago. By contrast, in sentence (178) (using *mê*) the speaker feels that the person passed away only a short time ago.

(173) nrâ vajù saa drââ fi ânrâmwâ
3sg dead one day around then
"He died one day around then (long time ago)."

(174) ri tapirri ru fi bê-trùjù nrimwaa
1plinc see at around beach far
"We looked further, over the sea shore."

(175) treanrü rri truu (ru) fi ânrâha
people 3pl stay L around here
"People live around here."
(*fi* suggests the expansion of the area.)

Sometimes *fi* and the location noun in sentence-final position are inverted, in which case *fi* becomes enclitic. *e* often occurs in this position, and this may be the reduced form of *fe* (some people say /fe/ instead of /fi/): e.g. *ânrâmwâ-e* (there-away) "a bit further"; *âva-e* (down there-away) "further down".

fi is also used to suggest "vicinity" with numbers (i.e. meaning 'approximately') as illustrated in the example below:

(176) rri fwi fi sêk sâ
3pl exist about 5(Fr) 100(Fr)
"There are about 500."

[24] I do not consider *fi* and *mê* as prepositional verbs. The main function of the prepositional verbs recognised in Oceanic linguistics is to take an object, and mark a case-like relationship between the preceding verb - of motion, or certain other intransitives (which cannot take an object themselves) - and the object (cf. Pawley 1972:38, 1973:142-147; Durie 1988). *fi* and *mê* are different from those verbs in many ways. First of all, *fi* and *mê* (as verbs) are 'intransitive' themselves, so that they cannot take an object, or relate the preceding verbs to the object. *fi* and *mê* also occur with verbs which are not necessarily motion or intransitive verbs. Thus, their prepositional function should be considered as a separate function from their verbal one.

hidrò in the following sentence can take an object, in which case it means "say X". When *fi* occurs in front of the object, it means "say/talk about X", refering to things around X, but not directly to X.

(177) treanrü rri hidrò fi atai
people 3pl talk about Atai
"People talked about Atai."

p) mê "around, about"

Like *fi* in the previous section, *mê* functions both as a motion verb meaning "to come" and as a preposition. It also indicates 'vicinity, peripheral', being used either in a locative or temporal sense. The difference between *fi* and *mê* is that *mê* can suggest motion towards some place or speaker, or contiguity to the speaker, either physical or psychological. By using this preposition the speaker mentally put himself in that location, or observe the event subjectively.

(178) nrâ vajù saa drââ mê ânrâha
3sg dead one day around here (now)
"He died one day (not long time ago)."

(179) nrâ truu ru mê numea
3sg stay in around Noumea
"He lives in Noumea. (I am here. He has gone to Noumea, and is still there. He is bound to come back.)"

(180) nrâ hwòrrò ghe mê saramea
3sg run away from around Sarramea
"He ran away from Sarramea to here."

mê can also be inverted in sentence-final position with a location noun, as in: e.g. *ânrâha -mê* (here-towards) "a bit towards this way".

q) pwere/were "to, towards, with"

pwere and *were*, which seem to be in free variation, can mark either allative, or accompaniment.

1) allative "to, towards"

In this sense, it refers to the location or destination to which a motion is directed. It can also refer to a point of time towards which an event is directed.

(181) nrâ truu siro were ânrâha
3sg stay pass to here
"It (house) is on the corner on the way here."

When it occurs with *hubo* "after", it refers to either relative location or time as in examples (182) and (183). Note that allative *pwere* is used here, as the motion is directed "towards" the object, whereas with *mââde* "before", *ra* (h) "origin" is used.

(182) wei fi hubo pwere nrî
1sg FUT go after toward 3sg
"I am going after you."
This sentence is ambiguous. I may either follow after you locationally, or go immediately after you (temporally).

(183)	hubo	pwere	wa	revolt	nrâ	kare	nrâ	pwere
	after	toward	DET	revolt(Fr)	3sg	run	PST	toward

nrî
there
"After the riot, he ran away to that place."

2) accompaniment

In this sense, *pwere* occurs with either a person or non-human, with whom (or with which) an event takes place.

(184)	ke	fi	pwere	jaa?
	2sg	go	with	who

"Who you go with?"

(185)	u	warri	pwere	fadrò
	1sg	tired	with	walk

"I am tired of walking." (lit. I am tired having a walk)

r) winrô "along"

winrô expresses the meaning of "(go) along" (road, river, etc.). It can also occur as a verb, meaning "to follow". When it directly follows another verb (which is generally a motion verb, from its semantics), it appears more like a prepositional verb (cf.note 24), having a function of relating an object to the preceding verb. This type of construction is discussed under verb serialization in 7.9.1 (e.g. *fi winrô* <go, follow> "to follow, go along"). The following example illustrates its use as a preposition, as it is detached from the other verb and occurs after a prepositional phrase. If we consider this as verb serialization instead, the meaning of the sentence will be "We met him down there, and followed the river".

(186)	ri	fisù	hari	nri	ru	âjo	winrô	fònri
	1plinc	meet	1pl(COM)	3sg	L	down there	along	river

"We met him down there, along the river."

s) nyôraa "along one side"

nyôraa is used similarly to *winrô*, although this cannot occur as a verb, and it indicates only "one side" of something long such as a road.

(187)	nrâ	fadrò	nyôraa	bê-iifade
	3sg	walk	one side of	side-road

"He walks only on one side of the road."

t) fadre "with, at the time of"

fadre marks accompaniment, and can occur with both human and non-human nouns. It can sometimes be glossed as "at the time of", as illustrated in (190).

(188)	busi	nrâ	hwòrrò	fadre	saa	nââ	farrawa
	cat	3sg	run away	with	one	piece	bread

"The cat ran away with a piece of bread."

(189) rri taa fadre bee ha pwògarra
3pl bad with CMPZ speak white

nrâ rri
POSS 3pl
"They are bad as they have the habit of speaking the language of whites."

(190) fadre mâo bêêrrî nrâ nrâ see arù ghai nrîfa
with men old PST 3sg NEG same with now
"With old people before (at the time of old people), it was not the same as now."

u) ghai "together with, as"

ghai expresses accompaniment. It also marks the consequent in the correlations "(same) as", or 'take...for (as)' denoting degree, appearance, manner, etc. as illustrated in sentence (192) and (193). *ghai* can also occur as an interrogative particle (8.1.2.1.1).

(191) nrâ vajù ru mê ârijù ghai wa mwîê mwâ
3sg sick L around there with DET woman M.DIST
"He died over there with that woman."

(192) nrâ troe arù ghai bee fwi nrâ puue
3sg just same as CMPZ make of net
"It is just the same as making nets."

(193) ke ve nrî ghai tre treanrü
2sg take 3sg for another person
"You took him for another person."

v) edho "with"

Occuring with verbs *hara* "to eat", *ho* "to eat", *odho* "to drink", *nrorri* "to give" and *tuo* "to put", *edho* marks accompaniment, or expresses two patients (non-human) of the action. *nrî* optionally occurs after *edho*.

(194) ke tuo tâ edho (nrî) nrû
2sg put taro with with fish
"You put taro with fish."

(195) u ho moghi edho farrawa
1sg eat prawn with bread
"I ate prawns with bread."

w) nrâûra "except for"

This marks an exception. It expresses that an event takes place on the condition that something is excluded.

(196) treanrü rri mê ânrâha nrâûra samdi
people 3pl come here except Saturday(Fr)
"People come here except on Saturday."

As described above, syntactic properties or meanings are often overlapped among prepositions. These features are illustrated in the following table:

Table 3.9

Syntactic and Semantic Features of Prepositions

	subject marker	possessive	dative	allative	locative	elative	origin	vicinity, motion away or towards	obviative	causal	purposive	comitative	accompaniment	instrumental	temporal	referential	comparative	exemplificatory	exception	links to NP	links to VP
nrâ	+	+																		+	+
rrê/rre		+																		+	
ò		+																		+	
ei			+	+																	+
gi			+		+											+				+	+
drù										+											+
ghe						+														+	+
ra							+		+								+				+
ghegi							+			+										+	+
nrî										+			+	+	+	+		+		+	+
bò									+	+											+
nrô											+	+				+				+	+
ru					+															+	+
rugi					+							+			+	+				+	+
fi								+													+
mê								+													+
pwere				+									+								+
winrô					+																+
nyôraa					+																+
fadre													+								+
ghai													+				+				+
edho													+								+
nrâûra																			+		+

3.5 Determiners

This class consists of four determiners: *wa*, *moo*, *truu* and *mê*. They are optionally placed before nouns and certain quantifiers, marking them as definite. The first two mark them also as singular; *truu* as dual; and *mê* as plural. These determiners will be discussed in 6.2.1 with illustrative examples.

3.6. Demonstratives

There are five demonstratives: *ha, mwâ, rra, amwairrù* and *hae*. They can either refer to the position of some object, person or place in locational or temporal dimension[25]; or they can refer back to something already introduced in the discourse. They are normally cliticised to a preceding NP or a NP adjunct.

ha, mwâ and *rra* often combine with location nouns as described in 3.1.4.2.1.

(A) ha proximate, "this, this place, that"

ha generally indicates a place near the speaker, in space or time. The object referred to in space is normally visible, except when referred to anaphorically. It generally accompanies a gesture such as pointing by hand or nodding the head. When the reference is anaphoric, the choice of *ha* 'proximate', *mwâ* 'mid-distant' and *rra* 'distant' is based on pragmatic elements, which involve the speaker's psychological attitude: whether the referent is regarded as belonging to the domain of the speaker, the addressee or neither.[26] *ha* is used when the speaker feels that the object referred to belongs to his domain rather than the addressee's.

(197) moo u ha
DET time PROX
"this time"

(198) moo hòrrò ha
DET prayer PROX
"this prayer (going on now)"

(199) wa drae ha
DET thing PROX
"this thing"

(B) mwâ mid-distant, "that, there, the"

mwâ generally indicates a position near the addressee, or to a position mid-distant or distant from both the speaker and the addressee, generally visible. It can also refer to mid-distant or distant time in the past or future. When the object is referred to directly, it generally accompanies a gesture. *mwâ* is most unmarked when used anaphorically.

(200) moo u mwâ
DET time M.DIST
"next time"

---

25 It is quite common in West Melanesian Oceanic languages for spatial and temporal deixis to employ the same forms: for example, Vitu *kua* "this, now" (Ross 1988:374).

26 cf. A.Ikegami 1967.

(201) wa nre mwâ
DET fire M.DIST
"that fire"

(C) rra distant, "that, over there"

rra is generally used to refer to an object or place distant from both the speaker and the addressee, often invisible. The object referred to is often something already known to both the speaker and the addressee.

(202) wara rra
one DIST
"that one (you know); the one over there"

(203) fwòtra rra nrâ
year DIST PST
"last year"

It often occurs with a determiner and is followed by a relative clause, as illustrated in the following sentence:

(204) u see tramwâ wa moo rra nrâ
1sg NEG know DET man DIST 3sg

hajo pupe
marry Poupée
"I do not know the man who married Poupée."

(D) amwairrù "that (of a while ago)"

amwairrù refers to a point in the near past, "a while ago", of an object or person.

(205) wa nre amwairrù
DET fire a while ago
"that fire (we made or mentioned a while ago)"

(206) saa drae amwairrù
one thing a while ago
"that one (person) who was here a while ago"

(E) hae "which?"

hae is an interrogative word, meaning "which?". It can function as a sentence adverbial when it occurs sentence initially (3.7.2).

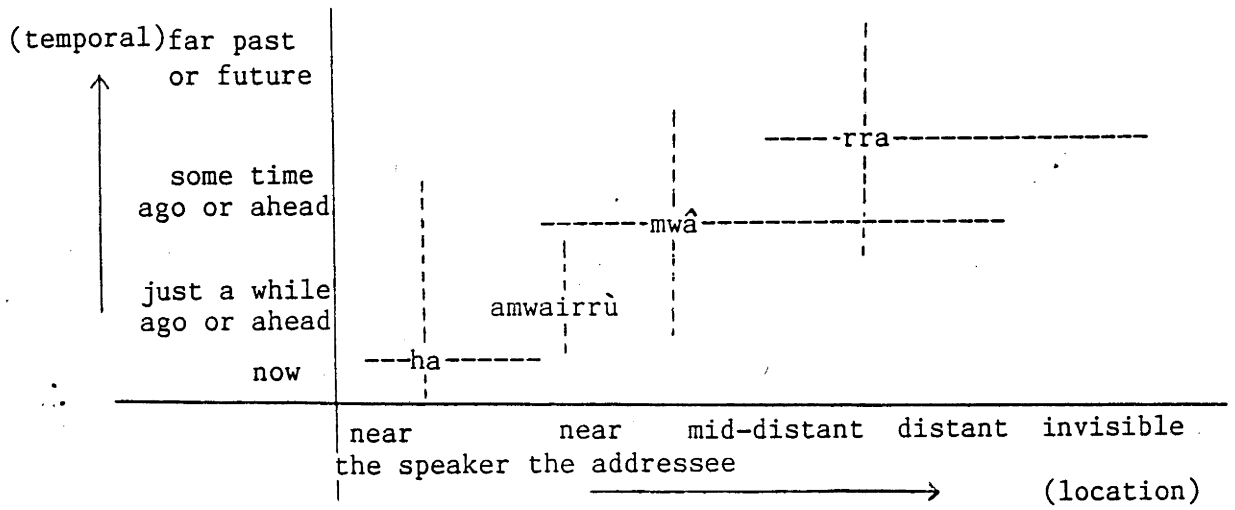
(207) ke hôsi nrî ru wa magazê hae?
2sg buy 3sg at DET shop(Fr) which
"At which shop did you buy it?"

(208) nrâ fa-hòrrò wa farrî hae?
3sg CAUS-sacred DET name which
"Which name did he forbid?"

The semantic domain these demonstratives cover in temporal and locational dimensions is illustrated in the following diagram (interrogative *hae* is not included):

Table 3.10

Temporal and Locational Domains of Demonstratives



3.7 Adverbials

We can distinguish, on semantic and distributional grounds, between adverbs (phrase-level) and sentence adverbials (clause-level).

3.7.1 Adverbs (phrase-level)

Adverbs are generally placed after the head of the VP which they modify. Syntactically, adverbs are distinguished from verbal modifiers in that they can occur quite freely in the VP except between subject pronoun and verb, while verbal modifiers can never occur after objects (except pronominal objects).

There are two types of adverbs: adverbs which can occur clause-initially and those which cannot.

3.7.1.1 Adverbs which can occur clause-initially

Adverbs which belong to this subclass include:

relative time:

hûdrô "at once"; mesi "early"; mwairrù "a while ago"; hubò "later, after"; mââde "before";

frequency:

husaau "sometimes"; tau "often, habitually"

manner:

varaha "like this"; varamwâ "like that"

These adverbs can occur clause-initially as well as in a post-verbal position with no significant difference in meaning. The following sentences illustrate this:

(209) mwairrù nrî-wâdrââ toni nrâ
a while ago the morning Tony 3sg

fi pwere numea
go to Noumea
"This morning, Tony went to Noumea."

(210) toni nrâ fi pwere numea mwairrù nrî-wâdrââ
Tony 3sg go to Noumea a while ago the morning
"Tony went to Noumea this morning."

(211) husaau nrâ tròa
sometimes 3sg arrive
"Sometimes he arrived."

(212) nrâ tròa husaau
3sg arrive sometimes
"He arrived sometimes."

3.7.1.2 Adverbs which cannot occur clause-initially

These adverbs are further grouped in those which can only modify verb phrases and those which can also modify nominal phrases.

(A) Adverbs which modify only verb phrases

Adverbs which belong to this subclass include:

intensifier:

pwâri "very much"

interrogative:

varahae "how"

duration, speed:

vaarra "long time"; gô "late"; naû "fast, quickly"

repetition:

mwârrâ "again"; mwagi "again"

manner:

tuadre "silently, in a low voice"; vivirri "carefully"; driinri "soon after, following"

adverbs which have prefix *ve-* and a set of adverbs discussed later in this section.

The following sentences illustrate some of the adverbs of the above type:

(213) u nrorri moofadrò ei amwaati mwagi
1sg give gift DAT chief again
"I gave a gift to the chief again."

(214) nrâ hâmâ fwa vaarra nrâ nrâ wie
3sg I.PST rain always PST sm rain
"It has been raining all the time (even today)."

When used with *nrâ* "past", *vaarra* is placed before it, as illustrated in the above sentence; while with other post-head verbal modifiers (e.g. *nrooi* in the following example), it may be placed either before or after them. *vaarra* can also be placed after the verbal object.

(215) rri fwi vaarra nrooi mwâ
3pl do always in vain hut
"They are always building a hut for no use."
(= rri fwi nrooi mwâ vaarra)

This group of adverbs includes those derived from verbs by prefixing *ve-*. They are: *ve-harru* (AD-good) "well", *ve-taa* (AD-bad) "badly", *ve-ti* (AD-big) "very much, to a great extent", *ve-mùrrù* (AD-small) "to a small extent, less", *ve-horro* (AD-strong) "strongly", *ve-trô* (AD-calm) "calmly", *ve-arù* (AD-same) "in the same way, similarly". When they occur immediately after the verb, it is difficult to clearly distinguish them as either derived adverbs or serialized verbs. I will discuss this in the section on serialization (7.9.1). The following sentence, where *ve-harru* is detached from the verb, illustrates their adverbial use:

(216) u merrejo nrîwù[27] nrîpwù ve-harru
1sg sleep last night at night well
"I slept very well last night."

There is a closed set of adverbs, which mostly (with a few exceptions) consist of reduplicated syllables, and often have [r] in them. Their occurence is restricted to use with specific lexical items. Each of these adverbs occurs only with one or two stative verbs, and functions as an intensifier. These stative verbs are associated either with colours or with qualities of a physical nature. Their use is illustrated in the following examples:

< with verbs associated with colours>

riri

pôgôrrô riri (black, very) "very black"

riirii

ôdro riirii (green/blue, very) "dark green"

riria (M)

wâ riria (white, very) "completely white"

rara

maa rara (red , very) "very red"

dhadha

huue dhadha (white, very) "very white"

---

[27] *nrîwù* may be a conflation of the form *nrî-pwù* (L-night) "(at) night" and *âwù* "yesterday". *nrîwù* and *nrî-pwù* are often juxtaposed when the speaker wants to emphasize "whole night".

<with verbs associated with qualities or physical natures>

rarai (G)

taa rarai (bad, very) "very bad"

rùùrùù

purrù rùùrùù (soft, very) "very soft"

rùrù

mùrrù rùrù (small, very) "very small"
hubò rùrù (short, very) "very short"

ii (The last two items show that *ii* has a lexical meaning "long time".)

mwaa ii "very long, very far"
truu ii "stay long time"
hawi ii "talk long time"

aghau

ti aghau "very big"

sisi

bòwò sisi (light, very) "very light"

(B) Adverbs which can also modify nominal phrases

Adverbs which belong to this subclass include:

emphatic:

edho "even, nevertheless, indiscriminately, (with NEG) other than";
hwa "emphatic, even"; fi "altogether, all around"; nròrrò "only, simply"
wânrî "all, entirely, everywhere"; hâvenrîâ "all, entirely"

quantity:

adrù "enough"; amùrrù "a little"; abwê "a lot"; ati "very much"

repetition:

parrù "also, too"

These adverbs occur quite freely in a post-verbal position, but they cannot be preposed to the clause-initial position. Their use as post-nominal modifiers is illustrated in the section on nominal adjuncts (6.2.7).

(217)

nrâ	vajù	wai	nrâ	hwa
3sg	sick	already	PST	EMPH

"He has already died."
(*hwa* can also occur before *nrâ* "past")

(218)

ka	nrorri	edho	hêêra	ei	ausòò-nrü
2sg PERF	give	nevertheless	food	to	big brother-2sg

"You have nevertheless given food to your elder brother"

The adverbs expressing quantity are derived from the verbs *drù* "to suffice", *mùrrù* "be small", *bwê* "be numerous" and *ti* "big" by prefixing *a*, and thus they have the same forms as the corresponding participial relative clauses (8.3.2). This prefix *a*, however, is not productive: it occurs only in those words in the list. The adverbial use of *adrù* is illustrated by the following sentence:

(219) ria ho adrù wai
1plinc PERF eat (meat) enough already
"We have already eaten (meat) enough."

3.7.2 Sentence adverbials

This class comprises five forms: *hwai*, *hi*, *rahi*, *nera* and *hae*. They express the speaker's estimate, doubt or attitude on a proposition as described below. Their occurrence is restricted to only clause-initial position.

hwai) "probably"

The speaker considers what he states is a probable situation:

(220) hwai rri fwi fi sêmirru pù
probably 3pl sum up to about 5000 (Fr) flying fox
"There may be about 5000 flying foxes."
(It is probable that there are about 5000 flying foxes.)

(221) hwai kevi saafi idri ru nrî
probably 1plexc together born at 3sg
"Probably, we were all born there."
(It is probable that we were all born there.)

rahi) "perhaps"

The speaker considers that the statement he makes expresses a possible situation. I distinguish this form from *ra* as a conjunction, meaning "or", followed by *hi* in a co-ordinated sentence.

(222) rahi nrâ fi wai nrâ
perhaps 3sg go already PST
"Perhaps, he already went away."

(223) rahi nrorru see hara warra
perhaps 3dl NEG eat yet
"Perhaps, they two have not eaten yet."

hi) "I wonder.."

The speaker is uncertain or suspicious about the truth of his statement. See further examples in 8.1.2.1.1.

(224) hi va re tro hau
I wonder IMPN ASS true demon
"I wonder if this can be a real demon."

(225) u nrôdro hi nrâ mwâ u see trôdrô
1sg think I wonder that that 1sg NEG find

nrâ saa treanrü
PST one person
"I wondered if I might not see a person."
(*hi* occurs in the initial position of an embedded clause.)

(a)nera) "what about, how is it"

This expresses some surprise on the part of the speaker in seeing a situation and wondering how it came about, or it indicates a suggestion on the part of the speaker: "what about ..ing; why not do..". When this adverbial occurs sentence-medially (but still clause initially), its initial *a* is dropped.

(226) anera wiri nrâ truu ânrâha
how is it 2pl IMPF stay here
"How is it that you are still here?"

(227) nrâ go hidro nrâ mwâ nera wei .
3sg then say PST that what about 1sg FUT

fi pwere nrî
go to 3sg
"He then said 'why aren't I going there?'."

hae) "where, how"

hae is normally followed by a NP: in this case the speaker is asking about the location of the NP. It can also be followed by a clause introduced by the complementizer *bee*, in which case the speaker is interested in the situation described in the clause. When the following NP is a human noun, the speaker is asking about either the location or condition of that person.

(228) hae erre nrâ nrü?
where place POSS 2sg
"Where is your place (house)?"

(229) hae bee truu gâ nrâ nrî?
how CMPZ stay colour POSS 3sg
"What is the colour of it?"

(* *hae gâ nrâ nrî* is unacceptable, as *hae* means "where" when used with a non-human NP, which reads "where is the colour?".)

(230) hae bee nyôrrô ò?
how CMPZ cook pot
"How do you cook the dish?" (lit. How is the way to cook the pot dish?)

(231) hae audrê-nrü?
how father-2sg
"How is your father?"
(This can also mean "where is your father?".)

3.8 Tense-Aspect Markers

There are nine TA markers, which follow the subject pronoun at the beginning of the predicate. The predicate can be nominal, verbal or locative. If there are pre-head verbal modifiers in the predicate, TA markers normally occur before them.

re "assertive", for example, can occur in the following constructions:

<with nominal predicate>

(232) nrâ re pù
3sg ASS flying fox
"It should be a flying fox."

<verbal predicate>

(233) nrâ re fi
3sg ASS go
"He goes by all means."

<locative predicate>

(234) nrâ re ânrâha
3sg ASS here
"He is here."

TA markers can be combined; this is treated, along with the syntactic and semantic features of each of the TA markers, in 7.3.

3.9 **Verbal Modifiers**

Verbal modifiers fall into two subcategories: pre-head verbal modifiers and post-head verbal modifiers.

3.9.1 Pre-head verbal modifiers

Pre-head verbal modifiers occur only between the subject pronoun and the head of the predicate, after TA markers if there are any.

This class comprises a number of modifiers which are assigned to four different types according to their syntactic properties. Their syntactic and semantic features are described in detail in 7.4.

3.9.2 Post-head verbal modifiers

Post-head verbal modifiers always occur after the head of the predicate. They differ from adverbs in that they always occur before the verbal object if there is one.

There are fifteen post-head verbal modifiers. Some of them may be combined with each other, like TA markers. The function and meaning of each of these modifiers, as well as the order among them, is described in 7.5.

3.10 **Relators**

Relators are the grammatical forms which serve to link NPs, VPs, or clauses, or to introduce subordinate clauses. This class consists of conjunctions, complementizers, *î* and *nrî* (link morphemes), nd *a* (attribute marker).

3.10.1 Conjunctions

All six conjunctions are listed in this section, together with their meanings and functions. Further discussion of these conjunctions with illustrative examples will be given in 8.2.2.

1) mwâ "and, but, or (phrase), (that)"

mwâ can be used either to link two co-ordinated clauses (connective or adversative) or to introduce a subordinated/complement clause.

Although *mwâ* is normally a clause-level conjunction, it can be used exceptionally to link two prepositional phrases, as in the following example, indicating "or":

(235)

u	hidrò	gi	wiri	gi	nrü	mwâ	gi	ubo
1sg	say	about	2pl	about	2sg	or	about	Ubo

"I talk about you(pl), about you(sg) or about Ubo."

2) mê "and, or"

mê is generally used to link two NPs. Although clauses can be combined without conjunctions, use of a conjunction between the co-ordinated elements at the phrase level is obligatory.

mê can mean either "and" or "or" depending on the situational context:

(236)

wo-ù	mê	wage-ù
fruit-tree	and/or	flower-tree

"the fruit and/or the flower"

When more than three items are enumerated, *mê* can be omitted from between all items except the last two. Sometimes, a sentence may end with a conjunction, as in: A *mê* B *mê* C *mê*. The conjunction in such a case seems to imply "and so on."

mê can also occur between two clauses, when they are expressing the same idea or are related to each other very closely.

3) ra "or"

ra is used to express "or" at both clause and phrase level. In the following example, *ra* links two nouns:

(237)

saa	ra	aurru
one	or	two

"One or two"

4) nrî "when, if, where"

nrî introduces a temporal or conditional clause. If it follows a location noun, it can also introduce a locative clause.

5) pa "in case"

pa introduces an adverbial clause or a noun phrase, meaning "in case, for the fear of".

6) tra "in order that, if"

tra introduces an adverbial clause, meaning "in order that, if". It often follows *nrô bee* "for, in order to".

3.10.2 Complementizers

Apart from the conjunction *mwâ* in the previous section, which also functions as a complementizer, there are three complementizers, which are listed below. They are further discussed, with illustrative examples later in 8.3.1.1.

1) drae

drae, which is a noun meaning "thing", can be used to introduce a complement clause. The use of *drae* as a complementizer seems to be more colloquial than *mwâ* (8.3.1.1.B).

2) bee

bee has two functions: it can occur either as a prefix, or as a complementizer. When it is used as a prefix, the resulting form exhibits the nature of a noun (4.1.5); whereas when *bee* occurs as a complementizer, it is followed by a verb with its subject (nominal or pronominal) and/or its object, sometimes with one or more verbal modifiers or adverbs, as a whole retaining a verbal nature. See 8.3.1.1.C for examples.

3) òò

òò behaves just like *bee* when it occurs as a complementizer; it is followed directly by a verb, with its subject and/or its object (8.3.1.1.D).

òò differs from *bee* in that it normally occurs as a prefix deriving a noun (4.1.6), and its use as a complementizer is not as common as that of *bee*.

3.10.3 *î* and *nrî*, link morphemes

î and *nrî* occur in linked verb constructions (which will be discussed in 7.9.2). *î* marks the two actions as simultaneous, and *nrî* marks the second verb as purposive.

3.10.4 *a*, attribute marker

Apart from its use as a prefix (4.1.1) *a* can also function as an attribute marker, which links a participial relative clause to a preceding NP head. The NP head is always the subject of the embedded verb, and the verb can take an object which is normally (but not necessarily) marked by *nrâ*. One or more modifiers can also occur in the embedded clause. (See 8.3.2 for further discussion.)

3.11 Interjections

Interjections are words used to express a special effect of some kind, usually involving a particular emotional attitude of the speaker. They may either constitute a complete utterance, or they may introduce a clause that expands on the information given by the interjection.

They are further discussed in section 8.1.2.3.

3.12 Multifunctional Forms

It was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter that word classes in Tinrin can overlap on functional grounds, and that many words belong to more than one class, in spite of there being some productive derivational processes between word classes.

Shown in the following table are examples of words which belong to two or more word classes, without needing to undergo morphological derivation. Homophones without related meanings are not listed here.

Table 3.11: **Multifunctional Forms**

	Noun	Verb
wù	shoot, sprout	to shoot, sprout
wù	belly	to carry on the hip
meghi	heat	be hot
wage	flower	to bloom
hwòrrò	shelter	to flee
truunrôdrò	thought	to think
hòrrò	prayer	be sacred
tôrrô	torch	to grill, to light
suka	sugar	to sweeten
kuhwa	rifle	to hunt with a rifle, shoot
koo	vomit	to vomit
ha	language	to speak
kobù	anger	be angry
hü	ivy	to creep (of ivy)

	Preposition	Verb
fi	vicinity, motion away	to go
mê	vicinity, motion towards	to come
winrô	along	to follow

	Noun	Verbal modifier
sau	once, all	again, once more
gùwù	body, surface	imperfect

	Attribute	Verbal modifier
saafi	all of	altogether
hùwù(nrâ)	small, little	a little
tro	real, indigenous	augmentative, simply

	Verb	Verbal modifier
wake	to work	always, continuous
nrââû	to start, begin	inchoative
pee	to see, look	try, tentative
jùrrù	to cut	completive

There are also a few verbs which can be either transitive or intransitive with the same form. Those forms attested include the following:

	Transitive meaning	Intransitive meaning
fwi	to make, amount to	to exist
nruu	to dive and catch (prawns)	to dive

The following forms occur as prefixes to derive nouns, which also function as free forms. They are prefixes when they are bound to other morphemes, and an accent falls on them as it does on the first syllable in a phonological word (cf. 2.4). There are also classificatory prefixes which have the same forms as the verbs /nouns with related meaning (see Table 5-1), which are not listed here.

	Prefix	Relator
bee(-)	NMZ (action/state)	complementizer
òò(-)	NMZ (location)	complementizer
a(-)	NMZ (agent)	attribute marker

	Prefix	Determiner
truu(-)	two people of a profession, etc.	dual
mê(-)	plural people of a profession, etc.	plural

	Prefix	Preposition	Conjunction
nrî(-)	time	temporal	when

I did not differentiate the temporal preposition *nrî* (the last word in the above list) from the causal, instrumental, etc. nor did I separate the temporal conjunction from the others in the description. For a number of forms, it is difficult to say whether they are the same word with different functions or not. This problem, along with that of homonymy (cf. footnote 1 in 1.1) and polysemy should be examined separately, and in greater detail than the scope of this thesis allows.

Chapter 4

NOUN MORPHOLOGY

Nouns described in 3.1.4 can be either morphologically simple or morphologically complex. Morphologically complex nouns can be derived by the processes of prefixation, reduplication or compounding. (No suffixation processes are found in the morphology of Tinrin nouns). Prefixation is the processes used most productively in the derivation of new stems. There is no productive use of reduplication; it is seen in only a few isolated stems.

4.1 Prefixation

There are a number of prefixes, either productive or non-productive, involved in the derivation of Tinrin nouns. Each of these is discussed below.

4.1.1 Prefixes indicating number

There are five prefixes - *ke-*, *a-*, *au-*, *truu-* and *mê-* -all indicating number; the first three mark singularity. Except in some words prefixed by *a-*, the prefixes occur only with human nouns.

truu- marks duality and *mê-* marks plurality, and both are prefixed only to human nouns.

(A) ke- "a person of some kind"

ke- derives nouns either from other nouns or stative verbs, designating a type of person or nationality, as shown in the later examples.

(B) a- "a person (of a particular profession / particular nature) or a thing (of a particular quality)"

a- is a very productive prefix. It derives nouns from verbs, indicating either a habitual practitioner of a particular action or a person or thing having the nature or quality expressed by the verb stem.

When it follows the head of a NP, the same form can also relate a verb phrase to the preceding nominal head. This use of *a* 'attribute marker' is discussed later in 8.3.2. In this section, only words in which *a-* is tightly combined with the root to make a phonological word (with the accent on the prefix) are included.

(C) au- "kin"

au- is prefixed to bound forms, indicating a kin relationship.

(D) truu- "two people (of some type, of a profession or nature, or of the same kin"

truu- can be prefixed to most of the stems to which *ke-*, *a-* and *au-* can be prefixed, as long as they are human nouns.

We should note that there is a determiner *truu* which has exactly the same form as this prefix (3.5).

(E) mê- "plural number of people (of some type, of a profession or nature, or of the same kin"

mê- can also be prefixed to most of the stems which can occur with *ke-*, *a-* and *au-*.

The plural forms can also be marked by *-va-* or *-v-* , which often involve some morphophonemic changes (2.7). This will be discussed later in the section on the collective prefix *nrî-*.

mê can also be a determiner (as with *truu*), which is discussed later in 6.2.1.

Words prefixed by *ke-*, *a-*, and *au-* in their singular forms, and their corresponding dual (*truu-*) and plural (*mê-*) forms are illustrated in the following table. The table also includes those which have either *truu-* or *mê-* forms but not the singular forms prefixed by any of *ke-*, *a-* or *au-*.

There are words prefixed by *ke-* which do not have dual forms. The symbol * indicates that no corresponding form is found for that place. Words in parentheses are the corresponding ones, but without the same prefix.

Table 4.1

Words Prefixed by ke-, a- and au- and their Dual and Plural Forms

meaning	singular	dual	plural
"friend, relative"	ke-pwerre- (=a-pwerre-)	truu-pwerre-	mê-pwerre-
"maternal uncle, his clan"	ke-warrabù-	truu-warrabù-	mê-warrabù-
"Japanese (person)"	ke-sapone	truu-sapone	mê-sapone
"man from Ile des Pins	ke-kudei	truu-kudei	mê-kudei
"white people" (white)	ke-pwògarra	truu-pwògarra	mê-pwògarra
"Kanak man"	ke-tro-treanrü	*	mê-tro-treanrü
"subject" (be small)	ke-amùrrù	*	mê-amùrrù
"person from a mountain" (mountain area)	ke-kagho	*	mê-kagho
"people on the coast" (sea)	*	*	mê-trùjù

"guest, tourist" (to walk)	a-fadrò	truu-fadrò	mê-fadrò
"thief (to steal)	a-mêdrò	truu-mêdrò	mê-medrò
"soldier" (to fight)	a-via	truu-via	mê-via
"singer" (to sing)	a-hô	truu-hô	mê-hô
"youth" (be young)	a-droa	truu-droa	mê-droa
"old person" (be old)	a-bêêrrî	truu-bêêrrî	mê-bêêrrî
"friend, relative" (?)	a-pwerre-	truu-pwerre-	mê-pwerre-
"baby, child"	(hùùmùrrù)	trùùmùrrù	maamùrrù
"man"	(moo)	truuo	(voo)
"woman"	(mwîê)	trîê	(vîê)
"sun" (to shine)	a-sù	*	*
"result, effect" (follow)	a-hwai	*	*
"ravine" (be precipitous)	a-taja	*	*
"plain" (full of grass)	a-o-mîî	*	*
"mother"	au-nê-	truu-nê-	mê-nê-
dl: parents/ two mothers			
pl:fathers & mothers/ mothers			
"elder sibling"	au-sòò-	truu-sòò-	mê-sòò-
"younger sibling"	au-tri-	truu-tri-	mê-tri-
"sibling of different sex"	au-hêrrê-	truu-ahêrrê-	mê-hêrrê-
dl:a brother & a sister			
pl: male ego's sisters			
"sibling of same sex"	truare-	truu-truare-	mê-vovare-
cross cousin"	au-vae-	truu-avae-	mê-vae-
"father"	au-drê-	truu-drê-	mê-drê-
dl: two fathers, pl:fathers			
dl: father & son/daughter		truu-adrêmwâ-	
pl: fathers & sons/daughters			(nrîvovadrêmwâ)
"sibling between the eldest & youngest"	(anrîgùwùti-)	truu-nrîgùwùti-	mê-nrîgùwùti-
"son/daughter"	(hùwù-)	truuwù-	mââwù-
"nephew/niece"	(fahòrròere-)	truu-fahòrròere-	mê-fahòrròere-
"cross cousin"	(edhi-)	truu-aedhi-	(nrîvaedhi)
"father/mother in law & son/	(sôê-)	truu-asôê-	(nrîvasôê)
"grandchild"	(herre-)	truu-aherre-	(nrîvaherre)
dl: "grandfather & grandson"			
"uncle & nephew/aunt & niece"	*	truu-amarra-	(nrîvamarra)
"mother & daughter or son"	*	trîtruare-	(nrîvîvare)
"husband and wife"	*	truu-avò(ò)ru-	

4.1.2 Prefix *â-*

â- is prefixed to bound form roots to derive location nouns in the following list. The meaning of the stem is applied to the meaning of the word. *-rù*, *-roa*, *-ro* also function as directional suffixes (5.2.4).

â-rù "place a bit higher"
â-roa "up there, mountain side"
â-va "there, the other side of stream"
â-jo "downstream, down the valley"
â-jù "down there"
â-rijù "down there, in the back"
â-ro "place on the same level, by side"
â-e "which way, where"
â-nrî "there"

4.1.3 Prefix *nrî-*

nrî is a productive prefix, functioning in the following four different ways.

(A) It derives location nouns (cf. 3.1.4.2.1 B) from non-location words, either nouns or verbs. They include:

nrî-mîî (L-grass) "bush-land"
nrî-ù (L-tree) "forest"
nrî-tarragho (L-mud, muddy holes) "muddy place"
nrî-troo (L-soil) "on the earth"
nrî-hau (L-demon, spirit) "the gathering place of the spirits of the dead"
nrî-huu (L-cloud) "sky"
nrî-pêrrê (L-fence) "paddock"
nrî-ja (L-to clear the land) "clearing"
nrî-dri (L-be damp) "swamp"
nrî-tò (L-be closed, impassable) "thicket, impassable place"
nrî-hòrrò (L-be sacred) "sacred place"(see also (D))
nrî-ô (L-be depressed, sunken) "a valley, depression"

(B) It derives following time nouns (cf. 3.1.4.2.2.C) from non-time words, either nouns or verbs.

nrî-sêêdre (T-twilight) "in the evening"

nrî-wadrâ (T-the beginning of the day) "in the morning"
nrî-fodrâ (T-daylight) "at dawn"
nrî-meghi (T-heat, be hot) "in summer"
nrî-wihòve (T- ?cold) "in winter"
nrî-tròò (T-back) "after"
nrî-harre (T-appropriate time for something) "in season"

(C) *nrî* derives collective nouns from common nouns, possessive classifiers, verbs or bound forms.

<from common nouns>

nrî-wasaa (COL-plate) "a plateful of something"
nrî-treanrü (COL-people) "people of the same year or the same category"
nrî-amwaati (COL-chief) "royal family"
nrî-tra (COL-ash) "ashes"
nrî-tari (COL-skewer) "fish or eels on skewers"

<from possessive classifiers>

Derived nouns are bound form nouns which are obligatorily followed by either a pronominal or noun possessor (3.1.3).

nrî-hwee-nrî (COL-meat to eat- 3sg) "his meat"
nrî-e-nrü (COL-food [starches] to eat- 2sg) "your food [starches]"
nrî-hwiie-moo (COL-chews [sugarcane, tobacco]-man) "the man's tobaccos (or sugarcanes)"
nrî-êê-rò (COL-crop-1sg) "my crops"
nrî-hêê-jaa (COL-belongings-who) "whose belongings?"

<from verbs>

nrî-ti (COL-to grow, be big) "same age group"
nrî-samâ (COL-to stack, put on) "pile, heap of something"

<from bound forms>

While prefix *mê-* derives nouns which refer to plural members of a particular kin relationship, words derived by prefix *nrî-* refer to a collection of people who are in that kin relationship, occurring with *-v-* which marks plurality. The forms of this type often involve morphophonemic rules which are discussed in 2.7.

nrî-vavae/nrî-vaedhi (COL-cross cousin) "cross cousins"
nrî-vovadrêmwâ (COL-father) "fathers & children"
nrî-vahêrrê (COL-sibling of different sex) "brothers & sisters"
nrî-vamarra (COL-uncle and nephew or aunt and niece) "uncles/aunts & nephews/nieces"
nrî-vîvare (COL-mother and son or daughter) "mothers & children"
nrî-vovare (COL-brother or sister of the same sex) "brothers or sisters"
nrî-vasôê (COL-father or mother and son in law) "fathers or mothers & sons in law"
nrî-vaherre (COL-grandchild, grandfather and grandson) "grandfathers and grandchildren"

(D) It derives generic/abstract nouns from common nouns, verbs or bound forms.

<from common nouns>

nrî-agho (GEN-shoulder harness, strap) "burden on the back"
nrî-ôdro (ABS-green, blue) "greenery"

<from verbs>

nrî-hòrrò (ABS-be sacred) "prayer"

<from bound forms>

nrî-fò (GEN-opening) "mouth"
nrî-mee (GEN-edge, top) "face"

4.1.4 Prefix *fò-*

Nouns denoting "impression or mark" made by someone (or by some body part or some activity) are inalienably possessed in some languages (cf. Crowley 1988). In Tinrin, they are indicated by prefix *fò-* which productively derives nouns from either noun or verb, or another bound morpheme. As *fò-* is a prefix (and not a bound noun), it is never suffixed by a pronominal possessor.

It has an extensive meaning: (a) "impression, mark, scar", (b) "trace, evidence" and (c) "mouth, opening":

(A) fò- "impression, mark, scar"

It indicates the "impression, mark, scar" made by the object or action expressed by the root of the word. Nouns are derived very productively from either nouns or verbs.

fò-sarra (mark-knife) "a knife cut"
fò-arrebò (wound-stone) "a stone hit"
fò-ti (mark-oven) "earth oven site"
fò-seghe (scar-to stab) "a scar"
fò-eghe (mark-to bite) "teeth marks"
fò-deghe (wound-to hit, kick) "a bruise"
fò-terre (mark-to tie) "knot"

(B) fò- "trace, evidence, manner"

Nouns are derived from either a noun or a verb, indicating the "trace, evidence" or "manner" resulting from or relating to the object or action expressed by the root.

fò-fwòtra (trace-year) "age"
fò-wanre (trace-wind) "route of the wind"
fò-môôwi (trace-to breathe) "breath"
fò-via (manner-to fight) "war"
fò-nrôdrò (manner-to think) "reason"
fò-hùrrù(trace-to give a birth) "generation"
fò-nrîmoo (trace-to tell a story) "history, story"
fò-virre (manner-to putter around) "manner, behaviour"

(C) fò- "mouth, opening"

fò- has another meaning "mouth, opening", which is used less productively and also prefixed to bound morphemes.

fò-wêjô (opening-nose) "nostril"
fò-arròò (opening-water) "bay,spring, mouth of a river"
fò-drââ (opening-day) "dawn, daybreak"
fò-pêrrê (opening-fence, barrier) "gate"
fò-drêrrê (opening-?) "ear" (Some people pronounce this as foo-drêrê)
fò-bwija (opening-?) "navel"
fò-jurru (opening-?) "window"

This *fò-* is obviously related to the *-fò* in the following words:

nrî-fò (GEN-opening) "mouth"
tii-fò (?-opening) "lip"
wâ -fò (hair-opening) "beard"

foo- in the following word may be a variant of *fò*.

foo-mwâ (opening-house) "house door"
foo-mêâ (opening?-visible, opening?) "window"

We should note that there is a common noun *fò*, which has an identical form to the prefix under consideration. It indicates "species, a particular kind", juxtaposed to another noun (see 6.2.4), as in

(238)

wa	fò	treanrü	rra
DET	kind	people	DIST

"that kind of man"

This *fò* can occur with a derived noun, as illustrated by the following example, which distinguishes it from the prefix *fò-*, as the latter never attaches to a derived noun.

(239)

wa	fò	bee-fwi	mwâ
DET	kind	NMZ-do	M.DIST

"such a way of doing"

It can also occur by itself as in the following example, as it is a free form:

(240) wa fò mwâ
DET kind M.DIST
"that kind"

They also have slightly different accentuation: that is, when *fò-* is a prefix, the primary accent in the word normally falls on the *fò*, and not on the first syllable of the root; whereas when *fò* is a noun, the accent falls on both *fò* and the initial syllable of the second element.

4.1.5 Prefix *bee-*

bee- functions to nominalize a verb. It can basically indicate one of two semantic relationships between the verbal form and the derived nominal form. The derived nominal form may indicate the actual action or state expressed by the verbal form. Or, it may indicate the way or manner of the action/state. However, these two meanings very often overlap, so that the same expression can mean the action or the state itself, or the way or manner of the action/state, depending on the context in which it is used.

We should note that *bee* can also function as a complementizer (3.10.2). The prefix *bee-* can be distinguished from the complementizer in that words prefixed with *bee-* behave exactly like any other abstract noun, whose primary accent is on the first syllable (that is, on *bee-* itself); when *bee* is a complementizer, the accent falls on the verbal stem, not on *bee*. Furthermore, words prefixed with *bee-* can follow a determiner or a prenominal adjunct, and precede some postnominal modifiers as illustrated in the following examples, while complementizer *bee* cannot occur in such a place (8.3.1.1).

(241) wa bee-mwage mwâ
DET NMZ-play M.DIST
"this sport"

(242) saa bee-hadho a harru
one NMZ-play string game AT good
"an interesting string game"

(243) bee-fwi varamwâ
NMZ-do like that
"such a way of living, such a life"

Words prefixed with *bee-* include also:

bee-hwai (NMZ-to follow) "a (kin) relation"
bee-drii (NMZ-to persist, disobey) "disobedience"
bee-sefa (NMZ-to disobey) "disobedience"
bee-sii (NMZ-to run) "running around" (a special way of hunting flying foxes)

4.1.6 Prefix *òò-*

This indicates the place where the action expressed by the root is performed. The meaning acquired may deviate slightly from "the place" in some words, as in *òò-tuu* "writing" in the following list. This prefix may be a contracted form of a bound noun *òwò* "living place, trace."

òò can also function as a complementizer, like *bee*, although less frequently so. This is discussed later in 8.3.1.1.

òò-vùrrù (NMZ-to climb) "ladder"
òò-mwage (NMZ-to play) "oval"
òò-de (NMZ-to hang) "flying fox's home"
òò-sewùrrù (NMZ-to bury) "cemetery"
òò-marra (NMZ-to cultivate) "field"
òò-nranyûâ (NMZ-to hide) "abandoned site"
òò-tuu (NMZ-to write) "writing"
òò-juo (NMZ-to sit) "chair"
òò-vòi(NMZ-to defecate) "buttocks"
òò-pajù (NMZ-to glue two things together) "joints"

4.1.7 Prefix *gu-*

This prefix productively derives nouns from verbs indicating the sound which is produced by the action expressed in the stem. *gu-* can also be prefixed to a noun, as illustrated in the last example.

gu-ha (sound-to speak) "voice"
gu-pò (sound-to move) "sound of moving"
gu-pii (sound-to rustle) "rustling sound"
gu-rri (sound-to make a noise, rumble or roar as thunder or a car) "noise"
gu-hawi (sound-to talk) "sound of voice talking"
gu-ugâ (sound-to shout) "shout (voice)"
gu-wanre (sound-wind) "sound of wind"

4.1.8 Prefix *fa-*

This derives abstract nouns from either stative verbs or quantifiers (numerals). The derived noun indicates the physical property (measurable or countable), or forms an ordinal number when *fa-* is prefixed to numbers (cf. footnote 14 in 3.1.2).

fa-mwaa (physical property-be long) "length"
fa-mijù (physical property-be heavy) "weight"
fa-drarraa (physical property-be big, massive) "volume, bulk"
fa-ti (physical property-be big, tall) "size, height"
fa-bwê (physical property-many) "number, many"
fa-asirri (ordinal-three) "third"
fa-aurru (ordinal-two) "the second"

4.2 **Reduplication**

There is no productive reduplication process in Tinrin noun morphology. In the following examples are noted only some isolated forms.

The reduplication of the initial syllable, or vowel is sometimes heard in location/time nouns. It augments the meaning by lengthening the vowel in the initial syllable:

ââva "further away" < âva "the other side, over there"
ââroa "further up" < âroa "up there"
ââro "further there" < âro "there"
mwââroa "further up there" < mwâroa "up there"
nrôôônrî "very long time (ago)" < nrôônrî "long time"

The second syllable is repeated in the following words, again augmenting the meaning.

pôgogôrrô "jet black" < pôgôrrô "black"
dirrirri "small cicada" < dirri "small cicada"

"Jet black" can also be expressed by *pôgôrrô riri*. *riri* is one of a group of intensifier adverbs which have a duplicated syllable. These forms are discussed in 3.7.1.2.

There is only a single instance attested of the entire word being reduplicated. The meaning of the non- reduplicated form is augmented and given some social importance in the reduplicated form of the following:

mwâmwâ "grand hut, meeting place" < mwâ "hut"

The following words have a different element between two duplicated forms:

wî tro wî (banana, real, banana) "native banana"
u hi u (yam, to grate, yam) "yam cake"
u tro u (yam, real, yam) " special yam for chief"

4.3 Compounding

Compounding is another morphological process for deriving nouns in Tinrin. Compounds are a type of word structure made up of two or more constituents, each belonging to a category of nominals or verbs (cf. Selkirk 1982). The compound itself is either a noun or a verb. These constituents cannot be separated by any modifier, nor can either of them take individual adjuncts.

A compound noun normally consists of a nominal on the left and a nominal or verb on the right. Only a few compound nouns have a verb as their initial element.

$$N \text{ ---} \begin{Bmatrix} N \\ (V) \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} N \\ V \end{Bmatrix}$$

The nominal on both left and right can be either free form or bound form. When the nominal on the right is the bound form, the compound itself is also a bound form.

When the left element is a bound form or when the last syllable of the left element is dropped when compounded, the parts of the compound are bound to each other as a single phonological unit. In this case, the primary accent normally falls on the first syllable of the compound (e.g. *mēe-marri* "plateau of coral")

When the first element is a free form noun or a verb, the initial syllables of each constituents normally bear primary accent (e.g. *wî ā́sù* "a kind of banana with red fruit").

There are a variety of syntactic relationships possible between the constituents. However, there seems to be always the head - modifier relation in them. The compound is left headed, with the right component defining the nature, quality or contents of the referent on the left.

The meaning of a compound sometimes does not reflect the sum of the meanings of its parts (e.g. *verre wâwarra* (special stone, mouse) "groin").

4.3.1 Nominal compounds

The vast majority of compound nouns have a construction with the first element as a nominal.

(A) Compounds formed with a free common noun as the first element

<free common noun + free common noun>

wasaa hùarri (reed, a kind of bird) "a swamp reed"
fò mwâmwâ (genre, great hut, meeting place) "a clan"
verre wâwarra (special stone, mouse) "groin"
wî asù (banana, sun) "a kind of banana with red fruit"

The derived nouns with the prefix *nrî-* can also be the first element of compound nouns, with the second element being the semantic subject/object of the verbal stem of the first element.

nrî-pwò asù (settling place, sun) "sunny place"
nrî-bwerrî asù (marking place, sun) "time of the day"
nrî-bwerrî pue nrôrrô (marking place, site, five) "special five days of a person who prays for rain" (he has to hide himself for five days)"

< free common noun + bound noun>

ò asirri hi-nrî (pot, three, leg-3sg) "three legged pot"

< free common noun + verb>

fò fadrò (genre, walk) "companion"
moo fadrò (a kind of native money, walk) "present, offering"

(B) Compounds formed with bound noun as the initial element

In the following words, the two (or three) parts of the compound are linked closely to form a single phonological unit, with the first element being a bound form noun, (and the second, if there are three parts).

<bound form noun + free common noun>

pwò-nraa (package-straw) "straw ridging of the house"
ô-mwâ (head-house) "conch of the summit of house"
fwîî-trôrrôdri (excrement-bee) "honey"
nô-saa (bone-one) "mountain range"
noo-hau (spine-demon) "a kind of ivy"
wave-kò (joint-message) "word"
mehi-mwîê (finger-woman) "thumb"
bê-tâ (arm-taro) "mourning" (people put this on when they are in mourning.)
bê-trùjù (arm-sea) "seaside"

In the following compounds, the last syllable of the first element is either dropped or loses its length, when compounded.

puu-mou (*puue* fishing net-small mesh) "net with small mesh"
ô-hûûdrù (*ôgi* bark-niaouli) "bark of niaouli (indigenous eucalyptus)"
me-hi (*mee* edge-leg) "finger"

<bound form noun (+ bound form noun) + bound form noun>
(they form a bound form compound)

pwò-pwe-òrrò- (package-testicle-penis) "penis sheath"
virri-ô- (shell-head) "skull"
virri-hi- (shell-leg) "nail"
nrîfò-pe- (mouth-buttocks) "anus"
ûû-mââ- (base-thigh) "the upper part of thigh"
nô-bê-(bone-arm) "bone of wing or arm"
wâ-mee-fwîî- (hair-edge-excrement) "tail"
wââ-tra- (root-blood) "vein"
ûû-bê- (base-arm) "shoulder"
wave-hi- (joint-leg) "ankle"
êrrê-kò-/hêrrê-kò- (content-message) "content of message"

<bound form noun + quantifier>

mee-saa (edge- one) "spear with one point at the end"

<bound form noun + verb>
(last two words are link nouns)

mee-marri (edge-be dry) "plateau of coral"
mee-dri (edge-be damp) "spring"
mee-trî (edge-to thrust in) "spear with many points at the end"
hêrrê-kari(content-to hunt) "meat"
pùù-maa (buttock-be red) "poisonous spider"
hirre-fadrò (teammate-to walk) "companion"
êrrê-îgâ (content-to dream) "dream"
êrrê-havari (content-to say right) "good reason"
tròò-hara (back-to eat) "afternoon, after eating"
nô-mâ-(liquid-to urinate) "urine"
nô-ti-(liquid-to suck) "milk"

(C) Compounds formed with location noun as the initial element

<location noun + free form noun>

drô-mwâ (surface-house) "roof"
nrînâwâ-hòrrò (between-sacred) "week"

<location noun + bound form noun> (they form a bound form compound)

padrêrrê-wêjô-(side-nose) "wings of the nose"
nrùwù-wêjô- (inside-nose) "nostrils"
nrùwù-hi- (inside-leg) "sole of the foot"
nrînâwâ-hi- (between-foot) "step"

(D) Compounds formed with possessive classifiers as the initial or second element

ere-fòku (food-trap) "bait"
ere-di (food-to fish) "bait"
wî êê-hau (banana, plant-demon) "kind of banana with red sap"

4.3.2 Verbal compounds

Compound formation with a verb as the initial element is not used productively. The only such forms attested are:

<verb + (bound form noun) + free form noun >

îî mwâ (to fly, house) "beams, timbers used for the house"
sêraa bê-tâ(to discard, arm-taro) "dance of dead people"
seghe gâ (to injure, colour) "tatoo"
nrû fao (to release, iron) "telephone"

<verb + verb>

ha savaa (to speak, to defend) "law"
îî juo (to dance, to sit) "sitting dance"
gô vùrrù (to crawl, to climb) "a grub"

Chapter 5

Verb Morphology

Verbs in Tinrin (which are discussed as a word class in 3.2) can be either morphologically simple or morphologically complex. The latter can be derived by the processes of prefixation, suffixation, reduplication or compounding. Prefixation and suffixation are used very productively in the derivation of new stems, but reduplication is restricted to some isolated stems.

5.1 Prefixation

There are a number of prefixes (either productive or non-productive) involved in the derivation of Tinrin verbs. These prefixes can be classified into three groups:

1) causative prefix *fa-*
2) condition/stative prefix *o-*
3) classificatory prefixes, either indicating the mode/cause of action or event or indicating the manner of action or motion

The first two prefixes may be called modal prefixes, as they are used to express cause and condition/state. They are distinguished from the third group, classificatory prefixes, not only on semantic grounds, but also in that they derive particular types of verbs from other verbs or nouns. Classificatory prefixes are mostly prefixed to bound form verb stems, as exemplified in section 5.1.3.1 below. Also, modal prefixes can be affixed to a verb which has a classificatory prefix, but classificatory prefixes cannot be affixed to a verb which is prefixed with *fa-* or *o-*. For example, *o-e-ghe* <condition-by teeth-injured> "be rough", *fa-e-ghe* <CAUS-by teeth-injured> "to get someone bitten"; but **e-fa-me* <by teeth-CAUS-die> "to kill by biting". *ta-fa-si* <hitting-CAUS-go> "to chase" is an exceptional case in which the order of a classificatory prefix and causative prefix is inverted. Causative prefix *fa-* can also be prefixed to derived verbs with the prefix *o-*: *fa-o-tarragho* <CAUS-condition-mud> "to soil".

5.1.1 Causative prefix *fa-*[28]

This is a very productive prefix, which can be prefixed to almost any verb, either intransitive or transitive.

Verbs prefixed with this *fa-* tend to have explicit objects, though not necessarily.

(A) *fa-* prefixed to intransitive verbs

When *fa-* is prefixed to intransitive verbs, it transitivizes them. The derived form will generally have the sense referred to as the "corresponding transitive" (Masica

[28] Historically this derives from the proto-Austronesian causative prefix **pa-* (Wurm and Wilson 1975).

1976:46) such as English *rise* > *raise*, *fall* > *drop* (tr). However, *fa-* always preserves the possibility of indirect causation, which will be referred to later.

In this construction, the subject of the intransitive verb becomes the object of the derived verb, and the causer NP is added as an agent.

S > O

dòwò-rò "my clothes" in the following examples is the subject of the intransitive verb in (244), but becomes the object in (245):

(244)
nrâ	marri	nrâ	dòwò-rò
3sg	dry	sm	clothes-1sg

"My clothes are dry."

(245)
nrâ	fa-marri	dòwò-rò	nrâ	nanu
3sg	CAUS-dry	clothes-1sg	sm	Nanu

"Nanu dries my clothes."

The newly introduced agent in this construction does not necessarily undertake an action which directly leads to the situation expressed: he may merely give an order to someone to do so, or he may do something that indirectly causes the situation, without his volition being involved. The following sentence, therefore, can be interpreted as either direct or indirect causation.

(246)
wiri	fa-me	toni
2pl	CAUS-dead	Tony

"You killed Tony./You got Tony killed./You caused Tony to die."

Since the causer does not always need to have volition, the agent can be inanimate as illustrated in the following sentence:

(247)
nrâ	fa-marri	dodrae	nrâ	wanre
3sg	CAUS-dry	rag	sm	wind

"The wind dried the rags."

Something (either human, animate or inanimate) which is used as an instrument can be expressed with the aid of the preposition *nrî*.

(248)
nrâ	fa-si	busi	nrî	traiki
3sg	CAUS-go	cat	INST	dog

"He chased the cat away using the dog."

other examples:

fa-fi (CAUS-go) "to chase, cause someone to go"
fa-ti (CAUS-be big) "to enlarge, respect, raise, breast feed"
fa-harru (CAUS-be good) "to respect, make good"
fa-drarraa (CAUS-be large) "to enlarge,extend"
fa-de (CAUS-hang down) "to hang"
fa-o-tarragho (CAUS-condition-mud) "to soil, stain"
fa-taa (CAUS-be bad) "to damage, do a harm to"
fa-truurrò (CAUS-stand) "to stop, call a halt"
fa-barra (CAUS-be afraid) "to frighten"
fa-bo (CAUS-boil) "to boil, cook"

fa- sometimes makes active a base with meanings that in English are essentially passive.

fa-pwùrrù (CAUS-be lost) "to lose"
fa-pòpònòò (CAUS-be surprised) "to surprise"

(B) *fa-* prefixed to transitive verbs

When *fa-* is prefixed to a transitive verb, the object of the derived verb in this construction can be either 1) the subject (agent) or 2) the object of the original transitive verb.

1) A > O

The agent of the following sentence (249) appears as object of the causative verb in (250).

(249) ke hara nraasi
2sg eat rice
"You eat rice."

(250) sabùrina nrâ fa-hara nrü
Sabrina 3sg CAUS-eat 2sg
"Sabrina fed you."

Since the original A becomes O, the referent of the new O is always human or animate. (The original O is demoted to optional prepositional phrase, as we shall see later.)

The set of transitive verbs which occur in this type of causative construction is very restricted. It includes ingestive verbs such as *hara* "to eat (fruit)", *ho* "to eat (meat), *e* "to eat (staple)", *odho* "to drink" and some perceptive verbs such as *fwirri* "to listen", *trùtrùù* "to see, watch" and *barri* "to fear". These verbs may be regarded as "half intransitive"[29]: the speaker's focus is more on the subject and his activity and not so much on the object.

While *trùtrùù* "to see, watch" belongs to this type, *pee* "to look, see" and *jorri* "to see", which are both perceptive verbs and share similar meaning, do not. When *pee* and *jorri* are prefixed by *fa-*, their original objects remain objects, e.g. *fa-jorri peci ei ubo* (CAUS-see paper to Ubo) "to show paper to Ubo"; *fa-pee mwîê ei nrî* (CAUS-see woman to 3sg) "to show (introduce) a woman to him".

trùtrùù is distinguished from these two verbs, since the speaker's concern is more on the activity and not the object. It can also be explained by the fact that imperative form *trùtrùù* "watch!" is totally acceptable, whereas *jorri* cannot be used in imperative mood.

Verbs of this type usually involve direct causation as with intransitive verbs, though it could be indirect causation depending on the context (e.g. *fa-fwirri* means normally "to talk to" but it can mean "to make someone listen").

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[29] Masica (1976:45) suggests that ingestive verbs be regarded as occupying a halfway station between intransitive and transitive, since the object in question can frequently be dispensed with in favour of concentration on the activity as such: one can speak of eating, (hearing) (just as walking) as an activity.

Accordingly, the object of the original transitive verb is often suppressed; if the speaker wants to express the original verb's object explicitly, then it can occur in an oblique case. *nraasi* "rice" in sentence (249) above would appear as follows:

(251) sabùrina nrâ fa-hara nrü nrî nraasi
Sabrina 3sg CAUS-eat 2sg O rice
"Sabrina fed you rice."

Another verb which occurs in this construction, *barri* "to fear" has the corresponding intransitive form, *barra* "be afraid". (This is the only pair of examples with transitive/intransitive marking on the final vowel.) When the causative *fa-* is prefixed to *barra*, the original subject naturally becomes the object of the causative verb. Therefore, these two verbs derive sentences with similar meanings. Intransitive (252a) and transitive (253a) sentences derive causative constructions (252b) and (253b) respectively:

(252a) ke barra
2sg afraid
"You are afraid."

(252b) nrâ fa-barra nrü
3sg CAUS-afraid 2sg
"He frightened/made you afraid."

(253a) ke barri sibù
2sg fear rat
"You fear the rat."

(253b) nrâ fa-barri nrü
3sg CAUS-afraid of 2sg
"He made you afraid (of something)."

As discussed earlier (examples 248 and 251), we can add the instrumental to construction (252b), and the (original) object to construction (253b), both marked by *nrî*. Again, similar sentences result, such as the following. The meaning of these sentences may perhaps differ in a subtle way (as glossed here), although they seem to be used indifferently.

(254) nrâ fa-barra nrü nrî sibù
3sg CAUS-afraid 2sg INST rat
"He frightened you with the rat."

(255) nrâ fa-barri nrü nrî sibù
3sg CAUS-fear 2sg O rat
"He made you afraid of the rat."

2) O > O

The majority of transitive verbs belong to this type, that is, where the original O stays as O in the derived causative constructions. The original A is deleted or occurs in the oblique case.[30]

[30] In Fijian the first type of causative constructions occurs with most Agent verbs (A-type verbs) and the second type with Patient verbs (O-type verbs) and some Agent verbs (Arms 1974:83).

This construction involves indirect causation: i.e. the action is performed through an intermediary agent. The following examples, (256a) as the original, and (256b) causative, illustrate this:

(256a) nrâ soghe toni nrâ mwîê
3sg stab Tony sm woman
"A woman stabbed Tony."

(256b) nrâ fa-soghe toni nrâ saarri
3sg CAUS-stab Tony sm Charlie
"Charlie got Tony stabbed. (Charlie made someone stab Tony.)"

The agent of the original sentence can be expressed in the oblique case, marked by *nrî*, if the speaker wants to make the agent explicit.

(256c) nrâ fa-soghe toni nrâ saarri nrî treanrü
3sg CAUS-stab Tony sm Charlie by person
"Charlie got someone to stab Tony."

In the following three constructions, (257) contains an intransitive verb prefixed by *fa-* and an instrumental NP, (258) contains a first-type transitive verb prefixed by *fa-* and its object, and (259) contains a second-type transitive verb prefixed by *fa-* and its original agent, although all appear similar on the surface because the element which is optional in its new role is always marked by *nrî*.

(257) nrâ fa-marri dri-nawa nrî asù
3sg CAUS-dry leaf-coconut INST sun
"He dried the coconut leaves under the sun. (using the sun)"

(258) nrâ fa-ho ru nrî bwò
3sg CAUS-eat(meat) 1dlinc O crab
"He made us eat the crab."

(259) nrâ fa-fwi mwâ nrî toni
3sg CAUS-make house A Tony
"He got the house built by Tony."

In the case of a di-transitive verb, the indirect object is marked by the dative *ei* in the same way as in a sentence with a non-derived verb:

(260a) nrâ nrorri nraasi ei gogo
3sg give rice to Gogo
"He gave rice to Gogo."

(260b) nrâ fa-nrorri nraasi ei gogo
3sg CAUS-give rice to Gogo
"He got someone to give rice to Gogo."

It is possible to add the agent (marked by *nrî*) to the above sentence, either after *nraasi* or *gogo*. It does not, however, seem to be common; maybe because this pattern of sentence is oriented to the object so that the person who actually does the action is not so important.

Other examples:

fa-wiria (CAUS-cut) "to have something cut"
fa-nyôrrô (CAUS-cook) "to have something cooked"
fa-ta (CAUS-kill/hit) "to get someone killed or hit"
fa-hôdrô (CAUS-burn) "to get something burnt"

5.1.2 Condition/stative prefix *o-*[31]

o- is a very productive prefix. It is normally prefixed to nouns (occasionally to verbs, too), and derives stative verbs, indicating "be full of, be in excessive state of something, be in certain condition".

<prefixed to nouns>

o-mîî (full-grass) "be overrun with grass"
o-roo (full-earth) "be dirty with mud"
o-arròò (condition-water) "be watery"
o-tarragho (condition-mud holes) "be muddy"
o-pwòve-nrî (condition-piece-3sg) "be in pieces"
o-tra (condition-blood) "be bloody"

<prefixed to verbs>

o-nruâ (condition-be dirty) "be very dirty, be full of dirt"
o-eghe (condition-to bite) "be rough"

5.1.3 Classificatory prefixes

There are a number of prefixes attested which indicate some modes/causes of the action or event expressed by the verb stem, or indicate some manner of action or motion. These prefixes may be considered as classificatory prefixes,which among Austronesian languages have been regarded by linguists as areal features of the Papuan Tip languages (Ezard 1978:1170; Bradshaw 1982:60).

Tinrin classificatory prefixes can be grouped into two sets: those indicating the mode or cause of some action or event, and those indicating manner of the action or motion.

The majority of verbs with a classificatory prefix are transitive, but not all. Some prefixes occur in both intransitive and transitive verbs e.g. *fò-tôghùrra* "to walk lame" (intr.) and *fò-piri* "to stamp with foot" (tr.). Prefix *mi-* "spontaneity" always occurs in intransitive verbs. Sometimes prefixes transitivize intransitive verb stems. This will be explained later.

Tinrin Classificatory prefixes share a common feature in that they are mostly prefixed to bound form verb stems[32] which often indicate resultative states brought about by the cause or through the manner expressed by a prefix. These forms are discussed in the following section.

The possible combinations of prefixes and bound form verb stems are illustrated in the table at the end of the section.

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31 This prefix is analogous to the condition prefix described by Codrington (1885:183).
32 This differs from the classificatory prefix constructions in Papuan Tip languages. In those languages, the classificatory prefixes occur with free form verbs (Bradshaw 1982).

5.1.3.1 Bound form verb stems that occur with classificatory prefixes

Tinrin classificatory prefixes are generally prefixed to bound form verb stems, with a few exceptions described in the next section. Most of them indicate the resultative state of the object involved in an action or event, and the remainder that of the subject. They are listed below.

a) result on object, except when prefixed by *mi-* "spontaneity"

<with non-human/inanimate objects>

-rù "broken/cut in two"
-ghai "crushed, mixed"
-ria "broken/split in two along the length"
-mêâ "be open"
-gidhi "crumpled"
-mârrâ "cracked"
-sârrî "unfastened"
-bòrò "dented, folded, put together"
-so "bent"
-nô "set upside down"
-ghorro "crushed in pieces"
-bwerrî "closed in"
-dòwò "pierced"

<with both human/animate and inanimate objects>

-ghe "injured, broken"
-be "be dead, extinguished"
(these two are used reflexively if prefixed by *dre-* "falling")
-rau "dug up"
-via "put against"
-piri "tight"
-trêrrê "buried"
-wùrrù "pressed, held"

b) result on subject ; subject is human (rarely animal)

The following five bound verbs (including reflexive verbs) indicate the state of a subject, not the object:

-sôrrô "hurt oneself against (something)"
-(v)eso "do in vain (reflexive)"
-dhai "under a mistake"
-mêâ "be open" (this can be also result on object)
-ghe "injured" and -be "dead" when they are prefixed by dre- "falling"

Also, any verb stems prefixed by *mi-* indicate the state of a subject (e.g. *mi-so* "become bent").

Semantics of the verbs listed above parallel those of the resultatives in Morobe (PNG) languages (Bradshaw 1982:39-40). Bradshaw claims that in those languages a set of resultative particles has evolved due to attrition of the verbal prefixes on the second verb in the series (*Ibid*:37).

5.1.3.2 Prefixes indicating the mode/cause of action or event

In this section, the meaning of each of the prefixes indicating the mode/cause of action or event is shown by examples. (The lists are not exhaustive.) They are grouped in two: those involving body parts and those involving instruments. Some free verbs which may combine with specific classificatory prefixes are also indicated.

(A) Body parts

ô-) "with the fingers"

This prefix indicates "fingers" as the mode/cause of some action. *nri* "to pull" and *vehirri* "to light flame" are the only free forms in my data to which *ô-* can be affixed.

ô-ghe (with finger-injured) "to pinch with the fingers"
ô-rau (with finger-dug up) "to dig up with the fingers, prune a tree"
ô-rù (with finger-broken in two) "to break in two with the fingers"
ô-gidhi (with finger-crumpled) "to crumple with the fingers"
ô-ghai (with finger-mixed) "to mix something soft with the fingers"
ô-be (with finger-dead) "to turn off the light"
ô-nri (with finger, to pull) "to pluck with the fingers"
ô-vehirri (with finger, to light flame) "to switch on the light"

u-) "by hand"

This indicates "a hand" as the mode/cause of some action. *u-sevirro* "to turn" is the only attested example with a free form verb stem.

u-rau (by hand-dug up) "to dig up by a hand"
u-rù (by hand-broken in two) "to break in two by a hand"
u-vekùù (by hand-bent) "to bend"
u-bwerrî (by hand-closed in) "to close or cover by hand"
u-nô (by hand-up side down) "to turn up side down"
u-so (by hand-bent) "to bend with hands"
u-sevirro (by hand, to turn) "to turn something with the hand"

fò-) "by leg"

This indicates "a leg or a foot" as the mode/cause of an action. *fò-tôghùrra* "to favour a foot in walking" is the only attested example with a free verb stem.

fò-sôrrô (on leg-hurt oneself) "to hurt the foot against (by stepping on a pointed object)"
fò-piri (by leg-tight) "to stamp with foot (firmly)"
fò-bwerrî (by leg-closed in) "to stamp and hide(something) under the foot"
fò-ria (on leg-cut along the length) "to cut the leg"
fò-ghai (by leg-crushed) "to step on something soft "
fò-dhai (by leg-by mistake) "to tumble over"
fò-tôghùrra (by leg, to favour a foot in walking) "to walk lame"

e-) "by teeth"

This indicates the mode/cause of some action to be the teeth. No free verbs have been found prefixed by this element.

e-ghe (by teeth-injured) "to bite"
e-rù (by teeth-broken in two) "to cut by teeth"
e-ria (by teeth-cut along the length) "to cut vertically by teeth"
e-be (by teeth-dead) "to kill by biting"

do-) "by beak"

This indicates "a beak (of a bird)" as the mode/cause of some action. There are only two attested forms: both *-ghorro* and *-ghe* are bound form verbs.

do-ghorro (by beak-crushed) "to hatch, crack an egg by pecking"
do-ghe (by beak-injured) "to peck"

dro-) "by fist"

This indicates"fist" as the mode/cause of some action. It is prefixed only to the following bound form verb stems.

dro-ghe (by fist-injured) "to hit with the fist"
dro-dhai (by fist-by mistake) "to miss with the fist"

(B) Instruments

wi-) "with a blunt instrument"

This indicates "something like a stick or a club, rather big" as the instrument. It may be related to the names of various instruments which have *wi* in the initial syllable as: *wini* "fishing spear"; *wihû* "hoe"; *wijù* "shovel"(made of wood): *wiho* "sling".

Two free verbs which can be prefixed by *wi-* are *du* "to wipe" and *hû* "to plough"; *padha* "be talkative, noisy" is another, and in this case, *e* (<*ve* "to take, for") is intruded between *wi-* and *padha.*

wi-ria (with stick-split) "to chop with some instrument"
wi-rù (with stick-cut in two) "to cut in two with a stick or something similar"
wi-bòrò (with stick-crushed/folded) "to hit the middle with the stick"
wi-ghai (with stick-crushed) "to cut into small pieces"
wi-dòwò (with stick-pierced) "to crack (table) by axe, etc"
wi-du (with stick, to wipe) "to rub a knife along leaf to make it supple"
wi-hû (with stick, to plough) "to plough with hoe, etc"
wi-epadha (with stick, for, to make noise) "to make noise by hitting something"

pa-) "with a pointed instrument"

It indicates the instrument to be "some pointed object such as a pointed stick or stone". *pa-* is attested only with bound form verbs.

pa-ghorro (with stick-crushed) "to crush by pounding (coffee)"
pa-ebe (with stick-dead) "to kill"
pa-dòwò(withstick-pierced) "to pierce by striking with pointed instrument"
pa-rau (with stick-dug up) "to dig up tubers, etc. with a stick"
pa-tî (with knife-?) "to skin an animal"
pa-ghai (with stick-crushed) "to pick and crush"

tô-) "with a pointed thin instrument"

This indicates "some pointed, thin object such as a needle or stick" as the instrument. It is prefixed only to bound form verb stems.

tô-rau (with needle-dug up) "to remove something with a needle, or stick, dislodge by poking with a stick"
tô-ghe (with needle-injured) "to prick, stab"
tô-sârrî (with needle-untied) "to untie the knot with a pointed instrument"
tô-wùrrù (with needle-pressed) "to pierce with needle"
tô-trêrrê (with needle-buried) "to dig a hole with a pointed stick or shovel"

jù-) "with a cutting instrument"

This indicates "some cutting instrument such as a knife". *nyobò* is the only free form verb that can be prefixed by *jù-*.

jù-mwa (with knife-?) "to husk a coconut using a knife"
jù-rù (with knife-broken in two) "to cut in two with some instrument such as knife"
ju-rau (with knife-dug up) "to castrate, cut out"
jù-ria (with knife-split) "to split with a cutting instrument"
jù-nyobò (with knife, to open) "to cut and open (tin)"

kò-) "with an instrument like scissors"

This prefix indicates "a cutting instrument such as scissors", and may be related to *kònròdra* "scissors". Only the following forms are attested, in which the stems are bound forms.

kò-rù (by scissors-cut in two) "to cut with scissors"
kò-ria (by scissors-cut along the length) "to cut with scissors along the length"

ki-) "with an instrument like a saw"

This indicates "a cutting instrument such as saw", perhaps related to *kirri* "saw, to saw", and is prefixed to the same bound form verbs as *kò-* .

ki-rù (by saw-cut in two) "to cut with a saw"
ki-ria (by saw-cut along the length) "to cut with a saw along the length"

pi-) "with an instrument like a drill"

This indicates "an instrument such as a drill": it may be related to *pirra* "drill". Because of the specific meaning of the prefix, there is only one attested form.

pi-dòwò (with drill-pierced) "pierce with a drill"

di-) "with a pin, cord"

It indicates "some object such as a pin, a thread or cord" as the instrument. It may be related to *dighe* "netting needle". There are no free form verbs prefixed by this.

di-sârrî (with cord-untied) "to remove the harness from a horse"
di-epiri (with cord-tight) "to attach cord tightly"
di-wùrrù (with pin, cord-pressed) "to attach something to a costume or to a horse with a pin or cord"

5.1.3.3 Prefixes indicating manner of action or motion

Another group of classificatory prefixes consists of those which indicate the manner of an action or motion. They are generally prefixed to a set of bound form verbs similar to the first group, but they can also occur with some free verbs.

sa-/se-) "throwing, striking downwards"

There are two variant forms indicating the action of "throwing, or striking downwards". They may be related to either *sa* "to dig (a hole), cut (board)" or *sê* "to throw", but the distinction is not clear: the first four examples can be best related to *sa* "to cut", all having prefix *sa-*, whereas the rest can be better related to *sê* "to throw" and are realised in two forms, either with *sa-* or with *se-*. The last two examples show that

se- is prefixed to the free verbs, *vehia* "to cause cry" and *mai* "be scattered". In *se-mai* the intransitive verb stem is made active.

sa-ria (striking-split) "to split, shatter"
sa-rù (striking-cut in two) "to cut (banana leaves), dig (with a pick)"
sa-trêrrê (striking- buried) "to dig and bury with pick"
sa-wùrrù (striking-pressed) "to drive (a nail) into something"
sa-ghe (throwing-injured) "to stone, hit with the stone"
se-rau (throwing-dug up) "to dislodge (as fruit) with a stone"
se-vehia (striking, to cause cry) "to make someone cry out by hitting"
se-mai (throwing, be scattered) "to scatter and make a mess"

wa-) "forcing, pressing downwards"

This indicates the action of "applying pressure on something". *harru* "be good", a free verb, can be prefixed by this.

wa-ghorro (forcing-crushed) "to force something to break in pieces "
wa-rù (forcing-broken in two) "to break in two "
wa-via (forcing-against somethng) "to press a person or thing against something"
wa-mârrâ (forcing-cracked) "(shoot) to crack the earth"
wa-gidhi (forcing-creasy) "to crumple"
wa-harru (forcing, be good) "to touch well"

ta-) "hitting, pushing, touching"

This prefix covers rather a wide range of meanings. It may be related to the verb *ta* "to hit, attack". There are quite a few free form verbs to which *ta-* can be prefixed: *fwirri* "to listen"; *fa-si* "to chase" (already a derived form) and *pòpònròò* "be surprised". In *ta-pòpònròò,* the intransitive verb stem is made active.

ta-bòrò (touching-folded) "to gather things with the fingers"
ta-be (hitting-dead) "to snuff out, extinguish (fire) by hitting"
ta-bwerrî (pushing-closed in) "to close (with cover, etc)"
ta-rau (hitting-dug up) "to exorcise evil spirits"
ta-piri (hitting?-tight) "to look"
ta-fwirri (hitting?, to listen) "to obey"
ta-fasi (hitting, to chase) "to chase"
ta-pòpònròò (touching, be surprised) "to startle (by touching)"

de-) "swinging, hanging"

This indicates "swinging, hanging "action, and may be related to the verb *de* "to hang". A free form verb *tiô* "to pour" can be prefixed by *de-*.

de-ghe (swinging-injured) "to slap, kick"
de-rù (swinging-broken in two) "to break by kicking"
de-rau (swinging-dug up) "to dig up using foot"
de-sôrrô (swinging-hurt oneself) "to hurt the foot by swinging it against a pointed object"
de-nô (hanging-upside down) "to hang upside down, cross"
de-so (swinging-folded) "to turn the ankle, fold the leg, fold something"
de-tiô (swinging, to pour) "to let fall (table) by the foot"

hô-) "holding"

This indicates an action involving holding, perhaps related to *hâmwêî* "to touch, hold". It is prefixed to a number of free verbs (*(v)ehorro, fapô, sevirro, tiô, pwùrrù, mai, vajù*), and to a noun (*sii*) which is rather exceptional for a prefix of this group.

hô-piri (holding-tight) "to hold something hard in the hand"
hô-ghai (holding-crushed) "to squeeze something soft in the hand"
hô-sôrrô (holding-hurt oneself) "to prick the hand in gripping something"
hô-wùrrù (holding-pressed) "to hold something in the hand firmly"
hô-dhai (holding-by mistake) "to hold in a wrong way"
hô-(v)ehorro (holding, to take, be strong) "to remember "
hô-fapò (holding, CAUS-to move) "to move"
hô-sevirro (holding, to turn) "to turn around by hand"
hô-tiô (holding, to spill) "to slop"
hô-sii (holding-price) "to buy, pay"

hô- sometimes functions to transitivize intransitive verb stems, similar to *se-mai* "to scatter" and *ta-pòpònròò* "to startle":

hô-pwùrrù (holding, be lost) "to lose"
= fa-pwùrrù (CAUS-be lost) "to lose"
hô-mai (holding, be scattered) "to scatter, make a mess"
hô-vajù (holding, be sick) "to hurt by holding hard"

sò-) "pulling, detaining"

This indicates action involving pulling or detaining. It has identical form to the related verb *sò* "to pull out (taro)". In the last two examples, *sò-* is prefixed to free forms.

sò-piri (pulling-tight) "to detain, keep back"
sò-wùrrù (pulling-pressed) "to detain, hold"
sò-rau (pulling-dug up) "to pull something loose from its place"
sò-nô (pulling-upside down) "to turn upside down"
sò-ghe (pulling-injured) "to injure by an arrow, or shot"
sò-bwerrî (pulling-closed in) "to catch"
sò-wiirri (pulling, be stretched) "to pull in order to stretch"
sò-dreerre (pulling, be taut) "to tauten"

dre-) "falling"

This indicates "falling" action. *tiô* is the only free verb attested which can occur with it. The first two verbs are reflexive verbs (3.2.2.2.1).

dre-be (falling-dead) "to fall and die"
dre-ghe (falling-injured) "to injure (oneself) in falling"
dre-rù (falling-broken in two) "to fall and break"
dre-sôrrô (falling-hurt oneself against a pointed object) "to fall and hurt oneself against (something pointed)"
dre-rau (falling-dug up) "to let fall and dig out"
dre-so (falling-bent) "to bend"
dre-tiô (falling, to pour) "to let fall (table)

pò-) "turning, rotating"

This may be related to the verb *pòrrò* "to turn". It can be prefixed to the free verb *famùrrù*.

pò-rù (turning-broken in two) "to break by turning something"
pò-piri (turning-tight) "to tighten something by turning"
pò-ghorro (turning-crushed) "to grind or crush by rotating"
pò-sârrî (turning-unfastened) "to detach by twisting"
pò-famùrrù (turning, to make small) "to turn and make (fire) smaller"

ho-) "attaching"

This indicates an action involving "attaching". It may be related to the verb *hoi* "to attach".

ho-via (attaching-against something) "to tie two things together"
ho-bòrò (attaching-folded) "to tie several things together"

te-) "tying, attaching"

This indicates "to tie, attach". It may be related to *tere* "knot, to tie a knot".

te-sârrî (tying-unfastened) "to untie a knot"
te-wùrrù (attaching-pressed) "to attach"
te-forro (tying-?) "to wind by a cord"
te-bwerrî (attaching-closed in) "to attach the end firmly"

rrò-) "pressing down"

It indicates an action downwards such as pressing down or sitting.

rrò-rau (sitting-dug up) "to sit (or fall) on something and take away something"
rrò-wùrrù (sitting-pressed) "to brood, sit on eggs"
rrò-rù (pressing-cut in two) "to press downward and cut in two"

drô-) "pushing, pressing"

This indicates the action of "pushing",or "pressing forward".

drô-u (pressing-?) "to press forward"
drô-wii (pressing-?) "to squeeze with hand to express liquid"
drô-wùrrù (pressing-pressed under) "to press with hands on"
drô-piri (pressing-tight) "to press hard"

tri-) "tearing"

This indicates the action of "tearing". It is related to the verb *tria* "to tear up".

tri-dòwò (tearing-pierced) "to seep through something that has been torn (as water)"

e-) "digging by hand"

This indicates "digging by hand", related to the verb *ei* "to scratch (oneself), dig by hand".

e-trêrrê (digging by hand-buried) "to bury, plant"

vo-) "defecating"

This indicates "defecating", related to the verb *vòi* "to defecate (intr)". A free form, *do*, can occur with this prefix.

vo-rau (defecating-dug up) "to defecate (something)"
vo-do (defecating, flow) "to have diarhoea"

ko-) "vomiting"

This indicates "vomiting". It is related to the verb *koo* "to vomit (intr)".

ko-rau (vomiting-dug up) "to vomit (something)"

nrò-) "landsliding"

This indicates "landsliding". It is related to the noun/verb *nrò* "landslide, to slide (of land)".

nrò-rau (landsliding-dug up) "(landslide) to dig (something)"
nrò-wùrrù (landsliding-pressed under) "(landslide) to bury (something)"
nrò-bwerrî (landslide-closed in) "(landslide) to bury (house)"

go-) "moving"

This indicates general movements or behaviour, and is related to the verb *gû* "to move". It is the verb stems which occur with this prefix, rather than the prefix itself, which indicate manner. Two stative verbs *bêêrrî* and *mêêii* occur with this. *go-vesò* is a reflexive verb.

go-vesò (moving-in vain) "to do in vain"
go-perrii (moving-repeat) "to imitate another person's behaviour"
go-dròòwò (moving-clumsy) "be clumsy"
go-tawa (moving-brutally) "to behave brutally"
go-dhai (moving-by mistake) "to make a mistake (in doing something)"
go-bêêrrî (moving, be old) "be skilful"
go-mêêii (moving, be audacious) "be impudent, audacious"

ho-) "getting away"

This indicates "getting away". It is related to *hwòrrò* "to run away, escape"; it is the only prefix of this group which is prefixed only to free form verbs.

ho-fite (getting away, to go away for good) "to escape for good"
ho-sirù (getting away, to enter) "to take refuge inside something"
ho-hü (getting away, to swim) "to flee by swimming"
ho-erri (getting away, to crawl) "to escape by crawling"

mi-) spontaneity

This indicates that something "happens by itself"[33]. Prefixed to verb stems which express results from an action or event, it indicates the spontaneous action or the resultative condition of the subject: therefore, verbs with this prefix are all intransitive. *mi-* is also found in other New Caledonian languages in fossilized forms (personal communication with Ozanne-Rivierre). mi-so (spontaneous-bent) "be bent"

mi-rù (spontaneous- broken in two) "break (intr), be severed"
mi-ghorro (spontaneous-crushed) "crush (intr) by falling"
mi-dòwò (spontaneous-pierced) "be pierced"
mi-via (spontaneous-against something) "be held between legs"
mi-gidhi (spontaneous-crumpled) "be creasy"
mi-bòrò (spontaneous-folded) "be indented"

5.1.3.4 Classificatory prefixes and corresponding verb/noun forms

About two thirds of Tinrin classificatory prefixes have similar verb or noun forms with related meanings. Others, however, do not have such forms at all - or if they do, the link between them is obscure because of semantic deviation or phonological

33 *guna* in Tawala and *ani-* in Iamalele, which indicate the spontaneous motion (Ezard 1978:1164) seem to be equivalent to this prefix.

reduction. We will see in the following table those prefixes which seem to have a corresponding verb/noun:

Table 5-1

Classificatory Prefixes and Corresponding Verb/Noun Forms

classificatory prefix	related verb/noun
wi- with a blunt instrument	? wihû "hoe, plough with hoe"
kò- with an instrument like scissors	kònròdra "scissors"
ki- with an instrument like a saw	kirri "saw, to saw"
pi- with an instrument like a drill	pirra "drill"
di- with a pin, thread or cord	?dighe "netting needle"
sa/se- throwing, striking downwards	sa "to dig (hole); cut (board)"
	sê "to throw"
ta- hitting, pushing, touching	ta "to hit"
de- swinging, hanging	de "to hang (intr.)"
hô- holding, touching	hâmwêî "to touch, hold"
sò- pulling, detaining	sò "to pull out (taro)"
pò- turning, rotating	pòrrò "to turn"
ho- attaching	hoi "to attach"
te- tying, attaching	terre "to tie a knot"
drô- pushing, pressing forward	?drô "surface, on"
tri- tearing	tria "to tear up"
e- digging by hand	ei "to scratch,dig by hand"
vo- defecating	vòi "to defecate"
ko- vomiting	koo "to vomit"
nro- landsliding	nro "landslide, to slide (of land)"
ho- get away	hwòrrò "to run away, escape"
go- general movement,behaviour	gû "to move"

The above list suggests that the classificatory prefixes may once have been verbs, undergoing serialization with another verb. The set of bound form verbs that occur with them may have been verbs which were the second element in the serialization (cf. 5.1.3.1). W. Seiler (1986:189-206) discusses a similar phenomenon in Imonda and other related Papuan languages, where some serial verbs have undergone reanalysis as noun-classifying verbal prefixes. He claims that in these languages the first verb in the serialization of transitive verbs has lost its verbal status, and functions as a delimiter for the range of objects which subsequent verbs can take.

Tinrin classificatory prefixes are all monosyllables. It is quite probable that (except the five monosyllabic prefixes which have identical verb forms) the first elements of serializations have undergone phonological reduction to the first syllable[34] and been reanalysed as verbal prefixes.

These classificatory prefixes differ from Imonda prefixes in that they are not noun (object) classifiers (although the objects are naturally restricted by the semantics of the prefixes). They rather add the classified mode/cause or the manner/state description to

[34] The first syllable is always retained, since Tinrin words have the primary accent on the first syllable.

the verb. The following examples of these prefixes which are affixed to *-rù* "cut /(broken) in two" will illustrate this:

u-rù "cut by hand" ô-rù "cut with the fingers"
e-rù "cut by teeth" wi-rù "cut with a stick"
jù-rù "cut with a knife" ki-rù "cut with a saw"
kò-rù "cut with scissors" sa-rù "cut with a knife"
wa-rù "break by pressing" pò-rù "break by turning"
mi-rù "be broken"

ho- "to get away" behaves rather differently from other prefixes as it is prefixed only to free form verbs. It is possible to consider *ho-* as a bound form verb instead of as a prefix. Then, *ho-fite*, *ho-erri*, etc. would be compound verbs. However, I consider this *ho-* as a classificatory prefix since there are no other bound form verbs attested which occur as the first element of a compound and since it seems to have undergone the same process of phonological reduction as the other prefixes.

Bradshaw (1982:52) reported that Manam (western Madang Province, PNG) has a structure intermediate between the SOV-V compound causative and the SOc-V classificatory prefix constructions. It has ten classificatory prefixes, nine of which correspond closely in sound and meaning to independent verbs (Lichtenberk 1980:214 in Bradshaw 1982). He claims that among New Guinea Oceanic languages the compound causative and classificatory prefix constructions have developed from serial causative constructions that have made the full shift from the ancestral VO word order to OV word order. His association of OV word order and the development of classificatory prefixes does not apply to Tinrin, as Tinrin has VOS word order and well developed classificatory prefixes.

Differing from those of Papuan Tip languages, Tinrin classificatory prefixes are mostly affixed to bound form verbs, which are similar to those of resultative particles with the structure which Bradshaw calls SVOR (Bradshaw 1982:32). That is, if the classificatory prefix constructions have developed from serial verb constructions, both elements of serialized verbs have lost independent verbal status in Tinrin.

The combinations of classificatory prefixes and verb stems attested are set out in the following table. Some of the uncommon verb stems are not in the table.

Table 5.2: Productivity of Classificatory Prefixes

	free form verbs	-ghe "injured"	-rù "cut across in two"	-ria "cut in two along the length"	-rau "dug up"	-ghai "mixed, put together"	-bòrò "folded"	-dòwò "pierced"	-be "dead"	-ghorro "crushed in pieces"	-trêrrê "buried"	-bwerrî "closed in"	-nô "upside down"	-wùrrù "pressed"	-so "bent"	-via "be (pressed) against"	-sârrî "unfastened"	-sôrrô "hurt oneself"	-dhai "make mistake"
u-	+		+	+	+		+					+	+		+	+			
ô-	+	+	+		+	+			+	+	+	+							
fò-	+			+		+				+		+						+	+
e-		+	+	+					+										
do-		+								+									
dro-		+																	+
wi-	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
pa-	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+						
tô-		+			+						+	+		+			+		
jù-	+		+	+	+														
kò-			+	+															
ki-			+	+															
pi-								+											
di-														+			+		
sa/se-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+					
wa-	+		+	+			+			+						+			
ta-	+				+	+	+		+			+							
de-	+	+			+		+						+		+		+		
hô-	+					+	+							+			+		
sô-	+	+			+							+	+	+					
dre-	+	+			+				+						+		+		
pò-			+							+								+	
ho-"attach"							+									+			
te-												+		+			+		
rrò-			+		+									+					
drô-														+					
tri-								+											
e- "dig"											+								
vo-	+				+														
ko-					+														
nrò-					+							+		+					
go-	+																		+
ho-	+																		
mi-			+	+	+	+		+		+					+	+			

5.2 Suffixation

Suffixation is another common morphological process for deriving Tinrin verbs. There are both suffixes which are productive and non-productive.

There are suffixes which are 1) aspectual, 2) transitive 3) passive and 4) directional. A single verb root is not generally suffixed by more than two of these. Differing from verbs described in the previous section (classificatory prefixes being affixed to bound form verbs), suffixes are always attached to free form verbs.

5.2.1 Aspectual

There are two aspectual suffixes: *-i* and *-jaa*. They are not productive, but occur ony in words in the following lists.

-i) habitual, "incessantly"

This indicates "habitual, incessantly". It is fossilized in *(ve)saa-i* and *ha-i*. *vesaa* is a compound verb of *ve* "take" and *saa* "one", meaning "to take/be together" (*truu vesaa* "stay together"). When suffixed by *-i*, it functions as an adverb, meaning "all the time".

go-vesaa-i (moving-all the time) "to move all the time"
hara vesaa-i (eat, all the time) "to eat all the time"
nrorri vesaa-i (give, all the time) "to give all the time"
fwa vesaa-i (rain, all the time) "to rain all the time"
fwi saa-i (do, all the time) "to do all the time"

ha-i is a dialectal expression, used in the Kouaoua or Mea district.

ha-i (speak-incessantly) "to talk incessantly"

-jaa) "inversive, negative"

This indicates an inversive, negative aspect of the state. It is suffixed in the following five verbs:

nrôdrò-jaa (think-INV) "to miss someone"
e-jaa (cut-INV) "not to cut well, dull"
nrê-jaa (taste-INV) "to taste bad, sour"
haa-jaa (to fish-INV) "be in famine"
puu-jaa (smell-INV) "to smell bad"

5.2.2 Transitive

There is a group of suffixes that function to transitivize intransitive verbs, which are then obligatorily followed by an object (3.2.2.2.1). Some of the suffixes can also be suffixed to transitive verbs.

They are distinguished from prepositions (3.4) in that suffixed verbs form phonological words (no accent on the first syllable of the suffixes), that they only occur with a limited set of verbs, and that they are never separated from the verb stem by an intervening element.

The group consists of *-vai*, *-bêrrê*, *-sâ*,*-bwâârrî*, *-raa* and *-tòrrò*, suggesting that the action is aimed at, oriented to, or detaching from a target.

-vai)[35] dative, "to, for"

This is suffixed to either intransitive or transitive verbs. It indicates a dative relation: that an action is carried out to or for somebody or something.

<with intransitive verbs>

ha-vai (talk-to) "to talk to, call"
fôwi-vai (whisle-to) "to whistle after"
tapirri-vai (look-for) "to look for"
te-vai (search-for) "to search for by arms"
ôrrê-vai (dig-for) "to dig up in search for"
nrûfao-vai (telephone-for) "to telephone to"
sùdrêê-vai (listen-to) "to listen to"

<with transitive verbs>

fwi-vai (do-after) "to try to do something"
fwirri-vai (listen-to) "to listen to"
ta-vai (hit-after) "to try to guess something"
ei-vai (scratch-after) "to search for by hand"
nrû-vai (release-after) "to send for"

-bêrrê) "at, to"

This suffix occurs only with the following verbs which - except *nrû* "to release" - are related to speech acts. It indicates that the action is oriented to certain targets.

<with intransitive verbs>

ha-bêrrê (speak-to) "(dog) to bark at"
têê-bêrrê (shout-to) "to shout for, applaud"
ugâ-bêrrê (cry-to) "to cry to"
hia-bêrrê (shout-to) "to shout, cry to"

<with transitive verbs>

ta-bêrrê (hit-to) "to narrate, talk"
nrû-bêrrê (release-to) "to lend, offer"

-sâ) "at, about"

This is suffixed only to two intransitive verbs, *a* and *îgâ*, meaning "at, about"

a-sâ (laugh-at) "to laugh at"
îgâ-sâ(dream-about) "to dream about"

---

[35] Foley (private communication) suggests that this may be derived from PAN **bəghaj* "give", an earlier verb serialization. Other transitive suffixes may also well be derived from earlier serial verb constructions.

-bwâârrî) "around"

This is suffixed only to intransitive verb stems. The derived verbs take objects referring to the locale at which a state or event is centered.

fi-bwâârrî (go-around) "to go around"
truurrò-bwâârrî (stand-around) "to stand around"
merrò-bwâârrî (sleep-around) "to sleep around"
îî-bwâârrî (dance-around) "to dance around"
nruu-bwâârrî (dive-around) "to dive around"
truu-bwâârrî (stay-around) "to encircle"

-raa) "off"

This is suffixed to either intransitive or transitive verbs. It expresses an action separating from an object.

<with intransitive verbs>

fi-raa (go-off) "to go away from"
ho-fi-raa (eat-go-off) "to leave (food) half-eaten"
vajù-raa (dead-off) "to die before (somebody); die and leave"

<with transitive verbs>

sê-raa (throw-off) "to throw away"
ve-raa (take-off) "to take away"

-tòrrò) "get out of the way of (somebody)"

This is suffixed to only intransitive verb stems, deriving transitive verbs. The action or state takes place avoiding or keeping distance from something or somebody.

truurrò-tòrrò (stand-from) "to stand back, give way to"
merrò-tòrrò (sleep-from) "to sleep in the back"
juo-tòrrò (sit-from) "to sit back, make room for others"

5.2.3 Passive

-nrî can be suffixed to a number of verbs in a passive construction, the use of which is fully described in 8.1.4. I note only a few examples in the following:

waghorro-nrî (break into pieces-PASS) "be broken into pieces"
tôbwerrî-nrî (close-PASS) "be closed"
tewùrrù-nrî (tie up-PASS) "be tied up"

5.2.4 Directional

There is a group of suffixes that indicate direction relative to the action expressed by the verb [36] (cf. motion verbs in 3.2.2.2.2). When they are suffixed to transitive verbs whose object is a pronoun, the object can occur either after the verb stem or after the directional suffix - e.g. *sê nrî roa* (throw, 3sg, up) = *sê roa nrî* (throw, up, 3sg) "to

[36] The variable coding of directional roles in Oceanic languages in relation to verbal-prepositions is discussed in Durie 1988. Tinrin directional suffixes never function as independent verbs, or occur detatched from the verbs as they do in other Oceanic languages. They are all intrinsically oriented: their meaning includes the orientation of the motion towards the speaker, or towards the addressee when it is the speaker who is moving (*Ibid*:9).

throw it up". When the object is a noun, it never occurs between the verb stem and the directional suffix.

A more elaborate device is used for indicating direction in combination with some motion verbs; this is dealt with in section 3.2.2.2.2.

The first four suffixes in the following section (*-roa*, *-rù*, *-rùa* and *-ro*) indicate whether the action or motion is directed upwards, level or downwards in relation to the position of the speaker or the specific place referred to in the discourse. They can also suggest whether the action/motion is separating from or approaching the speaker or the specific place, but this function seems to be secondary and also not always precise.

-roa) "upwards"

This indicates that the direction of the action is "upward", or something is "up, high, (important)". It can also indicate the motion away from the speaker, or from the specific place."

truu-roa (stay-up) "be higher, highest"
ve-roa (take-up) "to lift with the hand"
hwê-roa (appear-up) "(sun) to come up"
tü-roa (pass-up) "to pass over (something)"
si-roa (go, pass-up, away) "to go out"
ta-roa (hit-away) "to chase out (of the house)"
droghe-roa (hit with the fist-up) "to hit with the fist upwards"
wù-roa (hug-up) "to lift with both arms like hugging"

-rù) "a bit higher"

This indicates the direction towards "a bit higher, mountain side". It can also mean the motion toward the speaker or a specific place.

si-rù (go, pass-higher, hither) "to return, come up the river"
fi-rù (go-hither) "to come, enter"

-rùa) "downwards"

This indicates the motion "downward", or motion away from the speaker or the specific place.

si-rùa (go, pass-away, down) "to go out, go down"
fi-rùa (go-away) "to go out"

-ro) "on the same level"

This indicates that something is on the "same level", or some action is taking place on the same level. It can also indicate that something is on the corner or by the side.

si-ro (go, pass-corner) "to pass, curved"
fi-ro (go-same level) "to walk on the same level "

-koa) "apart, away"

This indicates that either the actor is "apart, away" or the undergoer is moved "away" from the place the speaker has in mind, normally where the speech is made.

fi-koa (go-away) "to go away"
hara-koa (eat-apart) "to eat apart"
nrorri-koa (give-away) "to give away"
ve-koa (take-away) "to take away"
tuo koa (put-apart) "to put apart"

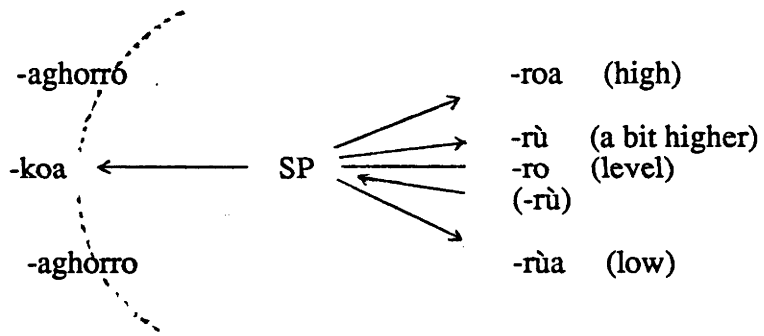
-aghorro) "dispersive"

This marks dispersive, "hither and thither", indicating an action or state extending all over the place. The final vowel of the first element is either shortened or reduced, except in the first example of the following:

truu-aghorro (stay-everywhere) "be all over the place"
wigaghorro (*wig* ? -everywhere) "to scatter everywhere"
îaghorro (*îî* fly -everywhere) "to fly all over the place"
tôghaghorro(*tôghe* stab -everywhere) "to pick stones or earth to spread"

The following diagram illustrates the relative height indicated by these suffixes, as well as directions concerning either away from, towards or close to the speaker or some specific place referred to in the discourse.

Table 5.3: **Directional Suffixes**



5.3 Reduplication

There are only a few attested forms of reduplication in the morphological process of Tinrin verbs. All of them are derived by reduplicating the first syllable (or whole word, in the case of monosyllable word), except *ohaha*. In the case when the original form has a long vowel in the first syllable, the first syllable of the reduplicated form tends to become short.

fifi "to go ahead, advance" < fi "to go"
gügü "(head) to go crazy" < gü "to move"
peepee "to look out" < pee "to see, look"
trùtrùù "to watch" < trù(ù) "to look"
nônôô "be difficult, complicated" < nôô "be complicated"
nônôôra "be confused, difficult to remember" < nôôra "be confused"

The second syllable is reduplicated in *ohaha*, which means "(several people) speak at the same time". It derives from *o-ha*, (condition-speak) "be full of speaking, noisy with voices". There is a compound verb *bodûdû* "to mumble, murmur", which consists

of *bo* "rhythmic cries to guide dance movements" and a reduplicated form of *dû* "whirling noise or distant voice".

A dozen stative verbs, denoting colours and some physical quality, take special intensifiers - most of which have reduplicated forms. They are discussed in 3.7.1.2.

5.4 Compounding

Compounding is another morphological process for deriving verbs in Tinrin. As discussed in 4.3, compounds are a type of word structure made up of two (or more) constituents, each a nominal or verb. The compound itself is also either a nominal or a verb. Two or more verbs can commonly co-occur in the predicate in Tinrin. They can be of equal status, expressing either simultaneous or sequential actions/states; or, one of them may have a modifying function on the meaning of the other. I will treat most of these cases as verb serialization in 7.9.1.

I will restrict compound verbs, which I discuss in this section, only to those whose constituents are tied closely to each other, functioning as a verb. These compound verbs are more internally cohesive than serial constructions. The constituents of the compound cannot be separated by any modifier, nor can either of them take an individual adjunct.

When the compound verb is associated with an object (including pronominal object), the object occurs after the last verb. When the compound occurs with the negative marker, the negative covers the entire complex verb, as does the scope of tense-aspect cover all verb roots in the compound.

A compound verb also forms a semantic unit, the meaning of which is sometimes unpredictable from the meaning of its constituents.

I also include in this section words which consist of a free form verb as the first constituent and bound form verb as the second. I consider them as compounds rather than serialized verbs, as the two constituents are bound to each other, forming one grammatical unit. (The bound form verbs cannot occur independently without either being prefixed or being compounded.)

Often meanings of these bound forms only become clear when prefixed or compounded; Tinrin speakers cannot tell the exact meanings of them (they would say they are not words) when they are isolated. The compound verb of this type forms a phonological unit, with the primary accent falling on the first syllable of the first verb.

The structure of the compound verb will be:

$$V \text{ --- } V\ (V)\begin{Bmatrix}(\text{-})V\\ N\end{Bmatrix} \qquad \text{or,} \qquad N\ (\text{-})\ V$$

The verb can either be a free form or bound form common verb, except the verb in the first slot which is always a free form verb.

The compound verb whose second constituent is a bound form verb occurs most frequently.

(A) Compounds formed with the verb as the initial element

<free form verb + bound form verb>

In the following three sections, verbs are grouped according to the semantic relations between the elements. The second elements in them are bound forms, and the lists are exhaustive.

1) stance/motion - state

Stance/motion verbs often occur as auxiliaries which add the aspectual meaning when followed by another free form verb (7.9.1.2). However, if they are combined with a bound form verb in which case they always occur as the first element, they do not exhibit the aspectual meaning but retain their lexical meaning. In such cases the semantic focus is with them, and the second element (expressing some physical or mental state) modifies the first. For example, *truu-fagee* (stay-ignore) in the following list does not mean "to keep ignoring" as *truu* does not indicate "duration" here. Thus, these verbs are semantically as well as morphologically different from the verb serialization.

stance verbs)

truu-fagee (stay-ignore) "to pretend not to notice anything happening"
truu-mêâ (stay-open) "be open (of window)"
truu-drù (stay-be separated) "be separated"
truu-via (stay-be against) "be stuck together"
truu-vòò (stay-revealed) "be visible"
truu-jaarru (stay-quiet) "be calm, be consoled"
merrò-fagee (lie down-ignore) "to lie pretending not to notice"
truurrò-bwerrî (stand-closed in) "to stand in the way (so that others cannot pass)"

motion verbs)

fi-fagee (go-ignore) "to go pretending not to notice"
fi-mêâ (go-open) "to go around (almost) naked"
fi-drù (go-separate) "to go separately"
fi-bwerrî (go-close in) "to turn around something"
fi-so (go-bent) "to turn around, replace"
sî-mêâ (pass-open) "be almost naked"
fadrò-drù (walk-separate) "to walk separately"
fadrò-agùwùnrî (walk-ignorant) "to walk without knowing where to"

2) action -result

The second element represents a resultative state of the action or event expressed by the first element of the compound. The majority of these compounds have an actor as subject, and the resultative state expresses that of the object affected.

suo-be (blow-dead) "to extinguish the fire (of lamp)"
su-rau (pig dig-dug up) "(pig) to dig (yam) away "
tòrò-bwerrî (cover-closed in) "to cover entirely"
wage-bwerrî (deny-closed in) "to hide the truth, tell a lie"
nû-bwerrî (heal-closed in) "to heal (of a wound)"
hidrò-vòò (say-revealed) "to proclaim, inform"
ha-vòò (speak-revealed/made in public) "to start speaking (of baby); speak up"
pò-pònròò (move-surprised) "get surprised"

3) action - manner

The second element modifies the first by defining the mode/manner of the action expressed by the first element.

ha-perrii (speak-imitate) "to repeat"
fwi-perrii (do-imitate) "to do the same, imitate"
pò-pwirri (move-in a haste) "to do in a haste"
ha(e)-pwirri (speak-in a haste) "to speak in a haste"
hawi-dròòwò(talk-clumsy) "to speak poorly"

<free form verb + (free form verb) + free form verb>

pò vajù (move, sick) "to sick a bit"
pò mou (move, blind) "to use a fishing net in the dark"
ta trô (hit, calm) "to learn"
ha ve-roa (speak, lift) "to boast, exaggerate" (ha veroa nrî "boast about him/something"; * ha ve nrî roa)
ha ve waa (speak, take, descend) "to speak humbly" *ha ve nrî waa
truu (ve) gee (treat, take, lie) "to suspect"
truu ve havari (treat, take, be right) "to trust"
puu sii (smell, penetrate) "to smell good"
fwirri puu (hear, smell) "to smell"
ha pô horro (speak, arrange, strong) "to learn, teach"

<free form verb + (free form verb) + common noun>

truu e gwâ (stay, take, occupation) "to hesitate"
fadrò terre-nô (walk, way-upside down) "to walk backward"
kare terre-nô (run, way-upside down) "to run backward"
ve kò (take, message) "to inform, reveal"
ha pwògarra (speak, white) "to speak in French"
ve saa (take, one) "to take altogether/at the same time"
tù wii (throw [spear], cord) "get hanged"

(B) Compounds formed with common noun as the initial element

<common noun + bound form verb>

ki-bwerrî (key, closed in) "to lock in "

<common noun (the first three are bound nouns) + free form verb>

wù-si (belly, go) "to have diarrhea"
mee-fwidri (head, full) "to have a cold"
mee-mwâârrî (head, turn round) "get drunk"
ki nyôbò (key, open) "to open with a key"

Chapter 6

THE NOMINAL PHRASE

The nominal phrase consists of a head or nucleus which is a nominal described in 3.1, and a number of optional adjuncts which will be described in this chapter. The NP has the following minimum nucleus and expanded maximal structure:

NP = ±Det ±QF ±AT +H ±N ±Dem ±L ±T ±PostMod ±Phr ±Cl

Pre-head adjuncts (determiner, quantifier and attributes) normally occur in the above word order, while post-head adjuncts have more freedom in the ordering among them. Nominals (including possessor nominals) normally occur immediately after the head, but the other post-head adjuncts can be placed anywhere after the head, as far as they follow words which they modify.

6.1 The Head

The head of a NP is a nominal, which belongs to one of the subtypes of nominals described in 3.1.

6.1.1 Pronouns

When the head of a NP is a pronoun, it occurs in either its free/focal or object form (set out in Table 3.2) depending on its position in the phrase. A pronoun generally occurs by itself in a NP, but also can be associated with some adjuncts as in:

(261) truu nrorru
DET dl 3dl
"they two"

(262) nrorri hâvenrîâ
3pl all
"all of them"

(263) nrü nròrrò
2sg only
"only you"

(264) nro hwa
1sg EMPH
"me! (not others)"

It can also be modified by a phrasal or clausal adjunct as in:

(265) nrorri ghe mê ârijù
3pl from L down there
"they, (who are) from down there"

(266) nrî [nrâ fi nrâ pwere numea]
3sg 3sg go PST to Noumea
"He, who went to Noumea"

There is a rather complicated system for addressing people when using a second person pronoun. In general, the singular forms are used to refer to a single referent, the dual forms to two referents, and the plural forms to three or more referents.

When the speaker is addressing a person to whom he pays respect, he uses a plural (sometimes dual) form. However, within a family, it is not so simple. A speaker addresses another family member by *ke/nrü* (2sg), *kou* (2dl), or *wiri* (2pl) depending on the relationship between them.

The following list illustrates which person uses which form of the second person pronoun when addressing another family member. There is no difference between forms used by female or male ego. (The kinship terms are used in the classificatory sense, so that one's parents, for example, include one's father's brothers and mother's sisters [cf. Appendix A]).

Table 6.1

Second Person Forms Used for Addressing

forms used	addressee
ke/nrü (2sg)	parents grandparents grandchildren husband/wife uncle/aunt younger sister (or young woman) younger female cousin
kou (2dl)	daughter niece younger brother younger male cousin elder sister (or eldery woman) elder female cousin
wiri (2pl)	son nephew elder brother elder male cousin

The singular form is used between grandparents and grandchildren, or husband and wife. This may be because the relationship is very intimate, so that they are allowed to address each other with the singular form. Although children address their parents and uncles/aunts with the singular form, they are addressed by their parents and uncles/aunts either with the plural form if they are male, or by the dual form if they are female. This custom seems rather strange. Children addressing their parents (and uncles/aunts) with the singular form does not indicate a lack of respect for their parents; instead, it probably merely indicates intimacy between them.

On the other hand, sons (especially the eldest son) seem to be highly respected in the family while daughters are not so respected. This is shown by that an elder daughter (or an elderly woman) may be addressed with the dual but never with the plural form.

Such a custom of address in a family, however, is now disappearing among young people. In fact, these days people tend to speak French in everyday life, and use *tu* (French second person singular form) between themselves all the time. People would use *vous* only when they address non-Kanak people with whom they are not familiar, or to whom they show respect.

6.1.2 Nouns

A noun (3.1) as the head of a NP is always in the same form whether it occurs in the subject, object or oblique position. It may be either preceded or followed by one or more optional adjuncts.

6.1.3 Other nominals

Quantifiers and possessive classifiers can also fill the position of the head of a NP, just as pronouns and nouns. They can also be associated with various adjuncts. The following examples illustrate this:

<quantifiers>

(267) saa nrâ e saa
one 3sg eat one
"Each eats one (piece)."

(268) pwere ru tê nrî rri mê-pwògarra
some L place 3sg 3pl pl-white people
"People staying with him are white people. (lit. Some at his place they (are) white people.)"

(269) savaa pa rri nrî ho nrî nrâ mêrrê mwâ
defend in case 3pl FUT eat 3sg sm some that
"Be careful in case others (fish) should eat it (crab)"

(270) rii hôsii tre a maa
1pl FUT buy another AT red
"We will buy another red one."

<possessive classifiers>

(271) odho-ri nrâ harru
drink-1plinc 3sg good
"Our drink is good."

(272) nrâ bwê nrâ ere-nrî parrù
3sg many sm food-3sg also
"His food, also, is abundant."

(273) nrâ trarrî hêê-nrü nrùwù-sake
3sg lack belonging-2sg inside-bag
"There is nothing in the bag for you." (lit. It lacks your belongings in the bag.)

(274) nrorri tre odho-nrî
give another drink-3sg
"Give another drink to him." (lit. Give another drink of him.)

6.1.4 Phrasal nouns

The head of a NP can be a phrasal noun. The phrasal noun has the form of a NP itself, whose constituents are closely tied to each other, like a compound noun, forming one grammatical and semantic unit. It can be associated with various adjuncts.

Phrasal nouns differ from compound nouns in that they have some inner syntactic structure as NPs, although their constituent parts are inseparable and their individual parts cannot take any separate adjuncts.

The meaning of a phrasal noun is sometimes unpredictable from the meaning of its parts.

One very productive process of forming phrasal noun contructions uses *mwâ* "hut, house, (container)" followed by the possessive marker *rrê* and a noun or verb (3.4).

mwâ rrê hi (container, POSS, leg) "shoes"
mwâ rrê hòve (container, POSS, be cold/coldness) "sweater"
mwâ rrê hùwù (container, POSS, child) "womb"
mwâ rrê mêfadrò (hut, POSS, tourists) "inn"
mwâ rrê hapâ horro (hut, POSS, to learn, hard) "school"
mwâ rrê tuu nrâ peci (hut, POSS, to write, of, paper) "office"
mwâ rrê fwi hòrrò (hut, POSS,to do, prayer) "church"
mwâ rrê môôwi (container, POSS, to breathe) "lung"
mwâ rrê fadrò (hut, POSS, to walk) "toilet"
mwâ rrê odho (container/hut, POSS, to drink) "cup, bar"

mwâ can also combine with another preposition *nrî* "with" as in:

mwâ nrî pêrrê (hut, with, fence) "dancing site" (hut with fences of leaves)

Phrasal nouns can also have the following structure: the attribute marker *a*, a verbal stem, the possessive marker *nrâ*, and the semantic object of the verbal stem.

(275) a ve nrâ drââ
AT take POSS day
"the morning star" (lit. one which brings a day)

(276) a e nrâ fù
AT eat POSS excrement
"rail (bird)" (lit. one who eats excrement)

(277) a sôrrô hòbò
AT wear cord
"index finger" (lit. one who wears cord)
(There is a trick to throw a stone using a cord which is hooked on the index finger.)

(278) a tivi sù
AT suck shell
"a name of a bird" (lit. one who sucks a shell)
(Its cry resembles the sound of sucking a shell.)

(279) a îî nai giwe
AT fly exceed mountain
"a name of fish, *aiguillette*" (lit. one who flys higher than the mountain)

In the following example, the initial element is a verb.

(280) tuu nrâ peci
write POSS paper
"pencil"

6.1.5 Complex NPs

A NP can have two or more heads in apposition to each other; nonetheless, these heads function as a single NP in a sentence, associating with various adjuncts.

The nominal head that constitutes a complex NP can be: a) two or more common nouns or a common noun and a proper noun; b) a pronoun and a common noun and c) a common noun and a possessive classifier. These constructions are exemplified in the following:

a) two or more common nouns or a common noun + a proper noun

(281) moo rra wara mwâ
man DIST one M.DIST
"that man over there, that one"

(282) mê vîê mê-nê-maamùrrù
pl women pl-mother-children
"the women, the children's mothers"

(283) treanrü mê-ti mâo bêêrrî
people elders men old
"people, the elders, old men"

(284) u hêrrê-fwòtra
yam product-year
"yam of the year (lit. yam, the year's product)"

hêrrê in the last example is not a possessive classifier but a bound noun, although it occurs in a similar construction to that of a possessive classifier. It is discussed in the next section.

A proper noun normally follows a common noun in an appositional relationship.

(285) amwaati ubo
chief Ubo
"the chief, Ubo"

(286) afiraa-nrî mari
wife-3sg Marie
"his wife, Marie"

b) a pronoun + a common noun

In this construction, the pronoun normally precedes the common noun:

(287) wiri fò treanrü mwâ fò mâo mwâ
2pl genre people M.DIST genre men M.DIST
"you, that kind of people, that kind of men"

(288) kevi mâo-nrâ-nrî
1plexc children-LINK-3sg
"we, his children"

(289) nrorri maamùrrù
3pl children
"they, little ones"

c) a common noun + a possessive classifier (which is followed by either a pronominal or a nominal possessor)

Either one can precede the other.

(290) ere-rò nraasi
food-1sg rice
"my food, rice"

(291) nraasi ere-rò
rice food-1sg
"rice, my food"

As they are juxtaposed in an appositional relationship, they cannot be separated, as in:

(292) * e-nrî u nrorri nraasi
food-3sg 1sg give rice
"His food I gave rice."

This construction is discussed in detail in the following section.

6.1.6. Possessive constructions

Tinrin exhibits multiple types of possessive constructions, as do most Oceanic languages (Lichtenberk 1985). These possessive constructions are discussed in this section. I include here constructions with possessive prepositions (cf.3.4), those with possessive classifiers (cf.3.1.3) and those with bound form nouns (cf.3.1.4.3.2).

Archetypical possessive constructions are grammatical constructions which involve two nominals and indicate that the referent of one of these nominals is possessed by the other. In this discussion, one of the nominals is referred to as the noun possessed and the other as the possessor, although the relationship expressed is not necessarily that of the true possession, but can be of many other types.

In many languages, when there is an inherent relationship between two referents such as the kinship or body part relationship, it is realized in constructions encoding inalienability, while non-inherent relationships such as temporary ownership or voluntary association occur in constructions encoding alienability (Chappell and McGregor 1989; Mosel 1984). Tinrin also makes a distinction between alienable and inalienable possession. In fact, it shows a variety of possessive construction types, which will be discussed in the following sections.

6.1.6.1 Alienable possession

Alienable possession in Tinrin can be realized in various ways, which on the basis of structural criteria can be divided into two types: Nouns which do not obligatorily occur in inalienable possessive relationships (which will be described later) can occur in constructions where the noun possessed is followed by a possessive preposition, which in turn is followed by the pronominal or nominal possessor. Most of these nouns can also enter into another construction, in which the noun possessed occurs in apposition to a possessive classifier.

6.1.6.1.1 Constructions with a possessive preposition

There are three prepositions which can occur in this construction: *nrâ*, *rre /rrê*, and *ò* (3.4). They occur between two nominals, as in the following formula. Note that the possessor NP can be pronominal.

	nrâ	
NP	rre / rrê	NP
poss'd	o	poss'r

The choice of the preposition is determined by the noun possessed. The majority of nouns can occur in possessive constructions with *nrâ*. It normally suggests a temporary ownership or voluntary/controlling relationship, as in the following example:

(293)

peci	nrâ	nrî
paper	POSS	3sg

"his paper"

Consider the following example: *nrâ* (between *wake* and *nrü*) cannot be replaced by other particles (such as *hêê-* "belong") to indicate possession, since the context implies that *wake* "work" is only temporarily possessed by *nrü* "you".

(294)

tro	nrorri	wake	nrâ	nrü	tra	wei
AUG	leave	work	POSS	2sg	so that	1sg FUT

fwi	nrâ	nrô
do	sm	1sg

"Just leave your work, so that I myslf will do (it)."

nrâ also suggests the entity's involvement in an event. In the following example, *nrâ* is used to indicate the agent and the object of nominalised active verbs (when both the subject and object are present, *nrâ* before the object is occasionally dropped):

(295)

bee	ta	(nrâ)	pù	nrâ	ri
CMPZ	kill	(O)	flying fox	S	1plinc

"our killing (of) flying foxes"

The use of *nrâ* to indicate the agent of verbal nouns, as above, suggests the active voluntary or controlling relationship, as does the Tolai (Austronesian) *ka*-possession, which Mosel (1984:37-47) considers as the most "established" (alienable) possession as opposed to inherent (inalienable) possession.

rre and *rrê* are variants of the same morpheme: *rre* occurs with *ò*, *rrê* with *mwâ* and *wâ*, conditioned by the nasality of the vowel in the preceding syllable. It indicates personal possession, which is probably related to some essential living need. The possessed NPs are restricted to *mwâ* "hut", *wâ* "boat" and *ò* "pot". When *mwâ* is reduplicated as *mwâmwâ* meaning "assembly house", it no longer occurs with *rrê* but occurs with the general preposition *nrâ*, because *mwâmwâ* is not possessed personally for living in, but is used for public use (for a meeting, etc.). *wâ* "boat" is essential for catching fish, etc. or carrying important living needs such as food from other places, and *ò* "pot" is also important, being crucial in preparing food.

(296) mwâ rrê kevi
hut POSS 1plexc
"our (not including you) hut"

(297) wâ rrê mê-pwògarra
boat POSS pl-white people
"white people's boat"

(298) ò rre toni
pot POSS Tony
"Tony's pot"

The possessor marked by *rre/rrê* can also be an essential constituent of the entity possessed: in the following examples *mwâ* in (299), *wâ* in (300), *ò* in (301) refer to things which contain something, and *arròò* "water", *farrawa* "flour", *u* "yam" in each phrase refer to their contents.

(299) mwâ rrê arròò
container POSS water
"bottle of water"

(300) wâ rrê farrawa
boat POSS flour
"boat carrying flour"

(301) ò rre u
pot POSS yam
"yam dish cooked in the pot"

The possessed NPs which can occur with the preposition *ò*, are restricted to *nre* "fire, firewood" or compounds with *nre*: *mee-nre* "habitation", *pwò-nre* "torch" and *mwârrâ-nre* "fire flame". *mee-nre* indicates a dwelling place of human beings only, and the word probably consists of *mee-* "end, head" and *nre* "fire", as the traditional Kanak hut has always had a fire in the centre. The possessive relationship expressed by *ò* is thus related to fire, which is possessed for the purpose of warming oneself or cooking something. Note that *arrebò* "stone" (used by Kanak pople for cooking), *asù* "sun", *tra* "ash" and *ti* "oven" do not occur with *ò*.

(302) nre ò nrü
fire POSS 2sg
"your fire"

(303) mwârrâ-nre ò rò
fire flame POSS 1sg
"my fire flame"

(304) pwò-nre ò jaa
torch POSS who
"whose torch?"

(305) mee-nre ò wiri
habitation POSS 2pl
"your habitation"

The possessor expressed by this construction can also be something that is cooked or burnt with fire.

(306) nre ò ù
fire POSS wood
"the fire which is burning the wood/fire made by wood"

(307) nre ò ò
fire POSS pot
"the fire with which the pot is cooked"

These possessive prepositions are summarised as follows:

nrâ	temporary ownership or voluntary relationship
rre/rrê	personal living need; house, boat, pot
ò	the use of fire for warming or cooking purpose

Although the above three prepositions are all used to express alienable possession, (that is, the noun which occurs in the possessive constructions with these prepositions does not obligatorily enter in these constructions), the use of *rre/rrê* and *ò* differ from that of *nrâ*. Compared to *nrâ*, which occur with almost any alienable noun, *rre/rrê* and *ò* can occur only with a few nouns (as discussed above). In fact, the nouns referring to "house", "pot" or "fire" often occur as inalienable nouns in other languages as essential or valued possessions (Mosel 1984:45). Therefore, from the semantic point of view, *nrâ* expresses the most alienable possession among the three prepositions.

nrâ "general" rre/rrê "house, pot"
ò "fire"

alienable ←----

6.1.6.1.2 Constructions with a possessive classifier

Other types of alienability are expressed in constructions where the possessed noun occurs in apposition to a possessive classifier. Possessive classifiers are a group of nominals whose referents are themselves inalienably possessed by a pronominal or nominal possessor in the same way as bound nouns (3.1.3). That is, they are either suffixed by a pronominal possessor or bound to a nominal possessor directly following them.

Tinrin has seven possessive classifiers, which were described earlier (3.1.3). Each of them expresses a particular type of socially determined relationship with respect to an entity, which can be summarized as:

e-	generally starches, to be eaten
ere-	generally fruit, to be eaten
hwee-	generally meat or egg, to be eaten
odho-	things to be drunk
hwiie-	things to be chewed
êê-	plants growing on possessor's land, or to be planted
hêê-	belongings

When possessive classifiers occur in an apposition with another nominal phrase head, they determine the nature of the possessive relationship between the noun possessed (which is a specifier of the generic possessive classifier) and the possessor. These constructions are seen commonly among Melanesian languages, which are generally used to express alienable possession. In some languages, certain classifiers extend their primary meanings: for example, an alimentary classifier may also be used to express subordinate possession (Lichtenberk 1985; Mosel 1984, Pawley 1973:163). This extended use does not occur in Tinrin.

In these constructions, the possessive classifier with its pronominal suffix often precedes the specifier.[37] In Tinrin, it may be placed before or after the specifier (the noun possessed) as shown in the following diagram. Also, as in Hawaiian, the nominal possessor is not cross-referenced elsewhere in the construction.

NP	POSS.CLFR	NP
poss'd		poss'r

or,

POSS.CLFR	NP	NP
	poss'r	poss'd

We will see examples in the following:

1. <possessive nominals - pronominal suffix , preceding NP>

e-nrü u (food-2sg yam) "your(food) yam"
ere-rò mii (fruit-1sg watermelon) "my (fruit) watermelon"
hwee-nrü meò (meat-2sg chicken) "your(food) chicken"
odho-ri nôti (drink-1plinc milk) "our (drink) milk"
hwiie-nrî ti (chew-3sg sugarcane) "his (chews) sugarcane"
êê-nrü u (plant-2sg yam) "your(plant) yam (already planted or to be planted"
hêê-rri too (belonging-3pl land) "their belongings, land"

<possessive nominals - noun possessor , preceding NP >

e-toni wî (food-Tony banana) "Tony's banana"
ere-moo madre (fruit-man orange) " man's orange"
hwee-mwîê pwêvò (meat-woman egg) "woman's egg"
odho-sonya kafe (drink-Sonya coffee) "Sonya's coffee"
hwiie-toni ôgi-nawa (chew-Tony bark-coconut) "Tony's coconut palm barks"
êê-treanrü miô (plant-people seed) "people's seeds"
hêê-ubò peci (belonging-Ubo paper) "Ubo's notebook"

2. < NP preceding possessive nominals -pronominal suffix >

naasi e-rò (rice food-1sg) "rice, my food"
hêêra ere-nrü (foods food-2sg) "your food"
poka hwee-nrî (pig meat-3sg) "his pork"
siro odho-ri (sirop drink-1plinc) "syrup, our drink"
ti hwiie-komu (sugarcane chew-1dlinc) "sugarcane, our(we two's) chews"
ù êê-wiri (tree plant-2pl) "trees, your (pl) plants"
wake hêê-rri (job belonging-3pl) "job, their belonging"

< NP preceding possessive nominals -noun possessor >

susu e-mwîê (choko food-woman) "the woman'schuchut"
madre ere-afadò (orange fruit-tourist) "the tourist's orange"
a hwee-amwaati (man special to be eaten, meat-chief) "chief's man (to eat)"
arròò odho-bebe (water drink - baby) "baby's water "
ti hwiie-ausòò-rò (sugarcane chew -big brother-1sg) "my elder brother's sugarcane"
nawa êê-treanrü (coconut plant-people) "people's coconut tree"
mwâ hêê-warrabù (house belonging-uncle) "uncle's house"

---

[37] Ozanne-Rivierre (1983:119) illustrates this with New Caledonian languages, Kumak, Nemi, Cèmuhî; Pawley (1972:34) also states that the possessive plus pronoun sequence always occurs preposed to the specifier in EO languages of his data. In Lenakel (southern Vanuatu) it is placed variably before/after the possessed noun (Lynch 1978).

The same object can occur in several possessive constructions depending on the nature of the relationship between it and the possessor.[38] The following examples illustrate that *nawa* "coconut" can occur with four different possessive classifiers:

(308) nawa odho-toni
coconut drink-Tony
"Tony's coconut to drink"

(309) nawa hwee-toni
coconut meat-Tony
"Tony's coconut to eat"

(310) nawa êê -toni
coconut plant-Tony
"Tony's coconut tree (on his land or to be planted)"

(311a) nawa hêê-toni
coconut belonging-Tony
"coconut belonging to Tony"

nawa can also occur in the construction using the possessive preposition *nrâ* which was discussed in the previous section, when *nawa* is temporarily possessed or related to the person in some loose way:

(312a) nawa nrâ toni
coconut of Tony
"Tony's coconut (temporarily possessed by, or related to Tony)"

Formally, the constructions (308)-(311) are distinguished clearly from that of (312), as those of (308)-(311) allow the inversion of word order (i.e. the classifier can be preposed to the possessed noun), and the latter do not (i.e. the preposition can only occur between the possessed noun and the possessor). Thus, (311b) below is grammatical, while (312b) is not.

(311b) hêê-toni nawa
belonging-Tony coconut
"coconut belonging to Tony"

(312b) * nrâ toni nawa
of Tony coconut
"Tony's coconut

Note that there is a similar construction using *hêrrê*, which is a bound noun, meaning "content, essence". *hêrrê* sometimes occurs after another NP in an appositional relationship. Thus, it appears quite like a possessive classifier, as the following examples show:

hêrrê-nrî (content-3sg) "its content"
treanrü hêrrê-wâ (people content-ship) "passenger of the ship"

[38] The same situation is noted by Lynch (1973:86-88) with many other Melanesian languages such as Aroma, Lenakel, Fijian and Paamese.

However, I consider *hêrrê* to be a bound noun, as the order of appositive NPs is always as above, and not as shown below where another NP follows *hêrrê-wâ*. If *hêrrê* was a possessive classifier both word orders should be possible. Furthermore, it cannot take a collective prefix *nrî-* as possessive nominals may.

* hêrrê-wâ treanrü (content-ship people)"passenger of the ship"
* nrî-hêrrê-nrî (coll-content-its) "its contents"

And the final distinction found is that the possessor of *hêrrê* is inanimate, whereas possessive nominals have animate possessors.

Sometimes, the possessive prepositions can also be confused with possessive classifiers. For example, *rrê/rre* is a possessive preposition which occurs only with *mwâ* "house", *wâ* "ship", and *ò* "pot" as illustrated in the following:

mwâ rrê rò (house, POSS, 1sg) "my house"

It is tempting to take this for a possessive classifier, designating the possessive relationship as an "essential living need," where the NP (something like a container) can be appositional with it. However, *rre* is not a possessive classifier. The following unacceptable phrases show that *rre* cannot occur as the head of a NP as possessive classifiers do. *mwâ* in the above cannot occur in the reverse order with the rest; *rre* cannot take the collective prefix *nrî-* either.

* rre -rò (poss -1sg) "my (container)"
* rre -rò mwâ (poss -1sg house) "my house"
* nrî - rre-rò (coll-poss-1sg) "my (containers)"

The morpho-syntactic distinctions among possessive classifiers, bound/link nouns and possessive prepositions are summarised in the following table:

Table 6.2

Morpho-syntactic Distinctions among Possessive Morphemes

	possessive classifier	bound/link noun	possessive preposition
head of NP	+	+	–
follow NP	+	(+)	+
precede NP	+	–	–
prefixed nrî-	+	–	–

\+ indicates that the condition is met.
\- indicates that the condition is not met.
(+) indicates occasional occurrence

6.1.6.2 Inalienable possession

Nouns that occur in inalienable possessive constructions are generally those whose referents have no independent existence of their own, but are always related to something else. While alienable possession is expressed in various ways, inalienable possession in Tinrin is always expressed in the juxtaposition of the two nouns which are bound to each other as in the following structure, except for the nouns that occur in the

link structure which will be discussed later in this section. Note that the possessor can be pronominal.

NP - NP
poss'd poss'r

In this structure, the noun possessed always precedes the possessor; it is either suffixed by a possessor pronoun or bound to a nominal possessor directly attached to it. Nouns which occur in this structure may also occur in a compounding construction, being bound to another root (either noun or verb). This is discussed in 4.3.1.

Following types of nominals occur in this construction: possessive classifiers, relative location nouns (cf.3.1.4.2.1A), bound nouns (cf.3.1.4.3.2.A) and link nouns (cf.3.1.4.3.2.B).

6.1.6.2.1 Possessive classifiers

Possessive classifiers discussed in the previous section serve to express alienable possession when they occur with another noun in an apposition. They themselves, however, are always bound to the possessors, and in this sense they are inalienably possessed. They are semantically distinguished from other inalienably possessed nouns, however, in that while other nouns are possessed in some inevitable and inextricable way by the possessors, the referents of possessive classifiers are things such as food, drink, plants, etc , whose relationship to the possessor is not something inherent, and whose possessor may change from time to time. The reason why these classifiers are bound to the possessors may be that eating, drinking, planting, etc. are important in the life of Tinrin people, and therefore "who" owns these things (to eat, drink, etc.) is important and inevitable when thinking of those items.

The following are the examples of possessive classifiers when they occur by themselves (not in apposition with another NP):

(313) nrâ bwê nrâ hwee-ri ânrâha
3sg lot sm meat-1pl.inc here
"We have lots of meat here." (There are lots of our meat here.)

(314) u nrori e-nrü
1sg give food-2sg
"I gave you food." (I gave your food)

(315) nrâ fi nrî tòwò ere-tito
3sg go PURP gather fruit-Tito
"He went to pick up fruits for Tito." (He went to pick up Tito's fruits.)

6.1.6.2.2 Relative location nouns

Location nouns are described in 3.1.4.2.1. Among them, relative location nouns behave exactly like other bound form nominals which occur in inalienable possessive constructions. They are morphologically bound to another nominal which may be a pronoun, and express location only with respect to something else, which is expressed in the possessor NP slot of the structure. This is illustrated by the following examples:

(316) nrîrri-nrî
edge-3sg
"its edge."

(317) drô-mwâ
surface-house
"roof of the house"

(318) tê-ri
home-1plinc
"our place"

(319) nrùwù-kasi
inside-bag
"inside of the bag"

6.1.6.2.3 Bound nouns

Bound nouns are those nouns described in 3.1.4.3.2.A. They include nouns referring to kinship, body /plant /inanimate parts, secretions or products of a body or plant, personal attributes or properties, effects /origins of human affairs and collectivity/genus of something.

They are inalienably possessed: that is, they are either suffixed by a possessor pronoun or bound to a nominal possessor directly attached to them.

The following examples illustrate this:

(320) nrîfò-rò
mouth-1sg
"my mouth"

(321) veha-nrî
heart-3sg
"his heart"

(322) nô-nawa
liquid-coconut
"coconut's juice"

(323) nrùjù-toni
daughter-Tony
"Tony's daughter"

(324) fomee-nrî
sort-3sg
"that sort"

6.1.6.2.4 Link nouns

Link nouns are those described in 3.1.4.3.2.B, whose referents often belong to similar categories of things to those of bound nouns. They include: kinship, body /plant parts, secretions or products of the body, personal attributes or properties, and effects /results of human affairs. The structural and semantic correlation between bound and link nouns is discussed in detail in the section 3.1.4.3.2.C.

Link nouns occur in inalienable possessive constructions, which, however, are different from those of bound nouns. The constructions have the following form:

NP - nrâ - NP
poss'd LINK poss'r

The link morpheme *-nrâ-* is often suppressed, when the possessor is the the first person singular pronoun (3.1.4.3.2), as illustrated in the following:

(325) ao-nrâ-nrî
cheek-LINK-3sg
"his cheek"

(326) ao-(nrâ)-rò
cheek-(LINK)-1sg
"my cheek"

(327) ao-nrâ-toni
cheek-LINK-Tony
"Tony's cheek"

(328) îgâ-nrâ-nrü
dream-LINK-2sg
"your dream"

(329) edhi-(nrâ)-rò
cousin-(LINK)-1sg
"my cousin"

The link noun constructions may be considered as being on the line between bound noun constructions and alienable possessive constructions, and the fact that the link morpheme *nrâ* can be suppressed with a first person pronominal possessor suggests that the relationship of the noun possessed to its first person singular possessor is more bound than to other possessors, perhaps from the speaker's egocentric perspective[39] (cf. Ameka 1988:11).

The three possessive constructions of bound nouns, link nouns and free nouns with a possessive preposition are summarised along the scale of inalienable and alienable possession as follows:

bound	link	free
NP-NP	(1sg) NP-(nrâ)-NP	NP rre/rrê NP
	(others) NP-nrâ-NP	NP ò NP
		NP nrâ NP

inalienable <--- ---> alienable

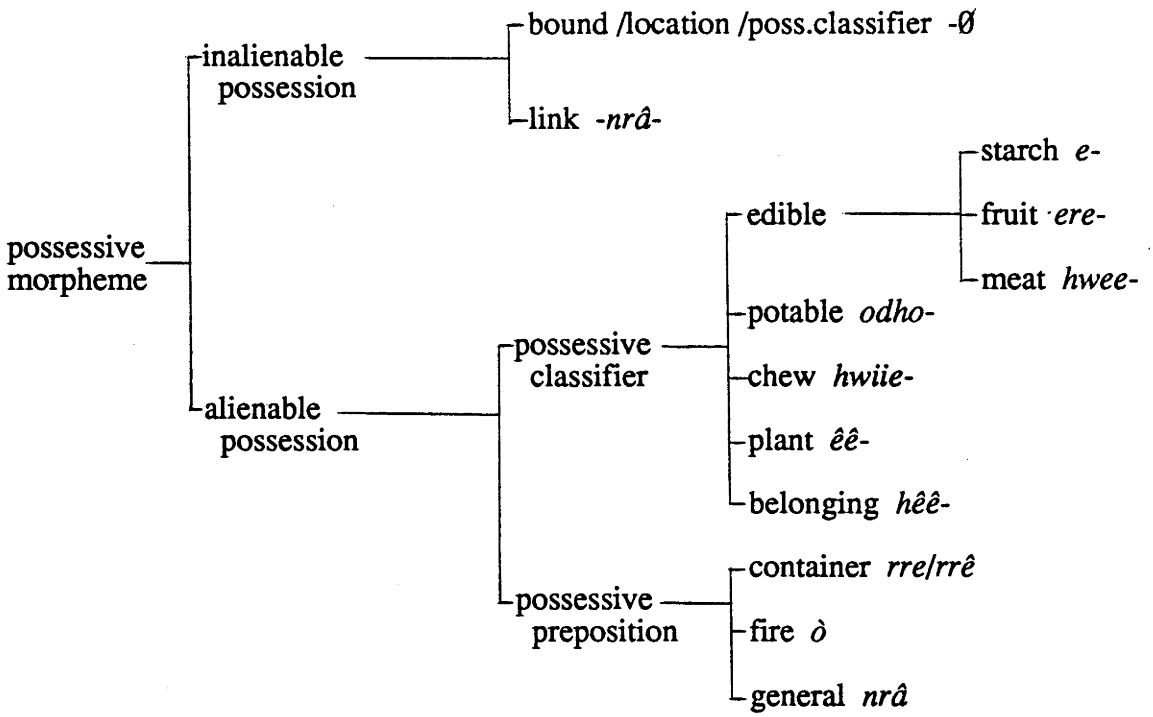
6.1.6.3 Alienable-inalienable continuum of Possessive constructions

In the previous sections various possessive constructions were discussed which can be grouped largely into alienable and inalienable possessive types. The following table summarises the morphemes which appear between the noun possessed and its possessor in possessive relationships.

[39] Seiler (1983:17) states that the most prototypical structure of juxtaposition is that with a personal or possessive pronoun in the first person, thus coreferent with EGO, as the most intimate, most immediate (possessive) relation.

Table 6.3

Possessive Morphemes



The distinction between alienable and inalienable possessions in these constructions, however, is not so clear cut. The evidence points to a continuum from alienability to inalienability.

Possessive prepositions express alienable possession, but this shows a hierarchical order as discussed in 6.1.6.1.1. There are also constructions using various possessive classifiers. They may be placed between constructions with prepositions and inalienable constructions, though they are included under alienable possession. As we saw in the examples (308) - (312), the same entity can occur in several constructions depending on the nature of the possessive relationship.

In the same way, there are two types of possessive constructions expressing inalienable possession. In the first type, two nouns (the possessed and the possessor) are juxtaposed. In the second, they are linked by the link morpheme *-nrâ-*. As discussed in the previous section and in 3.1.4.3.2.C, link nouns are bound to possessors, but have structural as well as semantic features of alienable possession.

The structure of these constructions shows the high degree of iconicity of the relationship between the possessed and its possessor: the linguistic distance between the possessed and the possessor is greater in the alienable construction (Haiman 1985:130).

A close look at the semantics of nouns which overlap in both bound and link noun categories reveals that the bound noun constructions express the most inalienable, intimate relationship, whereas link noun constructions do the opposite. Although on the

surface, similar sets of nouns occur in both constructions, the ones that occur in link noun constructions have "separable", "transient" or "non-personal" elements in their meanings compared to the "inherent", "intimate" or "personal" character of bound nouns (cf. 3.1.4.3.2.C).

The degree of the inalienability is often related to the person /human /animacy of the possessor, in addition to the semantics of the noun possessed. In the case of link noun constructions, the choice of first person singular possessor can suppress the link morpheme, thus creating the same structure as bound nouns (more inalienable). The animacy of the possessor often determines the meaning of the possessed (table 3.5 and 3.6), and in some words determines its form as well (cf. 3.1.4.3.2.C). The majority of external body part nouns, which generally have 'human' possessors, behave as bound nouns, while those which have 'animal' possessors behave as link nouns.

The following table summarizes the possessive constructions in terms of structural and semantic correlations:

Table 6.4

Possessive Constructions and Nouns Possessed

alienable ↑

structure	referents of the noun possessed
NP PREP NP	
nrâ	general, temporarily possessed
rre/rrê	house, boat, pot
ò	fire
NP POSS.CLFR NP	
hêê-	belongings
e-	starches in general to be eaten
ere-	fruit in general to be eaten
hwee-	meat, egg in general to be eaten
odho-	things to be drunk
hwiie-	things to be chewed
êê-	plants growing or to be planted
NP-LINK-NP	
-nrâ-	kinship - husband, cousin, aunt,etc.
(-nrâ-) with 1sg	external body part of animals separable, not integrated
	plant part detachable
	internal organs, body products - temporary or non-attributable
	personal attributes or properties transient
	result of human activity - only derived noun

NP-NP

bound nouns	kinship - parent, siblings, wife, etc.
	external human body part
	non-human body part integrated
	plant part
	some internal organs related to emotions or bodily condition
	body products - essential
	personal attributes or properties - permanent
	effect/origin of human activity
	collectivity/genus
possessive classifiers	belongings, food, drink, chew, plant
location nouns	relative position

↓ inalienable

6.2 Adjuncts

We will discuss in this section the various types of adjuncts which are associated with the nominal phrase head, syntactically and semantically both with respect to the head and to other adjuncts.

6.2.1 Determiners

Determiners (3.5) are the first to occur if any in a NP. *wa* and *moo* often occur with deictic demonstratives placed after the head. *truu* and *mê* can also occur with demonstratives, though not so often.

a) wa, moo singular, "the"

There seems to be no apparent difference in the meaning or usage of *wa* and *moo*, except that *wa* is more commonly used than *moo*. Both of them can be placed before either human or non-human nouns.

(330)
wa/moo	moo	rra
DET	person	DIST

"that person"

(331)
wa/moo	mwâ	mwâ
DET	house	M.DIST

"that house"

(332)
wa/moo	erre	ha
DET	place	PROX

"this place"

(333)
wa/moo	ù	mwâ
DET	tree	M.DIST

"that tree"

When *wa* and *moo* occur in the same sentence, there seems to be a preference for using *wa* in the first place, and *moo* later in the sentence.

(334)
wa	giwe	ha	nrâ	ti	nai	moo
DET	mountain	PROX	3sg	big	exceed	DET

giwe	mwâ
mountain	M.DIST

"This mountain is bigger than that mountain."

Although, in general, *wa* and *moo* are used interchangeably, there is a preference of one over the other with certain words. With *u* "time", *moo* is normally used and *wa* is not commonly heard (although there are still people who use this expression).

(335) moo u ha
DET time PROX
"this time"

On the other hand, *wa* is normally heard with *drae* "thing":

(336) wa drae mwâ
DET thing M.DIST
"that one"

b) truu dual, "the two"

truu can occur not only with a human noun, but also (unlike the prefix *truu-*) with a non-human noun if it is countable as illustrated in the following example:

(337) truu peci ha
DET dl paper PROX
"these two papers"

However, in most cases it occurs with human nouns, which often results in redundant number markings (i.e. with a prefix indicating numbers and with quantifiers). The elaborate way of expressing a number of human nouns contrasts remarkably with the general indifference to number with non-human nouns, which have no number marking on them at all.

(338) truu aurru truuwù trîê
DET dl two children dl women dl
"the two girls"

The above example illustrates the multiple number markings. All constituants are marked for duality: *truu* "DET dl", *aurru* "QF two", *truuwù* "children dl", and *trîê* "women dl".

The following example also illustrates this:

(339) truu truu-truare
DET dl siblings of the same sex dl
"the two brothers/sisters "

The determiner *truu* can also occur with a pronoun as in:

(340) truu nrorru
DET dl 3dl
"(those) they two"

c) mê plural, "those"

mê can also occur with not only human nouns but also with non-human nouns, thus distinguished from the prefix *mê-* (4.1.1.E). Although the redundant marking of the plural does sometimes happen, *mê* does not normally occur with a noun marked with the prefix *mê-*, or with a quantifier *mêrrê* "many, several".

(341) mê vîê
DET pl women pl
"the women"

(342) mê asirri voo
DET pl three men pl
"the three men"

(343) mê drae rra
DET pl thing DIST
"those things"

We should note that there is a tradition to refer to the eldest son or eldest brother by a particular appelation of respect, *mêti* "elder brothers pl". He is also addressed or referred to by the plural form of the pronoun (6.1.1). When one refers to him by his name, one puts the determiner *mê* "pl" in front of his name to show respect, i.e. *mê horrero* (pl, Holéro) "Mr.Horéro". On the other hand, *mê* is used as a prefix in *mê-horrero* indicating "Holéros: people of the clan Holéro (plural)".

6.2.2 Quantifiers

Quantifiers can occur not only as the head of a NP but also as adjuncts to the head of a NP. They are preposed to the NP head. When they co-occur with other pre- nominal modifiers (determiners or attributes), they normally occur after determiners and before attributes, as demonstrated in the following examples:

(344) wa tre doo sôbwi
DET sg another used mat
"this, another used mat"

(345) dròrò hùwùnrâ farrî rra
a few small name DIST
"those few small names"

(346) mwârü mwâ mwâ
some house M.DIST
"those some houses"

Unlike *mê* "DET pl", *mêrrê* "pl, many" is used often with nouns marked by the prefix *mê-* "pl" (in the following example, *mê-* is integrated in *mââwù*):

(347a) mêrrê mââwù mwâ
pl pl child M.DIST
"those children"

(347b) * mê mââwù mwâ
DET pl pl child M.DIST

Quantifiers can also occur with derived nouns, as in:

(348) saa bee-hadho
one NMZ-do a string game
"one sort of a string game"

(349) tre bee-fwi
another NMZ-do
"another way of doing"

(350) mêrrê nrî-dri
many L-be damp
"many swamps"

6.2.3 Attributes

The third optional slot in a NP, that is, the place immediately before the NP head can be filled by one (or rarely two) attribute (3.3). An attribute can also modify a derived noun as illustrated by example (354).

(351) wa drorro vajù
DET big sickness
"the big disease"

(352) pwerre tro treanrü
some native people
"some Kanak people"

(353) saa wadrò hùwù nrâ fònrîmoo
one tiny small history
"a tiny small history"

(354) nrôô bee-ha mea ghe ânrâha
old NMZ-speak Mea from here
"the old Mea language (way of speaking Mea) from here"

6.2.4 Nominals

Nominals can be juxtaposed to the preceding nominal head and modify the nature or quality of the referent of the head. This use is often seen among Oceanic languages, including other New Caledonian languages (Ozanne-Rivierre and Moyse-Faurie 1983). Some of these nominals are discussed under compounding (4.3). In this section are included nominals which modify the head nouns more freely without forming a unit like a compound, and which combine productively with other nominals.

Nouns which occur in this position are words as follows:

denoting materials of the object,

noo ù (spear, wood) "wooden spear"
noo fao (spear, metal) "metal spear"
mwâ arrebò (house, stone) "stone house"

specifying the category of the object,

arròò nawa (water, coconut) "coconut milk"
arròò wie (water, rain) "rain water"
kôbo moghi (basket, shrimp) "basket for shrimps"
kôbo wî (basket, banana) "basket for banana"
fò treanrü (sort, people) "a sort of people"
fò mee-nre (sort, habitation) "a sort of living place"
verre tâ (special stone, taro) "stone placed with taro as a magic"
verre u (special stone, yam) "stone placed with yam as a magic"
nrî-perre porromakau (paddock, cow) "paddock for cow"
nrî-agho nre (burden on back, firewood) "bundle of firewoods carried on back"

denoting the sex,

meò mwîê (chicken, woman) "hen"
meò moo (chicken, man) "rooster"
pù mwîê (flying fox, woman) "female flying fox"
pù moo (flying fox, man) "male flying fox"

Possessor nominals also occur in this position. They are the nominals which fill in the possessor slot of the possessive constructions discussed in 6.1.6. Possessor nominals which are marked by one of the possessive markers: *nrâ*, *rre/rrê*, or *ò* (cf. 6.2.8.3) normally occur in this position, although they can sometimes be preceded by a demonstrative as in (355a), a location /time noun as in (356a) or a phrasal modifier as in (357a):

(355a) wa wake mwâ nrâ nrü
DET work M.DIST POSS 2sg
"that work of yours"

(356a) rroto ârijù nrâ nrî
car down there POSS 3sg
"his car down there"

(357a) kasi a mijù nrâ sonya
bag AT heavy POSS Sonya
"Sonya's heavy bag"

The word order in the above examples can be reversed as follows without any significant change in meaning:

(355b) wa wake nrâ nrü mwâ
DET work POSS 2sg M.DIST
"that work of yours"

(356b) rroto nrâ nrî ârijù
car POSS 3sg down there
"his car down there"

(357b) kasi nrâ sonya a mijù
bag POSS Sonya AT heavy
"Sonya's heavy bag"

6.2.5 Demonstratives

A demonstrative (3.6) can occur as a post-head adjunct to the NP head. The demonstrative generally occurs after a possessor nominal if there is one (as illustrated below), but it can also occur in other post-head positions.

(358) wa mwâ rrê toni mwâ
DET hut POSS Tony M.DIST
"that Tony's hut"

When a demonstrative occurs after one or more post-head modifiers, it modifies or restricts the whole group of words which precede it.

The difference is illustrated in the following examples:

(359a) [wa moo] mwâ a harru
DET man M.DIST AT good
"that man who is good"
(*mwâ* "M.DIST" is restricting *wa moo* "the man", and *a harru* is modifying *wa moo mwâ* "that man")

(359b) [wa moo a harru] mwâ
DET man AT good M.DIST
"that, good man"
(*mwâ* "M.DIST" is restricting *wa moo a harru* "the good man". *mwâ* is singling out a particular man from several "good men".)

6.2.6 Location and time nouns

A location and/or time noun can also occur as a postposed adjunct to the NP head. It normally occurs after the possessor nominal and demonstrative (if there are any): it may occur either before or after a phrasal modifier.

When it is a relative location noun such as *tê-* "place of", it is followed by a nominal specifying the place (3.1.4.2.1).

Some location and time nouns are optionally marked with a preposition (3.1.4.2).

<location nouns>

(360) tro erre mwârijù
real place down there
"tribal place down there"

(361) busi nrâ mwîê ânrâmwâ
cat POSS woman over there
"the woman's cat over there"

(362) wake tê-patrik
job home-Patrick
"job at Patrick's"

(363) mîô (ru) nrî-troo
seed L on-earth
"seeds on the earth"

<time nouns>

(364) hùùmùrrù apuurru
child the day before yesterday
"a green youth"

(365) mòrrò nrîmwâmwâ
life now
"the present life"

(366) arròò a ti nrî-wâdrâ
water AT big in the morning
"high tide in the dawn"

6.2.7 Postnominal modifiers

As described in 3.7.1.2, about a dozen adverbs can modify nominals as well. They occur quite freely in the postnominal position. The post-head verbal modifier, nrâ "past", can also occur as a postnominal modifier (7.5).

(367) hari nròrrò
1plinc only
"only us (including you)"

(368) mê drae rra edho
DET pl thing DIST any, even
"anything (pl)"

(369) mê-pôgôrrô hâvenrîâ
pl-black all, entire
"all the black people"

(370) nro hwa
1sg EMPH
"me!"

(371) wa bosî rra nrâ
DET moon DIST PST
"the month before (last month, or two three months ago)"

6.2.8 Phrasal modifiers

Phrasal modifiers which occur in a postnominal position are either infinitives or prepositional phrases.

6.2.8.1 Infinitives

There are two types of infinitives that occur in this position: verbs derived with the prefix *o-* and verbs marked as purposive.

(A) Verbs derived with the prefix *o-*

Verbs derived from nouns or other verbs, with the prefix *o-* "be in excessive state of something, be in certain condition" (5.1.2) can occur postnominally, as illustrated below:

(372) iifade o-tarragho
path condition-mud holes
"path with a lot of mud holes"

(373) iifade o-eghe
path condition-to bite
"rough road"

(374) maamùrrù o-nirre
children full-snivel
"children snivelling a lot"

(375) tave o-purrùu
bed full-dust
"bed full of dust"

(376) ô-nrî o-drirri
head-3sg full-straw
"his head covered with straw"

(B) Verbs marked as purposive

Verbs can occur as adjuncts to nouns without being preceded by an attribute marker, when they indicate a purpose for which the modified noun is used, as illustrated in the following.

The verb can take an object marked by *nrâ* "POSS" (6.1.6.1.1), as in a clause with complementizers *bee* and *òò* (8.3.1.1).

(377) puue ta nrâ moghi
net catch POSS shrimps
"net to catch shrimps"

(378) sara jùrrù nrâ farrawa
knife cut POSS bread
"knife to cut bread"

(379) kuramwâ ta nrâ mêwe
trap catch POSS bird
"trap to catch birds"

(380) de ta nrâ sîbù
trap catch POSS rat
"trap to catch rats"

(381) nrî-harre tòwò nrâ kafe
season gather POSS coffee
"the season to pick coffee beans"

6.2.8.2 Prepositional phrases

The ten prepositions can be used to link two nominal phrases. Prepositional phrases with *nrâ*, *rre/rrê* and *ò* are excluded here, as they are discussed in 6.1.6 and in 6.2.4 as marking possessor nominals. Those with other prepositions are illustrated below. The semantic relationship between NPs which is expressed by each of the prepositions parallels the semantics of the prepositions described in 3.4.

with *nrî* "in, with" (temporal and instrumental)

(382) mòrrò nrî wa nââ drââ mwâ
life in DET piece day M.DIST
"the life in those days"

(383) kare nrî hi-rri
run with leg-3pl
"a running race"

with *ru* "at, in" (locative)

(384) treanrü ru saramea
people in Sarramea
"people in Sarramea"

with *rugi* "at, on, about" (locative, temporal and referential)

(385) mêwe rugi bê-ù
bird on arm-tree
"birds on the twig"

(386) kò rugi bee-bòrrò nrâ mwîê
news about NMZ-drown POSS woman
"the news about the woman's drowning"

with *ghe* "from" (elative)

(387) treanrü ghe âroa giwe
people from over there mountain
"people from over there, mountain"

(388) guha nrâ ri ghe ânrâmwâ
language POSS 3pl from there
"their language of there"

with *gi* "at" (locative)

(389) treanrü gi sinema
people at movie
"people at the movie theater."

with *ghegi* "out of, because of" (origin, causal)

(390) mê asirri ghegi mê voo
DET pl three out of DET pl men
"three people out of those men"

(391) vajù ghegi hòve
sickness because of cold
"sickness from the cold"

with *nrô* "for" (purposive)

(392) osi nrô maamurrù
horse for children
"the horse for children"

(393) drââ nrô bee fi nrâ nrî
day for CMPZ go POSS 3sg
"the day for his going"

6.2.9 Clausal modifiers

We will briefly discuss clausal modifiers to the noun (i.e. relative clauses) in this section, as they will be discussed in detail later in 8.3.2.

Tinrin relative clauses are not expressed by any special subordinator. The coreferential noun in the embedded sentence is either reduced to a pronominal form or to zero. In the following example (394), the NP in the object position within the embedded clause is relativised, and reduced to zero. In example (395), it is reduced to a pronoun:

(394) wa mwîê mwâ [nrâ sùveharru] nrâ fi wai
DET woman M.DIST 3sg like 3sg go already
"The woman (whom) he likes has gone already."

(395) wiri tramwâ nroorre [hêrrê ta bwò ru nrî]
2pl know place IMPN hit crab in 3sg
"You know the place where people catch crabs." (lit. You know the place people catch crabs in it.)

In addition to these relative clauses, Tinrin has another structure, using *a*. *a*, which can be used as a prefix "agentive, attributive" (4.1.1), can also function to introduce a participial relative clause. Unlike other relative clauses, the position relativised in this participial relative clause is restricted to the subject (8.3.2).

Chapter 7

THE VERB PHRASE

The verb phrase consists of a head or nucleus which is a verb (3.2), a subject pronoun, and a number of optional adjuncts which will be described later in this chapter. The structure of the verb phrase is as follows.

VP = +s ±TA ±PreMod +H ±PostMod ±O ±L ±T ±AD ±Phr

The head and the subject pronoun are obligatory, but the other constituents (tense-aspect markers, pre-head and post-head verbal modifiers, objects, location or time nouns, adverbs and phrasal modifiers) may or may not occur.

The word order among constituents is fixed, except that an adverb, location and time noun, and phrasal modifier can occur quite freely in a post verbal position. The pronominal object can occur before post-head verbal modifiers. I will discuss the detailed word order among constituents later in this chapter.

7.1 The Head

The head of the VP may belong to any one of the subtypes of verbs described in 3.2. It can be morphologically complex as discussed in chapter 5. It is not inflected according to person, gender or case, etc.; but it is obligatorily preceded by a subject pronoun, which agrees in person and number with the nominal subject, that optionally follows the predicate.

The VP head is either transitive or intransitive. Transitive verbs generally take optional objects, except those that are suffixed with transitive suffixes and reflexive verbs which always take objects (3.2.2.2.1).

(396)

nrâ	sepihi	(purrùu)	nrâ	gogo
3sg	brush off	dust	sm	Gogo

"Gogo brushed off (the dust)."

Occasionally the head of a VP involves two or more verbs. In many cases, one of the verbs more or less loses its lexical meaning, and then becomes a modifier of the other. Of these, eleven verbs which gain aspectual meanings and function as auxiliaries when they co-occur with other verbs are discussed as pre-head and post-head verbal modifiers (7.4 and 7.5). By treating them as verbal modifiers, we can see more clearly their interaction with other pre-head or post-head verbal modifiers which share the same syntactic slot. They combine with other verbal modifiers in certain ways (cf. table 7.7). In such combinations, a preferred word order can be seen, but complex variation in this

ordering is also possible (7.4 and 7.5). Pre-head verbal modifiers also include words which can function as attributes and nominals (table 7.4 and 7.6).

Verbs in the predicate can be of equal status, expressing simultaneous or consecutive actions/states or events. The syntactic and semantic roles of these verbs vary: the varieties and possible combinations of verbs will be discussed in the section of serialization (7.9.1).

The head of a VP can also be a phrasal verb, which consists of a verb and a preposition. Like English phrasal verbs such as 'look for', the meaning of both parts is modified to some extent, the phrasal verb having a meaning as a whole, and functioning like one grammatical unit. However, unlike compounds (5.4), the parts of phrasal verbs can be separated by some modifier.

wake nrî (work, with) "to use"
fwi gi (do, about) "to manage"
kare fadre (run, with) "to transport"
sii fadre (pass, with) "to send, accompany"

7.2 Subject Pronouns

The first slot of the verb phrase is obligatorily filled by a subject pronoun which is cross-referenced in person and number with the nominal subject that optionally follows the predicate. The forms of the subject pronoun are set out in table 7.1 below.

Table 7.1: **Subject Pronouns**

	sg	dl	pl
1 (inc)	u	ru	ri
(exc)		komu	kevi
2	ke	kou	wiri
3	nrâ	rru	rri
IMPN	hêrrê	hêrrê	hêrrê
	va	va	va

The TA markers *ei* and *a* which I discuss in the next section occur as enclitics to subject pronouns. Some of the subject pronoun forms undergo phonological processes when cliticized as follows:

with *ei* "future"

1sg	u - ei > (u)wei
1plinc	ri - ei > ri(e)i
2sg	ke - ei > kei
3sg	nrâ - ei > nrî(î)
3pl	rri - ei > rri(e)i
IMPN	va - ei > ve(e)i

with *a* "perfect, actual, definite"

1sg u - a > (u)wa
2sg ke - a > k(e)a

7.3 Tense-Aspect Markers

TA markers occur between the subject pronoun and the head of the predicate. They are listed in the following, numbered according to their order in possible combinations. Theoretically, there are many possible combinations of TA markers, but some of these are semantically implausible.

The possible and unacceptable combinations will be summarised at the end of this section.

The word order among TA markers is fairly rigid, compared to that among pre-head verbal modifiers described later; however, there is some freedom in certain combinations.

1. a "perfect, actual, definite"
2. ei "immediate future, hypothesis"
3. go "punctual, consecutive"
4. nrî "eventual, future indefinite"
5. re "assertive, habitual, obligation"
6. nrâ "imperfective, durative, actual"
7. nrerre "regrettably"
8. hava/hâmâ(nrâ) "immediate past, just, soon after"
9. nrôô "remote past"

Tinrin clauses often do not have a specific marker of past versus present tense; that is, when the clause has no TA markers, (TA marker being optional) it can refer to either the present or the past. A similar feature is seen in a number of West African languages, as well as in other Oceanic languages (cf. Mosel 1984:107-8).[40]

Comrie (1976:82) discusses, referring to Yoruba and Igbo, that in these languages nonstative verbs have no marker if they have perfective meaning,[41] and that they have some markers if they have imperfective meaning. Stative verbs have only imperfective meaning, and take no marker (*Ibid*).

The same thing can also apply to Tinrin, as imperfective meaning is indicated by a TA marker *nrâ* if the verb is nonstative, and without *nrâ* the verb has perfective meaning. The following sentence (397) has perfective meaning (unmarked) as the verb is nonstative, whereas sentence (398) is marked by *nrâ* "imperfective" and sentence (399) imperfective (unmarked) as it has a stative verb.

(397) nrâ drarri nrâ hùùmùrrù
3sg cry sm child
"The child cried."

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[40] F. Rivierre (1979:35) and de la Fontinelle (1976:228) refer to similar features in Nemi and Ajie respectively as 'aorist'.

[41] The term 'perfective' denotes a situation viewed in its entirety, without regard to internal temporal constituency (Comrie 1976:12).

(398) nrâ nrâ drarri nrâ hùùmùrrù
3sg IMPF cry sm child
"The child is crying."

(399) nrâ harru nrâ wage-ù
3sg good sm flower-tree
"Flowers on the tree are beautiful."

When there is no contextual indication of time reference, the imperfective forms are more naturally understood as referring to the present, and the perfective form as referring to the past.[42]

Now, we will see how the TA markers in the above list express some tense and/or aspect, and how they interact in order to get further intricate tense-aspectual meanings.

The first two particles (*a* and *ei*) occur as enclitics to subject pronouns or the preceding word.

1) a perfect, actual, definite

It is difficult to define this particle, as it covers a wide range of meanings, and also often occurs with other particles, which makes it difficult to isolate the meaning of *a*. A sentence marked by *a* and a sentence unmarked (like the following examples 401a and 400a) are often regarded as 'identical in meaning' by native people. However, *a* definitely has a meaning of its own, and what seems to be most central to the meaning of *a* is 'present relevance'. Let us consider the following sentences:

(400a) wiri trôdrô nrî
2pl find 3sg
"You found it/him."

(401a) wiria trôdrô nrî
2pl PERF find 3sg
"You have found it./You have met him."

(400b) wiri trôdrô nrî âwù
2pl find 3sg yesterday
"You found it/him yesterday."

(401b) * wiria trôdrô nrî âwù
2pl PERF find 3sg yesterday
"You have met him yesterday."

The unmarked non-stative verb in sentence (400a) suggests that the sentence has the perfective meaning, as discussed earlier. Thus, without any specific indicator in the context, it naturally refers to a situation which took place in the past. Sentence (401a) often seems to be used indifferently from sentence (400a) as referring to a past situation as well. However, when added a time noun which refers to the past such as "yesterday", the sentence becomes unacceptable as in (401b).

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[42] Comrie points out a close relationship between imperfective aspect and present time, and between perfective aspect and past time, in these languages without tense markers. He makes a reference to Welmers' notion of 'factative': "the construction expresses the most obvious fact about the verb in question, which in the case of active verbs is that the action was observed or took place, but for stative verbs is that the situation obtains at present" (Welmers 1973:346-7).

Like English present perfect, sentence (401a) refers to a past situation which has present relevance. More exactly, it has the meaning of experiential perfect, that is, a given situation was held at least once during some time in the past leading up to the present (Comrie 1976:58). It is this "perfect" meaning of *a* which prompts the ungrammatical sentence (401b), as "yesterday" removes the relevance of the situation from the present.

Although sentences like (401a) cannot occur with time nouns which refer to the past, they can occur with post-verbal *nrâ* "before, past" and /or *wai* "already", as (402), (403) and (404) illustrate. Sentences (402) and (403) have experiential perfect meaning, and (404) has the perfect of result - "you have eaten (so you are not hungry any more)".

(402) u(w)a hara nrâ mii
1sg PERF eat PST watermelon
"I have eaten watermelon before."

(403) u(w)a pee wai
1sg PERF see already
"I have already seen (before)."

(404) ka hara (nraasi) wai
2sg PERF eat (rice) already
"You have already eaten (rice)."

We can see the experiential perfect meaning in sentence (402), in spite of *nrâ* "before, past", as the ungrammatical sentence (405) illustrates, where the object 'watermelon' is substituted by *ne* "what". We get a grammatical sentence (406) if we delete *a* from sentence (405), in order to get a simple past meaning:

(405) * kea hara nrâ ne?
2sg PERF eat PST what
"What have you eaten before?"

(406) ke hara nrâ ne?
2sg eat PST what
"What did you eat?"

a may also imply "actual" or "present", as the next sentence illustrates:

(407) nrîfa rria ta rria hwarri nrî
now 3pl ACT kill 3pl ACT sell 3sg

pwere ânrârra
L there
"Nowadays, they kill and sell it over there."

a can also be used for the future tense, indicating the speaker's prediction or decision for the future which has been made prior to the utterance. The following sentences incorporating the time nouns (408), TA marker *(e)i* "future" (409) and *nrî* "eventual" (410) will illustrate this:

(408) kea truumôôwi kaarrò mê huurru
2sg DEF rest tomorrow and day after tomorrow
"You will take a rest tomorrow or the day after tomorrow."
(you should take a rest....)

(409) nrî ke nrî kùi kai go mê
when 2sg EVENT finish 2sg DEF FUT then come

mwagi
back
"You will come back when you finish (it is decided)."

(410) rria nrî firù
3pl DEF EVENT enter
"They will (certainly) enter (there) (if we wait here)."

When *a* occurs with *ei* "future" and the post-head verbal modifier *wai* "completive, already", it indicates future perfect as in:

(411) see mwaa kai nrerre fi wai
NEG long 2sg PERF FUT regret go already
"(Before)not long (soon), you will be gone to my regret."

2) ei immediate future, hypothesis

This particle indicates that something is anticipated by the speaker to occur in the immediate future, often with the subject's volition. The following sentences illustrate this:

(412) u(w)ei fi
1sg FUT go
"I am going."

(413) nrîî hara
3sg FUT eat
"He will eat (soon)."

ei can also occur in a clause which expresses some hypothetical event or condition. To express contrafactual *ei* is combined with *nrâ* "past" as in the sentence (416).

(414) u barri traiki pa nrîî eghe rò
1sg afraid dog lest 3sg FUT bite 1sg
"I am afraid of the dog lest it should bite me."

(415) nrî kei ve peci rò nrîî harru gi nrü
if 2sg FUT take paper 1sg 3sg FUT good to 2sg
"If you receive my letter, you will be pleased." (lit. It will be good to you)

(416) nrî wei wake nrâ âwù wei warri nrîfa
if 1sg FUT work PST yesterday 1sg FUT tired now
"If I had worked yesterday, I would be exhausted now."

ei can occur freely with other TA markers or pre-head modifiers, except *nrâ* "imperfective, progressive" and *nrôô* "long time ago".

3) go punctual, consequential

go occurs very commonly in speech, indicating the development of the discourse. It marks the particular point of time as well as the sequence of events in a narration. It often follows the impersonal pronoun *va* "there, it" or TA marker *a* "perfect, actual, definite".

(417) rria go waa rria waa
3pl ACT then descend 3pl ACT descend
"Then they descend, they descend."

(418) u nrôsù mesi ua go fi
1sg wake early 1sg DEF then go
"I wake up early, and then go out."

(419) nrî ke hara dhùrrù kea go firùa
when 2sg eat COMPL 2sg DEF then go out
"When you finish eating, you will go out."

(420) va go kùi
IMPN then finish
"Then it finished."

go can co-occur with other TA markers or pre-head verbal modifiers except *nrôô* "long time ago". The next sentences illustrate combinations with *nrî* "eventual", *wo* "again" and *treu* "again", and with *see* "negative",

(421) rria go nrî wo treu tròa parrù nrâ
3pl PERF then EVENT again again arrive also PST
"They have then eventually come back again, too."

(422) rria go see wake
3pl ACT then NEG work
"Then they do not work."

4) nrî future indefinite, eventual

This particle expresses eventuality or future potentiality. While *ei* suggests immediate future, *nrî* does not have any implication of imminent future. It rather indicates uncertainty in the speaker's speculation about the future, often referring to a situation in the remote future. *nrî* refers to a situation that is eventually brought about, something that is not planned beforehand or intended, but which occurs spontaneously .

(423) rria go nrî fie fahajo rru
3pl DEF then EVENT finally CAUS marry 2dl
"Then, they have eventually and finally agreed to let them marry."

It is often used in a clause following *savaa* "prohibitive" to indicate negative imperative:

(424) savaa ke nrî hâmwêî nrî
PROH 2sg EVENT touch 3sg
"Don't touch it!"

Or, in an adverbial clause as in:

(425) nrî ke nrî fi pwere numea ve mê
when 2sg EVENT go to Noumea take come

nraasi
rice
"When you go to Noumea, bring rice back."

nrî can combine with *ei* "immediate future" to imply things happening in the near future, which are out of the control of the subject.

(426) wei nrî fwi trât fwòtra kaarrò
1sg FUT EVENT make 30(Fr) year tomorrow
"I shall be 30 years old tomorrow."

It does not combine with TA markers *nrâ* "imperfect" and *nrôô* "remote past".

5) re assertive, habitual, obligation

This particle expresses "assertion of existence or reality" in a statement by the speaker. In some contexts, it expresses "obligation" as well as "a strong supposition" by the speaker.

(427) rri truu nrî rri re truu nrî
3pl stay there 3pl ASS stay there
"They are there, (I assure you) they are."

(428) va see re radio
IMPN NEG ASS radio
"This is not the radio (It cannot be)."

(429) nrâ re fi
3sg ASS go
"He goes by all means."

It sometimes expresses "habitual", that is, a situation characteristic of an extended period of time (Comrie 1976:27). It can occur with any tense, as well as with the negative particle *see*.

(430) kevi re see ta poka
1plexc HAB NEG kill pig
"We did not hunt pigs in those days."
(*re* and *see* are interchangeable.)

(431) nrâ re fwa
3sg HAB rain
"It always rains."

(432) tau nrâ nrâ re fi pwere trùjù
often PST 3sg HAB go to sea
"Before, he used to go to the sea."

re does not occur with *hâmâ* "immediate past", *nrôô* "remote past", *nrââû* "inchoative". The following examples illustrate a combination with *a* "definite, perfect", *go* "punctual, consecutive" and one with *ei* "future".

(433) wiria (go) re trôdrô nrî?
2pl DEF then ASS find 3sg
"Did you (then) find it really?"

(434) wei re fi
1sg FUT ASS go
"I am going in any case."

With *nrî* "eventual", *re* can occur either before or after it without changing the meaning:

(435) wei nrî re fi (= wei re nrî fi)
1sg FUT EVENT ASS go
"I will be going anyway."

6) nrâ imperfective, progressive, durative

As I mentioned at the beginning of this section, *nrâ* marks "imperfective" with nonstative verbs. It indicates that a situation is continuing at the time of speech or at the time referred to.

Stative verbs normally have imperfective meaning with present tense. When they occur in the past tense, they are marked by *nrâ* as in the example (439). (This particle is homophonous with the post-head verbal modifier *nrâ*,"before, past"). *nrâ* often occurs with the pre-head modifier *truumwêrrê* "all the time."

(436) u nrâ fi wai
1sg PROG go already
"I am going now."

(437) ke nrâ gee
2sg PROG lie
"You are lying ."

(438) rri nrâ truumwêrrê via nrô hêêra
3pl DUR all the time fight for food
"They are fighting all the time for the food."

(439) rri nrâ truu nrâ ânrâha
3pl DUR stay PST he re
"They were living here (at the time)"

(440) ke nrâ fi ghee?
2sg IMPF go from
"Where are you from?"

nrâ does not co-occur with future markers *ei*, *nrî*, and *hâmâ* "immediate past."

When it occurs with *a*, it indicates the perfect of a persistent situation, which started in the past but continues into the present.

(441) rria nrâ via nrô hêêra
3pl PERF IMPF fight for food
"They have been fighting over food."

The following examples illustrate a combination with *re* "assertive" and one with *nrôô* "remote past":

(442) u re nrâ (truumwêrrê) wake
1sg ASS PROG always work
"(I tell you) I am always working."

(443) u nrâ nrôô truu nrâ ru saramea
1sg DUR R.PST stay PST in Sarramea
"I was living in Sarramea long time ago."

7) nrerre "regrettable"

This particle indicates the speaker's "regret". The speaker mentions something that does not please him or which he does not want to admit. It means "I do not want to say, but..."

(444) nrâ nrerre nrorri nrooi
3sg regret give in vain
"He gave (it) for nothing (which I regret)."

(445) nrâ nrerre nrââ fi parrù
3sg regret want go also
"He wants to go, too (against my will)."

(446) toni hêrrê nrerre jùrrù hi-nrî
Tony IMPN regret cut leg-3sg
"(I regret) Tony was cut on the leg (somebody cut his leg)."

nrerre can occur with any TA markers or pre-head modifiers except *savaa* "prohibitive". The following examples illustrate some combinations with them:

with *ei* "future", *nrî* "eventual"

(447) nrîî nrî nrerre fi
3sg FUT EVENT regret go
"He will be going (I want him to stay)."

with *marra* "wastefully"

(448) nrâ nrerre marra wake nrâ
3sg regret waste work PST
"To my regret, he worked badly."

with *see* "neg", *maija* "much"

(449) ri nrerre see maija tòwò kafe
1plinc regret NEG much pick coffee
"We did not collect many coffee beans, unfortunately."

8) hava/hâmâ(nrâ) immediate past, future, "soon"

hava has a variant form *hâmâ(nrâ)* which seems to be a dialectal variant. Both forms are used indifferently by Tinrin people. People in Kououa have a preference for *hâmâ (nrâ)*. *hâmâ (nrâ)* can occur as an attribute, meaning "new, young". It also has a related verbal form *havanê/hâmânê* "be new".

This particle indicates the immediate completion of an action or change of state, often occuring with the past marker *nrâ* or with some time nouns/adverbs.

(450) u hâmâ tròa nrâ nrîmwâmwâ
1sg I.PST arrive PST now
"I just arrived now."

(451) nrâ hava tròa âwù sêêdre
3sg I.PST arrive yesterday evening
"He only arrived yesterday night."

(452) ua hava tròa moo ru ânrâha
1sg DEF I.PST arrive first time L here
"I have just come here for the first time."

hava also indicates an immediate succession of action, "immediately" or "no sooner...than", with any tense, as in:

(453) ria go hâmâ nyôrrô waa wî
1plinc DEF then soon cook descend banana
"Then, we immediately put in banana and cook."

(454) wei hâmâ wake
1sg FUT soon work
"I am now going to work."

It can combine with the TA marker *nrî* "eventual", as in the following sentence, in which *hâmâ* suggests an action immediately following some event in the future (previously mentioned or known from the context).

(455) wei nrî hâmâ fi
1sg FUT EVENT soon go
"I will go soon after (that)"

hâmâ(nrâ) does not co-occur with *nrâ* "imperfective", *re* "assertive", *truumwêrrê* "continuous", *nrôô* "remote past", *gùwù* "in progress", *marra* "wastefully", and *wake* "always".

9) nrôô remote past, "long time ago"

This particle indicates that an event happened a long time ago. It always occurs in the past, with the post-head verbal modifier *nrâ* "past". Like *hâmâ(nrâ)*, it can occur as an attribute meaning "old". It also has a related nominal form *nrôônrî* "long time".

(456) u nrôô tròa nrâ
1sg R.PST arrive PST
"I arrived a long time ago."

(457) wa nrôô fi nrâ pwere numea
1sg PERF R.PST go PST to Noumea
"I have been to Noumea (I went there a long time ago)."

(458) nrâ nrôô fi wai nrâ
3sg R.PST go already PST
"He has gone already since long time."

An adverb *vaarra* is sometimes used similarly, but *vaarra* indicates rather "long duration" of time, and can be used in the present or future tense, while *nrôô* goes back to the "old time". The next sentence contains both of them:

(459) nrâ nrôô truu vaarra
3sg R.PST stay long time
"He was there for a long time."

nrôô does not co-occur with *hâmâ* "immediate past", *ei* "future", *nrî* "eventual", *re* "assertive", *go* "punctual", *see* "negative", *truumwêrrê* "continuous", *fie* "finally", *ubwê* "iterative" and *gùwù* "in progress".

As seen above, TA markers combine with each other to indicate various meanings. They overlap in their scope of tenses and aspects. The following table suggests their approximate positions with reference to the temporal/aspectual perspectives:

Table 7.2: **Positions of Tense-Aspect Markers**

	R.PST	I.PST	PRES	I.FUT	R.FUT	NON-TIME
PERF	nrôô	hâmâ(nrâ)	a	ei	nrî	go
IMPF			nrâ			re
NEG attitude						nrerre

The possible or unacceptable combinations of TA markers are illustrated in the following table:

Table 7.3: **Combinations of Tense-Aspect Markers**

	a	ei	go	nrî	re	nrâ	nrerre	hâmâ(nrâ)	nrôô
a	/	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ei	+	/	+	+	+	–	+	+	–
go	+	+	/	+	+	+	+	+	–
nrî	+	+	+	/	+	–	+	+	–
re	+	+	+	+	/	+	?	–	–
nrâ	+	–	+	–	+	/	+	–	+
nrerre	+	+	+	+	?	+	/	+	+
hâmâ(nrâ)	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	/	–
nrôô	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	/

+ compatible
- incompatible
? uncertain

7.4 Pre-head Verbal Modifiers

There are a number of modifiers which can occur between the TA markers and the verb phrase head. They differ from TA markers in that the word order among them is generally free, although in some combinations there are preferential word orders. Four different types of modifiers belong to this category: a) those which can also occur as attributes (3.3); b) those which can also occur as verbs (cf.7.1); c) those which can occur as nominals and d) those which occur only as verbal modifiers.

a) those which can also occur as attributes

1 saafi "altogether"
2 hùwùnrâ "a little bit"
3 tro "augmentative, simply"

b) those which can also occur as verbs

4 truumwêrrê "always, progressive"
5 nrââ "desiderative"
6 savaa "prohibitive"
7 nrââû "inchoative"
8 wake "persistent, habitual"
9 truu "durative, continuous"
10 fwi "causative"

c) those which can also occur as nominals

11 ubwê "many times, iterative"
12 uurru "twice"
13 treu "another time, again"
14 sau "again, once more"
15 gùwù "in progress, durative, imperfect"

d) those which occur only as verbal modifier

16 see "negative, not"
17 fie "finally"
18 wo "again, later"
19 marra "wastefully"
20 maija "very much"
21 siwai "more, better"

I will discuss in the following the syntactic and semantic features of these modifiers with respect to the head and to TA markers. I will then discuss the preferred word order among them.

(A) Three attributes can also form a system of pre-head verbal modifiers. Their meanings as attributes and as pre-head verbal modifiers are set out in the following table: to some extent they maintain their literal meaning.

Table 7.4

Verbal Modifiers which can Occur as Attributes

	meaning as attributes	meaning as verbal modifiers
saafi	all of	altogether
hùwù(nrâ)	small, little	a little
tro	real, indigenous	augmentative, simply

1) saafi "altogether"

This word may be derived from *saa* "one" and *fi* "to go". It occurs with plural subjects and indicates that "all of them" do something or are in some state at the same time.

(460) rri saafi fwi nrâ
3pl altogether exist PST
"They were there altogether."

It occurs with any of the TA markers or pre-head verbal modifiers except *gùwù* "in progress". The following examples illustrate combinations with *see* "negative", *wake* "always", *wo* "again", *treu* "again" and *re* "assertive".

(461) rri see saafi wake nyôrrô
3pl NEG altogether always cook
"They do not always cook together."

(462) rri saafi wo treu kare mwagi
3pl altogether again again run again
"They all ran again."

(463) wiri see re saafi wake
2pl NEG ASS altogether work
"You all do not work."

2) hùwùnrâ "a little bit"

This particle consists of two morphemes: *hùwù* "child, baby" and *nrâ* "possessive, of". When it occurs pre-verbally, it means "a little bit".

(464) rri hùwùnrâ si drajù
3pl a little go climb
"They climbed a little bit."

It co-occurs with any pre-head verbal modifier, except *maija* "very much". The following examples illustrate combinations with *see* "negative", *saafi* "altogether", *a* "definite" and *go* "consecutive".

(465) ri see saafi hùwùnrâ wake
1plinc NEG altogether a little work
"We did not work a bit altogether."

(466) ria go hùwùnrâ famerro
1plinc DEF then a little CAUS lie down
"We then leave it for a while (make it lie idle: here, ferment)."

3) tro, "just, augmentative, simply"

This modifier augments the meaning of the predicate. Sometimes an excrescent *e* occurs between tro and the following verb. Before *tramwâ* "to know", *fi* "to go" or *hidrò* "to say", for example, *e* is optional, but before *arù* "be same" *e* always occurs (*tro* (*e*) *tramwâ* "to believe", *tro* (*e*) *hidrò* "to simply say", *tro e arù* "be identical, alike").

(467) ke tro nyôrrô ò
2sg AUG cook pot
"You just boiled the pot (cooked simply, with no salt, etc.)."

(468) rri tro hara veharru
3pl AUG eat well
"They ate calmly (not talking, etc.)."

It occurs with any TA markers or pre-head verbal modifier, except *marra* "wastefully". The following examples illustrate combinations with *re* "habitual", *ei* "future", *nrî* "eventual", and *see* "negative".

(469) rri re tro hôpiri rri
3pl HAB AUG catch 3pl
"We used to catch them by hands (not using any instruments.)"

(470) kei nrî tro hara
2sg FUT EVENT AUG eat
"You will be eating simply."

(471) ke tro see wake (nru)
2sg AUG NEG work AUG
"You do not work at all."

(B) Seven verbs that occur as lexemes can also function as auxiliaries. They are included here, as explained in 7.1. Their meanings as verbs and as verbal modifiers are set out in the following table:

Table 7.5

Verbal Modifiers (Pre-head) which can Occur as Verbs

	meaning as verbs	meaning as verbal modifiers
truumwêrrê	to stay, exist again	always, progressive
nrââ	to want, need, beg	desiderative
savaa	to defend, keep away from	prohibitive
nrââû	to start, begin	inchoative
wake	to work	always, continuous
truu	to stay, exist	durative
fwi	to do, make	causative

4) truumwêrrê progressive, "always"

truumwêrrê consists of two morphemes: *truu* "to stay, exist" and *mwêrrê* "again" (which is also pronounced as *mwârrâ*). When it occurs as a pre-verbal modifier, it indicates "progressive, persistence of a state or process." As I mentioned earlier, it often combines with *nrâ* "progressive".

(472) nrâ truumwêrrê fwa nrâ wie
3sg always rain sm rain
"It rains incessantly."

(473) u truumwêrrê tu
1sg PROG write
"I am writing."

It does not co-occur with *hâmâ* "immediate past", *nrôô* "remote past", *fie* "finally", (*wo*) *treu* "again", *sau* "again", *nrââû* "inchoative", *gùwù* "in progress" and *wake* "always". The following examples illustrate combinations with *a* "perfect", *go* "then", *nrâ* "progressive", *re* "habitual" and *ei* "future", *nrî* "eventual", *see* "negative":

(474) ka go nrâ truumwêrrê fwi ne?
2sg PERF then PROG always do what
"What have you been doing then?"

(475) rri re truumwêrrê mîrrî nrâ nrâ maamùrrù
3pl HAB always hungry PST sm children
"Children used to be always hungry."

(476) wei nrî see truumwêrrê truu âro
1sg FUT EVENT NEG always stay over there
"I shall not be staying there all the time."

5) nrââ desiderative

nrââ indicates "desiderative" when used as a pre-head verbal modifier:

(477) u nrââ hara nraasi
1sg DES eat rice
"I want to eat rice."

It can occur with any pre-head verbal modifiers except *gùwù* "in progress" and *truu* "durative". The following examples illustrate combinations with *truumwêrrê* "always", *ei* "future", *nrî* "eventual", *a* "perfect", and *nrôô* "remote past":

(478) nrâ truumwêrrê nrââ fi pwere numea
3sg always DES go to Noumea
"He always wants to go to Noumea"

(479) kei nrî nrââ mê mwâgi
2sg FUT EVENT DES come back
"You will want to come back."

(480) ka nrââ hara wai
2sg PERF DES eat already
"You have already become hungry."

(481) nrâ nrôô nrââ hôsi
3sg R.PST DES buy
"He wanted to buy a long time ago."

6) sa(vaa) prohibitive, caveat

This is normally used in the negative imperative, indicating "do not.." This use of a verb meaning "to defend" in the negative imperative may be a calque from French "défendre".

In a rapid speech, *vaa* may be elided.

Post-head verbal modifier *nrâ* "obligation" often occurs in this contruction.

(482) savaa hara nrâ wò-ù
PROH eat OBLG fruit-tree
"Don't eat fruits of the tree."

savaa can occur with TA markers and certain pre-head verbal modifiers: *truumwêrrê* "always", *nrââû* "inchoative", *hùwù nrâ* "a little" ,*fwi* "causative", *marra* "wastefully", *maija* "a lot" and *tro* "just". The following sentence illustrates a combination with *nrââû*:

(483) savaa nrââû wake ve-horro
PROH INCHO work strongly
"Don't start working hard."

7) nrââû inchoative

nrââû indicates the initiation phase of an event or a state, that an action or state is on the point of starting.

(484) nrâ go nrââû wa nrâ faabwê nrâ
3sg then INCHO descend sm number POSS

bwò
crab
"The number of crabs started to fall."

nrââû does not co-occur with *re*, *truumwêrrê*, *ubwê*, *uurru*, *gùwù*, *truu* or *siwai*. The following examples illustrate combinations with *a* "definite", *fie* "finally", *ei* "future", *nrî* "eventual" and *see* "negative". The word order between *nrââû*, *fie* and *nrââ* is interchangeable.

(485) ria tròa rri varaha nrî rria
1plinc DEF wait 3pl like this when 3pl DEF

nrââû ho
INCHO eat
"We awaited them (flying foxes) like this until they started eating."

(486) kevi nrââû fie hara
1plexc INCHO finally eat
"We finally started eating."

(487) rriei (nrî) nrââû fi mwâgi
3pl FUT EVENT INCHO go back
"They will go back."

(488) nrâ see nrââû hara warra
3sg NEG INCHO eat yet
"He does not start eating yet."

8) wake persistence, habitual

When used as a pre-head verbal modifier, *wake* "to work" indicates "persistence, habitual, keep doing."

(489) nrâ wake fwa nrâ wie
3sg persist rain sm rain
"It is still raining."

wake does not occur with *hâmâ, truumwêrrê, fie, ubwê, uurru, gùwù, truu* nor *siwai.* The following examples illustrate combinations with *nrââû* "inchoative" and *re* "assertive":

(490) toni nrâ nrââû wake haa
Tony 3sg INCHO always fish
"Tony started fishing all the time."

(491) rri re wake kare nrîpwù atruuwi
3pl ASS always run night entire
"They kept running all the night."

9) truu durative, progressive

When this occurs as a pre-head verbal modifier, it indicates a "durative" or "progressive" aspect.

(492) nrâ truu fwirri musik
3sg DUR listen musik(Fr)
"He is listening to music."

(493) wiri truu trua rri
2pl PROG wait 3pl
"You are waiting for/watching them."

truu does not co-occur with *fie, ubwê, nrââ, sau, treu, uurru, nrââû, gùwù, fwi, wake,* nor *siwai.* The following sentences illustrate combinations with *nrerre* "regrettably", *truumwêrrê* "always" and *marra* "wastefully".

(494) nrâ nrerre truu juui nrâ amwaati
3sg regret DUR hide sm chief
"The chief is hiding himself, unfortunately."

(495) nrâ truumwêrrê truu môôwi nrâ autri-rò
3sg always DUR breathe sm brother-1sg
"My (younger) brother is always taking a rest."

(496) u marra truu nrôdrò
1sg waste DUR think
"I am wasting my time thinking in vain."

10) fwi causative

This indicates "causative" when used as a pre-head verbal modifier. The syntactic constraints on *fwi* seem to be parallel to those on the causative prefix *fa-*, which is discussed in the previous chapter. In general, constructions with the causative prefix *fa-* are used more often.

(497) mê-bêêrrî rri fwi sùveharru rru
old men 3pl CAUS like 3dl
"Old people got the two engaged (made them like each other)."

(498) treanrü rri fwi vajù nrî
people 3pl CAUS dead 3sg
"People killed him."

(499) ri fwi hara mê-fadrò
1pl CAUS eat pl-walk(er)
"We gave food to tourists."

fwi does not occur with *truu*, *gùwù* and *siwai*. The following sentences illustrate combinations with *ei* "future", *truumwêrrê* "always" and *hùwùnrâ* "a little":

(500) wiriei fwi fwirri maamùrrù
2pl FUT CAUS listen children
"You are going to make children listen."

(501) rri truumwêrrê fwi harru erre nrâ rri
3pl DUR CAUS good place POSS 3pl
"They are always making their place clean."

(502) nrâ fwi hùwùnrâ horro nrâ bee fwi nrâ
3sg CAUS a little hard sm CMPZ do POSS

nrî
3sg
"Doing it causes a bit of hardship."

(C) Five nominals which occur as pre-head verbal modifiers are set out in the following table, with their meanings as nominals and as modifiers.

Table 7.6

Verbal Modifiers which can Occur as Nominals

	meaning as nominals	meaning as verbal modifiers
ubwê	many times	iterative, many times
uurru	twice	twice
treu	another time	once more, again
sau	once, all	again, once
gùwù	body, surface of an object	unaccomplished, durative, imperfect

11) ubwê iterative, "many times"

This consists of two morphemes: *u* "times" (*sa-u* "once"; *u- sirri* "three times") and *bwê* "many". It occurs pre-verbally indicating "iterative".

(503) nro ua ubwê fwi nrâ varamwâ
1sg 1sg DEF ITE do PST like that
"Me, I did (it) many times like that."

(504) ke see ubwê fi nrâ pwere numea
2sg NEG ITE go PST to Noumea
"You did not go to Noumea many times."

ubwê does not co-occur with *uurru, sau, treu, wo, nrôô, nrââû, truu, fie, gùwù, wake* or *siwai*. The following examples illustrate combinations with *ei* "future", *nrî* "eventual", *re* "assertive" and *nrââ* "desiderative":

(505) kei nrî ubwê fi
2sg FUT EVENT ITE go
"You will go many times."

(506) nrâ re ubwê mwage tenisù
3sg HAB ITE play tennis(Fr)
"He often plays tennis."

(507) nrâ nrââ ubwê fi pwere tro erre
3sg want ITE go to real place
"He wants to go to the tribal place many times."

12) uurru "twice"

This consists of two morphemes as in *ubwê* : *u* "times " and *urru* "two". Theoretically, any number nouns prefixed by *u* "times" can fill the same slot as *uurru*. *usirri* "three times", *ue* "four times", *unrôrrô* "five times" may be quite common, whereas bigger numbers are not used as often.

(508) ke uurru ta nrâ bwò
2sg twice hit PST crab
"You hit the crab twice."

uurru does not occur with the same subset of pre-head verbal modifiers with which *ubwê* does not occur: nor does it occur with *ubwê*. The following sentence illustrates a combination with *truumwêrrê* "always".

(509) mêrrê wâdrââ wânrî nrâ truumwêrrê uurru fwi
pl morning entire 3sg always twice do
"Every morning, he always does (it) twice.

13) treu "another time, once again"

This consists of two morphemes: *tre* "another" and *u* "time". It indicates "another time, once again", and often occurs after *wo* "again, later". When it follows *wo*, *treu* is often phonetically assimilated and pronounced as *trùu* or *trou*.

(510) rri treu fi mwagi varaha
3pl again go back like this
"They return this way again."

(511) nrâ wo trou ha
3sg again again call
"He calls once again."

(512) nrâ go wo trùu truu mwagi hwa
3sg then again again stay again EMPH
"Then, once more, he stayed there again."

treu does not occur with *truumwêrrê*, *ubwê*, *uurru*, *truu*, *gùwù*, *wake* or *siwai*. The following sentences illustrate combinations with *ei* "future", *nrî* "eventual", *fie* "finally", and *nrâ* "progressive".

(513) nrîî nrî fie treu wake mwagi
3sg FUT EVENT finally again work again
"He will finally work again once more."

(514) nrâ nrâ treu mê mwagi
3sg PROG again come again
"He is coming again."

14) sau "once, again"

sau, consisting of two morphemes, *sa* "one" and *u* "time", is also a quantifier, as it can occur as attributive to another noun, meaning "all". As a pre-head verbal modifier, it indicates "once, again", like *treu*. *sau* can be preceded by an attribute *tro* "real", which augments the meaning as "only once".

(515) u tro sau fi nrâ pwere pari
1sg real once go PST to Paris
"I went to Paris only once."

sau does not occur with *fie*, *nrââû*, *wo*, *treu*, *truu*, *ubwê*, *uurru*, *gùwù*, *wake* or *siwai*. The following sentences illustrate combinations with other TA markers or pre-head verbal modifiers:

with *nrââ* "desiderative"

(516) komu nrââ sau odho kafe
1dlexc DES once drink coffee
"We two want to drink coffee again."

with *ei* "future", *nrî* "eventual"

(517) kei nrî sau fi
2sg FUT EVENT again go
"You will go once again."

with *hava* immediate past, "soon"

(518) nrâ hava sau wake
3sg I.PST once work
"He is working again soon."

15) gùwù unaccomplished

When used as a pre-verbal modifier, this indicates "unaccomplished, durative, imperfect"

(519) ke gùwù hara warra?
2sg DUR eat yet
"Are you still eating?"

The occurrence of *gùwù* is rather restricted. It occurs only with verbs which express an action or state which can last over a certain duration of time (e.g. *hawi* "to talk", *wake* "to work", *fadrò* "to walk", but not *nrorri* "to give". *fi* "to go" cannot occur either, which suggests that *fi* may indicate a change of place or direction, rather than a durative action); this modifier co-occurs always with the post-head modifier *warra* "imperfect, still".

Among pre-head verbal modifiers it occurs only with *tro* "augmentative". The following examples illustrate combinations with some TA markers and with *tro*.

with *ei* "future" and *nrî* "eventual"

(520) kei nrî gùwù truu warra
2sg FUT EVENT DUR stay still
"You will be still there."

with *nrâ* "progressive"

(521) ke nrâ gùwù odho warra
2sg PROG DUR drink yet
"You are still drinking now."

with *re* "assertive, habitual"

(522) ke re gùwù hara warra
2sg ASS DUR eat yet
"You are still eating."

with *nrerre* "regrettably"

(523) nrâ nrerre gùwù wake warra nrâ toni
3sg regret DUR work yet sm Tony
"Tony has not finished working yet, unfortunately."

with *tro* "augmentative"

(524) rri tro gùwù hawi warra
3pl AUG DUR talk yet
"They are indeed still talking."

(D) There are six verbal modifiers which occur only pre-verbally: *see* "negative", *fie* "finally", *wo* "again, later", *marra* "wastefully", *maija* "very much", *siwai* "more, better".

16) see negative

see is a negative marker, which occurs rather freely in the series of pre-head modifiers. It can even occur before some TA markers, though I put this particle among pre-head modifiers, which generally occur after TA markers. It can occur either before or after *nrî* "eventual", or *re* "assertive".

Though reversing the word order between *nrî* and *see* does not change the meaning, the word order between *re* and *see* seems to give a subtle nuance in the meaning. The following examples illustrate that *see* before *re* indicates "incapacity", whereas *re* in the latter sentence (when it is placed before *see*) indicates "sustenance" of the negative condition (see also sentence 430):

(525) wei see re hidrò
1sg FUT NEG ASS say
"I cannot say properly but.. (how should I put it?)"

(526) wei re see hidrò
1sg FUT HAB NEG say
"I am not going to say."

see may also occur either before or after certain pre-head modifiers (*nrââ* "desiderative", *tro* "augmentative" which I will discuss later in this chapter). Generally, *see* modifies the word immediately following it, as the following sentences illustrate:

(527) u nrââ see wake
1sg DES NEG work
"I want not to work. (I want to stay without job)"

(528) u see nrââ wake
1sg NEG want work
"I do not want to work. (I have no desire to work - I am too tired)"

(529) u see truumwêrrê wake
1sg NEG always work
"I do not always work (but sometimes I work)"

When it is emphasized, *see* can be fronted to before the subject pronoun,

(530) drae see u jorri
thing NEG 1sg see
"I do not see anything."

(531) see wei hara
NEG 1sg FUT eat
"I am not eating."

see occurs with any TA markers or pre-head verbal modifiers except *nrôô* "long time ago" and *gùwù* "in progress".

(532) wiria see trôdrô nrî
2pl PERF NEG find 3sg
"You have not met him."

(533) kei nrî see fi
2sg FUT EVENT NEG go
"You will not go."

(534) nrâ nrerre see maija wake
3sg regret NEG much work
"He does not work much to my regret."

(535) wiri nrâ see wake
2pl ACT NEG work
"You do not work now."

17) fie "finally"

This expresses that an event anticipated "finally" comes true or something was /is /will be finally achieved. Although *fie* may be the combined form of *fi* "to go" and *ve* "to take," as *ve* often drops [v] between two verbs, I consider *fie* as one word (from both a syntactic and a phonetic point of view) and put it in this group. *fie* can only occur before a verb (therefore, I did not include it in group (B) - those which can occur as verbs), functioning as the modifier to it.

(536) nrâ go fie tro nrorri
3sg then finally AUG leave
"Then, he finally left it."

fie does not occur with *nrôô, truumwêrrê, uurru, ubwê, gùwù, wake, sau, truu* or *siwai*. The following examples illustrate combinations with other TA markers or pre-head verbal modifiers.

with *a* "definite", *nrî* "eventual"

(537) rria go nrî fie fa-hajo rru
3pl DEF then EVENT finally CAUS-marry 3dl
"Then, they finally agreed to let them marry."

with *re* "assertive", *nrââ* "desiderative"

(538) nrâ re fie nrââ hara
3sg ASS finally DES eat
"He finally wanted to eat."

18) wo(u) "again, later"

This indicates that an action is repeated. Sometimes the initial [w] is dropped, and it is pronounced as [ou]. It is often followed by *treu* (as I mentioned earlier in section 13 above on *treu*).

(539) komu wo waa mê
1dlexc again descend come
"We two came down here again (later)."

wo(u) has the same restrictions on its occurrence as *treu*. The following examples illustrate some combinations with other TA markers and pre-head verbal modifiers:

with *hâmâ* "immediate past"

(540) kevi hâmâ wo treu tròa mwagi
1plexc I.PST again again arrive back
"We just arrived back again."

with *a* "definite", *go* "then", *nrî* "eventual"

(541) rria go nrî wo treu tròa parrù nrâ
3pl DEF then EVENT again again arrive also PST
"Then, they eventually came back once again, too."

with *nrââ* "desiderative"

(542)

nrâ	nrââ	wou	mê	mwagi
3sg	DES	again	come	back

"He wants to come back again."

with *nrââû* "inchoative"

(543)

u	wo	treu	nrââû	wake
1sg	again	again	INCHO	work

"I start working once again."

19) marra "wastefully"

This indicates that an action is leading nowhere, and that the actor is wasting time in doing it. Verbs which co-occur with this particle are restricted to those that are compatible with its semantics. For example, *hara* "eat" *fi* "go", *mê* "come" do not occur with it, as eating is never wasted (food goes to the stomach, whatever), and going or coming always imply goals. (Contrast *fadrò* "to walk" which can occur with *marra*, as in a later example.)

(544)

toni	nrâ	marra	wake
Tony	3sg	waste	work

"Tony works, but does not accomplish anything."

(545)

nrâ	marra	tapirri-vai	sarra
3sg	waste	look for	knife

"He looked for a knife, but couldn't find one."

marra does not co-occur with *hâmâ*, *fie*, *gùwù*, *wake*, *siwai* or *tro*. The following examples illustrate combinations with other TA markers and pre-head verbal modifiers.

with *ei* "future", *nrî* "eventual"

(546)

u	barra	pa	wei	nrî	marra	wake
1sg	afraid	lest	1sg FUT	EVENT	waste	work

"I am afraid that I will be wasting my time in the work."

with *see* "negative", *nrââ* "desiderative"

(547)

u	see	nrââ	marra	fadrò
1sg	NEG	DES	waste	walk

"I do not want to waste my time in walking."

with *maija* "much" (the word order is interchangeable.)

(548)

u	maija	marra	wake
1sg	much	waste	work

"I wasted much time in working."

20) maija "very much"

This indicates that a state of something or an action taken is "very much, excessive".

(549)

nrâ	maija	bwê	nrâ	treanrü
3sg	much	many	sm	people

"There are very many people."

maija occurs with any pre-head verbal modifier except *hùwùnrâ*. The following sentences illustrate some of the combinations possible with other TA markers or pre-head verbal modifiers.

with *see* "negative", *nrââ* "desiderative"

(550)
u	see	nrââ	maija	hara
1sg	NEG	DES	much	eat

"I do not want to eat very much."

with *ei* "future", *truumwêrrê* "always"

(551)
ruei	truumwêrrê	maija	wake
1dlinc FUT	always	much	work

"We two are always going to work a lot."

with *wo* "again" *treu* "once again"

(552)
ri	wo	treu	maija	hara
1plinc	again	again	much	eat

"We eat a lot once again."

21) siwai "more, better"

This expresses that the subject is exceeding in a state or in an action designated by the predicate, in comparison with something. The thing compared is marked either by *ra* "than" or *nai* "to exceed", and optionally follows *siwai* or the postposed nominal subject.

It occurs mainly with stative verbs such as *mwaa* "be long", *taa* "be bad", *bòwò* "be light", but can also occur with verbs accompanied by adverbs designating some quality such as (*jorri*) *veharru* "(to see) well", (*hara*) *hûdrô* "(to eat) fast", (*fwa*) *veti* "(to rain) heavily", etc.

(553)
nrâ	siwai	horro	nrâ	toni
3sg	more	strong	sm	Tony

"Tony is stronger."

(554)
nrâ	siwai	hara	hûdrô	nrâ	wara	ha	ra
3sg	more	eat	fast	sm	one	PROX	than

wara	mwâ
one	M.DIST

"This child eats faster than that child."

(555)
ke	siwai	tramwâ	nai	(ra)	rò
2sg	more	know	exceed	than	1sg

"You know better than I do."

siwai does not co-occur with *ubwê*, *wo*, *treu*, *nrââû*, *wake*, *gùwù*, *fie*, *truu*, *fwi*, *uurru* nor *marra*. The following sentences illustrate some combinations with other TA markers and pre-head verbal modifiers.

with *hùwùnrâ* "a little" (the word order interchangeable)

(556)
nrâ	siwai	hùwùnrâ	fadrò	hûdrô
3sg	more	a little	walk	fast

"He walks a little faster."

with *saafi* "altogether" (the word order interchangeable)

(557)

tro	treanrü	rri	saafi	siwai	horro	nai
native	people	3pl	altogether	more	strong	exceed

mê	pwògarra
pl	white people

"Native people are all stronger than white people."

In the following list, the pre-head verbal modifiers discussed in this section are arranged according to the preferred word order among them. Modifiers which bear the same number in the list are mutually exclusive. Unlike TA markers, the word order is not rigid, and apart from *see* "negative" discussed earlier, the difference does not involve any difference in meaning. When a verbal modifiers can either precede or follow another, it is indicated as 'interchangeable with (number)'. For example, *uurru* (7c) can either precede or follow *saafi* (3), but it always follows other modifiers numbered below (7) and always precedes modifiers numbered after (7).

1 see "negative"
interchangeable with nrî (TA), re (TA), 2b, 3 , 5, 6, 7a, 15
2a truumwêrrê "always"
interchangeable with 5
2b fie "finally"
interchangeable with 1 and 9a
3 saafi "altogether"
interchangeable with 1, 4, 5, 6, 7a, 7b, 7c, 9a, 14
4 ubwê " repetitive"
interchangeable with 3, 5, 6, 7a
5 nrââ "desiderative"
interchangeable with 1, 2a, 3, 4, 9a, 15
6 wo "again, later"
interchangeable with 1, 3, 4 ,13
7a treu "another time, again"
interchangeable with 1, 3, 4 , 13
7b sau "again, once more"
interchangeable with 3.
7c uurru "twice"
interchangeable with 3
8 savaa "prohibitive"
9a nrââû "inchoative"
interchangeable with 2b, 3, 5,
9b gùwù "in progress, durative, imperfect"
9c truu "durative, progressive""
10 hùwùnrâ "a little bit"
interchangeable with 14
11a fwi "causative"
11b marra "wastefully"
interchangeable with 12
12 maija "very much"
interchangeable with 11b,14
13 wake "persistent, habitual"
interchangeable with 6, 7a
14 siwai "more, better"
interchangeable with 3, 10, 12
15 tro "just, augmentative, simply"
interchangeable with 1, 5

The possible or unacceptable combinations of pre-head verbal modifiers are illustrated in the following table. TA markers that cannot co-occur with some pre-head verbal modifiers are also included in the table.

Table 7.7: **Combinations of Pre-head Verbal Modifiers**

	see	truumwêrrê	fie	saafi	ubwê/uurru	nrââ	wo/treu	sau	savaa	nrâûû	gùwù	truu	hùwùnrâ	fwi	marra	maija	wake	siwai	tro	TA markers: nrôô	hâmâ	nrerre	re
see	/	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
truumwêrrê	+	/	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
fie	+	-	/	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+
saafi	+	+	+	/	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ubwê/uurru	+	+	-	+	/	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+
nrââ	+	+	+	+	+	/	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
wo/treu	+	-	+	+	-	+	/	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
sau	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	/	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
savaa	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	/	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
nrâûû	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	/	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
gùwù	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+
truu	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+
hùwùnrâ	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	/	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
fwi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	/	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
marra	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	/	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+
maija	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	/	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
wake	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	/	-	+	+	+	+	+
siwai	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	/	+	+	+	+	+
tro	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	/	+	+	+	+

\+ compatible

\- incompatible

7.5 Post-head Verbal Modifiers

There are ten post-head verbal modifiers that are postposed to verbs. They are syntactically distinguished from adverbs in that they always occur before objects if there are any (except pronominal objects which can occur before them).

These modifiers are numbered according to the order in which they may appear in possible combinations. The particles which bear the same number are incompatible with each other.

1a pee "try, tentative"
1b hwasââwe "interrogative on the truthfulness of the proposition"
1c (pa)nai "superior, more than"
2 nrooi "resultative in vain"
3a moo "inchoative"
3b dhùrrù "completive"
3c jùrrù "completive, finished"
4 nru "intensive, very much, at all"
5a warra "imcompletive"
5b wai "completive, already"
5c ghai "interrogative"
6 nrâ "past"

Four of these particles (*pee*, *hwasââwe*, *(pa)nai* and *jùrrù*), can also function as lexical verbs (as explained in 7.1), the remainder occurring only as modifiers. Their meanings as lexemes and as post-head modifiers are set out in the following table:

Table 7.8

Verbal Modifiers (Post-head) which can Occur as Verbs

	meaning as verbs	meaning as verbal modifiers
pee	see, look	try, tentative
hwasââwe	how do you know..? by what means?	interrogative on the evidentiality of the proposition
(pa)nai	exceed	superior, more than
jùrrù	cut	completive

We will see the function and meaning of each of the post-head verbal modifiers in the following examples.

1a) pee tentative, "try"

This indicates "to try, do something to see the result". Sometimes, it maintains its literal meaning, other times it has a more aspectual meaning.

(558)	u	see	tramwâ	wa	nrû	ha	u	hara
	1sg	NEG	know	DET	fish	this	1sg	eat

pee
try
"I don't know this fish, I'll eat some and see what it's like."

(559) puu pee mêwe hwêê-nrü
smell see chicken meat-2sg
"Smell your chicken (to eat) to see if it has gone bad."

(560) uwei tabârrâ pee saa wadrò fònrîmoo
1sg FUT narrate try one little history
"I will try to tell (you) a tiny story."

1b) hwasââwe interrogative on the evidentiality of the proposition

hwasââwe is difficult to gloss in English, but it indicates the speaker's concern about the evidentiality of the information supplied by the addressee. The subject is restricted to second person. The following sentence, for example, implies "How do you know it? Did you hear or did you see it yourself?"

(561) ke hwasââwe fònrîmoo nrâ rri?
2sg how to know story POSS 3pl
"How did you know their story?"

As the verbal modifier, it occurs after some verbs such as *tramwâ* "to know", *fwirri* "to listen", *hidrò* "to say", *hawi* "to talk", indicating "On what basis do you know... (or say, etc.)?"

(562) ke tramwâ hwasââwe nrâ mwâ nrâa fi
2sg know how come PST that 3sg DEF go

wai
already
"How do you know that he has gone ?"

1c) (pa)nai superior, "more than"

nai occurs frequently as a post-head verbal modifier. It gives a comparative meaning, where the object compared either follows *nai* (as sentence 563) or, when it is separated by nominal subject, follows a preposition *ra* "than" (sentence 564).

(563) nrâ tramwâ nai toni nrâ sonya
3sg know SUP Tony sm Sonya
"Sonya knows better than Tony."

(564) nrâ truu-roa nai nrâ wa mwâ ha
3sg stay-up SUP sm DET house PROX

ra wa mwâ mwâ
than DET house M.DIST
"This house is higher than that house."

This occurs often with pre-head verbal modifier *siwai* "comparative, more".

(565) nrâ siwai mwaa nai wara ha nrâ wara
3sg COMP long SUP thing PROX sm thing

mwâ
M.DIST
"That one is longer than this one."

pa occurs optionally before *nai*, when the comparison is about quantity or height, as in "(eat) more, be taller, etc". *pa* only occurs before *nai*. It is homophonic with *pa* "lest".

When *nai* indicates comparison in a spacio-temporal sense such as "earlier, before" (e.g. *fi nai* "go ahead"), *pa* does not occur.

(566) ke ti panai rò
2sg big SUP 1sg
"You are bigger than I."

(567) nrâ hara panai koko
3sg eat SUP Coco
"She eats more than Coco."

2) nrooi resultative in vain

This particle indicates that an action is taken with some expectation, but nothing is gained. The pre-head verbal modifier *marra* shares a similar connotation to this, but *nrooi* emphasizes more the result that nothing is gained, while *marra* indicates that the manner or process of the action is not adequate, or wasteful.

Examine the following pairs:

(568) ke kare nrooi
2sg run in vain
"You ran (thinking that you would be in time), but you couldn't make it."

(569) ke marra kare
2sg waste run
"You ran for nothing.(You wasted time in running; you just mucked around)"

The difference shown in above examples explains the fact that verbs which occur with *marra* are rather restricted, whereas *nrooi* can occur with almost any verb. For example, *nrorri* "to give" can occur with *nrooi*, but not with *marra* as shown below:

(570) u nrorri nrooi (nrâ) nraasi ei nrî
1sg give in vain PST rice DAT 3sg
"I gave rice to him, but I should not have.(it was wasted)"

(571) * u marra nrorri (nrâ) ei nrî
1sg waste give PST DAT 3sg

nrooi generally occurs in the past tense, but it can occur in the present /future tense, providing it indicates the result. In the next example, *nrooi* indicates the anticipated result:

(572) u barra pa wei nrî nrorri nrooi
1sg afraid lest 1sg FUT EVENT give in vain
"I am afraid that I will give it away in vain."

In addition to *marra*, there are various ways in Tinrin to express that an action taken is/was wasted or regretted. Pre-verbal *nrerre* also indicates "regret", but this word specifically indicates the speaker's regret or his unwillingness, as compared to *nrooi* which indicates that the action is wasted for the actor. Compare:

(573) ke fi nrooi pwere numea
2sg go in vain to Noumea
"You went to Noumea, but it was wasted.(you could not see the person you wanted to see)"

(574) ke nrerre fi pwere numea
2sg regret go to Noumea
"You went to Noumea, which I regretted. (I did not want you to go to Noumea)"

There are also verbs *gathu* "to waste" , *mâhorro* "to do against speaker's or someone's will", *-vesò* "to result in vain", and *-dhai* "be unsuccessful, to mistake". *gathu* and *mâhorro* serialize with other verbs (*e.g. fi gathu* "to go in vain"; *nrorri gathu* "to give in vain"; *fi mâhorro* "to go against my (or someone's) will"). I will discuss verbal serialization later in this chapter.

-vesò and *-dhai* are bound form verbs. They combine with other forms, as in *fò-vesò* "to come in vain"; *go-vesò* "to do in vain", *hô-dhai* "to try to catch but cannot"; *hidrò-dhai* "to say something wrong, not appropriate". These forms are discussed in 3.2.2.1 and 5.1.2.

3a) moo inchoative

This particle indicates an initial phase of a state when combined with a stative verb, and first experience when with a non-stative verb. If the situation is iterative in nature, *moo* indicates "the first time" that the situation takes place. The following sentence can read as "when the Japanese arrived, at the beginning..." as well as "when the Japanese arrived for the first time (Japanese arrived several times)".

(575) pee nrî rri tròa moo nrâ mê-sapone
see when 3pl arrive INCHO sm pl-Japanese(Fr)
"Look, when the Japanese first arrived..."

(576) nrâ fwa moo vaarra
(3sg rain INCHO all the time
"It started raining incessantly."
(*vaarra* can come before *moo*)

Pronominal object comes between the verb and *moo*:

(577) ri tramwâ nrî moo
1pl know 3sg INCHO
"We have come to know him for the first time."

combination with other post-head verbal modifiers:

with *nrooi* "in vain"

(578) nrâ nrorri nrooi moo
3sg give in vain INCHO
"He gave it in vain for the first time."

with *nrâ* "past"

(579) rri nrâo moo nrâ kafe
3pl plant INCHO PST coffee
"They started planting coffee (for the first time)."

3b) dhùrrù completive

This particle indicates "completive"; that an action has been performed and completed at the time of reference. It is often combined with pre-head *a* "definite, perfect" and post-head verbal modifiers *wai* "already" and *nrâ* "past". In the present tense either with or without *a* "perfect", it indicates that the action has "just finished".

(580) ka hara dhùrrù nrâ
2sg DEF eat COMPL PST
"Did you finish eating?"

Combinations with other post-head verbal modifiers:

with *wai* "already", *nrâ* "past"

(581) ke fwi dhùrrù wai nrâ mwâ
2sg make COMPL already PST house
"You finished building the hut."

with *a* "definite", *nrâ* "past"

(582) ka odho dhùrrù nrâ?
2sg DEF drink COMPL PST
"Did you finish drinking?"

a "definite", *dhùrrù* "completive", and *wai* "already" can co-occur as in the following sentence. However, *nrâ* "past" cannot occur together with them, because [*a* + *dhùrrù* + *wai*] indicates "present perfect".

(583) nrâa hara dhùrrù wai
3sg PERF eat COMPL already
"He has already finished eating."

(584) * nrâa hara dhùrrù wai nrâ
3sg DEF eat COMPL already PST

3c) jùrrù completive, "finished"

This indicates that something is "finished". It is used similarly to *dhùrrù*, but *jùrrù* seems to mean rather "put an end to, sharply" as compared to *dhùrrù* which suggests instead that some durative activity has been completed.

(585) uwa nrorri jùrrù
1sg PERF give COMPL
"I have given it away. (I have no more)"

4) nru "intensive, very much, at all"

nru occurs most frequently indicating an action being performed with great force or to excess, as well as an excessive state of something. With negative *see* or *trarrî* "to lack", *nru* emphasises the negative sense.

(586) nrâ mùrrù nru
3sg small very
"It is very tiny."

(587) u see jorri nru saa drae
1sg NEG see at all one thing
"I do not see any thing at all."

nru co-occurs with *hâvenrîâ* "all", *wai* "already" and *nrâ* "past" in the following example:

(588) nrâ hara hâvenrîâ nru wai nrâ moghi
3sg eat all very already PST shrimp
"He already completely ate the shrimps."

5a) warra incompletive, imperfect

This particle indicates "incompletive, imperfect", expressing the ongoing rather than the completive aspect of a situation with respect to the time of reference. In some contexts, it indicates "over a short duration of time," as in examples (591) and (592). A pronominal object can occur before *warra.*

(589) nrâ droa parru warra nrâ
3sg young also IMPF PST
"He was also still young."

(590) nrorri ei fwi nrî warra
3dl FUT do 3sg IMPF
"They two will still be doing it."

(591) u(ei) truu warra
1sg (FUT) stay IMPF
"I am staying (here) for a while."

(592) fwirri warra
listen IMPF
"Listen for a while."

When it occurs with the negative *see*, it indicates "(not) yet", suggesting the "incompletive" action, or a state not yet achieved.

(593) ke see pee (nru) warra simô
2sg NEG see (at all) IMPF Simon
"You have not seen Simon yet."

(594) ri see fwirri nrî warra mwâ nrî nrâ
1pl NEG hear 3sg IMPF that when 3sg

ha nrî guha mea
speak with language Mea
"We do not hear him speak in the Mea language."

combinations with other post-head verbal modifiers

with *dhùrrù* "completive"

(595) ke see odho dhùrrù warra kafe
2sg NEG drink COMPL IMPF coffee
"You haven't finished drinking coffee yet."

Compare with

(596) ke see odho warra kafe
2sg NEG drink IMPF coffee
"You have not drunk yet. (you haven't even started)"

with *a* "definite"

(597) rria truu warra nrâ ae
3pl DEF stay IMPF sm four
"Four are still alive ."

5b) wai completive, "already"

This indicates that an action is accomplished or a certain state has been achieved. When used with a stative verb, it indicates a change of state, e.g. *huue wai* (white, COMPL) meaning "become white". It is often combined with pre-verbal *a* "perfect, definite", indicating the completion of an action or the change of state.

(598) uwa fi nrî ta wai nrâ bwò
1sg PERF go PURP catch COMPL PST crab

pwere nrî
to there
"I have already been there to catch crabs."

When it occurs with the future marker *ei* and/or *nrî*, it expresses the "future perfect".

(599) nrî kei ve wai peci-rò nrîî
when 2sg FUT take already paper-1sg 3sg FUT

harru gi nrü
good to 2sg
"If you receive my letter, you will be glad."

(600) wei nrî fwi wai katrvê fwòtra
1sg FUT EVENT make COMPL 80(Fr) year

kaarrò
tomorrow
"I will be 80 years old tomorrow. (lit. I will have made 80 years tomorrow.)"

wai can also indicate an "immediate future" in sentences with *a* "definite" as in (601), with *nrâ* "progressive" as in (602), or of imperative mood as in (603). Sentence (601) is ambiguous as it can also be interpreted as being in the present perfect tense.

(601) uwa fi wai
1sg DEF go COMPL
"I am going now (I intend to go immediately)."
"I have already gone."

(602) u nrâ fi wai
1sg PROG go COMPL
"I am going now. (I am already in the action of going away)"

(603) fi wai
go COMPL
"Go on! (quick)"

When *wai* occurs with *see* "negative", it means "(not)..any more, any longer" as in the following sentence.

(604) rria go see fwi wai nrîmwâmwâ
3pl.DEF then NEG make COMPL nowadays
"They do not make (it) any more nowadays."

5c) ghai interrogative

This particle indicates "interrogative". It can be morphosyntactically and semantically distinguished from the bound form verb *-ghai* "mixed, crushed" (*ô-ghai* "to mix with the fingers", *hô-ghai* "to squeeze in the hand", *pa-ghai* "to pick and crush"), and the preposition *ghai* "with".

(605) ke nrââ ôbe ghai nre?
2sg want extinguish INTER light
"Do you want to turn off the light?"

(606) ke fwi ghai?
2sg do INTER
"Do you do (it)?/ Did you do?

(607) nrâ ê ghai?
3sg burn INTER
"Did it burn?"

combinations with other post-head verbal modifiers and TA markers:

with *nrâ* "past"

(608) wiri tramwâ ghai nrâ?
2pl know INTER PST
"Did you know?"

with *ei* "future", *nrî* "eventual"

(609) kouei nrî fi ghai?
2dlFUT EVENT go INTER
"Will you two go?"

This particle cannot occur with *wai* "already", *dhùrrù* "completive", *nrooi* "in vain", or *see* "negative".

6) nrâ past, "previously"

This particle plays an important role in defining the meaning of a clause, as it expresses variously tense-aspect and mood, depending on its combination with other particles. Its principal function is as a marker of "past". It indicates that an action or a state took place in the past, and when it is combined with *a* "perfect" it indicates experiential perfect as we discussed in 7.3.

(610) toni nrâ hâmâ tròa nrâ
Tony 3sg I.PST arrive PST
"Tony arrived just now."

(611) wiria ho (wai) nrâ poka?
2pl.PERF eat (already) PST pig
"Have you eaten pork before?"

nrâ can modify not only VPs but also NPs, as in the following sentence:

(612) mê-bêêrrî nrâ rri tramwâ mêrrê drae
pl-old PST 3pl know pl thing
"Old people in the past, they knew many things."

However, differing from adverbs which can also modify both VPs and NPs, *nrâ* never occurs after the verbal object (except pronominal object).

The following examples illustrate how *nrâ* indicates "contrafactual" or "obligation" when combined with TA markers *ei* "future" or *nrî* "eventual".

contrafactual

When *nrâ* combines with TA marker *ei* "future", it indicates "contrafactual". The combination of the past tense marker and future tense marker to indicate contrafactual is also observed in English and other languages (cf. Comrie 1982:224) past tense expressing a greater degree of unreality (cf. Foley and Van Valin Jr 1984:216-7). In some Oceanic languages the cognate of future tense marker is used to indicate the contrafactual rather than the future (cf.Ross 1988:362), while it is common among Oceanic languages for the irrealis marker to be realized as the future tense marker.

nrâ is normally not repeated in the main clause when it occurs in a preceding subordinate clause.

(613) nrî wei wake nrâ âwù wei warri
if 1sg FUT work PST yesterday 1sg FUT tired

nrîfa
today
"If I had worked yesterday, I would have been tired today."

(614) nrî wei ti nrâ wei suo sika
if 1sg FUT big PST 1sg FUT smoke cigarette
"If I were big, I would smoke a cigarette."

obligation

The combination of *ei* "future" and *nrâ* also serves to indicate "obligation", as in:

(615) rrii hara nrâ
3pl FUT eat OBLG
"They have to eat."

(616) kei tôbwerrî nrâ foomwâ
2sg FUT close OBLG door
"You have to close the door."

(617) wei fi nrâ wa go see fi
1sg FUT go PST 1sg DEF then NEG go
"I ought to go, but I won't."

negative imperative

nrâ optionally occurs in the following construction, after *savaa* "prohibitive" and a verb:

(618) savaa nyôbò (nrâ) foomwâ
PROH open PST door
"Don't open the door!"

(619) savaa hâmwêî nrî nrâ
PROH touch 3sg PST
"Don't touch it!"

7.6 Objects

Expression of the object is optional with the majority of transitive verbs. They are normally placed after the post-head verbal modifiers, except pronominal objects which occur more frequently before them. The adverbs can occur either before or after them.

There are a few ditransitive verbs (such as *havai* "to call", *trùtrùù* "to watch, regard") which take two unmarked objects (examples 630 and 635); but more often, indirect objects are preceded by a preposition *ei* "to, dative" or *ra* "from, ablative", which was discussed in 3.4.

Though the indirect object can precede the direct object, the preferred word order between them is V - DO - IO.

Objects can be nominal clauses, as is often the case with verbs such as *nrodrò* "to think", and *fòròò* "to ask."

(A) Pronouns

(620) treanrü rri ho nrî
people 3pl eat(meat) 3sg
"People ate it (crab, etc)."

(621) haru ru jorri tau nrî ârijù
1dl 1dl see often(AD) 3sg down there
"We two often saw him down there."

Examples (622) and (623) illustrate that pronominal objects can occur either before or after a post-head verbal modifier.

(622) nrâ trarrî nrî warra (= nrâ trarrî warra nrî)
3sg lack 3sg yet
"He is not yet there." (lit. it lacks him yet.)

(623) nrâ drù rò wai (= nrâ drù wai rò)
3sg suffice 1sg already
"I have enough already." (lit. It suffices for me already.)

With *hidrò* "to say", a pronominal object cannot occur, though *hidrò* can take a nominal object.

(624) * u hidrò nrî
1sg say 3sg
"I say that."

(625) u hidrò saa wave-kò
1sg say one joint-message
"I say one word."

When the verb occurs with a transitive suffix, the pronominal object should immediately follow it, as the following examples illustrate:

(626a) u fi-raa nrî moo
1sg go-tr 3sg INCHO
"I left him for the first time."

(626b) * u fi-raa moo nrî
1sg go-tr INCHO 3sg

(627a) kevi ha-vai nrî nrooi
1plexc say-tr 3sg in vain
"We called her in vain."

(627b) * kevi ha-vai nrooi nrî
1plexc say-tr in vain 3sg

When the verb has a directional suffix such as *-roa* "upwards", the pronominal object can occur either before or after the directional suffix.

(628) treanrü rri ve nrî -roa mê (=treanrü rri ve-roa nrî mê)
people 3pl take 3sg up come
"The people lifted it up and came."

When a verb with directional suffix is followed by a post-head verbal modifier, the pronominal object must occur before the directional suffix.

(629a) treanrü rri ve nrî -roa dhùrrù
people 3pl take 3sg up COMPL
"People have lifted it up."

(629b) * treanrü rri ve-roa nrî dhùrrù
people 3pl take-up 3sg COMPL

<di-transitive>

(630) rri ha-vai nrî mêti
3pl speak-tr 3sg big brothers
"They call him mêti (big brothers)"

The pronominal object can be either reflexive (3.2.2.2.1) or reciprocal object:

(631) nrâ dreghe nrî fadre rroto
3sg injure 3sg with car
"He injured himself in a car."

(632) wiri savaa wiri
2pl defend 2pl
"You are very careful."

(633) rri see ha-vai rri
3pl NEG call 3pl
"They don't call each other names."

(634) rru fwòrrò rru
3dl scold 3dl
"They two curse each other"

(B) Common nouns

(635) rri trùtrùù saa treanrü bee arù saa fadre
3pl see one person CMPZ same one piece

peci
paper
"They regard a person just as a piece of paper." (lit. They see a person (as) being the same as a piece of paper.)"

(636) uei fi nrî ta bwò pwere trùjù
1sgFUT go PURP hit crab to sea
"I am going to the sea to catch crabs."

Unlike the pronominal object, which should occur immediately after the transitive suffix (e.g. 626a, 627a), the nominal object can be separated from a transitive suffix by another modifier, as in the following examples.

(637) u fi-raa moo nrunru
1sg go-tr INCHO grandfather
"I left grandfather for the first time."

(638) komu ha-vai nrooi toni
1dl speak-tr in vain Tony
"We two called for Tony in vain."

Nominal objects never occur between a verb and its directional suffix, as do pronominal objects: they always occur after the directional suffix.

(639a) rri hwa-roa arrebo nrâ treanrü
3pl lever-up stone sm people
"The people lifted the stone by lever."

(639b) * rri hwa arrebo -roa nrâ treanrü
3pl lever stone up sm people

(C) Other nominals

Any nominal other than pronouns and common nouns can also occur as an object. The position in the verb phrase is the same as for common nouns. The following examples illustrate some of these nominal objects:

<possessive classifier>

(640) sonya nrâ nrorri odho-nrü
Sonya 3sg give drink-2sg
"Sonya gave you a drink." (lit. Sonya gave your drink)

<quantifier>

(641) nrâ ve mêrrê nrâ toni
3sg take many sm Tony
"Tony took many."

<location noun>

(642) nrâ seghe padrêrrê-rroto nrî arrebo
3sg break side-car with stone
"He spat on people."

(643) nrâ see jorri nroorre
3sg neg see place,everywhere
"He does not see the place (He is blind.)"

<proper noun>

(644) nrâ sùveharru simô
3sg like Simon
"She likes Simon."

(D) Nominal clauses

Some verbs such as *hidrò* "to say", *nrodrò* "to think", *fòròò* "to ask", *tramwâ* "to know" can take a clausal object. These clausal objects are normally preceded by a complementiser such as *mwâ* "that". Further examples will be discussed in the section on nominal clauses (8.3.1).

(645) ke hidrò nrâ mwâ nrâ horro nrâ bee
2sg say PST that 3sg hard sm CMPZ

nyôrrô ò
cook pot
"You said that cooking was difficult."

(646) u tramwâ mwâ ke maija wake
1sg know that 2sg much work
"I know that you work hard."

7.7 Location and Time Nouns

The head of a VP can be associated with one or more of the location and /or time nouns described in 3.1.4.2. Location and time nouns can occur quite freely in a post verbal position in the VP. As in (648) and (650), some location and time nouns are optionally marked with a preposition (3.1.4.2).

<location nouns>

(647) nrâ trarrî hêê-rò nrùwù-kasi
3sg lack belonging-1sg inside-bag
"There is nothing that belongs to me in the bag."

(648) nrâ mî (ru) nrî-troo nrâ nrâ wâ-ù
3sg fall (on) ground PST sm fruit-tree
"A fruit of the tree fell down on the ground."

<time nouns>

(649) ke nrââ hara ne kaarrò
2sg DES eat what tomorrow
"What do you want to eat tomorrow?"

(650) wei wake (rugi) anrôrrô nrîbwerrîasù nrîfa
1sgFUT work (at) five hour later

sêêdre
evening
"I will work later at five o'clock in the evening."

7.8 Adverbs

The head of a VP can be associated with one or more of the optional adverbs described in 3.7.1. Adverbs can occur quite freely in the VP except between the subject pronoun and the verb, and some adverbs can also occur clause-initially (see 3.7.1).

(651) wei nrôsù mesi kaarrò
1sg FUT wake early tomorrow
"I will wake up early tomorrow."

(652) nrâ see nrââ ho nrâ moghi tau
3sg NEG want eat PST shrimp habitually
"He did not want to eat shrimps before."

(653) nrâ trarrî nròrrò nrî
3sg lack only 3sg
"It only lacks him." (Other people are here.)

(654) nrâ meghi nroorre amùrrù
3sg hot place a little
"It is hot a little bit around here."

(655) nrâ nrââû fadrò mwagi wai
3sg start walk back already
"He already started walking back."

(656) hubò ke fi pwere nrî
later 2sg go towards 3sg
"Later, you go towards her." (You follow her.)

7.9 **Phrasal Modifiers**

A phrasal modifier can be either a prepositional phrase or a phrase consisting of a personal pronoun (functioning as comitative preposition) and its object.

7.9.1 Prepositional phrases

Prepositional phrases can occur as modifiers in a VP, as well as modifying nominal phrases (6.2.8.2). Most of the prepositions that can occur in a NP can also occur in a VP, while some are used only as verb phrase modifiers. (See the table of prepositions in 3.4.)

Prepositional phrases in a VP can occur quite freely in the post-verbal position, either before or after the verbal object; they can also occur clause-initially if topicalised. The following examples illustrate this:

(657a) rri tuo wa drae mwâ ru òwò-nrî
3pl put DET thing M.DIST at place-3sg
"They put it in its place."

(657b) rri tuo ru òwò-nrî wa drae mwâ
3pl put at place-3sg DET thing M.DIST
"They put in its place the thing."

(657c) ru òwò-nrî rri tuo wa drae mwâ
at place-3sg 3pl put DET thing M.DIST
"In its place, they put it."

Further examples of prepositional phrases are in 3.4. In some sentences (such as the following) *ei* "to" can be replaced by a comitative pronoun (7.8.2). In the following case, *komu* "1dlexc" can replace it as in (659).

(658) u hawi ei nrî âwù
1sg talk to 3sg yesterday
"I talked to him yesterday."

(659) u hawi komu nrî âwù
1sg talk 1dlexc 3sg yesterday
"I talked to him yesterday."

7.9.2 Phrase marked by a personal pronoun of comitative use

As discussed in 3.1.1.1, personal pronouns can function like comitative prepositions. The personal pronoun and its following NP behaves just like other prepositional phrases

when modifying a verb phrase. It can occur quite freely, either post-verbally or clause initially, except between subject pronoun and the verb (3.1.1.1). It never modifies a nominal phrase.

The nominal phrase which follows a comitative pronoun can be either a pronoun, quantifier, or a noun, whose referent is restricted to human beings with the exception of some domestic animals such as a dog or a cat.

(660) u hawi komu nrî âwù
1sg talk 1dl 3sg yesterday
"I talked with him yesterday."

(661) nrorrù busi sonya nrâ merro
3dl cat Sonya 3sg sleep
"With the cat, Sonya sleeps."

7.10 Verb Serialization and Linked Verb Constructions

This section will examine serial verb constructions and linked verb constructions using *nrî* and *î*.

As mentioned earlier in 5.4, two or more verbs often occur in the predicate in Tinrin. Apart from the compound verbs, these verbs form either a serial verb construction or a linked verb construction which I will discuss below.

7.10.1 Verb serialization

Verb serialization is common in many languages in West Africa, Asia and Papua New Guinea. It is also found in Oceanic languages outside the New Guinea area (cf. Durie 1988).Serializations contain two or more verbs, altogether referring to a single overall event, whose second verb often acquires the function of an auxiliary. These verbs are generally described as belonging to limited sets, often verbs of motion or position such as go, come, give, take, rise, fall, throw, put (Masica 1976:142).

Tinrin verb serialization shares some features with those languages, but is not particularly analogous to them. I will discuss in this section the syntactic and semantic features of Tinrin verb serialization.

Morphologically, Tinrin serialized verbs do not have any distinct participial or gerund forms, nor do they inflect in accordance with the subject, etc. The verb serialisation in Tinrin is, therefore, simply the juxtaposition of verbs with no specific markings. Serial verb constructions are distinguished from co-ordinated clauses, because there is no intonational or morphological marker of a clause boundary in verb serialization, verbs in co-ordinated clauses are always separately marked by the subject pronoun, and verbs in the serialization are marked by the same mood, TA markers and verbal modifiers. (They may take an individual adverb or a phrasal modifier, as discussed later in this section.)[43]

[43] Tinrin serial verb constructions look similar to what Bradshaw (1982:33) calls SOV-V 'compound causatives', among Oceanic languages of Papua New Guinea, in which the second (and the third, etc) verb is not independently marked by a subject pronoun. However, Tinrin verb serialization is different

Serialised verbs always share a core argument, but they do not necessarily share all core arguments. In terms of grammatical layers, Tinrin serial-verb constructions are of two basic types: those formed by nuclear junctures and those formed from core junctures.[44]

Serial verb constructions formed by nuclear junctures involve a complex nucleus (verb) associated with a single set of core arguments. These constructions have the same appearance as the compound verbs (5.4): in fact it is sometimes not easy to clearly distinguish between them. Compound verbs are related to each other more tightly, forming a grammatical and semantic unit (i.e. more idiomatic) than serialised verbs. Serialised verbs have much more freedom in their choice of partner, while the combination of verbs in compound verbs is a fixed one.

Unless it is a pronoun, the object of the complex nucleus always occurs after the last verb. In the following sentence, verbs *nrorri* "to give" and *gadhu* "to waste" form a complex nucleus and take a single set of subject (*u* "1sg), direct object (*peci* "paper") and indirect object (*toni* "Tony").

(662a) u nrorri gadhu peci ei toni
1sg give waste letter DAT Tony
"I wasted by giving a letter to Tony. (I gave a letter to Tony wastefully)"

The direct and /or indirect object in the above sentence cannot occur between the first and the second verb:

(662b) * u nrorri peci (ei toni) gadhu
1sg give letter DAT Tony waste
"I gave a letter (to Tony) and wasted."

Similarly, the direct object of the complex nucleus in the following sentences always occurs after the second verb, and not between the two verbs.

(663a) ri ve fi toni
1plinc take go Tony
"We took Tony away."

(663b) * ri ve toni fi
1plinc take Tony go
"We took Tony away."

(664a) rri ve mê arròò
3pl take come water
"They brought water."

(664b) * rri ve arròò mê
3pl take water come
"They brought water."

---

from compound causatives in that verbs in the constructions do not "combine to form a single word". (When verbs form a single word, they are classified as compound verbs, which are discussed in 5.4). Tinrin verb serialization is also distinguished from the phrasal causatives (*Ibid*:37) seen in Morobe languages of Papoua New Guinea (Bradshaw 1982:37), in which resultative particles may not form verbal predicates by themselves but must be accompanied by a verb. In Tinrin verb serialization the second verb is a productive free form, and does not always indicate resultative. This is exemplified later in this section.

[44] See Foley & Van Valin (1984:189-191) for a discussion of nuclear-layer and core-layer junctures.

(665a) nrâ nyôrrô mê ò
3sg cook come pot
"She cooked and brought the pot dish."

(665b) * nrâ nyôrrô ò mê
3sg cook pot come
"She cooked the pot dish and came."

When the object is a pronoun, it occurs between the two verbs as in the following:

(666) ri ve nrî fi
1pl take 3sg go
"We take it (him) away"

(667) rri ve nrî mê
3pl take 3sg come
"They bring it."

On the other hand, in serial-verb constructions formed by the core-layer juncture, the verbs form two separate nuclei, each of which select the core arguments independently, although there needs to be coreferentiality between subjects (or actors) of the two verbs, or between the undergoer of one verb and the subject of the other.

In the following sentence, the two verbs share a subject (you), while *peci* "paper" is the object of only the first verb. So, the object occurs between the two verbs.

(668) ve -roa peci mê
take -up paper come
"Take the paper and come"

When the first verb has a directional suffix as in the above sentence, the pronominal object can occur either before or after the directional suffix (see 7.6.A).

In the following example *nrî* "3sg", the undergoer argument of *havai* "to call for", is coreferential with the subject of the second and third verbs, *waa* "to descend" and *mê* "to come".

(669) u ha-vai nrî waa mê
1sg speak-tr 3sg descend come
"I called him to come down."(I called him; he descended; he came)

Similarly, in the following sentence, the undergoer of the first verb *rri* "3pl" is coreferential with the subject of the second verb *wa* "to descend".

(670) nrâ sebe rri wa ru nrî-troo nrâ tro
3sg hit.kill 3pl descend L earth sm real

treanrü
people
"A Kanak man hit them (flying foxes) and they fell on the ground."

In this sentence, the nominal subject of the first juncture, *tro treanrü*, "real people (Kanak man)", occurs after the second juncture. It cannot occur after the first juncture as it is outside of the complex predicate. The second juncture cannot have its nominal subject (which is the undergoer of the first juncture) postposed.

Core-layer junctures with U -A/S coreference (as in the above sentence) generally express a causative relationship (Foley & Van Valin 1984:196). The action expressed

(by a transitive verb) in the first juncture causes a change of state or an action on the part of the undergoer as is expressed in the second juncture.

The nuclei in the core-layer juncture can also take an individual adverb or a phrasal modifier, as "on the ground" in the above (670), while in the nuclear juncture serialized verbs are simultaneously associated with a single adverb or phrasal modifier. TA markers and verbal modifiers are shared by the serialised verbs of both constructions. TA markers and pre-head verbal modifiers are placed before the first verb while post-head verbal modifiers are placed after the last verb in the series.

In the following sentence the TA marker *nrâ* and the pre-head verbal modifier *truumwêrrê* are placed before the first verb.

(671) nrâ nrâ truumwêrrê drarrî kôbù nrâ hùùmurrù
3sg PROG always cry angry sm child
"The child is always crying, being angry."

In the following sentence, an adverb (*amùrrù*) is modifying only the second verb. The post-head verbal modifier *dhùrrù* is shared by both verbs and placed after the second.

(672) ke odho fi-raa amùrrù dhùrrù
2sg drink go-tr a little COMPL
"You finished drinking leaving a little"

7.10.1.1 Serialisation with temporal relationship

In Tinrin almost any verb can be serialized, although there is of course a semantic restriction on its selection. The semantic relationship between serialised verbs includes temporal relationships and head-modifier relationships.

The temporal relationships expressed by serialised verbs often involve simultaneity of two or more actions or states expressed by the verbs. Serialised verbs can also represent actions or states which happen sequentially. This sequentiality can be either a simple time sequence or can express a cause - effect relationship (Bruce 1979:239).

< simultaneity>

A posture/motion verb is often the first verb, followed by a verb expressing some physical or mental state, or some action occurring at the same time.

(673) treanrü rri fi winrô fònri
people 3pl go follow river
"People went along the river."

In the next sentence, the second verb *truu* functions as a modifier of the verb following it: *merro* and *truu môôwi* express a simultaneous situation .

(674) abêêrrî nrâ merrò truu môôwi
old person 3sg lie DUR breathe
"An old man lay down taking a rest"

Serialised verbs of this type include:

juo sùverre (sit, lean) "to sit leaning "
fi jùi (go, hide) "to go in secret"
si winrô (pass, follow) "to continue (a narrative)"
merrò wiirri (lie down, stretched) "to stretch out oneself"
merrò simwâ (lie down, naked) "to lie down naked"
fadrò wiirri (walk, stretched) "to walk with fine carriage"
tû wea (fall, unripe) "to fall (of fruit)when it is still unripe"
ha kôbù (speak, angry) "to speak being indignant"
drarrî kôbù (cry, angry) "to cry in anger"
hawi tria (talk, make laugh) "to joke"

<simple sequence>

The following examples show two verbs expressing consecutive actions.

(675) nrâ ho fi-raa amùrrù
3sg eat go-tr a little
"He ate and left (the food) a little."

(676) nrâ tròa fisù nrorri treanrü
3sg arrive meet 3pl people
"He arrived and met people."

Serialised verbs of this type include:

pwò si wa (land, go, descend) "to fall down"
pwò pwedhò (land, be caught) "to fall and be caught "
da pwedhò (thrust, be caught) "to catch (a ball)"
vajù me (sick, dead) "to die"[45]
fi truurò (go, stand) "to stop walking"

<cause - effect/purpose>

The first verb may express the action which leads to an effect expressed by the second, or the second verb may express a purpose. Note that in (680) the subject of the second verb is the indirect object of the first verb, and in (681) it is the object (undergoer) of the first verb (as *marri* "be dry" is intransitive). However, the U-A/S coreference pattern) is not so common, as the causative serial constructions are generally manifested in classificatory prefix constructions (cf. 5.1.2).

(677) nrâ wiria sê-raa table
3sg cut throw-tr table
"He destroyed the table and threw it away"

(678) ri ve e e-ri u
1plinc take eat food-1plinc yam
"We took and ate our yam. /We took yam to eat."

(679) toni nrâ fi tau pee maamùrrù
Tony 3sg go often see children
"Tony often went and saw the children."
(In this sentence *pee* retains its lexical meaning.)

---

[45] *vajù* means "be dead" as well as "be sick, to hurt (of wound)". It is either known from the context which meaning is referred to, or the speaker may not be concerned whether the person is "sick" or already dead. When the speaker wants to make it explicit that somebody is "dead" and not "sick", he serialises verbs as *vajù me*. *vajù me* is used normally for humans and animals (maybe because they fall ill first and then die), while *me* is more often used for plants or fire (meaning extinguished), except for the variant form -be which occurs as a bound form verb used for both animate and inanimate things (as in *e-be* "kill by biting", or in *suo-be* "blow and extinguish (fire)"). *me* also means "unconcious", normally occuring in the serial *pôgôrrô me* (black, unconcious) "faint, be unconscious".

(680) wei ha savaa ei nrî
1sg FUT speak defend to 3sg
"I will speak to warn him." (I will speak to him, and he will be careful.)

(681) wei dùù marri table
1sgFUT wipe be dry table
"I will wipe and dry the table."

Serialised verbs of this type include:

tuufarrî sêraa (spit, throw away) "to spit out"
koo sêraa (vomit, throw away) "to vomit out"
hii sêraa (move aside, throw away) "to remove away"
dohi sêraa (skin, throw away) "to scale (a fish)"
huue tabòrò (help, gather) "to help to gather"
huue nyôrrô (help, cook) "to help to cook"
tabòrò tusamâ (gather, put together) "to put together in one place"
hidrò arijù (say, show) "to explain"
ha tôve (speak, remove) "to tell somebody to leave"
sò wiirri (pull, be tense) "to pull (clothes) to smoothe a wrinkle"

7.10.1.2 Serialization with head-modifier relationship

While the serialised verbs in the temporal relationship fully retain their literal meaning, some serialised verbs in the head-modifier relationship may to a certain extent lose their literal meaning as I explained in the beginning of this section. The semantic center of gravity is shifted to one of the serialised verbs, resulting in the other losing its literal meaning and acquiring a grammatical meaning.

Seven verbs discussed in the section of pre-head verbal modifiers and four verbs in the section of post-head modifiers can also be considered as this type of serialised verbs. These verbs lose their primary function as a verb and acquire an aspectual meaning, as a modifier to another verb. They can, however, sometimes retain the lexical meaning depending on context. I will list the previously discussed verbs below:

pre-head verbal modifiers (cf.7.4):

truumwêrrê "to stay again; always, progresseive"
nrââ "to demand, beg; want"
savaa "to defend, keep away from; prohibitive"
nrââû "to start; inchoative"
wake "to work; persistence, habitual"
truu "to stay, exist; durative, continuous"
fwi "to make, do; causative"

post-head verbal modifiers (cf.7.5):

pee "to see; try, tentative"
hwasââwe "by what means?; interrogative on the evidentiality of the proposition.
(pa)nai "to exceed; superior, more than"
jùrrù "to cut; completive"

There are also some verbs which fit somewhere in between: they maintain their lexical meanings (although they are somewhat reduced) and supplement the other verb with which they occur. These are motion verbs (3.2.2.2.2): *fi* "to go" and *mê* "to come", which are especially common, often play a role as directionals in verbal serialization. The degree of retainment of lexical meaning varies by context. *e*

sometimes occurs in the place of *fi*, as it occurs after location nouns (3.4): e.g. *sò e* (pull, away) "to pull away"; *ve e* (take, away) "to take away").

<*fi* as motion going away>

wae fi (move?, go) "to move away a little further"
siro fi (pass, go) "to go away towards over there"
ve fi (take, go) "to take away"
sirù fi (enter, go) "to go back (home)"

<*mê* as motion coming towards>

wae mê (move?, come) "to move a little closer"
wae ve mê (move?, take, come) "to bring closer"
tròa mê (arrive, come) "to come back"
siro mê (pass, come) "to come towards here"
tapirri mê (look for, come) "to come to search"
ve mê (take, come) "to bring"
hwòrrò sirù mê (get away, enter, come) "to come escaping"
nyôrrô mê (cook, come) "to cook food and bring"
tü mê (pass, come) "to pass towards (speaker)"
ha-vai waa mê (call, descend, come) "to call someone to come towards the speaker"
îî mê (fly, come) "to come flying, fly towards"

<wa "to descend" as motion downwards>

hâmwêî wa (hold, down) "to pull down"
si wa (go, descend) "to go down"
tû wa (fall, descend) "to fall down"
juo wa (sit, descend) "to sit down"
îî wa (fly, descend) "to fly downward"
ve wa (take, descend) "to put down"
nruu wa (dive, descend) "to sink"
hâmwêî wa (touch, descend) "to pull down"
pwò si wa (land, go, descend) "to fall down"

<drajù "to climb" as motion upwards>

puu drajù (rot, climb) "(gangrene) to set in"
si drajù (go, climb) "to go up"
îî drajù (fly, climb) "to fly upward"
fadrò drajù (walk, climb) "to walk up"

<other motion verbs>

puu si (smell, go) "to smell nice"
tü sirù (pass, enter) "to pass in"
wâjô sirù (put in, enter) "to put in"
nrû mî (send, fall) "to swallow"

In addition to the directional meaning, *fi* and *mê* can also indicate the psychological distance between an object or event and the speaker (3.4) Although sometimes the distinction between *fi* and *mê* is not quite clear, *fi* is generally used when the object or event is felt to be detached from the speaker, or when the speaker observes it rather objectively; whereas *mê* is used when the object or event is felt to be at hand or temporarily detached (but originally belonging to the speaker or somewhere near the speaker), or when the speaker feels very much involved in it.

fi can also indicate durational and inchoative aspects, and *mê* can sometimes also indicate inchoative in verb serialization.

<*fi* as durational>

truu fi (stay, go) "to stay always"
gee fi (lie, go) "to continue to lie, lie further"

<*fi* as distance or inchoative)

puu fi (smell, go) "to start to smell (from the other side)"
fwi fi vajù kââ (do, go, sick, thin) "to become sick and lose weight"

<*mê* as inchoative>

hwê mê (appear, come) "to come to sight"

When *fi* "to go" occurs as the middle element of serialization it indicates that the two actions expressed by the preceding and following verbs are taking place simultaneously:

hara fi fadrò (eat, go, walk) "to eat while walking"
hô fi fadrò (sing, go, walk) "to walk singing"
ha fi hara (speak, go, eat) "to speak while eating

In the following combination, the second verb indicates the manner/situation in which the action of the first verb is carried out.

fi mâhorro (go, disobey) "to go for all that"
sa harru (hit [stone], good) "to hit (stone) at the target"
tù harru (shoot, good) "to shoot the target well"
hara wea (eat [fruit], unripe) "to eat green fruit still unripe"
hara mâhorro (eat, disobey) "to eat something for all that"
nrorri mâhorro (give, disobey) "to give disobeying (rule)"
hawi adròri (talk, right) "to speak just"

In the following combination, the first verb is a perception verb, and the second verb functions as a complement of it.

imêâ hòve (feel, cold) "to feel cold"
imêâ mirri (feel, hungry) "to feel hungry"
imêâ vajù (feel, sick) "to feel sick"
puu harru (smell, good) "to smell good"
puu tâmu (smell, rot) "to smell bad (of food)"
nrê harru (taste,good) "to taste good"
nrê madri (taste, bitter/itchy) "to taste bitter"

There are serialised verbs which contain *ve* "take" as the second verb, followed by either another verb or a NP (the initial consonant of *ve* sometimes drops.) *ve* can function as an adverbialiser, combining with a stative verb. It is difficult to set up a discrete boundary between these derivational constructions and the serialization of verbs.[46]

I exclude from verb serialization those combinations which have *ve* as the first element of the combination and which have an obvious adverbial use. For example, when asked "how did you sleep last night?", the answer *ve-harru* is an adverb, meaning "very well." (Also see the section on adverbs 3.7.1) Most other cases, in which *ve* often acquires the meaning of "purposive, benefactive, for", will be discussed here.

< V + ve + V / N >

[46] The wide use of 'take' in core junctures to add a range of adverbial-like arguments is suggested by Foley & Van Valin (1984:200) with serializing languages of West Africa.

In the following sentence, *ha*, *ve* and *waa* are forming a nuclear juncture, as *nrî* is the shared object.

(682) ri ha -ve wa nrî
1plinc speak for descend 3sg
"We speak humbly of him/it."

But in this one, *fa-truurrò* and *ve* form a core juncture and take individual objects:

(683) kevi fa-truurrò nrunru ve amwaati nrâ kevi
1plexc CAUS-stand grandfather for chief of 1plexc
"We selected grandfather for our chief."

The serialised verbs of this type include:

fi ve dròri (go, for, right) "to go straight"
ha ve nrôsù (speak, for, wake) "to wake up by calling"
truu ve saa (stay, for, one) "to be together"
hawi (v)e tria (talk, for, be funny) "to tease, joke"
tuu ve gee (treat, for, lie) "to suspect"
tuu ve havari (treat, for, be right) "to believe to be right"
truu (v)e harru (stay, for, good) "be fine, healthy "
truu ve taa (stay, for, bad) "be bad, feeling bad"
fwi ve harru (do, for, good) "to treat well"
ve ve ti (take, for, big) "to respect"
ve ve mùrrù (take, for, small) "to look down upon"
ve ve taa (take, for, bad) "to take it amiss"

7.10.2 Linked verb constructions

There are linked constructions where two verbs co-occur as in verb serialization. Unlike verb serialization, the second verb is always introduced by either *î* or *nrî*. I will discuss in this section the syntactic and semantic role of these link morphemes and the constructions that occur with them.

7.10.2.1 *î* simultaneous

î introduces a VP, marking the two actions indicated by verbs of both sides of *î* as simultaneous. The two verbs can take separate objects.

(684) toni nrâ truumwêrrê hô î hara
Tony 3sg always sing while eat
"Tony always sings while eating."

(685) nrâ nrâ fwi saa drae î fadrò
3sg PROG do one thing while walk
"He is doing something while walking."

Other examples: *hara î fadrò* (eat, while, walk) "to eat while walking", *hara î nyôrrô ò* (eat, while, cook a pot dish) "to eat while cooking a pot dish."

7.10.2.2 *nrî* purposive

nrî, which has identical form to the TA marker "eventual, distant future", often occurs between two verbs, making the second verb purposive. I distinguish this from other identical forms, *nrî* preposition (causal, instrumental, temporal, exemplificatory, comitative), and subordinating conjunction "when, if".

It is distinct from the TA marker, as the TA marker always occurs between a subject pronoun and a verb; it is not a preposition as it only occurs before a verb; it is different from the conjunction *nrî* in that it only occurs between two verbs and the meaning is restricted to "purposive".

The first verb and the second verb introduced by *nrî* in these constructions cannot be separated by another element:

(686a)		rri	fi	nrî	ta	bwò	pwere	trùjù
		3pl	go	PURP	hunt	crab	toward	sea
		"They went to hunt crabs to the sea."						
(686b)	*	rri	fi	pwere	trùjù	nrî	ta	bwò
		3pl	go	toward	sea	PURP	hunt	crab
		"They went to the sea to hunt crabs."						

The first verb cannot take an object either. The two verbs seem to be tightly related as one unit. In the above sentence *fi* "to go" and *ta* "to hunt" are not felt as two separate actions, but an action "go" intending to "hunt". Since the verbs are joined in the nuclear layer, any TA markers or pre-head verbal modifiers occur before the first verb, while post-head verbal modifiers occur after the second verb.

(687a)		wiri	ta	nrî	nrorri	poka	ei	amwaati	
		2pl	hunt	PURP	give	pig	to	chief	
		"You hunt to give pig to the chief."							
(687b)	*	wiri	ta	poka	nrî	nrorri	ei	amwaati	
		2pl	hunt	pig	PURP	give	to	chief	
		"You hunt pigs to give to the chief."							
(688)		ri	re	mê	nrî	nrâo	nrâ	kafe	nrâ
		3pl	HAB	come	PURP	plant	PST	coffee	sm
		mê-sapone							
		pl-Japanese(Fr)							
		"Japanese people used to come to plant coffee."							
(689)		savaa	mê	nrî	hîdrò	ei	kevi	nrâ	
		PROG	come	PURP	say	to	1plexc	OBLG	
		"Don't come to talk to us!"							

Other examples:

fi nrî wââ (go, PURP, take a walk) "to go for a walk"
fi nrî merrejo (go, PURP, sleep) "to go to bed"
mê nrî hidrò (come, PURP, say) "to come to speak"
mê nrî pee (come,PURP, see) "to come to see".

Verbs linked by *nrî* often acquire some idiomatic meaning as:

gee nrî fwi (tell a lie, PURP, do) "to do on purpose, pretend",
fwi nrî ve (do, PURP, take) "to change into"

Chapter 8

THE SENTENCE

In this chapter, I will deal with the clause and sentence level grammar of Tinrin. Simple sentences which are made up of a single clause will be described first, and then the co-ordinated and complex sentences which consist of more than two clauses.

8.1 Simple Sentences

Tinrin simple sentences consist of either declarative or non-declarative clauses.

8.1.1 Declarative clauses

Declarative clauses in Tinrin are the basic type of clause. There are two types: verbal and non-verbal.

(1) VP (NP)
(2) NP (NP)

The first, a verbal clause type, has a verb phrase, which usually comes at the beginning of the clause, and an optional nominal phrase argument that is related to the verb phrase as subject.[47]

The verb phrase head can be either intransitive or transitive. Since we consider so-called adjectives as (stative) verbs, identificational clauses are included here.

The second clause type is non-verbal and involves two nominal phrases (one NP is optional) in an equational relationship.

8.1.1.1 Intransitive clauses

Intransitive clauses have the structure :

[$_{VP}$ s (TA) (Mod) V (Mod)] (NP)

where the small s stands for a subject pronoun; Mod includes all the verbal modifiers, adverbs and phrasal modifiers. The subject pronoun agrees in person and number with the nominal subject which optionally follows the predicate.

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[47] Moyse-Faurie and Ozanne-Rivierre (1983:113) classified the languages of New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands into four groups on the basis of their word order. Contrary to their hypothesis that Tinrin belongs to a transitional group, where the order is either VOS or SVO "without subject person-marker" ('subject pronoun' in this thesis) in the verb phrase, I find that Tinrin is a VOS unmarked word order language. The subject person-marker is retained in topicalised SVO sentences, as I will discuss later.

With both transitive and intransitive verbs, the subject case marker *nrâ* is obligatory before any kind of nominal subject, except in a few cases I will discuss later.[48]

Tinrin subject marker *nrâ* is homophonous with many words: for example, with the subject form of the third person singular pronoun, and the unmarked possessive preposition "of". It is difficult to guess its origin, whether it is a reflex of the Oceanic common noun article **na*, or whether it has a lexical origin, or something else.

The pronominal substitute of the nominal subject is a free/focal form as in the example (692).

(690)
nrâ	see	tròa	warra	nrâ	toni
3sg	NEG	arrive	yet	sm	Tony

"Tony has not arrived yet."

(691)
rru	fi	pwere	ânrâmwâ	nrâ	truu	truu-truare
3dl	go	to	there	sm	DET dl	dl-brother

"The two brothers went there."

(692)
u	truumwêrrê	mirrî	nrâ	nro
1sg	always	hungry	sm	1sg

"I am always hungry."

Although the subject marker is generally obligatory before any kind of nominal subject, there are exceptional cases where the subject marker is optional (8.3.1.1). For example, when the subject is a nominal clause introduced by the complementiser *bee* or *mwâ*, as in the following sentences.

(693)
nrâ	horro	ei	rò	(nrâ)	bee	nrôsù
3sg	hard	for	1sg	sm	CMPZ	wake

nrî-wâdrâ	mesi
in the morning	early

"It is hard for me to wake up in the early morning."

(694)
nrâ	harru	gi	maamùrrù	(nrâ)	bee	ta	nrâ
3sg	good	to	children	sm	CMPZ	catch	POSS

pù
flying fox
"Children like hunting flying foxes." (lit. Hunting flying foxes is good to children.)

8.1.1.2 Transitive clauses

Transitive clauses have the structure:

[$_{VP}$ s (TA) (Mod) V (Mod) (NP) (Mod)] (NP)

This is the same as the active intransitive clause structure except that transitive verbs, necessarily implying something as object, may optionally express it.

Objects normally follow a post-verbal modifier if there is one, but if the object is a pronoun it often occurs in front.

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[48] The form and use of the subject case marker vary a lot among New Caledonian languages. Kumak presents ergative type and others split ergative type (Moyse-Faurie & Ozanne-Rivierre 1983:123-125). Tinrin falls with languages such as Ajië where the case marking is of nominative/accusative type.

Some transitive verbs carry a transitive suffix, in which case their objects are obligatory. Nominal objects can either immediately follow the transitive suffix or occur after a verbal modifier, whereas the pronominal object must immediately follow the transitive suffix (7.7).

Unlike for the subject, there is no object case marker. The least marked word order when both nominal subject and object are present is VOS.

(695)
u jorri wai mêwe
1sg see already bird
"I already saw a bird."

(696)
nrâ nyôrrô nrâ wa mwîê mwâ
3sg cook sm DET woman DIST
"That woman cooked (something)."

(697)
rru ta nrî dhùrrù nrâ truuo
3dl hit 3sg COMPL sm dl men
"Two men have hit him."

(698)
ri ha-vai nrunru nrooi nrâ hari
1plinc speak-tr grandfather in vain sm 1pl
"We called grandfather in vain."

8.1.1.3 Equational clauses

The equational clause is a non-verbal clause type, basically involving two NPs (including nominal clauses). In an equational clause, when one wants to express "A is B", A and B are juxtaposed as in the following:

(699)
[fa-ti nrâ nrî] [ha]
length POSS 3sg this
"This is its length.(showing with hands)"

(700)
[farrî-nrî] [toni]
name-3sg Tony
"Tony is his name."

(701)
[ne treanrü] [wa drae rra]?
what person DET thing DIST
"Who that one is? (That one is what kind of person?)"

Neither the subject pronoun nor the subject marker normally occurs before a NP in this clause type. The above sentences exemplify this.

The predicate NP can be preceded by a TA marker *re* "assertive, habitual" and/or pre-head modifier, *see* "negative". The head of the NP can also be associated with adjuncts, discussed in 6.2.

(702)
[re warrabù-nrü] [wara mwâ]
ASS uncle-2sg one M.DIST
"That person should be your uncle."

The subject NP is often topicalised and preposed to the clause initial position, as in the following sentence:

(703)
[wa mwâ ha] [hêê-rò]
DET house this belonging-1sg
"This house is mine."

When the preposed subject is a proper noun, or when it is a rather long phrase or clause, the subject pronoun can sometimes follow. In sentences (704) and (705) the subject pronoun *nrâ* (the third *nrâ* in 705) helps to indicate that the part following it is the predicate.

(704) [toni] nrâ [hire-fadrò nrâ rò]
Tony 3sg company-walk POSS 1sg
"Tony is my travel mate."

(705) [drââ nrâ idri nrâ nrî] nrâ [trât suie]
day 3sg born sm 3sg 3sg thirty(Fr) July(Fr)
"The day when he was born is the 30 July."

When the subject is a pronoun, it occurs before the complement NP. The impersonal pronoun *va* often occurs in this type of clause.

(706) [va] [edmô hwa]
IMPN Edmond EMPH
"That's Edmond for sure."

A pronominal subject can also be preceded by its focal form (topic), as in the following sentence.

(707) [nrü] [ke] [ne treanrü?]
2sg 2sg what person
"You, you are who?" (Who you think you are?)

An equational sentence can also often consist of only one NP, the subject being omitted. The speaker would say "A" instead of "That is A", etc. when the subject may be understood from the context and does not need to be mentioned. A complement clause introduced by *bee* (like 710) often occurs in this construction.

(708) nrî-hêê-rò
COL-belonging-1sg
"(That's) mine. (my belongings)"

(709) drae mwâ
thing M.DIST
"(That's) that."

(710) re bee ta nrâ pù
ASS CMPZ kill of flying fox
"(This surely is) the way of killing flying foxes."

(711) wa drae rra nrâ juo drô-osi
DET thing DIST 3sg sit surface-horse
"(That's) the one who rides on the horse."

8.1.2 Non-declarative clauses

While with declarative clauses the speaker is simply passing on information to the addressee, there are also other kinds of speech acts, where the speaker wants to express some particular illocutionary force in an utterance. In the following sections, I will describe the structure of non-declarative clauses.

8.1.2.1 Interrogatives

Interrogative utterances differ from declaratives in that the speaker wants some response from the addressee.

In terms of the kind of response required, two distinct types of interrogative clauses can be distinguished. One type of question - a polar question - contains in its structure certain information about which the speaker is seeking either confirmation or denial. The other type of question - a content question - asks for the provision of specific information, using special interrogative words.

8.1.2.1.1 Polar questions

Polar questions can be expressed in four ways:

a) an identical structure to a declarative clause, distinguished only by intonation.
b) a structure having the tag *e* at the end of the clause
c) a clause containing the interrogative particle *ghai* (7.5)
d) a structure with sentence adverbial *hi* "I wonder"

(A) The structure of this type of question is identical to that of a declarative clause. It is the intonation that distinguishes the interrogative from the statement. The basic intonation of a statement involves the pitch falling from the tonic syllable (often the last stressed syllable in a tone group)(cf.2.5). The intonation of a question has a peak of prominence on the stressed syllable of the predicate, which is marked by a very high pitch, and the sentence terminates with a falling intonation as in a declarative clause. It is often difficult for a non-native speaker to distinguish questions from statements. This intonation pattern is shared with certain exclamatory expressions.

When the speaker asks something, it is often expressed in a question of negative polarity. The question includes *ra* "or", when the speaker asks the addressee's choice in two or more things. However, while *ra* links NPs, two clauses are linked by the conjunction *mwâ* "or, but, and" when the question takes the form of co-ordinated clauses.

The higher pitch on the verb can be seen in the following example questions:

<declarative clause intonation>

(712a)

kẽ	nrâ	ódho	kafẽ
2sg	IMPF	drink	coffee

"You are drinking coffee."

<interrogative intonation>

(712b)

kẽ	nrâ	ódho	kafẽ?
2sg	IMPF	drink	coffee

"Are you drinking coffee?"

<opposite polarity>

(713)

kẽ	see	nrâ	ódho	kafẽ
2sg	NEG	IMPF	drink	coffee

"Aren't you drinking coffee?"

<asking the choice of the addressee>

(714)

ke	nrââ	ódho	kafe	ra	te
2sg	want	drink	coffee	or	tea

"Do you want to drink coffee or tea?"

(715)

tóni	nrâ	trúu	ânrâha	mwâ	nrâ	wáke	ru	nrî?
Tony	3sg	stay	here	or	3sg	work	at	there

"Does Tony stay here or does he work there?"
(Topicalised word at the clause-initial position normally bears a stress and a higher pitch.)

(B) The second type of polar question is expressed by simply adding the tag *e* after the declarative form of the clause. The tag has a sharply rising intonation, following a clause with a normal statement intonation. In addition to the planned question, this type of sentence is also employed when the speaker starts with a statement and then feels somewhat uncertain about it, demanding confirmation of the statement from the addressee.

(716)

ke	fi	pwere	numea	é?
2sg	go	to	Noumea	Q

"You go to Noumea, don't you?"

(C) The interrogative particle *ghai* functions as a post-head verbal modifier (7.5) in the VP to mark that the clause is interrogative. This contrasts with the first type of polar question which is distinguished from the statement only by its intonation pattern, sometimes making the difference between them very subtle. The use of *ghai* makes it clearer that the clause is a question. *ghai* is pronounced with lower pitch than the preceding verb and higher or the same as following elements. Sentence finally, it is pronounced with a low pitch.

(717)

kei	fi	ghai	pwere	tro	erre?
2sg FUT	go	INTER	to	real	place

"Are you going to the tribal place?"

(D) Polar questions can also be formed by using a sentence adverbial *hi* which indicates that the speaker is not sure about the truth of the statement being made. When *hi* is used sentence-initially, the sentence is understood as a question or tentative question. *hi* always bears a stress and a higher pitch, while the rest of the sentence follows the intonation pattern of polar questions.

(718)

hi	va	re	rroto?
I wonder	IMPN	ASS	car

"Is this really the car?"

(719)

hi	nrî	tróa	nrîfa	sêêdre?
I wonder	3sg FUT	arrive	later	evening

"Will he arrive this evening?"

(720)

hi	ke	fi	nrî	ve	medikamê?
I wonder	2sg	go	FUT	take	medecine(Fr)

"Are you going to get medicine?"

8.1.2.1.2 Content questions

This type of question requires that the addressee gives some specific information to the speaker. Content questions are expressed by using special interrogative words. They are grouped according to their positions in the following list:

<quantifiers> (3.1.2)

ne "what", asking about nouns with non-human reference, rarely with human reference

anròi "how many", asking about quantities or numbers

<common noun>

jaa "who", asking about nouns with human reference

<time/location noun>

anrî "what time", asking about time

(â)e "where", asking about location

unròi "how many times ", asking about frequency

<verb/ post-head modifier>

trò "what is the matter with", a verb asking about the subject's problematic situation

hwasââwe "how to know, on what evidence", either a verb or a post-head modifier, asking about the evidentiality of information supplied by the addressee.

<adverb/demonstrative>

(a)nera "what about, how is it", which must be clause-initial, either expresses the speaker's surprise at a situation while asking how the situation came about, or indicates the speaker's suggestion: "what about...ing; why not do...".

hae "where, which, how", asking about location, what one of a number of human or non-human nouns, the condition of human or non-human nouns, or the manner of the action expressed in the predicate. This can also function as a demonstrative, meaning "which (one)" when it is cliticised to a preceding noun.

Examples of interrogative clauses using the above forms are given below. These interrogative words (except *(a)nera* which must be clause-initial) are often fronted to the sentence-initial position, as in English content questions: 'how do you write? What time do you expect to go?' etc.

(A) ne "what"

This is a quantifier, that is, it functions like a noun, and can also occur as an attribute to other nominals as in (725), (726), (727). When it refers to a human noun, as in (727), it connotes less politeness than does *jaa* "who".

(721) ne nrâ fwi? (= nrâ fwi nrâ ne?)
what 3sg exist
"What is there?"
(This sentence can also be interpreted as "what did he do?" (= nrâ fwi ne?) in which case *ne* is the object of *fwi* "to do".)

(722) ne nrâ fwi ûû-nrî mwâ ke nrorri?
what 3sg make cause-3sg that 2sg give
"Why did you give (it away)?" (lit. What made the cause of that you gave?)

(723) nrâ ne?
3sg what
"What is it?"

(724) ne kei hara? (= kei hara ne?)
what 2sg FUT eat
"What will you eat?"
(Unlike for an animate object, when an inanimate object is fronted, it does not leave an anaphora behind.)(8.1.3)

(725) ne bwerrî-asù ke nrôsù nrâ mwairrù wadrââ?
what hour 2sg wake PST a while ago morning
"When did you wake up this morning?"

(726) ke sùveharru ne hêêra?
2sg like what food
"What food do you like?"

(727) ne moo?
what man
"Which/what man?"

(B) anròi "how many"

This is a quantifier like *ne*. Example (730) illustrates its use as an attribute to other nominals.

(728) nrâ fwi wai anròi?
3sg make already how many
"How many are there already? (it already made how many?)"

(729) ghegi anròi drââ nrâ see fwa nrâ wie?
since how many day 3sg NEG fall sm rain
"How many days is it since it rained?" (lit. Since when doesn't the rain fall?)

(730) anròi fwòtra nrâ nrî?
how many year POSS 3sg
"How old is he?" (lit. how many years of him?)

(C) jaa "who"

This functions as a common noun - in other words, it can occur as either subject as in (731), (732), subject complement as in (733), object as in (734), (735), or possessor as in (736) and (737).

(731) jaa nrîî tròa? (= nrîî tròa nrâ jaa?)
who 3sg FUT arrive
"Who will arrive?"

(732) jaa nrâ ve mê sarra? (= nrâ ve mê sarra nrâ jaa?)
who 3sg take come knife
"Who brought the knife?"

(733) ke jaa?
you who
"Who are you?"

(734) nrâ ta jaa?
3sg hit who
"Whom does he hit?"

When the object *jaa* is fronted, it leaves a pronominal anaphora behind (8.1.3), as otherwise *jaa* could be interpreted as the subject.

(735) jaa nrâ ta nrî?
who 3sg hit 3sg
"Whom does he hit?"

However, the above sentence is still ambiguous, as *jaa* can be the subject and *nrî* can refer to somebody else, as "who hit him?".

(736) nrî-hêê-jaa?
COL-belonging-who
"Whose ?"

(737) ke audrê-jaa?
2sg father-who
"Whose father are you?" (lit. you are who's father?)

(D) anrî "when, what time"

As a time noun (3.1.4.2.2), this form can occur in the oblique case either marked or unmarked by a preposition. (Last example occurs with a preposition.) Beside being used as interrogative, *anrî* can also have a general locative meaning "there" (3.1.4.2.3).

(738) anrî ke wake? (= ke wake anrî?)
when 2sg work
"When did you work?"

(739) ânrî treanrü rri nrââû jagho
when people 3pl INCHO clear the field
"When did people start to clear the field?"

(740) wiri wake ru nrî ghegi anrî?
2pl work at 3sg since when
"Since when do you work there?"

(E) (â)e "where, what place"

As a location noun (3.1.4.2.1), this form can occur in the oblique case either marked by a preposition (as in example 743) or unmarked.

(741) âe nrâ fwi mwâ? (= nrâ fwi mwâ âe)
where 3sg do hut
"Where did he build a hut ?"

(742) rri fa-hòrrò âe nrâ tro treanrü
3pl caus-sacred which place sm real people
"Which place did Kanak people forbid?" (make it taboo)

âe in the above sentence is a verbal object; it cannot be fronted to the beginning of the sentence, as the sentence then would be interpreted as "where did Kanak people forbid (something)?".

(743) ri fi were âe?
1pl go to where
"Where are we going?"

When *âe* follows *fi* "to go", their pronunciation is fused and the *i* of the verb stem is reduced as in *fae* (2.6.2).

(744) nrâ fae?
3sg go where
"Where does he go?"

When *âe* occurs after a verb like *truu* "to stay", it drops its initial vowel, and becomes an enclitic to the verb (2.6.2).

(745) nrâ truu-e nrâ sonya?
3sg stay-where sm Sonya
"Where is Sonya?"

(746) mwâ rrê nrü nrâ truu-e?
house POSS 2sg 3sg stay-where
"Where is your house?"

The same phenomenon happens when *âe* occurs with prepositions like *ruu* "at, in", *pwere/were* "towards" and *ghe* "from". It seems that in deliberate or careful speech *âe* is fully pronounced as in example (743).

with *ruu* "at, in"

(747) nrâ wake ruu-e?
3sg work at-where
"Where did he work?"

with *were/pwere* "towards"

(748) rri wake were-e?
3pl work to-where
"Where did they go working?"

(749) ri fi pwere-e?
1plinc go to-where
"Where are we going?"

with *ghe* "from"

(750) treanrü ghe-e?
person from
"Where is the person from?" (lit. Person from where?)

A good example of the last two forms is from an expression used by a tribesman upon finding a stranger (like a sundowner) who has arrived in a tribal place. The following expressions are idiomatic. The subject pronoun is missing, and in (751) *fadrò* occurs twice, which may be of an emphatic use.

(751) fadrò ghe-e fadrò?
walk from-where walk
"Where do you come from ?" (lit. Walk from where?)

(752) fadrò were-e?
walk to-where
"(And) where are you going?" (lit. Walk to where?)

(F) unròi " how many times "

With this time noun the oblique case has zero marking.

(753) unròi kea hara pù?
how many times 2sg PERF eat flying fox
"How many times have you eaten flying foxes?"

(754) unròi nrâ fi pwere numea nrâ toni?
how many times 3sg go to Noumea sm Tony
"How many times did Tony go to Noumea?"

(G) trò "what is the matter with"

This form functions as a verb, indicating that something is wrong with the subject and that the speaker is concerned about the matter. The subject can be of any person or number except the first person.

(755) nrâ trò nrâ rroto?
3sg matter sm car
"What's the matter with the car?"

(756) ke trò?
2sg matter
"What's the matter with you?"

(757) nrâ trò?
3sg matter
"What is it? (What happened?)"
(*nrâ* "3sg" can refer to some situation)

(H) hwasââwe "how do you know, on what evidence"

This occurs as either a verb or a post-head modifier (7.5). The speaker uses this to express concern about the truthfulness of a proposition given by the addressee.

(758) ke hwasââwe kò nrâ rri?
2sg how to know message POSS 3pl
"How did you get to know their words (secrets)?"

(759) ke hidrò hwasââwe mwâ nrâ pwùrrù
2sg say how that 3sg lost

nrâ ô-toni
sm head-Tony
"How can you say that Tony went mad."

(I) (a)nera "what about, how is it"

This form functions as a sentence adverb, which occurs only clause-initially (3.7.2). When it occurs sentence-medially (but clause-initially) *a* is dropped.

(760) anera see ke re fi warra?
how is it NEG 2sg ASS go yet
"Why on earth haven't you gone yet?"

(J) hae "where, which, how"

When *hae* occurs clause-initially (3.7.2), it is followed by a NP. When used in this position, the speaker is normally asking the location of the following NP. The next two examples illustrate this:

(761) hae sonya?
where Sonya
"Where is Sonya?"

(762) hae sarra?
where knife
"Where is the knife?"

When the NP following *hae* is a nominalised clause using the complementiser *bee* , and sometimes when the NP is a human noun, the speaker's concern is about the condition of an event, something or somebody, or the manner of an action.

(763) hae bee merrejo nrâ nrü?
how CMPZ sleep POSS 2sg
"How did you sleep?"

hae may also be used as a demonstrative, or as a possessor of a bound noun as in (766), when it is enclitic to a preceding NP. In this case, the speaker is asking "which /what one of a number of human or non-human nouns".

(764) ke hôsi nrî ruu wa magazê-hae?
2sg buy 3sg at DET shop(Fr)-where
"At which shop did you buy it?"

(765) wara-hae nrâ ti nrâ sii-nrî?
thing-which 3sg big sm price-3sg
"Which is more expensive?" (lit. Which thing, its price is big?)

(766) nrâ fa-hòrrò wa farrî-hae?
3sg CAUS-sacred DET name-which
"Which name did he forbid?"

hae may also combine with a bound form *vara-*, forming an adverb, *vara-hae* "how, in what way". Compare the following words:

vara-hae "how, in what way"
vara-ha "like this, this way"
vara-mwâ "like that, that way"

(767) rri nrâo nrî vara-hae nrâ mê-pwògarra?
3pl plant 3sg what way sm pl-white
"How did white men plant it?"

When *vara-hae* occurs after the verb *fwi*, it goes through a phonetic reduction (2.6.2):

(768) kei fara-hae? (= kei fwi vara-hae?)
2sg FUT do what way
"How will you do (it)?"

8.1.2.2 Imperatives

There are two types of imperative clauses. The first type of clause has the same structure as that of a declarative clause. Only intonation distinguishes it from a declarative clause. In an imperative clause, the predicate verb as well as the last word of the sentence receives a stronger stress and often a higher pitch. When a sentence ends with a verb, it is the loudness of the stressed syllable rather than the pitch which marks the imperative, as the pitch on the stressed syllable of the verb in an imperative sentence is not as high as in a polar question (2.5).

(769) ke hara nraasi
2sg eat rice
"Eat the rice."

(770) kou nrââû fwi ôwô-u
2dl inch make habitation-yam
"(You two) start cultivating yam!"

Vocative words are often used to introduce an imperative sentence:

(771) nrü ke hara nraasi
2sg 2sg eat rice
"You, eat rice."

(772) vóo wiri fi nrî wáke
men 2pl go PURP work
"Men, you go to work."

Another type of imperative clauses uses a subjectless form of the verb, as in English. It has a similar intonation to the first type of imperative sentence.

(773) kûi bee hâwi
finish CMPZ talk
"Stop talking."

(774) tôbwerrî nrîfo-nrü
shut mouth-2sg
"Shut your mouth."

A negative imperative is expressed by *savaa* "defend, prohibitive" occurring sentence-initially. This form is either followed by another verb or a clause. When followed by another verb, the post-verbal modifier *nrâ* "past, obligation" often occurs. When it is followed by a clause, the clause normally contains *nrî* "eventual". In a negative imperative construction, the final word in the sentence does not receive any particular stress.

(775) sávaa ódho (nrâ) kafe
PROH drink OBLG coffee
"Don't drink coffee!"

(776) savaa hâmwêî dri-nawa
PROH touch leaf-coconut
"Don't touch the coconut leaf!"

(777) sávaa ke nrî nyôbo fôjurru
PROH 2sg EVENT open window
"Don't open the window."

The imperatives directed to the first and the third person use the causative form of verbs (i.e. prefixed by *fa-*). In the first two examples that follow, *toni* and *rò* are the semantic subject of the original verb *fi* "to go" and *hara* "to eat" respectively. In the third example, *mwîê* is the object of *soghe* "to stab" (5.1.1).

(778) fa-fi toni
CAUS-go Tony
"Let Tony go."

(779) fa-hara rò
CAUS-eat 1sg
"Let me eat."

(780) fa-soghe mwîê
CAUS-stab woman
"Make someone stab the woman."

In the following expressions only the first person non-singular inclusive pronoun (*ri* or *ru*) occurs as object. They literally mean "Take us and go".

(781) ve ri fi
take 1plinc go
"Let's go."

(782) ve ru fi
take 1dlinc go
"Let us (you and me) go."

The imperative in an direct quotation is mapped in the subordinating clause as illustrated below:

(783) nrâ hidrò ei rò nrâ mwâ hara nraasi
3sg say to 1sg PST that eat rice
"He told me to eat the rice."

There is no way of adding an expression such as "please" to these imperative clauses in Tinrin. The degree of politeness may only be expressed using subtle intonations or tones.

When one wants to urge something, a reduplicated form is often used as in the following:

(784) hara hara
eat eat
"Eat, eat (what are you hesitating?)"

8.1.2.3 Interjections

Interjections may either comprise a complete utterance, or introduce a clause that expands on the information given by the interjection. They are not necessarily addressed to anyone, but can simply be an automatic, emotional response to some situation.

There are two types of interjections: those which have no specific lexical or grammatical meaning or structure of their own, and those which have independent meanings of their own and which may comprise a few words or phrases. The former are often accompanied a prominent pitch pattern. The latter are often used to express concepts considered vulgar or taboo.

The first type of interjection is often used in specific situations. They are listed below, with the circumstances that will elicit that particular form:

a) ǖü̲ agreement, nod back

People utter this when they are listening to someone and showing their agreement with what is said. This can also be used as a response to a polar question. If used in response to a question set in the negative, it means agreement with the negation. ("Don't you like that man?" -- "*üü*, I don't like him.")

b) aúu(e) surprise or amazement; either at favorable or unfavorable things.

c) amoo disappointment or sorrow

This is often followed by a personal pronoun or a person's name, showing a regret or longing for a deceased person, or someone who has gone away.

d) óou to call out to attract attention, used like English "hey!"

e) é "what? you see?"

This is pronounced very shortly, used to draw attention; to show disagreement; or as the question tag put at the end of a sentence.

f) wiira "not again!"

This is used to express that the speaker is annoyed by or fed up with something that keeps coming up.

g) hênrê "hey!"

This is used to address someone, often followed by the person's name. The speaker can also use this word by itself when he does not want to call someone by name.

The second type of interjection includes the following expressions and vulgarities.

h) trarrî "nothing, no, never"

This means something does not exist. It also expresses disagreement with what is said by someone at the spot (contrary to *üü*). This form often introduces a clause, expanding upon the disagreement. This form can also function as a verb meaning "to lack". Reduplicated, it is used to express a strong negation: *trarrî, trarrî* "never, never!"

i) savaa prohibitive, "don't!, attention!"

It can also function as a verb meaning "to defend, refrain from, prohibitive (followed by a clause)" as well as a pre-head verbal modifier meaning "prohibitive."

j) hiarù "maybe"

This expresses the speaker's uncertainty about the truth of what is said. This word may come from *hi* "perhaps" and *arù* "same", but *hiarù* does not occur in a sentence, but is used only by itself.

k) drae (mwâ) "there!, that's it!, indeed"

This is used to chime in, or to point something out, either in someone's speech or in the physical surrounds (when pointing to something in the area). *drae* as a noun means "thing".

l) nrâ drae "eh, the thing is..."

This is used by a speaker when he looks for a word to say.

m) mêrrê drae "and something like that"

A speaker often puts this expression at the end of a sentence, often just to carry on the utterance when words fail. *mêrrê drae* literally means "many things".

n) nrî mwâ/(h)a "there, get it!"

This is used when something is thrown towards the hearer, to draw his attention. *nrî* means "there" and *mwâ* is a distant deixis.

8.1.3 Topicalisation

Although a Tinrin clause normally begins with the predicate, and has the nominal subject following it, the first slot of a clause can be filled by any NP (subject, object or non-core argument), adverb, negative marker or prepositional phrase. These fronted elements normally bear the topic function, highlighting what is under discussion - something either previously mentioned or assumed in discourse. The topic in Tinrin is thus expressed in topic-shift constructions (cf. Givón 1976), and is not marked by any specific topic marker.

In the following section, I will discuss cases of subject fronting, object fronting , and the topicalisation of other elements.

(A) Subject fronting

VOS word order found in the majority of New Caledonia and Loyalty Islands languages seems to be the original order of the common proto-language (Ozanne-Rivierre & Moyse-Faurie 1983:146). In Tinrin, although VOS word order is still frequently found, SVO seems to have become more frequent. This SVO word order has developed from the topicalisation of the subject, being discussed in this section.

When the nominal subject is anteposed, the subject pronoun in the predicate is retained, even when the fronted subject is a pronoun (focal form). The subject marker *nrâ* never occurs before the topicalised nominal subject.

s V (O) sm S --> [S] s V (O)

(785)	[treanrü	ghe	ânrâmwâ]	rru	truu	fwirri	muzik
	people	from	there	3dl	stay	hear	music(Fr)
	"People from there, they two are listening to music"						

(786)	[jaa]	nrîî	tròa
	who	3sg FUT	arrive
	"Who (he) is arriving?"		

(787)	[nro]	u	see	tramwâ
	1sg	1sg	NEG	know
	"Me, I don't know."			

Sentences with this structure have an identical form to relative constructions. Sentence (788), for example, can also be interpreted as "the big tree which stands there like that.".

(788)

[ù	a	ti]	nrâ	truu	rra
tree	AT	big	3sg	stay	DIST

bee	truu	nrâ	nrî
CMPZ	stay	POSS	3sg

"The big tree, it stands there like that"

In the following sentence, an adverbial clause is inserted between the (pronominal) topicalised subject and the subject pronoun. *hari* is not an object of *pee* "to look, see" but a topic (free/focal form).

(789)

pee	[hari]	[nrî	ri	maamùrrù]	ri	see
look	1plinc	when	1plinc	children	1plinc	NEG

hara	abwê
eat	a lot

"Look, we, when we were children, we did not eat a lot."

One sentence can have both topicalised subject and a postposed subject, one of which is normally a pronoun, as in the following two sentences. The first sentence suggests that *Ubo* is already mentioned or taken as a topic, while the second suggests that the discussion is about the man who arrived, and that was *Ubo*.

[S] s V (O) sm S

(790)

[ubò]	nrâ	tròa	nrâ	nrâ	nrî
Ubo	3sg	arrive	PAST	sm	3sg

"Ubo, he arrived, he."

(791)

nrî	nrâ	tròa	nrâ	nrâ	ubò
3sg	3sg	arrive	PAST	sm	Ubo

"He, he arrived, Ubo."

(B) Object fronting

When the object NP is fronted, there are cases where the pronominal anaphora to a topic should occur after the verb (b.1) and cases where there is no pronominal copy behind (b.2). Note that in normal verb initial word order, no object marker or object pronoun occurs before the nominal object.

b.1 s V O (sm S) --> O s V o (sm S)

b.2 s V O (sm S) --> O s V (sm S)

The first pattern (b.1) occurs when the fronted object NP is animate: the pronominal anaphora occurs obligatorily after the verb. It does not occur when the object is inanimate.[49] One explanation for this may be that an animate NP has a higher probability of becoming a subject, so that the object that is fronted in a sentence risks being misinterpreted in the clause-initial position as a subject, when the person and

[49] This pattern is also found among other Oceanic languages.

number of the subject and object coincide. The pronominal anaphora after the verb signals that the clause-initial (animate) NP is an object, and not a subject, though this does not altogether prevent the ambiguity of the object fronted sentence. The following sentence can be also interpreted as "Sonya hit her", if Sonya is interpreted as a fronted subject. In (793) the postposed subject disambiguates the sentence.

(792) [sonya] nrâ ta nrî nrâ
Sonya 3sg hit 3sg PST
"Sonya, he hit her." (He hit Sonya.)

(793) [amwaati] nrâ jorri nrî nrâ treanrü
chief 3sg see 3sg sm person
"The chief, the person saw him." (The person saw the chief.)

(794) [bwò] ri ta rri ru mee-marri
crab 1plinc catch 3pl at reef
"Crabs, we catch them at the reef."

(795) [nro] nrâ sùveharru rò
1sg 3sg like 1sg
"Me, he likes me."

The above sentence (795) illustrates that the fronted object does not have an "object form" *rò*, but it has a "free/focal form" *nro* (* *rò nrâ sùveharru rò*). This demonstrates that the fronted element is not syntactically tied to the rest of the clause, but is a free-floating topic in the discourse. The above sentence will read more exactly as "speaking of me, he likes me."

It is possible for a sentence to have both a fronted subject and a fronted object. The word order among them is normally:

O S s V o

(796) [nro] [traiki] nrâ eghe rò
1sg dog 3sg bite 1sg
"Me, the dog (it) bit me."

(797) [busi] [hùùmùrrù] nrâ ta nrî nrî ù
cat child 3sg hit 3sg INST stick
"The cat, the child (he) hit it with the stick."

S O s V o may also be possible in some contexts, but it is not normally heard, perhaps because it would bring an enormous ambiguity to sentences with that structure.

The second pattern (b.2) occurs when the fronted object NP is inanimate. There is no co-occurrence of pronominal anaphora after the verb.

(798) [peci ha] kea nrorri ei rò
paper this 2sg PERF give DAT me
"This paper, you have given (it) to me."

(799) [hi-nrü] nrâ drerù nrâ rroto
foot-2sg 3sg injure sm car
"Your foot, the car injured (it)."
(A body part is treated as inanimate.)

(800) [wa mi ha] nrâ jurrù
DET watermelon PROX 3sg cut

nrâ ausòò-rò
sm elder sibling-1sg
"This watermelon, my elder brother cut (it)."

When both the subject and object are fronted, the word order is normally:

O S s V

(801) [òò-juo nrâ tiri-nrâ-nrü] [ubò] nrâ wirù nrâ
place-sit POSS mother-LINK-2sg Ubo 3sg break PST
"Your mother's chair, Ubo broke (it)."

Sentences of the type (b.2) are identical in form to the relative construction. Therefore, for example, (800) can also be interpreted as "the watermelon which my elder brother cut". However, if the fronted object NP is animate, as in (802), it could only be a relative clause, as a sentence with topicalised animate object requires a pronominal anaphora after the verb, which the relative clause does not.

(802) wa mwîê ha nrâ sùveharru nrâ toni
DET woman PROX 3sg like sm Tony
"the woman whom Tony likes"

There is a group of verbs which do not conform to the principles of using the animacy/inanimacy of objects to select the pattern (b.1) or (b.2). This group comprises those verbs which can occur in passive constructions with *nrî* (8.1.4.2). For these verbs, the sentence structure when the object is anteposed always follows the pattern of (b.2), whether the object is animate or inanimate. These verbs will be discussed in detail in the next section.

(C) Peripheral NP fronting

An object of a preposition can also be fronted to the left of the predicate. It is normally fronted together with the preceding preposition (i.e. the whole prepositional phrase is fronted), but there is also a rare case when the NP is fronted by itself leaving the preposition behind. (The remaining preposition is never deleted.)

(803) [dri-wa ù ha] ri vajù ghegi
leaf-DET tree PROX 1plinc die because of
"The leaf of this tree is poisonous." (lit. The leaf of this tree, we die because of (it) (if we eat it).)

When the prepositional object is animate, it leaves a pronominal copy behind as with the fronted object in the previous section. This is illustrated by the following sentence.

(804) [toni] ke hwarri nrî ei nrî
Tony 2sg sell 3sg DAT 3sg
"Tony, you sold it to him." (Tony = him)

<fronting of prepositional phrase>

(805) [nrî mehi-nrî] nrâ hôpiri nrû
with finger-3sg 3sg catch fish
"With hands, he caught fish."

(806) pwere tro erre truu trîê rruei fi
to real place DET women dl 3dl FUT go

kaarrò
tomorrow
"To the tribal place, two women are going tomorrow."

<fronting of possessor NP>

The possessor NP of either subject or object NP can be fronted, leaving behind the cross-referenced possessor pronoun. *hùwù-nrâ-rò* "my son" which is the possessor of *nrime-* "face" (bound noun) in the following sentence is fronted to the left of the predicate in (807b).

(807a) nrâ sòwò nrâ nrime-hùwù-nrâ-rò
3sg swollen sm face-child-LINK-1sg
"The face of my son is swollen."

(807b) [hùwù-nrâ-rò] nrâ sòwò nrâ nrime-nrî
child-LINK-1sg 3sg swollen sm face-3sg
"My son, his face is swollen."

The following construction which has the fronted possessor NP *A*, of subject NP *B-nrâ-nrî*, and the predicate verb *fwi* "to exist, do"

A nrâ fwi nrâ B-nrâ-nrî

semantically corresponds to English " A has B." The following sentence (808b) is derived from (808a).

(808a) nrâ fwi nrâ rroto nrâ sonya
3sg exist sm car POSS Sonya
"There is Sonya's car." (lit. Sonya's car exists.)

(808b) [sonya] nrâ fwi nrâ rroto nrâ nrî
Sonya 3sg exist sm car POSS 3sg
"Sonya has a car."(lit. Sonya, her car exists.)

A sentence can have both possessor NP and subject fronted. The next sentence (809b) has the possessor of subject NP, and (810b) has the possessor of object NP.

(809a) nrâ mwahuu nrâ tròò-notu
3sg red sm back-*Notou*
"Notou's back is red."

(809b) [notu] [tròò-nrî] nrâ mwahuu
notou back-3sg 3sg red
"Notou, its back is red."

(810a) nrâ wirù nrâ òò-juo nrâ aunê-nrü
3sg break PST place-sit POSS mother-2sg

nrâ ubo
sm Ubo
"Ubo broke your mother's chair."

(810b) [aunê-nrü] [ubo] nrâ wirù nrâ òò-juo
mother-2sg Ubo 3sg break PST place-sit

nrâ nrî
POSS 3sg
"Your mother, Ubo broke her chair."

It is also possible to have a possessor of object NP, an object NP, and the subject fronted, as illustrated in the following. When there are more than two topics, the topicalised subject is always nearest to the subject pronoun, i.e. the rightmost.

(810c) [aunê-nrü] [òò-juo nrâ nrî] [ubo] nrâ
mother-2sg place-sit POSS 3sg Ubo 3sg

wirù nrâ
break PST
"Your mother, her chair, Ubo, he broke (it)."

(D) Fronting of adverb and/or verbal modifier

An adverb and/or verbal modifier can also be fronted to the left of the predicate, to give some specific (often temporal/spatial) framework in which the action takes place.

(811) [tau nrâ] nrâ re fi pwere gi nrûû-dròwe
often PST 3sg HAB go to at field-mangrove
"Before, he used to go to the bush of mangrove."
(*tau nrâ* is normally placed after the verb *fi* or after *dròwe*.)

(812) [ghe ânrâha see] ri jorri
from here NEG 1plinc see
"From here, never do we see.(We cannot see it from here)"
(*see* occurs normally between the subject pronoun and the verb; *ghe ânrâha* normally occurs after the verb.)

(813) [mââde tau nrâ] bwò ri see hwarri nrî
before often PST crab 1plinc NEG sell 3sg
"Before, crabs, we did not sell them."
(*mââde tau nrâ* is normaly placed after *nrî*. The object *bwò* is also fronted.)

(E) A sentence can also have a topic word which is not fronted from within the sentence, but which is related only thematically to the rest of the sentence.

(814) [wara mwâ] ri see kare hwa
thing ANAP 1plinc NEG run EMPH
"That thing, we don't run."
(By "that thing", the speaker refers to a specific way of hunting flying foxes, which was under discussion. The sentence means "If we apply that method of hunting, we do not need to run.)

(815) [hari] saa nrîî nrî fi pwere erre
1plinc one 3sg FUT EVENT go to village

mêrrê rri truu
pl 3pl stay
"We, one will go to the village, others stay (at home)."
(The speaker is talking about her childhood. As her family was poor, there was only one set of clothes to wear amongst her brothers and sisters. If one went to the village, wearing the clothes, the others stayed home as there were no more clothes to put on. The sentence reads "Speaking of us, (being so poor), if one goes to the village, the others have to stay at home."

In the above section I discussed the topicalisation of various elements in a sentence. There are cases where topicalised NPs leave the pronominal anaphora, and cases where they do not. Whether the topicalised NP leaves the pronominal anaphora or not is dependent on whether or not the NP is animate. Pronominal anaphora seems to be a

device to remove ambiguity from the sentence, especially when the NP is human/animate and its function in a sentence is very important.

As seen in the following table, the subject and the animate object are always cross-referenced by a pronoun. The possessor always has a pronominal copy, as it is either human/animate or something personified to "possess" a thing. Other elements normally do not leave any mark (except an animate object of a preposition, when it is separated from the preposition). The prepositional objects are generally moved together with their preposition, so that there is no possibility of ambiguity on that score. Adverbs/modifiers cannot be misinterpreted as subject/object in a sentence.

Table 8.1: **Topicalised Position and its Anaphoric Reference**

position	anaphoric reference
SU	pronoun (NP = subject pronoun)
DO	pronoun (NP = animate)
	zero (NP = inanimate)
OBL	pronoun (NP = animate; when separated from the preposition)
	zero (NP = inanimate; when separated from the preposition)
	zero (moved together with the preposition)
POSS	pronoun
AD/MOD	zero

8.1.4 Passive Construction

Passive has been considered as the structure where normally the deep object NP of the transitive clause is promoted to the surface subject. The agent of a transitive clause is either deleted or demoted to the oblique function, and the verb in the passive structure often bears some morphological passive marking. Passivisation generally applies to agentive transitives, and derives intransitives, so that the passive structure implies the existence of an agent, even if it is not explicit. Therefore, the difference between passives and intransitives lies in the fact that in passives there is a deep agent, whether it is specified or not, whereas in intransitives, such an agent is not implied at all.

In recent years various types of passive constructions have been revealed through cross-linguistic study. Shibatani suggests in his article that the primary function of passivisation is that of 'agent defocusing'(Shibatani 1985:830). He claims that passives generally do not express agents overtly, and numerous languages prohibit or generally avoid expressing an agent in a passive construction, and even in those languages which permit overt expression of an agent, agentless passives are far more numerous in actual data than those with overt agents. Passives are used when singling out of an agent is either impossible or unimportant (*Ibid*). He uses the term 'agent defocusing' to cover phenomena like the absence of mention of an agent, mention of an agent in a non-

prominent syntactic slot, blurring of the identity of an agent by using plural forms, and indirect reference to an agent by using an oblique case.

Two passive constructions in Tinrin which I am going to discuss here - *hêrrê* constructions and *nrî* constructions - have certain similarities to the constructions used for the object topicalisation. However, they are grammatically different in ways I will describe in the next sections. They are also semantically different, as they have passive meaning, in the sense that the agent is defocused or deleted in some way, while the object fronted structure has the explicit agent as its subject, thus having active meaning.

8.1.4.1 *hêrrê* constructions

This type of passive construction in Tinrin uses the impersonal pronoun *hêrrê* in its subject pronoun slot. It has a structure with the object in a fronted position. When the object is animate, the pronominal anaphora occurs after the verb as the ordinary object fronted structure:

O hêrrê V (o) (nrâ A)

hêrrê normally implies "someone" (like French *on*) when it occurs in ordinary word order, as in the following sentence. The speaker may or may not know the person, but the identity of this person is not relevant.

(816) hêrrê hôdrô mwâ
IMPN burn hut
"Someone burnt the hut."

If the speaker implies somebody particular (who burnt the hut), or even mentions the name of the agent explicitly, the speaker can no longer use *hêrrê*, but he must use a personal pronoun which agrees to the subject in person and number. If it is the third person, it will be as follows:

(817) nrâ hôdrô mwâ (nrâ toni)
3sg burn hut sm Tony
"He (Tony) burnt the hut."

We should note here that the impersonal pronoun *hêrrê* cannot occur in a postposed position, as it would not bear any focus. Nor is it possible that the subject pronoun and the postposed subject differ in person and number. Accordingly, the following two sentences are ungrammatical.

(818) * hêrrê hôdrô mwâ nrâ hêrrê
IMPN burn hut sm IMPN

(819) * hêrrê hôdrô mwâ nrâ toni/nrî
IMPN burn hut sm Tony/3sg

Now, looking at the following sentence,

(820) mwâ hêrrê hôdrô nrâ toni
hut IMPN burn ?sm Tony
"The hut somebody (Tony) burnt."(The hut was burnt by Tony)

it looks ungrammatical as the subject pronoun is impersonal and does not agree with the postposed nominal subject, Tony. However, it is an acceptable sentence, as it is not the ordinary object fronted structure.

The following sentences illustrate the same construction.

(821) traiki hêrrê ta nrî nrâ nrü
dog IMPN hit 3sg ?sm 2sg
"The dog somebody (you) hit (it)."(The dog was hit by you)

(822) peci ha hêrrê nrorri nrâ sonya
paper this IMPN give ?sm Sonya
"This paper was given by Sonya."

toni "Tony" in (820), *nrü* "2sg" in (821) and *sonya* "Sonya" in (822) are the agents of the transitive verb *hôdrô* "to burn", *ta* "to hit" and *nrorri* "to give" respectively. Yet the subject pronoun of these sentences is *hêrrê* "impersonal", and not *nrâ* "3sg" or *ke* "2sg". In these constructions, in fact, the postposed NP can be any person or number while the subject pronoun is always impersonal *hêrrê*.

The object NP is normally the third person, but the first or second person is also possible in these constructions as in:

(823) nrü hêrrê sùveharru nrü nrâ sonya
2sg IMPN like 2sg A Sonya
"You, somebody (Sonya) likes you. (You are liked by Sonya.)"

I interpret these constructions as having a passive structure on the basis of following points: the subject pronoun slot is filled by an impersonal pronoun *hêrrê*. This use of *hêrrê* should be clearly distinguished from any notion of "impersonality", as the identity of agent is very often clear from the context or is specified by the postposed NP as in (820), (821) and (822). Accordingly, *hêrrê* can be interpreted as a device for defocusing the active agent and putting the object's passive status in the foreground.[50]

In these constructions, the object is placed in the first slot making it felt as the subject. The subject marker *nrâ* must be reanalysed as agent marker, since the postposed NP no longer agrees with the subject pronoun in person and number. In other words, the active subject is apparently being demoted to the position of oblique.

There is another type of sentence which has the same constructions as above, but with no explicit (postposed) agent, as illustrated by the following example:

(824) mîî ghe trùjù hêrrê fa-marri
grass from sea IMPN CAUS-dry
"The seaweed is dried. /The seaweed, one dries."

This sentence can either be interpreted as passive, or active with an impersonal subject. In either case, however, the use of impersonal subject suggests the existence of an agent, as well as the speaker's unconcern about the identity of the agent (cf. example 816), which is a similar notion to that of passivity.

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[50] A similar device using the third person plural subject agreement petrified as an invariant passive marker exists in Kimbundu (a Bantu language) (Givón 1976:179).

We can find the same constructions in relative clauses, where the object of the embedded clause has been relativised. Compare the following sentences:

(825) nrâ nrêê harru nrâ kafe ke fwi
3sg taste good sm coffee 2sg make
"The coffee you made tastes good."

(826) nrâ nrêê harru nrâ kafe hêrrê fwi nrâ nrü
3sg taste good sm coffee IMPN make sm 2sg
"The coffee (which was) made by you tastes good."

Example (825) uses an active relative clause, while (826) uses the *hêrrê* construction, with *hêrrê* as an embedded subject pronoun and *nrü* as a postposed agent. The following sentence includes a relative clause which has *hêrrê* as an embedded subject and has no explicit postposed agent.

(827) nrâ treanrü hêrrê mirri
3sg person IMPN hate
"He is the person who is hated. (He is the person whom somebody hates.)"

8.1.4.2 *nrî* constructions

There is another type of construction which I take to be passive. It also has a similar structure to that of the object topicalisation. Furthermore, the marker I consider to be passive has the same form as the pronominal anaphora of the fronted object, which may be mistaken for it.

I will show, however, that these constructions are distinct from the object fronted structure and that they express another type of "passive". Firstly, the marker *nrî* always occurs in this construction, even with inanimate objects (normally it does not). Secondly, this construction never allows an explicit agent, although the existence of an agent is always implied. Thirdly, the object NP (of the active clause) can be postposed, with the subject marker *nrâ* preceding it. This means that the object NP is promoted to the surface subject in these constructions.

The following formulae illustrate this construction:

S s V - nrî (S is O of the active clause)

or,

s V - nrî (sm S) (S is postposed)

Unlike the *hêrrê* construction, only a limited number of verbs (which I will list later) can occur in this type of construction. Furthermore, in this construction, the subject is restricted to the third person, generally inanimate.

One verb, *nyobò* "to open" will illustrate the use of this construction. The next sentence illustrates a normal active sentence with *nyobò*.

(828a) nrâ nyobò mwâ nrâ afiraa-nrî
3sg open house sm wife-3sg
"His wife opened the house."

Sentence (828b) is obtained by fronting the object *mwâ* "house", while (828c) is unacceptable because the fronted inanimate object should not leave a pronominal copy behind.

(828b) mwâ nrâ nyobò nrâ afiraa-nrî
house 3sg open sm wife-3sg
"The hut, his wife opened."

(828c) * mwâ nrâ nyobò nrî nrâ afiraa-nrî
house 3sg open 3sg sm wife-3sg
"The hut, his wife opened it."

Let us refer now to the following sentence:

(829) mwâ nrâ nyobò -nrî
house 3sg open ?passive
"The house is open/opened."

Although this sentence looks similar to (828c) except for the postposed NP *afiraa-nrî*, nevertheless it is grammatically acceptable. This construction needs to be clearly distinguished from the structure with a fronted object, which is illustrated by the following sentence:

(830) mwâ nrâ nyobò
house 3sg open
"The house, he opened."

The following sentences (831) and (832) are also acceptable which have *mwâ* as a postposed NP, and not *afiraa-nrî* as in (833).

(831) nrâ nyobò -nrî nrâ mwâ
3sg open ?passive ?sm house
"The house is open."

(832) nrâ nyobò -nrî nrâ nrâ mwâ
3sg open ?passive PST ?sm house
"The house was open."

(833) * nrâ nyobò -nrî nrâ mwâ nrâ afiraa-nrî
3sg open ?passive ? house sm wife-3sg
"The house is opened by his wife."

Note that *nrî* cannot be considered as a pronominal object, because a Tinrin clause does not allow a pronominal object to precede a nominal object: * s V o O (* he opened it hut).

Note also that *nrâ* is not a past tense marker in (831); example (832) illustrates a sentence with the past tense marker *nrâ*. (831) and (832) show that the postposed NP *mwâ* "house" is in fact the nominal subject of each sentence. In other words, *mwâ* is no longer the object of the active clause but is promoted to the subject of the passive structure. Example (833) illustrates that these constructions do not allow a co-occurrence of the active agent.

The following sentence also illustrates this type of construction:

(834) nrâ tôbwerrî -nrî nrâ magasâ (nrîmwâmwâ)
3sg close PASS sm shop(Fr) now
"The shop is closed (now)."

The speaker can also add a specific time reference, in which case the change of a state takes place at a specific time, as in the following sentence. This time reference can indicate either the habitual present, (*i.e.* the shop is habitually closed at noon) or an event (somebody closed the shop) which took place at noon.

(835)	nrâ	tôbwerrî	-nrî	nrâ	magasâ	rugi	midi
	3sg	close	PASS	sm	shop	at	noon (Fr)

"The shop is/was closed at noon."

To create "durative, stative" aspect, the speaker can add *truu* "to stay" in front of the verb as:

(836)	nrâ	truu	tôbwerrî	-nrî	nrâ	magasâ
	3sg	DUR	close	PASS	sm	shop(Fr)

"The shop is closed. (It has been closed for some time.)"

I discussed earlier that the fronted animate object leaves its pronominal anaphora *nrî* behind in the object topicalised structure. It is therefore extremely confusing when the passive subject is animate, and the identical passive marker *nrî* is used. I will discuss below how these passive constructions are applied in the case of an animate subject:

(837)	nrâ	tewùrrù	nranri	nrâ	toni
	3sg	tie up	goat	sm	Tony

"Tony tied up the goat"

(838) *	nranri	nrâ	tewùrrù	nrî	nrâ	toni
	goat	3sg	tie up	3sg	sm	Tony

"The goat, Tony tied it up."

(839)	nranri	nrâ	tewùrrù	nrâ	toni
	goat	3sg	tie up	sm	Tony

"The goat, Tony tied up."

When the animate object is anteposed, the general rule is that it leaves the pronominal copy behind it as in (838). However, when the animate object occurs with verbs which allow *nrî* constructions, it behaves like an inanimate object. That is, as in (839) it does not leave pronominal anaphora; and therefore, the sentence (838) is ungrammatical. This consequently avoids any confusion between the two distinct, active and passive constructions.

(840)	nrâ	tewùrrù	-nrî	nrâ	nranri
	3sg	tie up	PASS	sm	goat

"The goat is tied up."

(841)	nrâ	tewùrrù	-nrî	nrâ	toni
	3sg	tie up	PASS	sm	Tony

"Tony is tied up."

Sentences (840) and (841) illustrate that if the verb of this group is followed by *nrî*, then the postposed NP is the passive subject and never the agent.

We can see the contrast between (838) and (842) and between (841) and (843). In (842) and (843), the verb *terre* "to tie a knot, tie" is used instead of *tewùrrù* "to tie up". These verbs share a similar meaning, however *terre* cannot occur in *nrî* constructions.

(842) nranri nrâ terre nrî nrâ toni
goat 3sg tie 3sg sm Tony
"The goat, Tony tied it."

(843) nrâ terre nrî nrâ toni
3sg tie 3sg sm Tony
"Tony tied it."

Sentence (842) which has *nrî*, a pronominal anaphora of a topicalised animate object *nranri* "goat", is acceptable while (838) is not. A pronominal anaphora cannot occur with the verb *tewùrrù*, as sentence (839) illustrates.

Sentences (841) and (843) look similar to each other, but (841) is a passive, and (843) is an active sentence. In (843) Tony is the agent, or the subject of the transitive verb, while in (841) it is the patient, the subject of the passive structure. *nrî* in (843) is a pronominal object, while in (841) it is the passive marker.

As these *nrî* constructions never allow an explicit agent, there rises a question whether they indeed express "passiveness" or whether they reflect other concepts such as "spontaneity" or "reflexivity".[51] In fact with some verbs the spontaneous or reflexive reading is possible or more appropriate depending upon context. In most cases, it is difficult to clearly differentiate them from "passive" meaning when out of context. For example, the following sentence indicates that the big hut is leaning, and this situation may have been caused by some specific outer force (by people or accident, etc.) or spontaneously.

(844) nrâ serri -nrî nrâ mwâmwâ
3sg lean PASS sm big hut
"The big hut (assembly house) is leant/leaning."

I will further discuss the relation between these meanings, i.e. reflexive, spontaneous, and passive in 8.1.4.3.

Verbs which may be found in these constructions are listed in the following. Most of the verbs can have only inanimate passive subjects. Only *tewùrrù-nrî* "be tied up by a cord", *nrowùrrù-nrî* "be pressed under", *soforro-nrî* "be bound by a cord" may have either animate or inanimate passive subjects. I have put a *s* in front of verbs which can occur with a spontaneous meaning, and a *r* for those which can occur with a reflexive meaning as well as passive meaning.

[51] The correlations of passives to reflexive, spontaneous, potential and other formations in various languages are discussed in Shibatani (1985).

"tied, bound, untied"

r tewùrrù-nrî "be tied up"
s tesârrî-nrî "untie/be untied"
r soforro-nrî "be bound by cord, be wound up "
teforro-nrî "be wound by cord"

"pressed, deformed, wrinkled, broken"

ubwerrî-nrî "be squeezed by hand"
nrowùrrù-nrî "be pressed under"
drôwùrrù-nrî "be pressed under"
s takîrrî-nrî "wrinkle/ be wrinkled"
s tôgidhi-nrî "wrinkle /be wrinkled"
waghorro-nrî "be crushed"
waghai-nrî "be broken in pieces"
waria-nrî "be split in two (in lengthwise)"
s wagidhi-nrî "be crumpled"
warù-nrî "be broken in two
wirau-nrî "be exhausted"
saria-nrî "be cut up"

"posture/position changed"

s tusamâ-nrî "pile/ be piled"
s nyobò-nrî "be open/opened"
ki-nyobò-nrî "be opened by key"
s tôbwerrî-nrî "be closed"
ki-tôbwerrî-nrî "be closed by key"
s, r sevirro-nrî "be turned, change"
s serri-nrî "lean/ be leaned"
s karrotiô-nrî "overflow/be overflowed"
s tiô-nrî "be spilt"
s, r utiô-nrî "be overturned"
hôtiô-nrî "be toppled by hand"
s sùrrù-nrî "swing /be swung"
s perrii-nrî "roll / be rolled"
pagô-nrî "be pushed forward"
rròrau-nrî "be rooted, be pushed aside"
urau-nrî "be dug up"

The characteristics of the group of verbs which can occur in *nrî* constructions are not clear, as mentioned earlier. But the semantic properties of the verbs and some recursive morphemes noticeable in the above list show some common features.

These morphemes which often occur are classificatory prefixes, bound verbs and some free verbs such as: *te-* "by cord", *wa-* "by force", *u-* "by hand", *ki-* "by key"; *-wùrrù* "pressed", *-forro* "bound", *-gidhi* "wrinkled", *-ria* "cut in two", *-rau* "dug up", *-bwerrî* "closed in"; *tiô* "to spill", *nyobò* "to open". Other morphemes seen in the list are: (classificatory prefixes) *ta-* "pushing", *tô-* "by pointed object", *wi-* "by a club", *sa-* "by a cutting instrument", *hô-* "by holding", *nrò-* "landsliding", *drô-* "pushing", *pa-* "by pointing object", *rrò-* "pressing down"; (bound verbs) *-sârrî* "untied", *-ghorro* "crushed", *-ghai* "mixed", *-rù* "cut across in two", and (free verbs) *tu(o)* "to put" and *gô* "to move" which often combine with other verbs.

Classificatory prefixes function as a kind of 'causative'(cf. 5.1.3), and the verbal stems seen in the above list express the 'resultative' state. For example, in *waghorro*, the classificatory prefix *wa-* suggests that somebody adds a force to or drops an object, which leads to a state that the object is broken into pieces. This resultative state is expressed by the bound verb *-ghorro* "be crushed". The following sentence illustrates this:

(845)

ke	waghorro	mwâ	rrê	arròò
2sg	break into pieces	hut (container)	POSS	water

"You (dropped and) broke (into pieces) the bottle of water."

When it occurs in *nrî* constructions, the object in the above sentence turns into a subject.

(846)

nrâ	waghorro	-nrî	nrâ	mwâ
3sg	break into pieces	PASS	sm	hut (container)

rrê	arròò
POSS	water

"The bottle of water was broken."

waghorro is a transitive verb, as are the rest of the listed verbs which can take *-nrî*. Most of them semantically contain the 'cause' or 'instrument' and the 'result', as does *waghorro*. These morphological and semantic characteristics are a feature of the group of verbs which may be found in special *nrî* constructions. I am sure that further investigation will find more verbs with these characteristics that belong to this group.

To summarise, *nrî* constructions indicate the passive state of an object, with the attention drawn to the result of an action. This does not mean, however, that these verbs only occur with past tense in a *nrî* construction, but they may be in any tense. They can also indicate habitual present or a passive action at a specific point of time as explained earlier.

nyobò "to open", *sevirro* "to turn", *serri* "to lean", *tiô* "to spill", *sùrrù* "to swing" and *perrii* "to roll" are the only verbs in this group which are morphologically simple. These are verbs which involve a change in the posture/position of an object, and which do not lead to a drastic change in the form of an object.

8.1.4.3 Active-passive continuum of Tinrin

I have so far discussed two types of passive constructions. Now I will try to show how they are related to each other and to the object topicalisation of the previous section.

As we have seen, *hêrrê* constructions have a similar structure to object topicalisation. It is the object that fills the first slot of the clause. The subject pronoun slot is filled by an impersonal pronoun, and the agent is either defocused or suppressed. Consequently, the object takes over the subject role, since an impersonal pronoun would not bear focus. This reflects the general tendency of shifting from VOS word order to SVO word order in Tinrin, the topicalised object gaining more of a subject-like status.

nrî constructions, although they look simple, are not straightforward. We can consider that they also developed from the structure having a topicalised object, with *nrî* being the anaphoric pronoun of the fronted object. However, most of the verbs which occur in these constructions can only take an inanimate object, so that it is difficult to explain why the structure with fronted inanimate object does not have pronominal anaphora, while *nrî* came to mean passive with a particular group of verbs having mainly inanimate objects.

Another possibility is that these constructions developed from reflexivisation. As explained earlier, *nrî* constructions can sometimes express spontaneity or reflexivisation. It is possible that *nrî* was originally used as a reflexive pronoun and that it extended its usage to indicate spontaneous motion/action and passive status.

We will examine the following sentences which have *sevirro* "to turn", a verb which can occur in *nrî* construction.

(847) nrâ sevirro -nrî nrâ wasaa
3sg turn PASS sm plate
"The plate was turned (around)."

Now, this verb can also occur with the first and second person subject as in the following:

(848) u sevirro rò
1sg turn 1sg
"I turned around (I turned myself)."

(849) ke sevirro nrü
2sg turn 2sg
"You turned around (you turned yourself)."

In the above sentence, we can only get a 'reflexive' reading, that is, sentence (848) cannot be interpreted as "I was turned around (by somebody)", and (849) as "you were turned around (by somebody)". To express 'passive' the hêrrê constructions must be used as in:

(850) nro hêrrê sevirro rò
1sg IMPN turn 1sg
"Me, somebody turned me.(I was turned around by somebody)"

However, for the third person singular, the sentence can be interpreted either as 'reflexive', 'spontaneous' (not by intent) or 'passive'. When the subject is a person, it is naturally interpreted as 'reflexive' (rarely passive) and when the subject is inanimate, it is interpreted as either spontaneous or passive.

(851) nrâ sevirro -nrî
3sg turn 3sg
"He turned around.(He turned himself.)/ It turned around by itself./ It is turned around (by somebody)."

On the other hand, *dreghe* "to fall and injure", which can take a reflexive pronoun as an object (as in the following sentence), cannot occur in *nrî* (passive) construction.

(852)

nrâ	dreghe	nrî	ru	drô	rroto
3sg	fall and injure	3sg	LOC	on	car

"He injured himself in a car.(he got injured in a car)"

The above sentence can read with a reflexive or spontaneous meaning, but not with passive meaning in Tinrin. It does not imply the existence of any outer agent. This may be explained from the point that the semantics of the verb ("to injure") applies to only animate subjects in constructions as above (reflexive), so that the 'passive' meaning did not grow upon it.

It seems quite probable from the above examples that these *nrî* constructions may have developed from reflexivisation and acquired the 'passive' meaning (sometimes spontaneous) only when the subject was the third person singular inanimate. Plurality in Tinrin is generally not explicit except with human nouns, so that inanimate things are expressed with the third person singular form. Therefore, it is quite natural that *nrî* developed as a passive marker and not *rri* "third person plural" or *rru* "third person dual".

Subjects of this construction are generally restricted to inanimate subjects, which would not be mistaken for an active agent (e.g. * The plate cuts itself up). Animate subjects can also occur in this construction rarely, but this could be a later development.

There are other examples which bear mentioning as well. These are the ones which have both *hêrrê* and *nrî* together. The following sentence illustrates this:

(853)

peci	hêrrê	takîrrî	-nrî
paper	IMPN	wrinkle	PASS

"The paper is wrinkled."

These constructions may be applied to all the verbs which can occur in *nrî* constructions. As in *nrî* constructions, an explicit agent (postposed nominal) can never be used in them. They are distinguished from *nrî* constructions in that they have an impersonal pronoun as a subject pronoun (defocused agent) while *nrî* constructions have the third person pronoun, and that (passive) subject (*peci* in the example above) cannot occur as a postposed NP.

I consider the constructions so far discussed, and those used for object topicalisation, as forming a continuum along the active-passive polarity. The structure with fronted object is "active", where the agent is always explicit and plays a subject role in a clause. At the other extreme is the *nrî* construction, which is prototypically agentless and thus "passive". The agent is completely suppressed and the object gains the status of a subject. *hêrrê* constructions and *hêrrê-nrî* constructions are intermediate between them.

There are three parameters which may be used to differentiate the degree of passiveness: 1) explicit agent (least passive), 2) impersonal subject pronoun (intermediate), 3) patient subject (most passive), as illustrated in the table below.

'*nrî* verbs' are those verbs which can occur in *nrî* constructions, as listed in the previous section. They can also occur in *hêrrê* and *hêrrê-nrî* constructions. That is, they go through the whole range of constructions in the table below, and the choice of the construction gives a subtle difference to the degree of passivisation and the meaning.

'Other verbs' are the verbs which cannot occur in *nrî* constructions. They can occur only in topicalised object structure and *hêrrê* constructions, as shown in the table.

Table 8-2: **Constructions along Active-Passive Polarity**

active ←—			—→passive	
structure	fronted object	hêrrê	hêrrê-nrî	nrî
1. explicit agent	+	(+)	–	–
2. impersonal subject	–	+	+	–
3. patient subject	–	–	–	+
nrî verbs	———	———	———	———→
other verbs	———	———→		

8.2 Co-ordinated Sentences

Co-ordinated sentences are those that consist of more than one clause of equal syntactic status. These clauses are often combined without any conjunctions, but there are also co-ordinated sentences with conjunctions to link the clauses. When the two co-ordinated clauses contain coreferential NPs, the second occurrence of the NP is normally reduced to a pronominal form.

8.2.1 Co-ordinated sentences without conjunctions

Dividing a discourse up into separate sentences is sometimes a hard task in Tinrin, especially when clauses are simply linked together without any conjunctions.[52] There are very few syntactic clues, as there is no equi subject pronoun deletion in Tinrin co-ordinated sentences, and the clauses can look just like run-on sentences.

The intonation pattern does not show any clear distinction between the terminal and non-terminal junctures, either. However, often pragmatic factors such as focus, pause and pitch help to make such groupings.

The co-ordinated clauses of this type normally share the same subject. A NP in the first clause is often recovered in a pronominal anaphora in the second clause. These clauses often express the same idea, a sequence of actions or some related matters.

The second clause often contains a tense-aspect marker *a* "perfect, actual, definite", and/or *go* "punctual, consecutive" which indicates the consecutive relationship of two actions or states. This is illustrated by the following sentences:

(854)

rri	gô	ru	nrî-tarragho	rria	juui
3pl	crawl	loc	muddy place	3pl ACT	hide

"They crawled on the mud, (and now) they are hiding (themselves)."

(855)

mêwe	nrâ	mê	nrâ	pwò	ânrâha	nrâ	go
bird	3sg	come	3sg	perch	here	3sg	then

tü	sirù	ô-nrî
pass	enter	head-3sg

"The bird came, perched here, then thrust its head in."

8.2.2 Co-ordinated sentences with conjunctions

There are three conjunctions: *mwâ*, *mê* and *ra* that serve to link clauses together and form coordinated sentences.

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[52] This parataxis is a common phenomenon among Oceanic languages (see e.g. Morel 'Tolai texts' in Kivung 10, 1977)

(A) Sentences with *mwâ* "and, but"

mwâ is used most frequently between co-ordinated clauses. Clauses on both sides of *mwâ* can be connective as in the following example (856), or adversative in meaning as in (857) and (858). *mwâ* can also occur as a conjunction in complex sentences, introducing a subordinating clause (8.3). Example (858) can be interpreted as a complex sentence, too. In that case, it means "We go, although the weather is bad".

(856) saa foomwâ ânrâha mwâ saa nrâ truu ânrâha
one door here and one 3sg stay here
"One door is here, and another is there."

(857) toni nrâ mùrrù mwâ nrâ tramwâ musik
Tony 3sg small but 3sg know music(Fr)
"Tony is small, but he knows music."

(858) hari ria fi mwâ nrâ taa nrâ drââ
1plinc 1plinc ACT go but 3sg bad sm day
"We go, but the weather is bad."

(B) Sentences with *mê* "and, or "

Although *mê* generally links two NPs, it can also link two clauses, when the subjects and verbs of the clauses are the same or when the two clauses express things of the same kind, in such a way that the speaker adds the second clause after he has said the first, in order to supplement it.

(859a) nrâ hôsi pwêvò mê nrâ hôsi peci
3sg buy egg and 3sg buy paper
"He bought eggs and he bought papers."

The above co-ordinated sentence can be reduced to a simple sentence as in:

(859b) nrâ hôsi pwêvò mê peci
3sg buy egg and paper
"He bought eggs and papers."

When the subjects of co-ordinated clauses are different but the predicates are the same, as "Tony bought eggs and Nanu bought eggs", it is possible to reduce the sentence as "Tony and Nanu bought eggs." However, two co-ordinated NPs as the subject more naturally imply joint actors, so that the sentence is not always derived from two co-ordinated clauses. The following sentence illustrates this:

(860) toni mê nanu rru hôsi pwêvò
Tony and Nanu 3dl buy egg
"Tony and Nanu, they two (jointly) bought eggs."

mê can link two NPs as above, but when it links two clauses, it does not produce a sentence as follows. In Tinrin, even if the two clauses share the same subject, the subject must be specified within the predicate of each clause.

(861) * nrâ hôsi pwêvò mê hôsi peci
3sg buy egg and buy paper
"He bought eggs and papers."

Similarly, the following sentence (862a) cannot be reduced as in (862b).

(862a) u e farrawa mê u odho kafe
1sg eat bread and 1sg drink coffee
"I ate bread and I drank coffee."

(862b) * u e farrawa mê odho kafe
1sg eat bread and drink coffee
"I ate bread and drank coffee."

Although *mê* more often means "and", it can be interpreted as "or" depending on the context. It can also be used to link two clauses when they supplement each other or explain the same thing in other words.

(863) ri nri nrî nre mê ri tro nri
1plinc pull with fire or 1plinc just pull

bee-truu nrâ nrî mwâ
NMZ-stay POSS 3sg M.DIST
"We take (beehive) with the smoke or we just take like this (by hands, not using anything)."

(864) nro see u re jorri nrî nrâ mê
1sg NEG 1sg ASS see 3sg PST and

u see pee nrî warra
1sg NEG see 3sg yet
"Me, I didn't see him before, (that is), I haven't seen him yet."

(C) Sentences with *ra* "or"

ra, like *mê*, is used more often at the phrase level to express "or". It may also function to link disjunctive clauses.

(865) hwai nrîî tròa nrîfa ra hi nrîî
perhaps 3sg FUT arrive later or I wonder 3sg FUT

tròa kaarrò
arrive tomorrow
"He may arrive tonight, or I wonder if he will arrive tomorrow."

8.3 Complex Sentences

Complex sentences are sentences which contain one or more clauses embedded in a matrix construction. The subordinating clauses are introduced by a number of conjunctions and complementisers.

These clauses function in various ways in a matrix sentence. They can be complementary, appositional or relative clauses. They can also be adverbial clauses, indicating conditional, temporal, purposive or causal action. As in co-ordinated sentences, when two clauses have coreferential NPs, the latter occurrence of the NP is reduced to a pronominal form, regardless of whether it is in the matrix or subordinate clause. Therefore, the following sentence is not considered to have coreferential NPs, as its second clause has the nominal subject.

(866) nrî nrâ tròa ânrâha toni nrâ hara nrû
when 3sg arrive here Tony 3sg eat fish
"When he arrived here, Tony was eating fish."
(he≠Tony)

In the following sections nominal clauses, relative clauses and adverbial clauses will be discussed, together with the functions of the conjunctions and complementisers which introduce these clauses.

8.3.1 Nominal clauses

Nominal clauses are either complement clauses that fill a functional slot such as the subject or object slot in the structure of the main clause, or clauses that are in apposition to other nominals.

8.3.1.1 Complement clauses

They are introduced by *mwâ* , *draa* , *bee* and *òò* as discussed below.

(A) Complement clauses introduced by *mwâ* "that"

When the subject slot is filled by a clause introduced by *mwâ*, the subject marker *nrâ* is optional.

(867) nrâ harru (nrâ) mwâ ke wake kaarrò
3sg good sm that 2sg work tomorrow
"You had better work tomorrow." (lit. It is good that you work tomorrow.)

(868) nrâ harru (nrâ) mwâ hêrrê hari nrî veharru
3sg good sm that IMPN wrap 3sg well
"People should wrap him (baby) well." (lit. It is good that people wrap him (baby) well.)

(869) tro saa wadrò (nrâ) mwâ ke mî
just one bit sm that 2sg fall
"You nearly fell down." (lit. It is just one bit that you fell)

The object slot can also be filled by a clause as in:

(870) u tramwâ mwâ ke maija wake
1sg know that 2sg much work
"I know that you work hard."

(871) u fwirri mwâ treanrü rri hidrò mwâ rri
1sg hear that people 3pl say that 3pl

fi pwere nrî
go to there
"I heard people say that they go there."(lit. I heard that people say that they go there.)

In the following sentence *fwirri* has two objects, one of which is a clause. The object 'dog' is in fact the subject of the embedded clause and is singled out from it across the complementizer *mwâ*. [*nrâ ha*] can also be interpreted as a relative clause, in which case, there is no pause between *traiki* and *mwâ* (in this case *mwâ* is a demonstrative "M.DIST") and between *mwâ* and *nrâ* when pronounced. In the reading as follows, there is always a pause between *traiki* and *mwâ*.

(872) u fwirri traiki mwâ nrâ ha
1sg hear dog that 3sg speak
"I heard the dog bark." (lit. I heard the dog, that he barks.)

The object clause of *sùveharru* "to like, want" is normally unmarked for tense (it is perfective in aspect) and cannot be marked by *ei* "future" or *nrî* "eventual". The following sentences illustrate this: what is "wanted" is "that you tell a story" (in the view of a situation as a single whole) and not "that you (eventually) will tell a story."

(873a) ri sùveharru mwâ ke tabârrâ
1plinc want that 2sg narrate
"We want that you tell (us) a story."

(873b) * ri sùveharru mwâ kei nrî tabârrâ
1plinc want that 2sg FUT EVENT narrate

When a nominal clause is the object of the verb *hidrò* "to say" it always expresses direct narration:

(874) tre hùmùrrù nrâ nrî fi nrî hidro ei
another child 3sg EVENT go PURP say DAT

aunê-ri mwâ ke pee nrâ see fi nrâ
mother-1plinc that 2sg see 3sg NEG go PST

pwere ekol mwairrù
to school a while ago
"Another child will go to tell our mother (that) 'you know he did not go to school today.'"

(875) komu hidrò nrâ mwâ ru fi pwere kudei
1dlexc say PST that 1dlinc go to Ile des Pins
"We two (not hearer) said "we (you and I) should go to Ile des Pins."

In the above sentence, the subject of *hidrò* "to say" is *komu* "1dlexc" as the speaker is addressing a person who is excluded there, but the subject of the embedded clause is *ru* "1dlinc" as it conveys the direct quotation.

The object clause of *hidrò* can be interrogative, with a higher pitch being put on the embedded verb.

(876) ke hidrò nrâ mwâ nrâ horro nrâ bee
2sg say PST that 3sg hard sm CMPZ

nyôrrô ò
cook pot
"You asked whether the cooking is hard." (lit. You said, 'is the cooking hard?')

The embedded clause for this verb can also be either an imperative or a content question. When it is imperative, the subject of the embedded clause after *mwâ* is omitted. *mwâ* normally is necessary before the embedded interrogative clause, but it can be omitted as in the last example (maybe when there are other elements before the embedded clause).

(877) rri hidrò nrâ mwâ ve mê kafe
3pl say PST that take come coffee
"They said 'bring coffee'."

(878) u fòròò nrâ mwâ hae sonya
1sg ask PST that where Sonya
"I asked where Sonya was."

(879) ke fòròò nrâ mwâ nrâ truu-e nrâ
2sg ask PST that 3sg stay-where sm

erre-nrî
place-3sg
"You asked where his house was."

(880) nrâ fòròò pwere âroa giwe anròi treanrü
3sg ask toward up mountain how many people

rri mee nrifa
3pl dead now
"He asked (while looking) towards the mountain how many people have died now."

It is worth noting that except for those introduced by *bee*, complement clauses cannot be fronted to the sentence initial position, as in:

(881) * mwâ ke wake kaarrò nrâ harru
CMPZ 2sg work tomorrow 3sg good
"That you work tomorrow is good."

(B) Complement clauses introduced by *draa*

draa (or *drae*), meaning "thing" as a noun, is colloquially used as a filler in a discourse. Sometimes, it occurs in a place where *mwâ* would be more appropriate. In the following sentence, *draa* introduces a complement clause which is filling the subject slot:

(882) bee-truu nrâ nrî mwâ ru tê wiri draa
NMZ-stay POSS 3sg M.DIST at with 2pl CMPZ

rri bwê nrâ maamùrru nrâ treanrü
3pl many sm children POSS person
"It was the custom to have lots of children." (lit. It was how it was at your place, that (people's) children were many.)

The *draa* clause is filling the object slot in the following sentences:

(883) rria hidrò nrâ atai draa rri soghe
3pl DEF speak PST Atai that 3pl stab

nrâ korronerrù
PST colonel(Fr)
"They spoke of Atai, that they stabbed the colonel."
(*atai* is also the object of *hidrò*. 'They' in the embedded clause refers to Atai and his subjects.)

(C) Complement clauses introduced by *bee*

In this type of complement clauses, *bee* is directly followed by a verb. The subject (except the first person pronoun) in the complement clause is always marked by *nrâ*, and the first person pronominal subject and the object are optionally marked by it.

When the clause has both subject and object, the object normally comes first, although the inverse word order is still possible.

It is not clear when the object needs to be marked by *nrâ*, but one explanation may be: where the object is almost incorporated in the verbal form it is unmarked; when it is not, it is marked. For example,

bee ta pù "hunting flying foxes"
bee ta nrâ pù "hunting of flying foxes"

The *bee* complement clause can have one or more verbal modifiers as in (884) below, adverbs and/or phrasal modifiers as in (885).

The clause can fill the subject slot as in the following. In this case, the subject marker *nrâ* normally occurs before *bee*.

(884)	nrâ	harru	nrâ	bee	truumwêrrê	nrââ	wake	
	3sg	good	sm	CMPZ	always	want	work	
	nrâ	nrü						
	POSS	2sg						
	"It is good that you always want to work."							

The *bee* clause can also occur in the object slot, as in the following example:

(885)	rri	tramwâ	bee	truufadre	hêêra	nrî	saa
	3pl	know	CMPZ	hold	food	T	one
	drââ	aurru	drââ				
	day	two	day				
	"They know the way to preserve the food for one or two days."						

The *bee* clause can occur as the object of a preposition, such as *nrô* "for" or *ghegi* "since", too.

(886)	ri	fa-sù	ria	widù	nrô	bee
	1plinc	CAUS-light	1plinc DEF	squeeze	for	CMPZ
	verru	sôbwi				
	plait	mat				
	"We dry in the sun, and squeeze (leaves) for plaiting the mat."					

(887)	nrâ	truu	âroa	nrâ	hoowi	ghegi	bee	mùrrù
	3sg	stay	over there	sm	fir	since	CMPZ	small
	nrâ	rò						
	POSS	1sg						
	"The fir tree is over there since I was small."							

The *bee* clause is also often found by itself, as in the following:

(888)	bee	truu	nrâ	wake	nrâ	kevi	ru	tro-erre
	CMPZ	stay	POSS	work	POSS	1plexc	at	tribal place
	"(this is) how our work is at the tribal place."							

(D) Complement clauses introduced by *òò*

òò introduces a complement clause, in a similar way to *bee*. The complement clause has the subject marked by *nrâ* (except when it is the first person singular which is only optionally marked), and may have the object optionally marked by *nrâ*.

The difference between *òò* and *bee* is that *òò* is normally used as a prefix to derive a noun expressing a place and its use as a complementiser is not as common as that of *bee*.

(889) hêrrê dovaiju mêrrê nre mwâ rugi
IMPN kindle pl firewood M.DIST at

òò nrââû nrâ wake
CMPZ start POSS work
"People put fire to the firewood when the work started."

8.3.1.2 Appositional clauses

A nominal clause can occur in apposition to a preceding NP, especially with nouns such as *fodrò* "idea" and *truunrodrò* "thought", or in the constructions that I will discuss below. In the following sentence, the appositional clause is introduced by *nrâ mwâ* (3sg, that).

(890) nrâ ti nrâ [truunrodrò nrâ nrî] [nrâ mwâ
3sg big sm thought POSS 3sg 3sg that

rruei hajo]
3dl FUT marry
"He thinks strongly that they two will marry." (lit. His thought that they two will marry is big.)

A nominal clause often occurs after the NP *ûû-nrî* "the cause of it". The clause is introduced by *nrâ mwâ* and is appositional to the preceding *nrî* (not *ûû-nrî*).

(891) ne nrâ fwi ûû-nrî nrâ mwâ rri
what 3sg make cause-3sg 3sg that 3pl

see nrââ hawi nrorri nrî?
NEG want talk 3pl 3sg
"What is the cause of (it) that they do not want to talk with him?"

(892) drae mwâ ûû-nrî nrâ mwâ komu nrâ
thing that cause-3sg 3sg that 1dlexc IMPF

truu ânrâha
stay here
"This is the cause of (it) that we two are now here."

The nominal phrase *wa drae rra* (DET, thing, DIST) "that thing" is almost always followed by a nominal clause that expresses its semantic content. In this case, the nominal clause immediately follows *wa drae rra*, not being marked by *nrâ mwâ*. *wa drae rra* followed by the appositional clause often occurs after the preposition *ghegi* "because of", forming a causative clause.

(893) nrâ see nraâ hara ghegi wa drae rra
3sg NEG want eat because DET thing that

nrâ vajù
3sg sick
"He does not want to eat because he is sick" (lit. He does not want to eat because of the thing that he is sick.)

(894) nrâ go hidrò nrâ mwâ nrâ harru
3sg then say PST that 3sg good

ghegi wa drae rra u pee nrü
because DET thing DIST 1sg see 2sg
"He then said (that) 'it was good because I saw you.'"

8.3.2 Relative clauses

Relative clauses (RCs) are subordinate clauses that function as modifiers of a noun phrase, and form a complex NP which might act as a subject, object, or oblique in a matrix sentence. The underlying representation of a relative clause normally contains a noun that is coreferential to the head NP. This coreferential noun is a topic of the underlying clause; as observed by Kuno (1987:14), only a constituent that qualifies as the topic of a relative clause can be relativized.[53]

RCs are expressed in two ways in Tinrin. The first type makes use of *a* "attribute marker", which has the same form as a nominaliser to indicate a habitual practitioner or a person with a specific nature or qualification (4.1.1). *a* introduces a participial RC[54], which applies only to subjects. This is discussed in detail in the next section.

RCs in Tinrin can also be linked directly to the NP that they modify, with no specific relative pronoun or marking. Therefore, they are often identical in form with co-ordinated sentences. The next sentence, for example, where the subject of the embedded sentence is relativised,

(895) moo [nrâ mê] nrâ hara nrâ hâvenrîâ
man 3sg come 3sg eat PST all
"The man who came ate all."

can also be interpreted as "The man came, and ate all." They are distinguished only by a slight difference in the intonation, or from the context in which the utterance takes place. When the sentence contains a relative clause, the verb of the matrix sentence has normally higher pitch than that of the embedded clause, whereas in a co-ordinated sentence, the verbs of two clauses have the same high pitch.

In languages such as English, RCs can be either restrictive or non-restrictive in meaning. The restrictive relative clause specifies the entities designated by the modified NP, whereas the non-restrictive relative clause adds extra information to the modified NP. In Tinrin, relative clauses are normally restrictive, since the non-

53 Kuno (1987:15) argues that new, unpredictable, focus information such as "(this) person" in the sentence "this person alone passed the test" cannot be relativised.
54 I consider this a relative clause, following Keenan & Comrie's proposal (1977:4) to consider certain participial constructions (as in German) as relative clauses.

restrictive clausal modifier may usually be expressed in co-ordinated sentences. The following examples illustrate this: (896) contains a relative clause, and (897) is a co-ordinated sentence. Note that in a co-ordinated sentence, the topicalised object leaves a pronominal anaphora behind the verb.

(896)	saa	ri	see	jorri	nrâ	truu	fi	ânrâmwâ
	one	1plinc	NEG	see	3sg	stay	around	there
	"The one whom we did not see lives around there."							
(897)	saa	ri	see	jorri	nrî	nrâ	truu	fi
	one	1plinc	NEG	see	3sg	3sg	stay	around

ânrâmwâ
there
"The one, we did not see him, he lives around there."

The coreferential noun in the embedded sentence is reduced in some way in a relative clause construction. As discussed hereafter, it is either deleted or reduced to a pronoun depending on the relativised position.

Concerning the relativised position in a language, Keenan and Comrie (1977) postulate an accessibility hierarchy,

SU > DO > IO > OBL > GEN > OCOMP

which expresses the relative accessibility to relativisation of NP positions in simplex main clauses.

According to Keenan and Comrie, subjects are most accessible to relativization. I shall start looking at relativized subjects in the following section, then relativized direct objects; next, obliques (I include indirect objects and objects of comparison (OCOMP) here as they are normally marked by a preposition), and finally possessors (GEN) to see how the position relativised is marked in Tinrin.

(A) Subject

There are two RC forming strategies applicable to the NP in the subject position of the embedded sentence. One makes use of *a* "attribute marker" and the other is without it. In what follows, we will examine these constructions.

a, which is a nominaliser to derive a habitual actor or agent NP, can also introduce a participial RC, which applies only to subjects. In fact, these two functions are semantically close, since *a* relates a RC to the head NP which is always in a subject role, that is, an agent, actor or something which has a specific nature with regard to the verb expressed in RC.

a- as a nominaliser, on the other hand, may well be interpreted as a headless RC as we see examples in the following.

a-hô (A-sing) "a singer" [one who sings]

a-ve nrâ drââ (A-bring, POSS, day) "morning star" [one who brings a day]

When *a-* is used as a nominaliser, it generally derives a singular noun. If the derived nouns are dual or plural, they are marked by *truu-* or *mê-*, instead of *a-*, although in most cases plurality is not expressed explicitly. When *a* is used as a RC introducer, it seems to cover all the numbers. (It seems possible to use *truu* or *mê* when the duality or plurality of head NP is obvious; however, I think this use is marginal.)

Forms derived by prefixing *a-* are distinguished as nouns (not as headless RCs), as they keep distinction of numbers and are also lexically restricted (cf.4.1.1.B). I consider as RCs only those constructions which have head NPs. Examine following examples:

(898) mêrrê nroorre [a harru]
pl place AT good
"good places (places which are good.)"

(899) treanrü [a tramwâ (nrâ) nrî]
person AT know (O) 3sg
"the person who knows him"

(900) dragarra [a nri (nrâ) vewò-treanrü]
doctor AT pull (O) tooth-people
"dentist (doctors who pull out people's teeth)"

(901) treanrü [a truumwêrrê wake vehorro]
people AT always work hard
"people who always work hard"

(902) saa bee-mwage [a horro]
one NMZ-play AT hard
"a game which is hard"

(903) tuu-nrâ-peci [a ti pwâri] [a pugôrrô]
pencil AT big very AT black
"very big, black pencil (pencil which is very big, which is black)"

The verb in the participial RC is not preceded by a subject pronoun, but is related to the head NP (which is the nominal subject) by the use of *a*. It can take an object, which is optionally marked by *nrâ* (as in a complement clause introduced by *bee* or *òò*), as in (899) and (900) above, and verbal modifiers or adverbs as in (901) (*tuumwêrrê* "always") and in (903) (*pwâri* "very"). TA markers cannot occur in this construction. Example (903) illustrates that more than two participial RCs can occur in a sentence. The word order between them seems to be free. If they are accompanied by an adverb, as in this example, the adverb is always placed immediately after the word it modifies.

As the participial RC is restricting the head NP, it does not occur with pronouns nor proper names.

(904) * ke [a taa]
2sg AT bad
"you who are bad"

(905) * toni [a nyôrrô meò]
Tony AT cook chicken
"Tony who is cooking chicken" (except the case when there are several Tonys.)

Now, we shall look at another RC forming strategy which applies not only to the subject but other positions in the accessibility hierarchy.

RCs are linked directly to the head NP, without any intervening particle. When the NP in subject position of the embedded sentence is relativised, it is reduced to zero. It is possible that the subject is reduced to a pronoun, as the clause always contains a subject pronoun which is a part of the predicate. However, I distinguish this from pronominalisation because the subject pronoun is always there and the relativised subject does not create any new pronominal anaphora.

The following sentence illustrates the relativised subject. It is derived from (906b) as a matrix sentence and (906c) as a constituent sentence.

(906a)	nrâ	ta	traiki	nrâ	moo	[nrâ	fi	
	3sg	hit	dog	sm	man	3sg	go	
	ghe	mê	giwe]					
	from	to here	mountain					
	"The man who came from the mountain hit the dog."							
(906b)	nrâ	ta	traiki	nrâ	moo			
	3sg	hit	dog	sm	man			
	"The man hit the dog."							
(906c)	nrâ	fi	ghe	mê	giwe	nrâ	moo	
	3sg	go	from	to here	mountain	sm	man	
	"The man came from the mountain."							

In the above examples, the subject of the constituent sentence is coreferential with the subject of the matrix sentence. The coreferential NP, *moo*, is deleted from the constituent sentence, which still has a pronominal subject. The nominal subject in (906a) restricted by RC can also be fronted to the sentence initial position, as follows:

(906d)	moo	[nrâ	fi	ghe	mê	giwe]	nrâ	ta	traiki
	man	3sg	go	from	to here	mountain	3sg	hit	dog
	"The man who came from the mountain hit the dog."								

Sentences (906a) and (906d) are almost indistinguishable from co-ordinated sentences as I referred earlier. Example (906a) may mean "The man hit the dog, he came from the mountain," and (906d) may mean "The man came from the mountain, he hit the dog." Apart from the intonation, another way to distinguish the relative clause is the tendency to put a demonstrative (*rra* is the commonest) after the head NP and a determiner before it, when it is a relative clause. The following example illustrates this:

(907)	nrâ	ta	traiki	nrâ	wa	moo	rra	[nrâ	fi
	3sg	hit	dog	sm	DET	man	DIST	3sg	go
	ghe	mê	giwe]						
	from	to here	mountain						
	"That man who came from the mountain hit the dog."								

Further examples are:

(908) wara rra [nrâ fi] nrâ jurro dodrae
one DIST 3sg go 3sg wear rag
"The one who goes (out) put on clothes."

(909) nrâ fwi nrâ mêrrê rra [rri tramwâ veharru]
3sg exist sm pl DIST 3pl know well
"There are those people who know well."

There is a construction where *nrî* occurs between head NP and the relative clause. This relative clause preceded by *nrî* has an identical form to the adverbial clause introduced by the conjunction *nrî* "when, as, if". In a sentence such as the following, the *nrî* clause is semantically better interpreted as a relative clause.

(910) va see re mê bwò rra [nrî rri
IMPN NEG ASS pl crab DIST (as) 3pl

sâse rri nrîmwâmwâ]
change(Fr) 3pl now
"These are not the crabs which change their shells now."

(B) Direct object

When the direct object of the embedded clause is relativised, it is reduced to zero. The following sentence is derived from (864b) as matrix sentence and (864c) as constituent sentence:

(911a) wa mwîê rra [nrâ sùveharru nrâ toni]
DET woman DIST 3sg like sm Tony

nrâ truu numea
3sg stay Noumea
"The woman Tony likes lives in Noumea."

(911b) wa mwîe rra nrâ truu numea
DET woman DIST 3sg stay Noumea
"The woman lives in Noumea."

(911c) nrâ sùveharru wa mwîê rra nrâ toni
3sg like DET woman DIST sm Tony
"Tony likes the woman."

The coreferential NP (which is the object) in example (911c) is simply deleted in the relative clause in example (911a). Similarly, the following sentence (912a) is derived from (912b) as matrix and (912c) as constituent sentence:

(912a) nrâ nyôrrô mêrrê dru rra [nrâ obwi] nrâ
3sg cook pl leaf DIST 3sg pick sm

sonya
Sonya
"Sonya cooked the leaves she/he picked up."

(912b) nrâ nyôrrô mêrrê dru rra nrâ sonya
3sg cook pl leaf DIST sm Sonya
"Sonya cooked the leaves."

(912c) nrâ obwi mêrrê dru
3sg pick pl leaf
"She/he picked up the leaves."

Whether *sonya* in (912a) is the subject of the matrix sentence, or the subject of the constituent sentence, is only distinguished by the intonation and the pause before *sonya*. When *sonya* is the subject of the embedded sentence, it will be pronounced without any pause before it. If it is the subject of the matrix sentence, the pause between *obwi* and *sonya* is observable.

As happens when the subject is relativised, *nrî* occasionally also occurs before the relative clause when the object is relativised. It again has the same form as the adverbial clause since the object in the subordinate clause is not deleted (unlike in a relative clause). The following sentence shows that though it has the form of the adverbial clause, it is semantically closer to a relative clause.

(913)	wa	drae	rra	nrî	wiri	trôdrô	nrî
	DET	one	DIST	(as)	2pl	find	3sg

anrîmwâ
the other time
"(He is) the one whom you met the other time."

(C) Obliques

When the oblique position is relativized, the coreferential NP in the embedded sentence is reduced either to zero or to a pronoun depending on the position.

The coreferential NP in the relative clause is reduced to zero when it is the object of prepositions such as *nrî* "with, by", *fadre* "together with", *gi* "on, about", *ghegi* "because, since" 55. It is also reduced to zero when it is a NP directly following a comitative pronoun or a relative location /time noun.

The prepositions related in this group seem to mark NPs as either comitative, instrumental, causal, referential or temporal. Comparing these to the group of prepositions I discuss later, these prepositions which occur in this type of construction are obviously less bound to their object NPs, i.e. they can stand by themselves. The same thing can be said of the relative location nouns and the comitative pronouns in their relation to deleted NPs.

The following sentence is derived from (914b) as matrix and (914c) as constituent sentence. The preposition *nrî* which lost its object NP is normally forwarded to the position just after the verb. It is possibly forwarded because its object is detached and placed far ahead as the head NP.

(914a)	nrâ	nrorri	ei	rò	wa	sarra	rra	[nrâ	jurru
	3sg	give	to	1sg	DET	knife	DIST	3sg	cut

nrî	nrâ	farrawa]
INST	PST	bread

"He gave me the knife with which he cut the bread."

55 Semantically the prepositions of this group roughly correspond to the POC verb suffix /preposition **-aki(ni)*. Those of the other group correspond to POC **-i* (cf. Pawley 1973; Pawley & Reid 1980)

(914b) nrâ nrorri ei rò wa sarra rra
3sg give to 1sg DET knife DIST
"He gave me the knife."

(914c) nrâ jùrrù nrâ farrawa nrî wa sarra rra
3sg cut PST bread INST DET knife DIST
"He cut the bread with the knife."

Similarly, the following sentence is derived from (915b) as matrix sentence and (915c) as constituent sentence:

(915a) wa sôbwi mwâ [gogo nrâ juo drô][56]
DET mat M.DIST Gogo 3sg sit on

nrâ harru
3sg good
"That mat on which Gogo sat is good."

(915b) wa sôbwi mwâ nrâ harru
DET mat M.DIST 3sg good
"That mat is good."

(915c) gogo nrâ juo drô- wa sôbwi mwâ
Gogo 3sg sit on DET mat M.DIST
"Gogo sat on that mat."

The following sentence containing a comitative pronoun in the relative clause is derived from (916b) as a matrix and (916c) as a constituent sentence.

(916a) moo mwâ [toni nrâ nrâ hawi nrorru]
man M.DIST Tony 3sg PROG talk 3dl

nrâ audrê-nrî
3sg father-3sg
"That man with whom Tony is talking is his father."

(916b) moo mwâ nrâ audrê-nrî
man M.DIST 3sg father-3sg
"That man is his father."

(916c) toni nrâ nrâ hawi nrorru moo mwâ
Tony 3sg PROG talk 3dl man M.DIST
"Tony is talking with that man."

Further examples are:

(917) ka pee wa drae mwâ [komu nrâ
2sg PERF see DET thing M.DIST 1dlexc PROG

wake gi vara-ha]
work about like this
"You have seen the thing about which we two are working like this."

(918) nrâ mê nrî fwi wa peci mwâ [nrâ
3sg come PURP do DET paper M.DIST 3sg

nrâ fadrò fadre]
IMPF walk with
"She came to write the paper with which she is walking (around)."

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56 A relative location noun is normally bound to a NP (as in 915c). It can be separated from the NP only exceptionally, as in this construction.

(919) nrâ see hòve nââ drââ rra [nrâ truu
3sg NEG cold piece day M.DIST 3sg stay

kurri nrâ sonya]
Couli sm Sonya
"It was not cold in those days when Sonya stayed in Couli."

(920) drââ [nrâ idri nrâ nrî] nrâ trât suije
day 3sg born sm 3sg 3sg 30 July(Fr)
"The day when he was born is 30 July."

When the head noun is a time noun, *drae* "that" can sometimes occur between the head noun and the embedded clause.

(921) nrâ tròa ru saa nââ nroorre drae
3sg arrive at one piece time that

nrâ trarrî hêrrê-ô-nrî
3sg lack content-head-3sg
"He (demon) appears at the moment when he (tourist) is lost."

The coreferential NP in the embedded sentence is reduced to a pronoun when it is the object of prepositions such as *ruu* "at, in", *ei* "dative", *ghe* "from", *ra* "from" or location nouns. The object of comparison may not normally be relativised, but if it may, it is reduced to a pronoun, marked by preposition *ra* "from, than". This group of prepositions generally mark location, goal or origin. When the location noun is the head NP, the relative clause indicates "where...". The following sentence is derived from (922b) as matrix and (922c) as constituent sentence:

(922a) wiri tramwâ nroorre [hêrrê ta bwò ruu nrî]
2pl know place IMPN hit crab at 3sg
"You know the place where people catch crabs."

(922b) wiri tramwâ nroorre
2pl know place
"You know the place."

(922c) hêrrê ta bwò ruu nroorre
IMPN hit crab at place
"People catch crabs at the place."

Similarly,

(923a) rri re tramwâ wa nroorre rra [nrâ truu
3pl ASS know DET place DIST 3sg stay

nrî nrâ bwò]
there sm crab
"They surely know the place where the crab lives."

(923b) rri re tramwâ wa nroorre rra
3pl ASS know DET place DIST
"They surely know the place."

(923c) nrâ truu wa nroore rra nrâ bwò
3sg stay DET place DIST sm crab
"The crab lives in the place."

Further examples are:

(924) wa mwîê rra [toni nrâ nrorri nrâ wage
DET woman DIST Tony 3sg give PST flower

ei nrî] nrâ droa
to 3sg 3sg young
"The woman to whom Tony gave flowers is young."

(925) nrâ fi ghe gi wa fò-mwâmwâ
3sg go from at DET clan

[wiri sirùa ghe nrî]
2pl go out from 3sg
"She comes from the clan from which you are descended."

(D) Possessors

When the coreferential NP is the possessor in a NP of the embedded sentence it is reduced to a pronoun.

The following sentence is derived from (926b) as matrix and (926c) as constituent sentence:

(926a) mêrrê rra [nrâ trarrî dòwò-rri] rri see fi
pl DIST 3sg lack rag-3pl 3pl NEG go
"Those people who do not have clothes do not go." (lit. Those, it lacks their clothes, they do not go.)

(926b) mêrrê rra rri see fi
pl DIST 3pl NEG go
"Those people do not go."

(926c) nrâ trarrî dòwò-mêrrê rra
3sg lack rag-many people DIST
" Those people do not have clothes." (lit. It lacks those people's clothes.)

Similarly, the following sentence is derived from (927b) as matrix and (927c) as constituent sentence:

(927a) âri drae [afiraa-nrî nrâ nrâ verru]
Henri thing wife-3sg 3sg IMPF plait
"Henri is the one whose wife is plaiting."

(927b) âri drae
Henri thing
"Henri is the one (thing)."

(927c) afiraa-âri nrâ nrâ verru
wife-Henri 3sg IMPF plait
"Henri's wife is plaiting."

In the above sentences the possessed NPs are bound nouns. The possessed NP can also be a free form noun, as illustrated in the following sentence. It is followed by the matrix and constituent sentences.

(928a) wa moo rra [nrâ nrêdrêrrê nrâ pâtarrô
DET man DIST 3sg yellow sm trousers(Fr)

nrâ nrî] nrâ mê
POSS 3sg 3sg come
"The man whose trousers were yellow came."

(928b) wa moo rra nrâ mê
DET man DIST 3sg come
"The man came."

(928c) nrâ nrêdrêrrê nrâ pâtarrô nrâ wa moo
3sg yellow sm trousers(Fr) POSS DET man

rra
DIST
"That man's trousers are yellow."

There is another type of relative clause, where the head noun has in fact no direct syntactic relation to the embedded sentence. Instead, the head noun is related to the embedded clause semantically or thematically.[57] Note that in 8.1.3.E we discussed sentences having a topic word which is related only thematically to the rest of the sentence, and not fronted from within the sentence. This kind of topic word may be relativized, as in the following sentence:

(929a) maamùrrù nrîfa rri see tramwâ wara mwâ
children now 3pl NEG know thing M.DIST

[ri see kare hwa]
1plinc NEG run EMPH
"Children of today do not know that thing (a way of killing flying foxes) (in) which we do not run."

The above sentence is derived from (929b) as a matrix sentence and (929c) as a constituent sentence. Note that (929c) is identical with (814) in 8.1.3.E.

(929b) maamùrrù nrîfa rri see tramwâ wara mwâ
children now 3pl NEG know thing M.DIST
"Children of today do not know that thing (a specific way of killing flying foxes)."

(929c) wara mwâ ri see kare hwa
thing M.DIST 1plinc NEG run EMPH
"That thing (a way of killing flying foxes), we do not run."

Consider also the following sentence:

(930a) wa moo rra [nrâ trarrî nrü tau mwâ
DET man DIST 3sg lack 2sg often when

nrâ re troa] nrâ fi wai
3sg ASS arrive 3sg go already
"That man (you were always not here when he came) has gone away."

The following sentences are the matrix (930b) and constituent (930c) sentences of the above sentence:

(930b) wa moo rra nrâ fi wai
DET man DIST 3sg go already
"That man has already gone away."

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[57] Kuno (1975:420) argued that "a relative clause must be a statement about its head noun", and suspected the hierarchy for relativization proposed by Keenan & Comrie to be in fact a hierarchy for accessibility to thematic interpretation of NPs. This type of relative clause is often seen in languages such as Japanese and Burmese.

(930c)

wa	moo	rra	nrâ	trarrî	nrü	tau	mwâ
DET	man	DIST	3sg	lack	2sg	often	when

nrâ	re	troa
3sg	ASS	arrive

"(Speaking of) that man, you were always not here when he came."

In summary, we can observe the following RC-forming strategies applying to the accessibility hierarchy:

Table 8.3: **RC-forming Strategies and Relativisable Positions**

RC forming strategy	Relativisable position				
	SU	DO	OBL1	OBL2	GEN
a	+	–	–	–	–
zero	+	+	+	–	–
pronoun	–	–	–	+	+

OBL1: NP marked by comitative, instrumental, referential, causal prepositions; NP directly following a comitative pronoun or a relative location noun; time noun

OBL2: NP marked by prepositions of locative, goal, origin; location nouns

+ : the strategy generally applies to that NP position.
- : it does not.

Generally, languages which make use of pronouns to designate the relativised position can relativise more freely any position of the sentence, than languages which only gap the relativised NP.

The correspondence between the accessibility hierarchy of the relativised position and the RC-forming strategy seems to reflect this. We see in the above table that only the subject position, which has the highest accessibility in the hierarchy, can be relativised by the strategy *a*. Subject and direct object positions relativised are marked by zero, whereas the possessor position which has less accessibility is marked by a pronoun. Obliques are split into two groups -presumably the ones marked by zero having a higher accessibility for relativisation, and the ones marked by a pronoun having less. Keenan and Comrie's hierarchy constraints define that "any RC-forming strategy must apply to a continuous segment of the AH (it cannot skip positions)"(1977:7) which would also place the two groups of obliques as in the above, and give the cut-off point of a zero strategy at the OBL1.

8.3.3 Adverbial clauses

Sometimes, the embedded clauses function as adverbial to the matrix sentence. The adverbial clauses are introduced by one of the following subordinating conjunctions: *nrî*,"when, if, where, *pa* "in case, lest", (*nrô bee*) *tra* "in order that, if" or phrases *nrâ fwi (ûû-nrî) nrâ* "because" and *ghegi wa drae rra* "because".

(A) nrî "when, if, where"

This is the commonest subordinating conjunction, which introduces a temporal, locative or conditional clause. It can optionally be preceded by *mwâ* which does not seem to change its meaning.

(931) kei nrî fi nrî merrejo (mwâ) nrî ke
2sg FUT EVENT go PURP sleep (and) when 2sg

warri
tired
"You'll go to bed, when you are tired."

(932) ri ta bwò ruu mwâ nrî nrâ sôrrê
1plinc hit crab at hut when 3sg low tide
"We catch crabs in their place when it is low tide."

A *nrî* clause is often fronted to sentence-initially.

(933) nrî u mùrrù u truumwêrrê sùveharru nrî
when 1sg small 1sg always like 3sg
"When I was small, I always liked it /him."

(934) mââde nrî nrâ trarrî hêrrê-kari
before when 3sg lack meat

ri see ho hêrrê-kari
1plinc NEG eat meat
"Before, when there was no meat, we did not eat it."

(935) nrî kei ve peci-rò nrîî harru gi nrü
if 2sg FUT take paper-1sg 3sg FUT good with 2sg
"If you receive my letter, you will be glad."(lit. If you receive my letter, it will be good for you.)

A *nrî* clause can imply contrafactual together with *nrâ* "past", as I discussed in (7.5).

(936) nrî wei wake nrâ âwù nrâ fwi nrâ
if 1sg FUT work PST yesterday 3sg exist sm

mêrrê u nrîfa
pl yam now
"If I had worked yesterday, there would have been many yams now."

(B) pa "in case, for fear that, lest"

This conjunction implies the negative subjunctive, or caveat. The embedded clause normally has a future tense marker.

(937) u barri traiki pa nrîî eghe rò
1sg afraid dog lest 3sg FUT bite 1sg
"I am afraid of the dog lest it should bite me."

(938) savaa pa rri nrî ho nrî nrâ
defend lest 3pl EVENT eat 3sg sm

mêrrê mwâ
pl M.DIST
"Pay attention lest others eat it."

pa can also be followed by *nrâ* and a NP, meaning "in the fear of". It is difficult to define *nrâ* as a possessive preposition "of", as *pa* is not a noun in any case. Accordingly, I will consider this *nrâ* as the third person pronoun forming a clause such as "lest it be NP."

(939) tabòrò sôbwi pa nrâ wie
collect mat lest 3sg rain
"Collect the mat lest it should rain."

(940) u sirù nrùwù mwâ pa nrâ traiki
1sg enter inside house lest 3sg dog
"I entered in the house for fear of the dog."

(C) (nrô bee) tra purposive, conditional, "in order that"

tra introduces a purposive or conditional clause when used by itself, but it can also be preceded by *nrô bee* (purposive, complementiser) in which case the meaning is restricted to the purposive.

(941) nrâ maija hara tra nrîî ti
3sg much eat PURP 3sg FUT big
"He eats a lot in order that he will grow."

(942) truu warra tra wei trôdrô saa drae
stay yet PURP 1sg FUT find one thing
"Wait a while as I will find something."

(943) ria fwi wa drorro mwâ nrô bee tra
1pl PERF make DEF big hut for CMPZ PURP

treanrü rri fi nrî merrejo ruu nrî
people 3pl go PURP sleep at there
"We have made a big hut in order that people go to sleep there."

A *tra* clause can be fronted as in the folowing sentence. It has the conditional meaning here.

(944) tra nrîî a go re pwùrrù nrâ pwùrrù
if 3sg FUT DEF then ASS lost 3sg lost

nrâ ru ânrâha tê ri
OBLG at here at 1plinc
"If it (culture) will be lost (some day), it will be lost here with us."

(D) mwâ "as, when, although"

wâ is used as a co-ordinating conjunction as I discussed earlier (8.2.2). However, in some context it can introduce a subordinating clause. The following sentences illustrate this:

(945)

nrî-sêêdre	varaha	mwâ	ri	fi	nrî	merro
at evening	like this	when	1pl	go	PURP	lie

nrâ	see	meghi
3sg	NEG	hot

"In the evening like this, when we go to sleep, it is not hot".

(946)

nrâ	truumwêrrê	wake	nrâ	ubò	mwâ	nrâ	see
3sg	always	work	sm	Ubo	though	3sg	NEG

horro
strong
"Ubo always work, though he is not strong."

(E) nrâ fwi (ûû-nrî) nrâ causal, "because (of)"

nrâ fwi nrâ A literally means "it exists A" or "A does/makes." When this is embedded in a sentence, it marks causal "because of A".

(947)

ri	see	fi	pwere	numea	nrâ	fwi	nrâ	wie
1plinc	NEG	go	to	Noumea	3sg	exist	sm	rain

"We did not go to Noumea because of the rain."

(948)

nrâ	see	drù	bee	nyôrrô	ri	nrâ	fwi	nrâ
3sg	NEG	suffice	CMPZ	cook	1plinc	3sg	exist	sm

wa	drae	rra	nrâ	trârrî	arròò
DET	thing	DIST	3sg	lack	water

"We cannot cook because there is no water." (lit. It does not suffice us to cook, because of the thing that it lacks water.)"

nrâ fwi ûû-nrî nrâ A literally means " A made the cause." When it is subordinated in a sentence, it marks causal as *nrâ fwi nrâ*. *A* is in fact the semantic subject of *fwi* "to make", marked by subject marker *nrâ*, and has to be distinguished from the construction that I discussed earlier which has a complement clause after *ûû-nrî* (8.3.1.2).

(949)

u	vajù	nrâ	fwi	ûû-nrî	nrâ	nrü
1sg	sick	3sg	make	cause-3sg	sm	2sg

"I am sick because you made the cause (You made me sick)."

(F) ghegi wa drae rra causal, "because"

When *ghegi* "from, since" is followed by *wa drae rra* (DET, thing, DIST), it introduces a causal clause. While *nrâ fwi nrâ* acquires its causal meaning from something's "existence" being the cause, *ghegi wa drae rra* implies the origin or the event which caused something.

(950)

nrâ	see	harru	gi	nrî	ghegi	wa	drae	rra
3sg	NEG	good	to	3sg	from	DET	thing	DIST

nrâ	fi	wai	nrâ	pupe
3sg	go	already	sm	Poupée

"He is unhappy because Poupée has gone away."

It can be fronted as other adverbial clauses as in:

(951)

ghegi	wa	drae	rra	nrâ	vajù	nrâ	audrê-nrî
from	DET	thing	DIST	3sg	die	sm	mother-3sg

nrâ	nrâ	drarrî
3sg	PROG	cry

"Because his mother died, he is crying."

8.4 Emphatic Constructions

One often employs the following constructions, putting a focus on some word or phrase.

(NP) (wa) drae mwâ S

(*wa*) *drae mwâ* "that thing, that one" is always followed by a complement clause. The NP in the first slot is optional. Occasionally *wa* can be dropped. This is interpreted as "it is NP that (clause)", or when there is no preceding NP, "it is like this / (it is) how it is that (clause)".

(952)

toni	wa	drae	mwâ	nrâ	nrââ	wake
Tony	DET	thing	M.DIST	3sg	DES	work

ru	tê	nrî
L	at	3sg

"It is Tony who want to work at his place."

(953)

drae	mwâ	ri	re	wake	kare
thing	M.DIST	1plinc	ASS	always	run

nrîpwù	atruuwi
at night	entire

"It is how it is that we should run all night."

(954)

saa	wake	ati	wa	drae	mwâ	bee	ta
one	work	big	DET	thing	M.DIST	CMPZ	catch

nrâ	bwò
POSS	crab

"It is a big job catching crabs."

mwairrù can occur instead of *mwâ* to refer to things which took place in the near past.

(955)

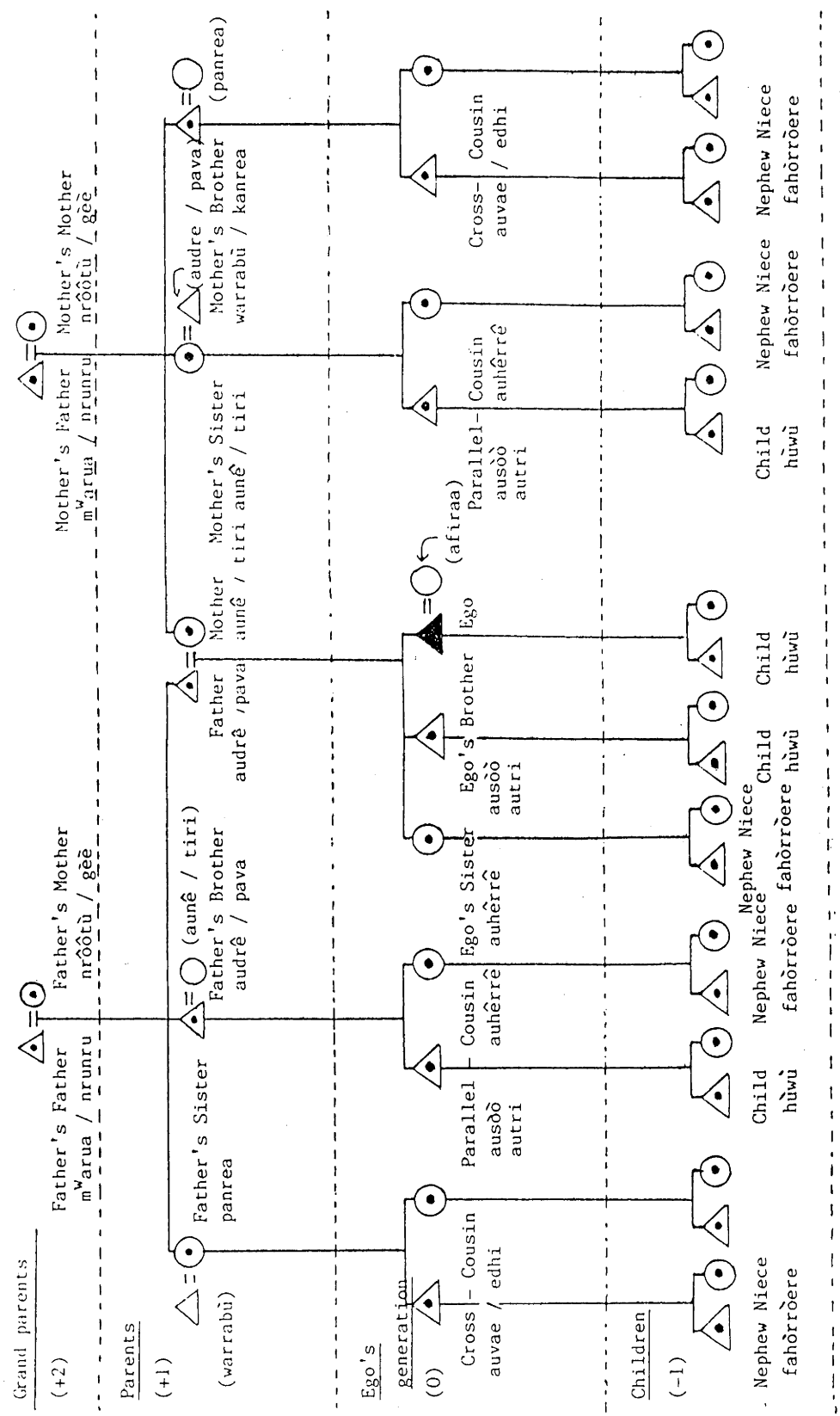
wa	drae	mwairrù	ri	hidrò	nrâ	mwâ	ri
DET	thing	a while ago	1plinc	say	PST	that	1plinc

fi	nrî	sii
go	PURP	hunt

"This is the thing we said (before) that we went to hunt (flying foxes)."

APPENDIX A

BASIC KINSHIP TERMS



APPENDIX B

ILLUSTRATIVE TEXT

1. Iace: story about a demon living in a forest (told by Eïbo)

(1)

wa	iace	mwâ	wa	drae	rra	nrî	rri
DET	demon	M.DIST	DET	thing	DIST	if	3pl

firù	mêrrê	nroorre	rra	nrî-hòrrò	nrî-òwò-nrî
pass	pl	place	DIST	L-sacred	L-habitation-3sg

nroorre	nrâ	nrî
place	POSS	3sg

"It is this demon (whom they see) if they pass those places, the sacred place, his dwelling place, his place (to live)."

(2)

va	go	nrî	hêrrê	hidrò	nrâ	mwâ	ri
IMPN	then	when	IMPN	say	PST	that	1plinc

see	firù	nrî	nrî	ri	pase	ru	nrî
NEG	pass	there	if	1plinc	pass (Fr)	at	there

ri	re	fi	bee-truu	nrâ	nrî	mwâ
1plinc	ASS	go	NMZ-stay	POSS	3sg	M.DIST

"Then, when people say that we do not pass there; if we (should) pass there, we should go that way."

(3)

ria	go	fwi	wa	drae	mwâ	ri
1plinc DEF	then	do	DET	thing	M.DIST	1plinc

see	fòròò	iifade
NEG	ask	road

"We then do (it) in such a way that we never ask the way."

(4)

ri	see	ha-vai	ri	ri	see	fwi
1plinc	NEG	call-after	1plinc	1plinc	NEG	do

parrù	ne
also	what

"We never call each other; what else do we never do?"

(5)

ri	see	fôwi-vai	ri	egi	wa	drae
1plinc	NEG	whistle-after	1plinc	because	DET	thing

rra	nrî	nrîî	nrî	hajù	hwa
DIST	if	3sg FUT	EVENT	answer	EMPH

gu-ha	nrâ	ri	ghe	mê	tre	nroorre
sound-speak	POSS	1plinc	from	L	another	place

nrâ	go	re	ve	ri	fi	vara-ha
3sg	then	ASS	take	1plinc	go	like this

"We do not whistle to each other, because if he (the demon) answers us (our voice) from the other side, then it will surely take us away like this."

(6)

ri	re	fi	hubo	fi	pwere	nrî	mwâ	nrâ	re
1plinc	ASS	go	after	go	to	3sg	but	3sg	HAB

ha	fi	vara-mwâ
call	go	like that

"We surely follow him, but he always calls again like that."

(7)

ri	ha	ru	nrî	mwâ	nrî	nrâ	wo	treu
1plinc	call	at	there	but	3sg	3sg	again	again

ha	ru	wa	hire	nroorre	hava
call	at	DET	piece	place	down there

"We call there, but he, he calls from down there (the other side)."

(8)

ri	(w)o	treu	ha	âva	mwâ	nrî	nrâ	o
1plinc	again	again	call	there	but	3sg	3sg	again

treu	ha	mwagi	âjo
again	call	again	down there

"We again call down there, but he, he again calls back from further down."

(9)

nrâ	go	fa-pwùrrù	ri	parrù	pwere	nroorre
3sg	then	CAUS-be lost	1plinc	also	several	place

dra	nrâ	truu	nrî	mwâ	ria	go	truu
thing	3sg	stay	there	and	1plinc DEF	then	stay

fi	nrî	saa	nrînawâ-hòrrò
go	while	one	week

"He then leads us astray at several places where he lives, and we then stay on (in the same place) during a week."

(10)

mwâ	ri	re	pirri-vai	nrî	wa	treanrü
then	1plinc	ASS	look for	3sg	DET	person

mwairrù	mwâ	nrâ	re	truu	rra	fi	ânrâha
a while ago	and	3sg	ASS	stay	there	L	here

padrêrrê-ri
beside-1plinc

"Then, we keep looking for him, that person (who called before), and he surely is there, around here, near us."

(11)

mwâ	see	ri	re	jori	nrî	nrî	nrâ	re
but	NEG	1plinc	ASS	see	3sg	3sg	3sg	ASS

nrâjuâ	nrî
hide	3sg

"But we cannot see him; he must be hiding himself."

(12)

wa	haù	mwâ	kavùrù	mwâ
DET	demon	M.DIST	kavuru	M.DIST

"This demon is the kavuru (a kind of demon)."

(13)

pee	nrâ	fwi	fi	parrù	ru	ârijù	trùjù
look	3sg	do	go	also	at	down there	sea

nrî	ri	fi	nrî	haa
when	1plinc	go	PURP	fish

"You see, he does the same thing down there on the coast, when we go fishing."

(14)

ri	nrî	tròa	ru	pwerre	nroorre	nrî-tò
1plinc	EVENT	arrive	at	several	place	L-bush

mwâ	nrâ	re	see	tò	nrâ	mêrrê	nroorre
but	3sg	ASS	NEG	impassable	sm	pl	place

ha
PROX

"We may arrive at several impassable places, but these places are (in fact) not impassable."

(15)

mwâ	nrâ	re	mwârrâ	hwa	mwâ	hwai	hari
but	3sg	ASS	clear	EMPH	but	perhaps	1plinc

hwa	ô-ri	nrâ	pwùrrù	wai
EMPH	head-1plinc	3sg	be lost	already

"But it is in fact a clear place, but perhaps we,- our head- are already lost."

(16)

nrâ	pwùrrù	wai	hwa	nrâ	ô-ri
3sg	be lost	already	EMPH	sm	head-1plinc

"Our head is already lost."

(17)

ria	nrôdrò	hi	nrâ	mwâ	nrâ	see
1plinc DEF	think	wonder	PST	that	3sg	NEG

drù	bee	pase	ru	mêrrê	nroorre	mwâ
enough	CMPZ	pass (Fr)	at	pl	place	M.DIST

"We think that maybe it is not possible to pass those places."

(18)

mwâ	nrâ	re	drù	bee	pase	ru	nrî
but	3sg	ASS	enough	CMPZ	pass (Fr)	at	there

"But it is possible to pass there."

(19)

pee	wa	treanrü	rra	nrâ	pwùrrù	ânrârra
look	DET	person	DIST	3sg	be lost	there

ôbwa	rria	trôdrô	nrî	âro	mê	rrafònrî
Obwa	3pl DEF	find	3sg	there	L	Lafoni

"See that person who was lost there in Obwa, they found him down there, at Lafoni."

(20)

nrâ	see	tramwâ	nrâ	mwâ	nrâ	fi
3sg	NEG	know	PST	that	3sg	go

ghe	ru	nrî
from	at	there

"He did not know how he came up from there."

(21)

saa	treanrü	ghe	hêrrêjù	va	anrî	mwâ
one	person	from	Canala	IMPN	then	M.DIST

wai	mê	nrâ
already	toward	PST

"A person from Canala, this was the other time (it happened to him)."

(22)

va	go	erre-nrî	tau	nrâ	âva
IMPN	then	place-3sg	before	PST	down there

ôbwa	mwâ	nrâ	see	re	truu	arù	hwa
Obwa	but	3sg	NEG	ASS	stay	same	EMPH

ghai	hwa	moo	haù	rra
with	EMPH	DET	demon	DIST

"Then, the demon's place, before, in (there) Obwa, that demon was not the same (as others)."

(23)

moo	haù	rra	haù	mwîê	rra	haù	a
DET	demon	DIST	demon	female	DIST	demon	AT

sovasi	ghe	fi	ânrâha
wild (Fr)	from	L	here

"That demon is the female demon, wild demon from here."

(24)

ri	re	ubwê	fisù	hari	nrî	fi	ru	âjo
1plinc	HAB	many times	meet	1plinc	3sg	L	at	there

nroorre	mwâjo	fi	winrò	fònrî
place	down there	L	along	river

"We often meet her there, the place down there, along the river."

(25)

ria	nrî	fwirri	mwâ	nrîî	nrî	drarri
1plinc DEF	EVENT	hear	that	3sg FUT	EVENT	cry

"We will hear her crying."

(26)

ri	see	tramwâ	nrâ	mwâ	hi	va	re
1plinc	NEG	know	that	that	wonder	IMPN	ASS

tro	haù	mêrrê	drae	mwâ
real	demon	pl	thing	M.DIST

"We do now know if they are really demons, those one."

(27)

hari	hwa	drae	nrâ	tròa	ru	saa	nââ
1plinc	EMPH	eh	3sg	arrive	at	one	piece

nroorre	drae	nrâ	trarrî	hêrrê-ô-ri
moment	that	3sg	lack	content-head-1plinc

"(To) us), he/she arrives at the moment when there is nothing in our head."

2. Old custom (told by Eïbo and Eugenie)

(1)

nrâ	see	arù	ghai	nrîfa	ghegi	wa	drae
3sg	NEG	same	with	now	because	DET	thing

rra	mââde	tau	nrâ	rri	bwê	nrâ	maamùrrù
DIST	before	before	PST	3pl	many	sm	children

"It is not the same as now, because before, there were many children."

(2)

mââde	nrâ	pee	hari	nrî	ri	maamùrrù
before	PST	see	1plinc	when	1plinc	children

mwâ	ri	see	hara	drae	bwê	bee	truu
M.DIST	1plinc	NEG	eat	thing	a lot	CMPZ	stay

nrâ	nrî	maamùrrù	nrîfa
POSS	3sg	children	now

"Before, you see, we, when we were children, we did not eat a lot as do children in these days."

(3)

saa	nrîî	nrî	sirùa	nrî	fi	pwere	drae
one	3sg FUT	EVENT	go out	PURP	go	with	eh

truu-bêêrri	pwere	virrasù	mêrrê	mwâ	rri
dl-old	to	village (Fr)	pl	M.DIST	3pl

truu	ghegi	wa	drae	rra	nrâ	trarrî
stay	because	DET	thing	DIST	3sg	lack

dòwò-rri	dodrae
clothes-3pl	rags

"One may go out with the parents to the village; the others stay behind because there are no clothes for them."

(4)

ri	e	farrawa	tro	saa	hire	fadre	farrawa
1plinc	eat	bread	just	one	piece	slice	bread

bee-truu	nrâ	nrî	faa-ti	nrâ	nrî
NMZ-stay	POSS	3sg	length	POSS	3sg

"We ate bread, just one bit of a slice of bread, like this, this length."

(5)

rri	truumwêrrê	mirri	nrâ	maamùrrù
3pl	always	hungry	sm	children

"Children were always hungry."

(6)

rri	see	maija	arrimêrrê	parrù	nrô	suka
3pl	NEG	much	used to	also	for	sugar

ghegi	wa	drae	rra	nrâ	trarrî
because	DET	thing	DIST	3sg	lack

"They were not much used to sugar either, because there was none."

(7)

nrî	nrâ	trarrî	suka	mê	mâo	bêêrri	rri	fi
when	3sg	lack	sugar	pl	men	old	3pl	go

nrî	nri	trôrrôdri	hwîî-trôrrôdri
PURP	take away	beehive	excrement-bee

"When there was no sugar, old men went to take honey from a beehive."

(8)

va	go	maamùrrù	rria	suka	odho-rri
IMPN	then	children	3pl DEF	sweeten	drink-3pl

kafe	nrî	nô-trôrrôdri
coffe	with	juice-bee

"Then, children sweetened their coffee with the honey."

(9)

ri	nri	nrî	nre	mê	ri	tro
1plinc	take away	with	fire	or	1plinc	just

nri	bee-truu	nrâ	nrî	mwâ
take away	NMZ-stay	POSS	3sg	M.DIST

"We get (honey) using fire (smoke), or we just take away that way."

(10)

nrâ	see	truu	arù	trôrrôdri	nrîmwâmwâ
3sg	NEG	stay	same	bee	now

"It is not the same as bees of these days."

(11)

wa	trôrrôdri	rra	nrîmwâmwâ	rri	kôbù
DET	bee	DIST	now	3pl	angry

"Bees in these days are nasty."

(12)

hêrrê	truumwêrrê	fa-pò	rri	varaha
IMPN	always	CAUS-move	3pl	like this

mwâ	nrorri	nrî	wa	nââ	drââ	mwâ	rri
but	3pl	T	DET	piece	day	M.DIST	3pl

re	tro	ve-koa	nrî	mehi-rri
HAB	just	take-away	with	finger-3pl

mêrrê	aunê-trôrrôdri
pl	mother-bee

"People bother them all the time (these days), but in those days, they used to just push bees aside with their hands."

(13)

mwâ	rri	re	nri	mêrrê	gato	mwairrù
and	3pl	HAB	take away	pl	gateau(Fr)	a while ago

"And they used to remove lots of those beehives (aforesaid)."

(14)

nrâ	see	horro
3sg	NEG	hard

"It is not difficult."

(15)

rri	see	kôbù	parrù	nrâ	trôrrôdri
3pl	NEG	angry	also	sm	bee

"Bees are not nasty, either."

(16)

hêrrê	nri	nrî	mêrrê	sake	rra	parrù
IMPN	take away	with	pl	sac (Fr)	DIST	also

"People also take (honey) with those packages."

(17)

nrâ	go	fwi	kû	nrâ	nrî
3sg	then	make	smoke	sm	3sg

"It (the package) is lit to produce smoke."

(18)

pwerre	treanrü	rria	ve	pwai
several	people	3pl DEF	take	cigarette

"Some people use a cigarette."

(19)

rri	suo	kû	nrâ	pwai	rugi
3pl	blow	smoke	POSS	cigarette	at

"They blow the smoke of the cigarette at (the beehive)."

(20)

nrô	bee	tra	rri	fi-koa
for	CMPZ	PURP	3pl	go away

"In order that they go away."

(21)

mwâ	rrê	trôrrôdri-	rri	tivi	pwai	mwâ
hut	POSS	bee	3pl	suck	cigarette	and

rria	go	si-rùa	nrâ	mêrrê	aunê-nrî
3pl DEF	then	go out	sm	pl	mother-3sg

"Beehives suck (the smoke of the) cigarette, and then lots of bees go out (of the beehive)."

(22)

pee	âwù	ra	apuurru	drae	ru
see	yesterday	or	two days ago	eh	1dl

hidrò	nrâ	ru	ânrâha	fò	drae	mwairrù
say	PST	at	here	sort	thing	a while ago

bee	hòve
CMPZ	cold

"Look at yesterday, or the day before yesterday, we two talked here about such a thing, (like) "it's cold."

(23)

kevi	see	hòve	tau	nrâ
1plexc	NEG	cold	before	PST

"We (not including you) were not cold before."

(24)

ri	fwi	saa	droro	mwâ	bee-truu	nrî
1plinc	make	one	big	hut	NMZ-stay	3sg

ha	tro	aurru	foomwâ	nròrrò
PROX	just	two	door	only

"We built one big hut this way, just two doors only."

(25)

saa	nre	nrâ	truu	ârù	ha	nrùwù-nrî
one	fire	3sg	stay	down there	PROX	inside-3sg

"One fireplace is there inside it (the hut)."

(26)

nrâ	meghi	nrâ	wa	mwâ	mwairrù
3sg	hot	sm	DET	hut	aforesaid

"This hut (I mentioned) is warm."

(27)

mòrrò	nrîmwâmwâ	nrâ	see	arù	ghai
life	now	3sg	NEG	same	with

mòrrò	nrî	wa	nââ	drââ	mwâ
life	T	DET	piece	day	M.DIST

"Life now is not the same as life in those days."

3. Hunting flying foxes (told by Eïbo)

(1)

bee	ta	nrâ	pù	nrâ	see	horro
CMPZ	hunt	POSS	flying fox	3sg	NEG	difficult

"Hunting flying foxes is not difficult."

(2)

nrî	ri	ta	pù	ri	ta
when	1plinc	hunt	flying fox	1plinc	hunt

pù	nrî-pwù	gi	wa	drae	rra
flying fox	at night	for	DET	thing	DIST

wa	nââ	drââ	mwâ	nrâ	trarrî	nrâ	kuhwa
DET	piece	day	M.DIST	3sg	lack	PST	gun

"When we hunted flying foxes, we hunted them at night, because in those days there was no gun."

(3)

ria	fi	nrî	ta	pù	varamwâ
1plinc DEF	go	PURP	hunt	flying fox	like that

mwâ	ria	trua	hwa	pwù	nrî-sêêdre
and	1plinc DEF	wait	EMPH	night	in the evening

"We went for hunting flying foxes like that, and we then waited for the night, in the evening."

(4)

ria	go	fi	nrî	farrî-	wa	fò	bee-ta
1plinc DEF	then	go	PURP	name-	DET	sort	hunting

nrâ	pù	mwâ	bee-sii
POSS	flying fox	M.DIST	running

"We then went - the name of that sort of hunting flying foxes - "running"."

(5)

ria	go	fwi	tôrrô	ghegi	wa	drae
1plinc DEF	then	make	torch	because	DET	thing

rra	nrâ	pògôrrô	nroorre
DIST	3sg	black	place

"We then made a torch because it was dark all around the place.

(6)

ri	fwi	pwò	tôrrô	nrî	dri-nawa	a
1plinc	make	package	torch	with	leaf-coconut	AT

marri	nrî	ô-hûûdrù
dry	with	bark-niaouri

"We make a torch, a bundle with dry leaves of the coconut tree, or with barks of niaouri."

(7)

ria	go	trua	pwù	ghegi	wa	drae
1plinc DEF	then	wait	night	because	DET	thing

rra	pù	rri	si-rùa	hwa	nrî-pwù
DIST	flying fox	3pl	go out	EMPH	at night

"We then wait for the night, because flying foxes come out at night."

(8)

rri	fi	nrî	hara	nrî	nrâ	pògôrrô	nroorre
3pl	go	PURP	eat	when	3sg	black	place

"They come to eat when it is dark around the place."

(9)

rri	hara	wò-ù	a	madrù	mê	wage-ù
3pl	eat	fruit-tree	AT	ripe	and	flower-tree

"They eat ripe fruits of trees and flowers of trees."

(10)

rri	fi	ghe	mê	ânrâha	rri	fi	ghe	mê
3pl	go	from	come	here	3pl	go	from	come

tre	nroorre	parrù
another	place	also

"They come from here; they also come from another place."

(11)

rri	fi	ghe	mê	ârijù	bê-trùjù	mwâ
3pl	go	from	come	down there	side-sea	and

rri	re	mê	nrî	hara
3pl	ASS	come	PURP	eat

"They come from down there, the coast, and they come surely to eat."

(12)

rri	fi	ghe	hâvenîâ	mê	mêrrê	nroorre	rra
3pl	go	from	entirely	come	pl	place	DIST

"They come from all over the place."

(13)

rri	tròa	fisù	ru	ânrâha	ghegi	wa	drae
3pl	arrive	meet	at	here	because	DET	thing

rra	nrâ	fwi	nrâ	hêêra	nrâ	truu	ânrâha
DIST	3sg	exist	sm	food	3sg	stay	here

"They arrive and meet here, because there is food (which stays) here."

(14)

ria	go	trua	rri	ru	nrî	fadre	mêrrê	tôrrô
1plinc DEF	then	wait	3pl	at	there	with	pl	torch

amwairrù	nrirri-nrî	fwirri	gu-ha	nrâ	rri
aforesaid	edge-3sg	hear	sound-speak	POSS	3pl

"We then waited for them there with the torch, until (we) hear their sound."

(15)

rri	nrââû	ta	rri	nrô	hêêra
3pl	start	hit	3pl	for	food

"They start fighting each other for food."

(16)

nrâ	trarrî	terre-jorri	rri	ghegi	wa	drae
3sg	lack	way-see	3pl	because	DET	thing

rra	nrâ	pògôrrô	nrâ	nroorre
DIST	3sg	black	sm	place

"There is no way to see them because the place is dark."

(17)

ria	trua	rri	varaha	nrî	rria	nrââû
1plinc DEF	wait	3pl	like this	when	3pl DEF	start

hara
eat

"We waited like this for the time they start eating."

(18)

rri	tro	hara	ve-harru
3pl	just	eat	well

"They just eat (and nothing else)."

(19)

rri	pii	rugi	dri-ù	nrî-pwù	varamwâ
3pl	make noise	at	leaf-tree	at night	like that

"They make noises among the tree leaves like that at night."

(20)

ria	tôrrô
1plinc DEF	light the torch

"We lit the torch."

(21)

ri	jorri	nrîmee-ù	mwâ	nrâ	pò	varamwâ
1plinc	see	edge-tree	M.DIST	3sg	move	like that

"We see the top of trees, moving like that."

(22)

drajù	sùrrù	ù	wa	ù	mwâ
climb	swing	tree	DET	tree	M.DIST

"Climb! Swing the tree, that tree."

(23)

nrâ	go	pwò	si	waa	ru	nrî-troo
3sg	then	land	go	descend	at	on the earth

"It then drops down on the ground."

(24)

moo	rra	nrâ	truu	nrî-troo	nrâ	sebe
man	DIST	3sg	stay	on the earth	3sg	hit and kill

pù	varamwâ
flying fox	like that

"The man who is on the ground beats the flying fox to death like that."

(25)

mwâ	nrâ	fwi	parrù	rugi	moo	ù	mwâ
and	3sg	exist	also	at	DET	tree	M.DIST

nrâ	fwi	parrù	rugi	wara	mwâ
3sg	exist	also	at	one	M.DIST

"And there is also (one) on that tree, and there is also one on the other one."

(26)

rri	tro	bwê	rri	bwê	rri	bwê	rri	bwê
3pl	AUG	many	3pl	many	3pl	many	3pl	many

"They are really many, they are many, many."

(27)

rri	ho-erri	drajù	varaha	ria	go
3pl	flee-crawl	climb	like this	1plinc DEF	then

hâmwêî	wa	bê-rri	ria	go	sebe
hold	DET	arm-3pl	1plinc DEF	then	hit and kill

rri	waa	ru	nrî-troo
3pl	descend	on	on the earth

"They run away crawling and climbing like this and we then beat them to death, and they fall down on the ground."

(28)

pwerre	nroorre	ri	fwi	asirri
several	place	1plinc	sum up	three

"At some places, we are three."

(29)

pwerre	rri	ta	âroa	ru	wa	hire	nroorre
several	3pl	hit	over there	at	DET	side	place

mwâro
over there

"Some people hunt over there, in the place over there."

(30)

va	see	re	ru	tro	saa	nroorre	ru	nroorre
IMPN	NEG	ASS	at	just	one	place	at	place

wanrî	nrî	nrâ	nrî	fwi	nrîharre	madrù
entire	when	3sg	EVENT	exist	season	ripe

nrâ	goyave
POSS	goyave

"It is not at only one place, everywhere, when it is the season of the goyave."

(31)

see	u	hidrò	hâvenîâ	nrâ	ghegi	wa	drae
NEG	1sg	say	all	PST	because	DET	thing

rra	nrâ	truu	parrù	nrâ	saa	bee	ta
DIST	3sg	stay	also	sm	one	CMPZ	hunt

nrâ	pù	bee	fi	nrî	truurrò	fòve
POSS	flying fox	CMPZ	go	PURP	stand	pass

"I did not tell (you) all (about hunting flying foxes), because there is another way of hunting flying foxes, 'standing on the pass.'

(32)

ri	fi	nrî	ta	pù	pwere	erre-rri
1plinc	go	PURP	hunt	flying fox	to	place-3pl

"We go to hunt flying foxes at their (dwelling) place."

(33)

erre-rri	farrî-nrî	òde
place-3pl	name-3sg	place to hang

"Their place is called 'Ode'(place to hang)."

(34)

ru	nrî	nrâ	trarrî	tere-fi	nrî	ta	rri
at	there	3sg	lack	way-go	PURP	hunt	3pl

pwere	nrî	ghegi	wa	drae	rra	rri
to	there	because	DET	thing	DIST	3pl

truumwêrrê	hwòrrò
always	run away

"There, it is not possible to hunt them because they always run away."

(35)

mwâ	wa	tro	saa	bee-ta	rri	rra	nrî
but	DET	AUG	one	NMZ-hunt	3pl	DIST	when

ri	fwi	nrî	nrâ	tròa	nrâ	wanre	drorro	wanre
1plinc	do	when	3sg	arrive	sm	wind	big	wind

"But the only way of hunting them is we do it when there is wind, a big wind."

(36)

nrorri	pù	rri	see	fi	ghe	erre-rri
3pl	flying fox	3pl	NEG	go	from	place-3pl

rria	truu	nrî
3pl DEF	stay	there

"They, flying foxes, do not go out of their place; they stay there."

(37)

nrî	nrâ	tròa	nrâ	wanre	rria	waa	rri
when	3sg	arrive	sm	wind	3pl DEF	descend	3pl

truu	rra	fi	ânrâha	nrî-troo
stay	there	around	here	on the earth

"When the wind blows, they go down around here, on the ground."

(38)

rri	de	rugi	mêrrê	hùwù nrâ	ù
3pl	hang	at	pl	small	tree

"They hang from small trees."

(39)

nrâ	trarrî	terre-îî	nrâ	rri	rri	ho-erri
3sg	lack	way-fly	POSS	3pl	3pl	flee-crawl

ru	nrî-troo
at	on the earth

"There is no way for them to fly; they crawl around on the ground."

(40)

nrâ	trarrî	terre-îî	nrâ	ti	nrâ	barra
3sg	lack	way-fly	3sg	big	sm	fear

"It is not possible (for them) to fly; they are scared very much."

(41)

nrâ	ve	rri	nrâ	wanre
3sg	take	3pl	sm	wind

"The wind takes them away."

(42)

ria	go	fadre	saa	pwòve	ù	ri
1plinc DEF	then	with	one	piece	tree	1plinc

seghe	rri
hit and injure	3pl

"We then hit and injure them with a piece of wood."

(43)

va	go	ta	adrù	nrô	bee	ve	nrâ	ri
IMPN	then	hit	enough	for	CMPZ	take	POSS	1plinc

mwagi	pwere	erre-ri	ria	go	fi	wai
back	to	place-1plinc	1plinc DEF	then	go	already

"Catching enough to take back to our place, we then go (home)."

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