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BIG NAMBAS GRAMMAR

by

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PREFACE

The *Big Nambas Grammar* which has been produced by the Rev. Greg Fox is the fruit of nearly ten years work in one of the more remote areas of the New Hebrides, north-west Malekula. During this time, Fox has worked as a missionary to the Big Nambas people and introducing literacy in the vernacular in an area where regular schooling was unheard of until very recent times. That his efforts were much appreciated by the people of north-west Malekula it is certain, for during field-trips that I have made to Malekula myself I was often told of the high esteem with which Fox was regarded by the Melanesian population because of his mastery of the Big Nambas language.

The present grammar will be a welcome addition to the field of Austronesian linguistics, since it represents a detailed depth-study of a practically unknown language area. It will be welcomed too because many of the features of the Big Nambas language discussed in the grammar will be of more than passing interest to Austronesian comparativists. It is pleasing to note that a *Big Nambas Dictionary* is at present being compiled, to appear in the present series in a short time.

D.T. Tryon
Canberra 1978

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Finally I would like to express my thanks to the Missions Committee of the Presbyterian Reformed Church of Australia. Their enlightened policies have made our common task a great pleasure during the last seven years.

G.J. Fox
Brenwei, N.W. Malekula 1976

INTRODUCTION

The Big Nambas language ['ʔənən taut^h] is spoken by approximately 2,000 people throughout North Malekula. At the present there are nineteen inhabited Big Nambas villages which use the language exclusively. Only one of these villages, Nevenala [nəbə'nala] seems to be in danger of emptying. Its population varies from three to five persons and they are aged people.

Approximately half the population of Laravat consists of Big Nambas people. For some of them their new village was a haven from the depredations and violence of the Ameh men; for others it was a place to find a spouse.

The villages of Mae and Bethel too are peopled by some Big Nambas tribesmen and the language is understood by other members of these villages.

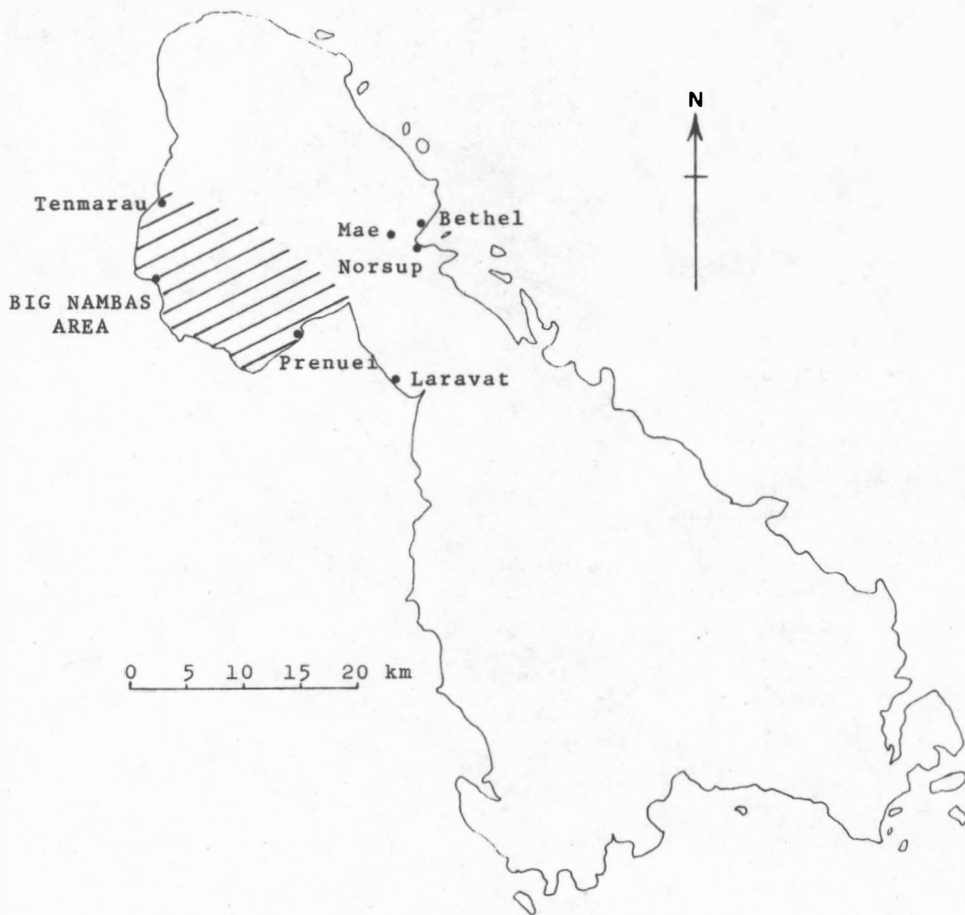
There is no evidence of dialect variation throughout the area in which Big Nambas is spoken.

The Big Nambas language has never been studied in depth previously. Some early word-lists are extant, but their phonology is misleading.

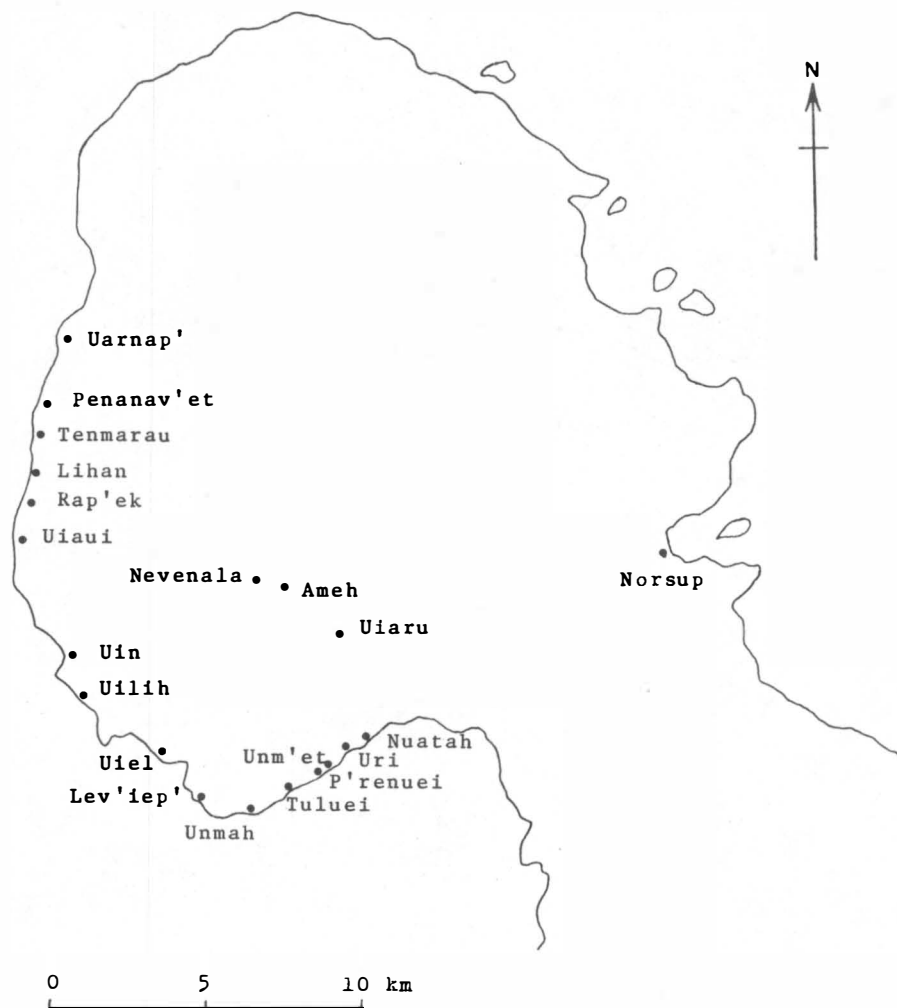
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

[]	encloses phonetic transcriptions
/ /	encloses phonemes
{ }	indicates that morpheme enclosed has allomorphs
~	links allomorphs
C	consonant
compet.	competence
compl.	completive
cont.	continuative
excl.	exclusive
hab.	habitulative
imp.	imperative
incl.	inclusive
intrans.	intransitive
intro.	introducer
irreal.	irrealis
irreal cond.	irreal condition
nec.	necessity
neg.	negative
no.	number
nom.	nominaliser
obl.	obligatory
opt.	optional
pl.	plural
prox.	proximity
real.	realis
restr. pl.	restricted plural
r.p.	referential particle
s.	singular
S	syllable
V	vowel

MALEKULA,
showing the areas in which the Big Nambas language is spoken.



Villages in the Big Nambas Area



CHAPTER 1 PHONOLOGY

1.1. SEGMENTAL PHONOLOGY

1.1.1. Consonants and Vowels

Big Nambas has fourteen phonemic consonants and five phonemic vowels.

Consonant Phonemes

	Apico-Labials	Bilabials	Alveolars	Velars
STOPS V1.	p	p	t	k
Vd.			n ^d	
FRICATIVES	ʃ	b	s	ɣ
NASALS	m	m	n	
LATERAL			l	
TRILL			r̄	

Vowel Phonemes

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Middle	e	ə	
Low	a		

1.1.2. Description of Consonant Phonemes

Apico-labials. In the following three phonemes the apex of the tongue comes into contact with the upper lip.

/p/ [p] Voiceless apico-labial stop. Occurs initially, medially and finally.

/pu/ [pu] 'wart'

/ipəlpəlei/ [i'pəlpələi] 'it shines on it'

/nap/ [nap] 'fire'

- /ɣ̥/ [ɣ̥] Voiced apico-labial fricative occurs medially.
 /abɣ̥əɾn/ [ab'ɣ̥əɾn] 'they listen'
 /iɣ̥a/ ['iɣ̥a] 'four'
- [ɣ̥] Voiceless apico-labial fricative occurs initially and finally.
 /ɣ̥anu/ ['ɣ̥anu] 'settlement'
 /ineɣ̥/ ['ineɣ̥] 'he is asthmatic'
- /m/ [m̥] Voiced apico-labial nasal. Occurs initially, medially and finally.
 /m̥əmən̥mən/ [m̥ə'm̥ən̥mən] 'I might be drunk'
 /il̥əm/ ['il̥əm] 'five'

Bilabials.

- /p/ [p] Voiceless bilabial stop. Occurs initially, and medially.
 /pama/ ['pama] 'come'
 /nəpap/ [nə'pap^h] 'embryo of germinating coconut'
- [p^h] Voiceless aspirated bilabial stop. Occurs finally.
 /tap/ [tap^h] 'drinking coconut'
 /isəp/ ['isəp^h] 'it joins'
- [p^o] Voiceless rounded bilabial stop. Occurs before /i/ and /e/.
 /pil/ [p^oɪl̥] 'anise tree'
 /ipel/ [i'p^oɛl̥] 'it will be constant'
- /b/ [b] Voiced bilabial fricative. Occurs medially.
 /ibibiln/ [ibi'bil̥n] 'it is right'
 /pəbyəl/ ['pəbyəɫ] 'let us dig up'
- [β] Voiceless bilabial fricative. Occurs initially and finally.
 /βlin/ [βlin] 'its tail'
 /təkəβ/ ['təkəβ] 'rubbish'
- /m/ [m] Voiced bilabial nasal. Occurs initially, medially and finally.
 /maməy/ ['maməx] 'well'
 /uam/ [uam] 'soon'
- [m^o] Voiced bilabial rounded nasal. Occurs before /i/ and /e/.
 /nami/ ['nam^oi] 'earthquake'
 /imel/ [i'm^oɛl̥] 'it would be continual'

Alveolars.

- /t/ [t] Voiceless alveolar stop. Occurs initially and medially.
 /timay/ ['timay] 'feast'
 /ititiəy/ [i'titiəx] 'he wipes his bottom against something'
- [t^h] Voiceless aspirated alveolar stop. Occurs finally.
 /ɣapat/ [xapɐt^h] 'chief'
 /imat/ [i'mat^h] 'he is feverish'

- /ⁿd/ [ⁿd] Voiced prenasalised alveolar stop. Occurs initially, medially and finally.
 /ⁿdrəⁿdren/ [¹ⁿdrəⁿdrɛn] 'early'
 /nakəⁿd/ [¹nakəⁿd] 'we (inclusive)'
- /n/ [n] Voiced alveolar nasal. Occurs initially, medially and finally.
 /nunu/ [¹nunu] 'breast'
 /ⁿdin/ [ⁿdɪn] 'his blood'
- /s/ [s] Voiceless alveolar fricative. Occurs initially, medially and finally.
 /sasi/ [¹sasi] 'whittle it'
 /nas/ [nas] 'banana'
- /l/ [l] Voiced alveolar lateral resonant. Occurs initially and medially.
 /laləm/ [¹laləm] 'sweet'
- [ɭ] Voiceless lateral fricative. Occurs finally and contiguous to [t].
 /pil/ [p^oɭ] 'anise tree'
 /ipəlt/ [i'pəɭt] 'it joins (intrans.)'
 /bətɬəmɛɭ/ [pə'tɬəmɛɭ] 'dancing-ground'
- [ɮ] Voiced lateral fricative. Occurs medially contiguous to [n].
 /ⁿdřɪnak/ [¹ⁿdřɪnɬk^h] 'my ear'
 /nɬək^h/ [nɬək^h] 'my insides'
 /nɭu/ [nɮu] 'I vomit'
- /ř/ [ř] Voiced alveolar trilled vibrant occurs initially, medially and finally.
 /řu/ [řu] 'leaf of'
 /iřeř/ [¹iřɛř] 'it is sore'

Velars.

- /k/ [k] Voiceless velar stop. Occurs initially and medially.
 /kinkin/ [kɪnkɪn] 'some'
- [k^h] Voiceless aspirated velar stop. Occurs finally.
 /nəkak/ [¹nəkɬk^h] 'mine'
 /nəɣak/ [¹nəɣɬk^h] 'my name'
- /ɣ/ [ɣ] Voiced velar fricative. Occurs medially.
 /paɣani/ [pa'ɣani] 'You will eat it'
- [x] Voiceless velar fricative. Occurs initially and finally.
 /ɣəpaɣ/ [¹xəpɬx] 'a root vegetable'

1.1.3. Description of Vowel Phonemes

- /i/ [i] Voiced high front close unrounded vowel occurs in open syllables initially, medially and finally.
 /iḡi/ [i.ḡi] 'he is'
 /liyat/ [liyat^h] 'night'
- [ɪ] Voiced high front open unrounded vowel occurs in closed syllables initially and medially.
 /ittalu/ [ɪt.ta.lu] 'he has gone to the garden'
 /milmil/ [mɪl.mɪ] 'short'
- /e/ [ɛ] Voiced mid front open unrounded vowel. Occurs initially, medially and finally.
 /en/ [ɛn] 'his entrails'
 /inepa/ [i'nepa] 'it is like'
 /ple/ [pɛ] 'the trunk of'
- /a/ [a] Voiced low front open unrounded vowel occurs initially, medially and finally in open syllables and stressed closed syllables.
 /aḡa/ [a.ḡa] 'go!'
 /laya/ [laya] 'this'
 /nap/ [nap] 'fire'
- [ʌ] Voiced mid central open unrounded vowel occurs initially and medially in closed unstressed syllables.
 /ablau/ [ʌb.la.ʊ] 'they planted it'
 /yapat/ [ʌa.pat^h] 'chief'
- Contiguous labials and velars tend to cause [a] to be pronounced further back in the mouth. This is apparent in the inflection of the word *naua* 'digging stick'. The inflected forms are as follows:
 /nauak/ [nauak^h] 'my digging stick'
 /nauam/ [nauam] 'your (sg.) digging stick'
- The sound is midway between [a] and [ɔ].
- The same happens with the glide /au/; in unstressed syllables, it is pronounced further back in the mouth.
 /tilau/ [ti.lau] 'fish'
 /ndundau/ [ndundau] 'a dance'
- /ə/ [ə] Voiced mid central close unrounded vowel occurs medially and finally.
 /nayək/ [nayək^h] 'my face'
 /tlə/ [tlə] 'the leg of'

- /u/ [u] Voiced high back close rounded vowel occurs initially, medially and finally in open syllables.
 /u.li.ɛn/ ['u.li.ɛn] 'price'
 /pu.a/ ['pu.a] 'pig'
 /řu/ [řu] 'leaf of'
- [u] Voiced high back open rounded vowel occurs initially and medially in closed syllables.
 /uⁿdřlani/ [uⁿdř.'la.ni] 'all'
 /ɣup/ ['xup] 'Pacific pigeon'

1.1.4. Consonants contrast in the following words

p	[pama]	'I shall come'
p̃	[p̃ama]	'you will come'
t	[itama]	'he has come'
k	[ikama]	'he must come'
ⁿ d	[i ⁿ dama]	'he is still coming'
m	[ima]	'he is coming'
m̃	[i ^{m̃} a]	'he is dead'
b	[lɔ̃ři]	'he said it'
ǫ̃	[lǫ̃ři]	'he plaited it'
ř	[nauř]	'war'
ɭ	[nauɭ]	'red paint'
ř̃	[iř̃u]	'two'
l	[ilu]	'he vomits'
x	[malɛx]	'kava'
k ^h	[malɛk ^h]	'darkness'
k	[iku]	'he stuffs (his mouth with food)'
ɣ	[iyu]	'he binds'
x	[xani]	'eat it!'
k	[kani]	'you do it'

Vowels contrast in the following words

a	[naɭ]	'moon'
ɛ	[neɭ]	'flaming torch'
ɪ	[nɪɭ]	'hair of'
u	[nuɭ]	'I buy'
a	[imama]	'it is dry'
ɛ	[imɛma]	'he fainted'
a	[na]	'for'
i	[ni]	'bamboo sliver'
u	[nu]	'rain'
a	[ian]	'he left'

ɛ	[iɛn]	'he made'
u	[iun]	'it makes a pool'
ʌ	[imʌlmʌ]	'he is naked'
ɪ	[imɪlmɪ]	'it is short'
u	[imulmu]	'it is peeling'
ə	[məɪ, məɪ]	'more, more'
ə	[nəyək ^h]	'my face'
ʌ	[nəyʌk ^h]	'my name'
ə	[itapəx]	'he excretes'
ʌ	[itapʌx]	'he sent you'
ə	[iðə]	'it thunders'
ɛ	[iðɛ]	'he walks'
ɪ	[i'ðɪ]	'it goes brown'
ə	[i'pə]	'he paints'
u	[i'pu]	'he will buy'
ə	[pəli]	'pin it!'
u	[puli]	'I will buy it'
i	[pili]	'I will saw it'
ɛ	[i'ayɛi]	'it did not bite him'
ai	[ia'yai]	'he did not sing'
au	[ia'yau]	'it did not rain'

1.1.5. Syllable Structure

The phonemes are distributed in syllables of which the nucleus is a vowel or glide, or syllabic nasal.

There are 13 syllable types, as follows.¹

C	/npik/ [n.pɪk ^h]	'green snail, shell fish'
V	/ipu/ [i.pu]	'it is putrid'
VV	/au/ [au]	'yes'
CV	/pa/ [pa]	'small'
CVV	/lei/ [lei]	'first'
VC	/en/ [ɛn]	'his intestines'
CVC	/nak/ [nək ^h]	'for me to eat'
VCC	/iln/ [ɪl̩n]	'he left'
CCV	/bli/ [p̩li]	'tail of'
CCVC	/plen/ [p̩lɛn]	'it's essence'
CCVV	/plau/ [p̩laʊ]	'an insect'
CVVC	/řaun/ [řaʊn]	'it's leaf'
CVCC	/pařs/ [pařs]	'you (sg.) will fall down'

¹The author originally posited 14 syllable-types, one of them being CC to account for a postulated CC versus CəC. However, this does not seem a possible syllable-type. Thus all original CC types are taken as əCC or VCC. (The Editors).

Syllables go together to form words of up to seven syllables with the limitation that words containing two or more of the longer syllables, such as CCVV and CVCC, are not found. The shorter syllables can be combined in an unlimited way.

Examples of syllables in words:

S	OCVC	/'tɹɛp/	'left-overs'
SS	V.CVCC	/i.'mɛln/	'he is lost'
SSS	C.CVC.CV	/n.'pɛɣ.ma/	'I have just come'
SSSS	V.CV.CV.CV	/i.ta.'ma.mu/	'he was first'
SSSSS	CVC.CV.CV.CV.VC	/ʒən.ʒə.'na.ɣi.en/	'theft'
SSSSSS	VC.CVC.CV.CV.CV.CVC	/aɹ̄.məɹ̄.ta.ɹ̄e.'pa.mɛm/	'all our (excl.) old men'
SSSSSSS	V.CV.CVC.CV.V.CVC.V	/i.pa.pɛɣ.lu.'e.pən.i/	'he will soon shoot him'

1.1.6. Consonant and Vowel Clustering

This language is noteworthy for the consonant clusters found within it, especially in fast speech, examples of which follow:

/pəb.tɣal/	'let us get up'
/kə.tə.'bɹs/	'you (pl) have fallen down'
/kə.təɣ.'sɹ̄a.sɹ̄/	'you (sg.) have swept'
/ndəɹ̄.tl/	'there were three of us'
/i.tn.tn/	'it is overcast'

Vowel clusters are found as well and up to four of them may occur together. Examples:

VV	/eim/	'inside'
VVV	/'au.a/	'yes'
	/'a.au/	'far'
	/'neiet/	'thatch'
VVVV	/'neiau/	'bracelet'
	/'nauei/	'water'
	/ma'iaul/	'don't bow down'

1.2. SUPRASEGMENTAL PHONOLOGY

1.2.1. Stress

In Big Nambas, stress is phonemic, as shown by the following contrasting examples:

[i.'pa.li]	'he will burn it'
[i.pa.'li]	'he will tie (it) to..'
[a.'ɣau]	'wife of the chief'
['a.ɣau]	'go away!'

Stress is partly predictable, and the following principles may be discerned.

1.2.1.1. *Principle One*

An examination of words of all lengths (up to seven syllables) shows that in the majority of cases, primary stress tends to fall on the penultimate syllable. Primary stress may not go back past the fifth syllable from the end of the word.

Examples of Primary Stress on the Penultimate Syllable:

Pentasyllables:

/i.'pu.tak.'ma.ni/	'he will spoil it'
/i.'pa.pəɣ.'la.ʒi/	'he will take it shortly'
/mə̃r.'ta.řa.'pa.̃mi/	'your (pl) old men'

Quadrisyllables:

/in. ⁿ du.'la.ni/	'he moved it'
/pa.ti.'řa.ni/	'put it up'

Trisyllables:

/i.'pa.teř/	'it will stay'
/ʒən.'mař.an/	'old woman'
/řəɣ.'ʒa.řu/	'pig with tusk curving around in two circles'

Disyllables:

/'pa.tři/	'cut it'
/'lə.pu/	'rat'

1.2.1.2. *Principle Two*

Words which may take affixation (i.e. verbs, nouns and adjectives) tend to keep the stress on the syllable which is stressed in the words' simplest forms.

Examples:

VERBS

Simple Form	Affixed Form
/i.'mət/ 'he is feverish'	/i.pa.'mat/ 'he will be feverish'
/i.'ta.lu/ 'he is going to the garden'	/i.pa.pəɣ.'ta.lu/ 'he will go to the garden shortly'
/i.mət/ 'it is black'	/i.'pa.mət/ 'it will be dark'

NOUNS

/'ɣa.pat/ 'chief'	/'ɣa.pat.ak/ 'my chief'
/nə.'maɣ/ 'house'	/nə.'maɣ.ak/ 'my house'
/'přa.pař/ 'sow'	/'přa.pař.ak/ 'my sow'
/'bə.tə.mi.en/ 'love'	/'bə.tə.mi.'en.an/ 'his love'
/mə.'ka.ri.en/ 'work'	/mə.'ka.ri.en.ak/ 'my work'

ADJECTIVES

/uⁿd.'la.ni/ 'all'/uⁿd.'la.ni.ak/ 'all my'

/pəs.'pas/ 'very good'

/pəs.'pas.ak/ 'my very good'

1.2.1.3. Alteration of Stress

Certain monosyllables following words stressed on the penultimate cause the stress to move forward to the ultima.

Examples:

/ti.ti.'a.tay/ 'first born
brother'/ti.ti.a.'tay nan/ 'his first-born
brother'/pe'ta.lu/ 'I will go to the
garden'/pe.ta.'lu lei/ 'I will go to the
garden straight
away'

/i.'pa.teĩ/ 'it will stay'

/i.pa.'teĩ dei/ 'it will stay for
the time being'

1.2.1.4. The Effect of Stress on Vowel Quality

In unstressed syllables the glide /au/ is pronounced [au].

Examples: of stressed syllables.

[pau]

'circumcised person'

[ʔaun]

'it's leaf'

[au]

'yes'

[Kaɪ.'pau]

'man's name'

[mə.'naun]

'second-hand'

Unstressed syllables.

['na.ɣau]

'vine'

['ti.lau]

'fish'

['xə.mau]

'tontom'

['a.ɣau]

'go away'

['tə.ki.au]

'slug'

['pən.tau]

'Tanna fruit dove'


In the practical orthography the [au] in the unstressed syllables will be written au.

1.2.2. Intonation

Big Nambas intonation patterns distinguish the emotions of anger, emphatic speech, worry or disgust.

1.2.2.1. Statement

This is generally indicated by a mildly rising, then falling contour.



/taðet leřa ipaða a nut iðiða/
woman that she will go to place it is distant.
'That woman is going to a far-off place'

1.2.2.2. Question


a) without question morpheme řa

The voice rises just before the end of the intonation contour falls again and then rises. Generally there is a higher pitch throughout.

/t a ð e t l e ř a i p a ð (a) a n u t i ð i ð a ?/
'Is that woman going to a faraway place?'

b) using the question morpheme řa


The same contour as for a statement is used, with the question morpheme showing a falling contour (from high) at the end.



/p a ð (a) a N ə ř s ə b ř a ?/
'Are you going to Norsup, eh?'

1.2.2.3. Worry or Alarm

This is denoted by raised pitch not falling at the end of the contour.



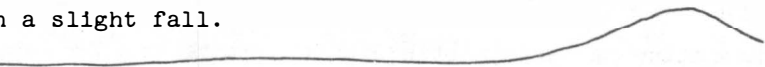
/t a ð e t l e ř a i p a ð (a) a n u t i ð i ð a /
'That woman is going to a faraway place!'

1.2.2.4. Emphatic Speech

This is denoted by a steadily falling contour, with lower overall pitch.


/t a ð e t l e ř a i p a ð (a) a n u t i ð i ð a /
'That woman is going to a faraway place.'

1.2.2.5. Exaggerated Speech to give extreme emphasis to a descriptive word. This is denoted by a sharply rising contour towards the end, then a slight fall.



/t a ð e t l e ř a i p a ð (a) a n u t i ð i ð a /
'That woman is going to a faraway place.'

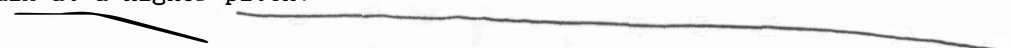
Note: In lengthy discourse, an emphatic speech has more pronounced rising and falling intonation contours, and the word-stress is pronounced.



/n k a b̃ r̃ s i i "k a m ə k a "k a m̃ i/
 'I have nothing more to say to you all!'

1.2.2.6. Reported Speech

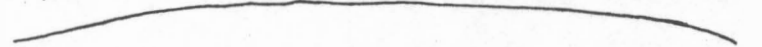
The introductory, 'he said', which occurs before reported speech, falls sharply at the end of the contour. The speech reported starts again at a higher pitch.



/i b̃ r̃ t i a, t a ǰ e t l e r̃ a i p a ǰ (a) a n u t i ǰ i ǰ a/
 'He said, "That woman is going to a faraway place".'

1.2.2.7. Anger

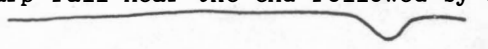
A general loud tone, with lower pitch is observed.



/t a ǰ e t l e r̃ a i p a ǰ a a n u t i ǰ i ǰ a/
 'That woman is going to a faraway place!!!'

1.2.2.8. Nonchalance

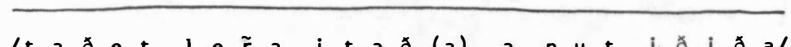
A special contour is observed for statements which have the nuance, 'You can't do anything about it'. A generally high contour with a sharp fall near the end followed by a final rise.



/t a ǰ e t l e r̃ a i t a ɣ a u/
 'That woman has gone (too bad).'

1.2.2.9. Calling out at a Distance

This requires the voice to be raised to a very high, monotonous pitch with no rising or falling pitch.



/t a ǰ e t l e r̃ a i t a ǰ (a) a n u t i ǰ i ǰ a/
 'That woman has gone to a faraway place.'

1.2.2.10. Discourse Level Intonation

Two other features of continued discourse are the use of a slightly higher pitched monosyllable, na 'then', to mark a pause or juncture in the story.



" " na " " na "

The end of a story is marked by two possible intonation patterns.

a) /γ i l a γ a u a k i/

'That's all.'


OR

b) /ð ə n e n i γ i ř i s a t l e ř a/

'My words are now finished.'

1.2.2.11. Counting

Counting or listing required a special intonation pattern which is quite distinctive. It is very much up and down.



/p a i, t a ř u, n u k, n i s i/
'a yam, a taro, some cabbage, some sugar-cane'

1.2.2.12. Agreement can be expressed in different ways.

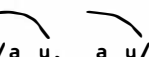
a) Asseverative


/a u a/
'yes'

b) Grudging agreement


/a u/
'ye-e-s'

c) Enthusiastic Agreement


/a u, a u/
'yes, yes!!!'

1.2.2.13. Intonation without Words

Sometimes words are omitted altogether and a mere intonation pattern using [ə] as the base is used:

a) to express contradiction


ə ə

b) to express confirmation of a statement


ə ə

c) to express ignorance


ə ə

1.2.3. Length

1.2.3.1. Phonemic Length

Phonemic Length occurs in the following consonants and vowels:

Consonants: /t/, /b/, /ř/, /l/, /n/

Vowels: /a/, /u/

All of the geminate consonants are grammatically conditioned and occur only between syllables.

Minimal pairs of consonants and vowels are as follows:

/t/	[i.tu]	'he gives'
	[ɬt.tu]	'he has given'
	[ɬt.ři]	'he cut it'
	[ɬt.tři]	'he has cut it'
/b/	[nəbři]	'I said it'
	[nəb.bri]	'we said it'
	[kəbibilən]	'you (sg) are in the right'
	[kəb.bibilən]	'you (pl) are in the right'
/r/	[kəřilei]	'you extract it'
	[kəř.řilei]	'you both extract it'
	[pεřux]	'I am going away'
	[pεř.řux]	'let's (dual) go'
/l/	[i'nɛl.ləm]	'fifty'
	[10 . 5]	
	[inɛl.'ləmɛi]	'sixty'
/n/	[10 . 6]	
	[pən]	'mouth of'
	[pənq]	'his mouth'
	[asən]	'near, to'
/a/	[asənq]	'near him, to him'
	[na.ni]	'I did it'
	[na:ni]	'I didn't do it'
	[ia.ni]	'he did it'
	[ia:ni]	'he didn't do it'
	[iɣa.ɣə]	'it is cold'
	[iɣa:ɣa:]	'it bites'
	/u/	[iluuři]
[ienuři]		'he did it over'

1.3. MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL ALTERATIONS

1.3.1. Vowel Changes

Most morphophonological alterations involve changes of vowels.

1.3.1.1. a > e

/a/ becomes /e/ in the following situations:

1. When a monosyllabic verb stem having a vowel nucleus /a/ in the stressed syllable is nominalised.

Examples:

/i- 'matr/ he/real.-sleep 'he sleeps'	BUT	/'metĩ-len/ sleep- nom. 'sleep (n.)'
---	-----	--

/i- 'mat/ he/real.-be feverish 'he is feverish'	BUT	/'met- ien/ be feverish-nom. 'fever'
---	-----	--

2. When some nouns whose stressed syllable has the vowel nucleus /a/ is possessed.

Examples:

/'ta.tei/ 'father'		/a 'te.ti.ak/ r.p. father-my 'my father'
/'la.lei/ 'son-in-law'	BUT	/a le.li.ak/ r.p. son-in-law-my 'my son-in-law'

3. When the suffix /-et/ is added to certain verbs or nouns, whose stressed syllable has the vowel nucleus /a/.

Examples:

/i- 'pas/ it/real.-good 'it is good'	BUT	/i- 'pes- et/ it/real.-good-very 'it is very good'
/'naqet/ 'stone'	BUT	/'neqet-et/ stone-sacred 'a sacred stone'

4. When some nouns or verbs whose stressed syllable has the vowel nucleus /a/ are followed by a closely connected adjective (enclitic), noun or compounding morpheme.

Examples:

/'taqet/ 'woman'	BUT	Closely Connected Adjective /'teqet pa/ woman small 'little girl'
/'nap/ 'fire'	BUT	Compounded Noun /'nep.křis/ fire-scraps 'matches'

		Noun in Construct Relationship
/'nat.n/ <i>child-his/its</i>	BUT	/'net 'lipay/ <i>offspring dog</i>
'his offspring'		'the offspring of a dog; a pup'

There is another instance where /a/ changes to /e/ but the circumstances are different. When the preposition /na/, which is normally unstressed in a grammatical phrase, is stressed, it is changed to /ne/.

Examples:

/'nas na 'pua/ <i>banana for pig</i>	BUT	/'nas 'ne nə'ɣau/ <i>banana for laplap</i>
'a banana for the pig'		'bananas for a laplap'

In the second example, the word for 'laplap' suffers a change of stress, which is normally on the penultimate syllable, /'nə.ɣau/. Another example of the change of vowel in /na/ follows:

/'nakal 'ne nə.'maɣ/ <i>post for house</i>
'a post for a house'

5. Some transitive verbs, with /a/ as the nucleus in the penultimate syllable, change the /a/ to /e/ when they occur in a phrase, with separate object words.

Examples:

/i- lane-i/ <i>he/real.-read-it</i>	BUT	/i- lena řuplet/ <i>he/real.-read page</i>
'he read it'		'He read the book.'
/i- taypa 'saře-i/ <i>he/real.-roast compl.-it</i>	BUT	/i- taypa seřa timay/ <i>he/real.-roast compl. food</i>
'he has roasted it'		
/i- saře- i/ <i>he/real.-prepare it</i>	BUT	/i- seřa tup/ <i>he/real.-prepare laplap oven</i>
'he prepared it (laplap oven)'		'he prepared the laplap oven'

This is a very common process and further examples follow:

ila ^o i	'he took it'
isasi	'he whittled it'
ir ⁿ dani	'he made it stand up'
itapei	'he sent it'
il ⁿ dani	'he knocked it'
iani	'he made it'
itupani	'he cooked it in a laplap'
inani	'he put it inside (e.g. a basket)'

In all the above verbs the /a/ changes to /e/ when an object noun follows.

1.3.1.2. ai > ei

This is really the same phenomenon as /a/ > /e/ in the previous section.

It occurs in similar environments, that is when certain nouns whose stressed syllable has the vowel nucleus /ai/ are possessed or have the reverential suffix -et.

Examples:

/'nai/ 'tree'	/'nei-ak/ tree my 'my tree'
/na'ǰai/ 'nambas' (penis-wrapper)	/na'ðei-ak/ nambās my 'my nambas'
/'nai/ 'tree'	/'nei-et/ tree sacred 'thatch'

1.3.1.3. ei > i

This occurs obligatorily when the syllable in which the nucleus is /ei/ is preceded by a stressed syllable and followed by a suffix or closely connected word in a phrase.

Examples:

/pa- ta'lu lei/ you/irreal.-go to garden now 'Go to the garden now!'	BUT /pa- lak li uam/ you/irreal.-stay now a short time 'Just stay here for a short while'
/talei/ 'knife'	BUT /teli pa/ knife small 'a small knife'
/i- ⁿ da- yei/ it/real.-cont.-not-not 'not yet'	BUT /i- ⁿ d- a- yi uam/ it/real.-cont.-neg.-not soon 'not yet'
/unei/ 'mother'	BUT /uni- ak/ mother my 'my mother'
/patei/ 'breadfruit'	BUT /peti ma/ breadfruit white 'palecoloured breadfruit'

1.3.1.4. u > au

1. Some nouns and verbs in their unaffixed form end in /-u/; when suffixed the /u/ becomes /au/.

Examples:	VERBS
/i- rn- ⁿ du sei/ he/real.-feel-can thing 'he knows something'	BUT /i- rn- ⁿ dau-i/ he/real.-feel-can- it 'he knows it'
/i- le- ⁿ du sei/ he/real.-see-can thing 'he recognises things'	BUT /i- le- ⁿ dau-i/ he/real.-see-can- him 'he recognises him'
/i- tu pai a na ⁿ deg/ he/real.-put yam to ground 'he put the yam down'	BUT /i- tau-i a na ⁿ deg/ he/real.-put-it to ground 'he put it down'

Note: The only exception to this rule is the verb /-lu/ 'vomit' whose vowel does not change, when the verb is suffixed for the object person.

/i-lu/	'he vomits'
/i-lu-i/	'he vomits it'

Perhaps this is to distinguish it from the verb 'plant', which is

/i-lu/	'he plants'
but /i-lau-i/	'he plants it'

NOUNS

/ĩu nai/ leaf (of) tree 'leaf of a tree'	/ĩau-n/ leaf-its 'it's leaf'
/mənu talei/ second hand(of) knife 'a second-hand knife'	/mə'nau- n/ second-hand-its 'the second-hand one'
/mə ⁿ du natei/ right-hand(of) person 'a person's right hand'	/mə ⁿ dau- n/ right-hand-his 'his right hand'

2. Another verb which ends in a /-u/ and which changes to /au/ is the verb 'to rain'. The change occurs in the negative forms of the verb.

Examples:	BUT
/nu i- u/ rain it/real.-rains 'it is raining'	/nu i- əh- au/ rain it/real.-neg.-rain 'it isn't raining'
	/nu i- ⁿ d- əh- au/ rain it/real.-cont.-neg.-rain 'it isn't raining yet'

1.3.1.5. a + a = ei

Only two examples of this phenomenon have been found; it only occurs across word boundaries.

Examples:

/ak i- ɔ̌a/
who he/real.-go
'who went?'

BUT /i- ɔ̌ei a Tulwei/
he/real.-go to Tulwei
'he went to Tulwei'

/kə- ma/
you/real.-come
'you came'

BUT /kə- mei a P̄renuei/
you/real.-come to Brenwei
'you came to Brenwei'

/kə- ⁿd- a- ɾ̄- ma/
you/real.-cont.-neg.-restr.pl.-come
'you both haven't come yet'

BUT
/kə- ⁿd- a- ɾ̄- mei atlaya/
you/real.-cont.-neg.-restr.pl.-come here
'you both haven't come here yet'

1.3.1.6. a + i = ei

This is a very common change. All transitive verbs whose stem ends in /-a/ are obligatorily affected in this way, when suffixed with the third person singular object person suffix.

Examples:

/i- pa kana/
he/real.-see me
'he saw me'

BUT /i- pe- i/
he/real.-see-him
'he saw him'

/nə- b- ya maləy/
first pers./real.-pl.-chew kava
'we chewed kava'

BUT
/nə- b- ye-i/
first pers./real.-pl.-chew-it
'we chewed it'

1.3.1.7. i + i = ai

This occurs with all transitive verbs whose stem ends in the vowel /i/, when the third person singular and plural object suffixes are attached.

Examples:

/i- ⁿdi nəyau/
he/real.-dip laplap
'he dips the laplap (in the
coconut sauce)'

BUT /i- ⁿda-i/
he/real.-dip-it
'he dipped it'

/i- ɾ̄i nai/
he/real.-uproot tree
'he uprooted the tree'

BUT /i- ɾ̄a- i/
he/real.-uproot-it
'he uprooted it'

Other verb stems which function in this way are:

-ǫli	'choose'
-li	'tie up'
-lili	'saw' (intensive of -li)

1.3.1.8. Elision of Vowels

1. Within the word.

a) When /a/ precedes /a/, the first /a/ is commonly elided.

Examples:

/i- ⁿ d- ay- ma/	NOT /i- ⁿ da-ay-ma/
he/real.-cont.-neg.-come	
'he hasn't come yet'	

/m- ay- ǫa/	NOT /ma-ay-ǫa/
second pers./irreal.-neg.-go	
'don't go!'	

/i- k- ay- lu/	NOT /i-ka-ay-lu/
he/real.-nec.-neg.-vomit	
'he mustn't vomit'	

b) When /i/ precedes /i/, one of the /i/s is elided.

Examples:

/i- malmal/
he/real.-be naked
'he is naked'

This is a normal example of a verb with the third person singular realis form. But when the stem of the verb begins with /i/, this vowel is lost in the third person singular realis form.

/n-iak/	'I was born'
/k-iak/	'you were born'
/i-ak/	'he was born'

The same is true of the verb /-il/ 'to saw' which has the following forms:

/n-il-i/	'I sawed it'
/k-il-i/	'you sawed it'
/i-l-i/	'he sawed it'

2. Between Words.

Vowels are elided in the following situations:

a) When word final /a/ precedes word initial /a/ or /e/.

Examples:

/i- bĩ an Alik/	FOR /i- bĩ an a Alik/
he/real.-say to Alec	he/real.-say to r.p. Alec
'he says to Alec'	'he says to Alec'

/pa- tau an Eřik/ you/irreal.-give to Erik 'give it to Erik'	FOR	/pa- tu an a Eřik/ you/irreal.-give to r.p. Eric 'give it to Erik'
/yin Ersi/ she Ersi 'Ersi'	FOR	/yin a Eřsi/ she r.p. Ersi 'Ersi (as subj. of clause)'
/i- ěař an-dř/ he/real.-call out to them 'he summoned them'	FOR	/i- ěařa an-dř/ he/real.-call out to them 'he summons them/

The following two examples provide an alternative to the rule a + a = ei as outlined in 1.3.1.5. above:

/i- ě al nēmay/ he/real. go to house 'he goes to the house'	FOR	/i- ěa al nēmay/ he/real.-go to house 'he goes to the house'
/pa- m aĝařan/ you/irreal.-come outside 'come outside'	FOR	/pa- ma aĝařan/

b) Vowel elision occurs when word final /i/ precedes word initial /i/. Some examples have been found of elision of /i/ before initial /e/ and /a/ but it is not as common.

Examples:

/si u ⁿ dřlan iteř/ thing every it/real.-remain 'everything is there/	FOR	/si u ⁿ dřlani iteř/
/i- br t ip- an-i/ he/real.-say that he/irreal.-do it 'he said that he would do it'	FOR	/-ibř ti ipani/
/ ⁿ du etka/ man this place 'a local man'	FOR	/ ⁿ dui etka/
/ ⁿ du a Kaletuni/ man at Caledonia 'a New Caledonian'	FOR	/ ⁿ dui a Kaletuni/

1.3.2. Consonant Changes

1.3.2.1. In Big Nambas whenever the sound /n/ precedes /ř/ a /d/ must be inserted. For example, when the two words /yin/ and /řa/ are pronounced together, it is pronounced [ˈxin d řa].

Similarly, when the first person singular realis marker /n-/ is followed by a verb stem beginning with /ř/, /d/ is again inserted.

Ordinary Verb		Verb Stem "-r̃"	
n-la	'I see'	nd-rn	'I want'
k-la	'you see'	k-rn	'you want'
i-la	'he sees'	i-rn	'he wants'

1.3.2.2. A similar situation is seen when the consonant /l/ precedes /r̃/. There is a slight d- like sound manifested, as in the following examples:

[i- u l- d̃r̃]	[i- ε l- d̃r̃]
he/real.-buy-them	he/real.-burn them
'he bought them'	'he burnt them'

1.3.2.3. Between final /ⁿd/ and initial /l/ and /n/ in the next word, an /r̃/ is sometimes heard.

Examples:

[p- u ⁿ d r̃ luli]	[ip- u ⁿ d r̃ nas]
you/irreal.-eat lolly	he/irreal.-eat banana
'Eat the lolly.'	'He will eat the banana.'

1.4. ORTHOGRAPHY USED HEREAFTER IN THIS PAPER

CONSONANTS

	Phoneme	Orthography	
APICOLABIALS	p̃	p'	
	ɸ̃	v'	
	m̃	m'	
BILABIALS	p	p	
	b	v	
	m	m	
ALVEOLARS	t	t	
	ⁿ d	d	
	n	n	
	s	s	
	l	l	
	r̃	r	
VELARS	k	k	
	ɣ	h	
VOWELS			
	HIGH	i	i
		u	u
MIDDLE	e	e	
	ə	ə	
LOW	a	a	

Note: When the phoneme combination /ⁿd̃r̃/ occurs, it is written ñr̃ when it is grammatically required, otherwise it is written d̃r̃.

CHAPTER 2

MORPHOLOGY

2. INTRODUCTION

The morphology of the language has been subdivided as follows: first, nouns and their various expansions are outlined, then adjectives, which are not a large class and mainly come from verbs. Prepositions and particles follow.

Verbs, which form the bulk of the language, will be dealt with next, and then adverbs.

Each section deals with the maximum phrasal expansion of each part of speech.

2.1. NOUNS

Nouns in Big Nambas are defined as a class of words which constitute subjects and objects in clauses. All nouns are capable of phrasal expansion.

Noun classes are determined according to the mode of possession and are as follows:

1. Obligatorily possessed nouns
2. Optionally possessed nouns
3. Unpossessed nouns (pronouns)

2.1.1. Obligatorily Possessed Nouns

Subsumed under this category are:

1. All body parts.
2. Some terms for '*garden*' as listed.
3. Parts of Trees.
4. Some words which denote constituent parts.

5. Some kinship terms as listed.
6. The ordinal nouns - third, fourth, fifth.
7. The possessive pronoun.

Possession may be denoted in two ways: by a possessive suffix or by a noun following, which possesses the first noun. This juxtaposition of two nouns is similar to Hebrew construct expressions.

Examples of Obligatorily Possessed Nouns

1. Body Parts

pət-	'head'
p'ət-	'navel'
vli-	'tail'
su-	'bone'
(possessed su-n)	
nəm'-	'tongue'
nəm-	'devil, ghost'
drəlna-	'ear'
m'ata-	'eye'
nirah-	'(foot)print'

2. Words for 'Garden'

uta-	'garden'
m'əlna-	'garden, place'

3. Parts of Trees

rana-	'branch'
uar-	'root'
ual-	'top (of tree)'
si-	'tendrils'
lep-	'tender shoot'
(possessed lap-n)	
ru-	'leaf'
(possessed rau-n)	
di-	'sap'

4. Constituent Parts

tih-	'powder'
səlhu-	'small slimness (of a yam)'

4. Constituent Parts (cont.)

ui-	'fluid'
pəhr-	'emptiness'
pətir-	'lump, crystal'
mənu-	'second-hand item'
dep'-	'mud (adhering to a yam)'
p'əh-	'section, division (of a bar of soap, or bamboo pole)'
niv'es-	'piece'
sese-	'outer slice (of laplap pudding)'
səvs-	'strip, plank'
su-	'equipment'
(possessive sau-n)	
duana-	'the remainder'

5. Kinship Terms

nat-	'child'
tap'-	'grandmother'
v'əlia-	'daughter-in-law'
eina-	'father-in-law'
arkishap'na-	'father-in-law'

6. The Ordinal Nouns

nitla-	'the third'
niv'a-	'the fourth'
nilm'a-	'the fifth'

7. The Possessive Pronoun

nka-	'mine, yours, his, etc.'
------	--------------------------

List of Possessive Suffixes¹

-k	'my'
-m	'your (sg.)'
-n	'his'
-d	'our (inclusive)'
-m'em'	'our (exclusive)'
-m'i	'your (pl.)'
-r	'their'

When the stem of the noun ends in a consonant, which has a different point of articulation from the suffix, the suffix is preceded by [ə].

Examples with Possessive Suffixes

pət-ək head-my 'my head'	nitla- n the third-it's 'the third one'	nəm'- m'em' tongue-our (excl.) 'our tongues'
a tap'- ək r.p.-grandmother-my 'my grandmother'	pəhr- n empty one-it's 'an empty one'	m'əlna-m'em' garden-our (excl.) 'our garden'
p'ət- m navel your (sg.) 'your navel'	a nat- m r.p. child-your (sg.) 'your child'	nka- r poss. pn.-their 'theirs'
vli- n tail-it's 'it's tail'	nəm- əd ghost-our (incl.) 'our ghosts'	

Examples Involving a Possessor Noun

p'ət lihat navel of night middle of 'midnight'	su naval equipment of dance 'all of the paraphernalia required for a dance'
nəm pua ghost of pig 'the ghost of a pig'	pəhr tram emptiness of drum 'an empty drum'
nəm' natei tongue of body (person) 'a person's tongue'	vli ləpu tail of rat 'a rat's tail'
lep pavkin tender shoots pumpkin 'the tender shoots of a pumpkin'	drəlna m'rtu ear of person 'the ear of a person'

¹These suffixes are formed as segments of the absolute pronouns, -k comes from kana 'I', -m from nakm 'you (sg.)', -n from hin 'he', -d from nakəd 'we (incl.)', -m'em' from kam'em' 'we (excl.)', -m'i from kam'i 'you (pl.)' and -r from hir 'they'.

rana nai	ui ka- m	tih nap'
<i>branch of tree</i>	<i>water nose-your (sg.)</i>	<i>powder fire</i>
<i>'a branch of a tree'</i>	<i>'your nasal mucus'</i>	<i>'ashes'</i>

2.1.2. Optionally Possessed Nouns

This class subdivides into the following subclasses:

1. Nouns which take the third singular possessive word nan.
2. Nouns which take the third singular possessive word nen.
3. Title Nouns.
4. Nouns which take the prefix ar- 'all'.
5. All other optionally possessed nouns.

The possessive suffixes for nouns in categories 3, 4 and 5 are the following:

-ak	'my'
-am	'your (sg.)'
-an	'his'
-ad	'our (incl.)'
-am'em'	'our (excl.)'
-am'i	'your (pl.)'
-ar	'their'

- 2.1.2.1. Nouns which when possessed take the possessive word na-n 'his'.
(Compare 2.1.5.4. for a specialised use of this possessive adjective.)

Inflection of na-

nak	'my'
nam	'your (sg.)'
nan	'his'
nad	'our (incl.)'
nam'em'	'our (excl.)'
nam'i	'your (pl.)'
nar	'their'

List of words which use the possessive form na-

nun	'coconut bark belt'
nahau	'tassel'
kəl nahau	'coconut bark belt'
tah	'burial hole'
vutu	'photo'
titiamu	'first born brother'
titiatāh	'younger brother'
nahət	'louse'

Examples of this class of nouns:

kəl nahau nak
coconut bark belt my
 'my belt'

nahau nam
tassel your (sg.)
 'your tassel'

titiatah nan
younger brother his
 'his younger brother'

titiamu nam'em'
elder brother our (excl.)
 'our elder brother'

nahət nar
louse their
 'their lice'

It will be noted that all these nouns stand in an intimate relationship to the possessor. This may be the reason for their being a separate subclass.

2.1.2.2. Nouns which take the possessive *na-* but which use *nen* in the third singular of the possessive instead of *nan*, and *ner* in the third plural instead of *nar*.

List of this Class of Words:

ulien	'wages'
naten	'basket-tea (marriage feast)'
nitel	'length of material used for carrying produce and babies'
prien	'person used as an exchange in marriage'
təv'eliel	'side'
p'raren	'sweat'
par	'wax (in ears)'
pənul	'birthday'
dedr	'gum (of a tree)'
m'ir	'left hand'
p'ətnut	'middle'

Examples of these words in possessed form:

p'raren nak
sweat my
 'my sweat'

pənul nen
birthday his
 'his birthday'

naten nam'i
feast your (pl.)
 'your marriage feasts'

par nam
wax your (sg.)
 'the wax in your ears'

ulien nad
wages our (incl.)
 'our wages'

pənul ner
birthday their
 'their birthdays'

təv'eliel nen
side his
 'his/it's side'

nitel nam'em'
sling our (excl.)
 'our slings'

2.1.2.3. *Title Nouns*

Title nouns are defined as the names of people as well as kinship terms. The five kinship terms of 2.1.1. are also title nouns but do not belong in this present category because they are obligatorily possessed.

In normal descriptive speech and narrative, the referential particle *a* is compulsory, but when the person is addressed by his title or name it is omitted.

Examples of Title Nouns:

unei	'mother'	pupu	'grandfather'
tatei	'father'	lalei	'son-in-law'
p'ənei	'maternal uncle'	m̄lin	'chief'
m̄irei	'nephew'		

All names of People:

Tulili, Tunp'el, V'ihapat, Ardreda, Tneliani, etc.

Examples in Sentences:

a unei i- talu
r.p. mother she/real.-go to garden
'Mother has gone to the garden'

a uni- ak ipa- ma
r.p. mother-my she/irreal.-come
'My mother will come.'

a p'əni- an a Suna i- silu
r.p. mat. uncle-his r.p. Jonah he/real.-jump around in dance
'Jonah's uncle is dancing around.'

p'ənei, nakəm kə- m'ən̄m'ən?
uncle, you (sg.) you/real.-be drunk
'Uncle, are you drunk?'

i- hei, m̄irei, n- pate- i a m̄lin uaki
it/real.-not, nephew, I/real.-praise-him r.p. chief only
'No, nephew, I'm just praising the chief.'

a lti-am hini?
r.p. lti-your where
'Where is your Edie?'

2.1.2.4. Nouns which take the prefix *ar-* 'all'. These nouns are all animate and take the possessive suffixes *-ak*, *-am*, *-an*, etc. as mentioned earlier in 2.1.2.

Examples:

ar- tav'et
all woman
'all the women'

ar- m̄lin
all chief
'all the chiefs'

ar- du ¹	ar- m'ærtu- am'em'	ar- m'ærtarap'-am'i
<i>all man</i>	<i>all person- our(excl.)</i>	<i>all old man- your (pl.)</i>
<i>'all the men'</i>	<i>'all our people'</i>	<i>'all your old men'</i>

The only other nouns that are prefixed thus are:

lip'ah	'dog'
pua	'pig'
elta	'elder'
mardel	'chief'
malakal	'young person'

2.1.2.5. All other Optionally Possessed Nouns

These words constitute quite a large group and include most of the nouns in the language. The examples which follow are representative:

prapar	'sow'	duduvahien	'play'
nai	'tree'	nep'kris	'matches'
pai	'yam'	napn	'day'
m'ətu	'coconut'	navanel	'road'
nana	'pawpaw'	nalu	'cartridge'
nəmah	'house'	nal	'moon, month'
nam'el	'nakamal'	nav'ai	'nambas'
ruplet	'paper, book'	nahei	'women's headdress and skirt'
pitvet	'planted garden'	hapat	'chief'
rahəvien	'cleared plot of land'	si	'thing'
vətəmien	'love, grace'		

Examples with possessive suffixes:

prapar-ak		pai-am	
sow- my		yam-your (sg.)	
'my sow'		'my yam'	
m'ətu- an		nəmah-ad	
coconut-his		house-our (incl.)	
'his coconut'		'our house'	
nam'el- am'em'		pitvet- am'i	
nakamal-our (excl.)		planted garden-your (pl.)	
'our nakamal'		'your gardens'	
nalu- ar			
cartridge-their			
'their cartridge'			

As already mentioned in the morphophonology section (1.3.2.) some stems alter when possessed.

¹Here the morpheme -du must be used, not dui.

Examples:

nai	'tree'	nei- ak	
		tree-my	
		'my tree'	
nav'ai	'nambas'	nav'ei-ak	
		nambas-my	
		'my nambas'	

2.1.3. Unpossessed Nouns

These words are either personal or interrogative pronouns and are not possessed.

2.1.3.1. Personal Pronouns

1. kana 'I, me, myself'
2. nakəm 'you (sg.)'
3. hin 'he, she, it, himself, herself, itself'
4. nakəd 'we, us ourselves (all inclusive)'
5. kam'em' 'we, us, ourselves (all exclusive)'
6. kam'i 'you (pl.), yourselves'
7. hir 'they, them, themselves'
8. au 'person (must be followed by adjective)'
9. natei 'person, body (always object)'
10. nelnal 'everybody'

In the list above, 1-8 may be used as emphatic subjects of clauses, 1,4,5,6 and 9 may be used as non-reflexive objects and 1, 3, 4, 5 and 6 and 7 may be used as objects in reflexive constructions. 2, 3 and 7 are not used as objects. When they are in the object position, they are replaced by the corresponding object suffixes. See 2.5.7.3.

Examples of Personal Pronouns in Clauses:

a. Non-Reflexive

hin i- rp kana
 he(emph.) he/real.-hit me
 'He hit me.'

kana n- a- rn- du kam'i
 I(emph.) 1st/real.-neg.-feel-can you (pl.)
 'I don't know you.'

nakəm kə- la kam'em'?
 you (sg.) you/real.-see us (excl.)
 'Did you see us?'

nakəd p'e- v- lue- i au lera
 we (incl.) 1st/irreal.-pl.-shoot-him person that
 'Let's shoot that person over there.'

kam'em' n- a- v- rn ti p'e- v- rp natei
 we (excl.) 1st/real.-neg.-pl.-want that 1st/irreal.-pl.-hit person
 'We don't want to hit people.'

tituei hir a- v- lua nakəd i- studau
 before they they/real.-pl.-shoot us (incl.) it/real.-very much
 'Long ago they shot at us a great deal.'

i- ls- r
 he/real.-swear at-them
 'he swore at them'

b. Reflexive

n- thi kana
 I/real.-hack myself
 'I coughed.'

i- rp hin
 he/real.-hit himself
 'He hit himself.'

n- r- utar kam'em' ka- r- v'i m'anəh
 1st/real.-restr.pl.-metamorphose ourselves and-restr.pl.-be birds
 'We both metamorphosed and became birds.'

p'e- v- m'asra nakəd
 1st/irreal.-pl.-immerse ourselves
 'Let's go under the water.'

a- v- lulua hir
 they/real.-pl.-shoot constantly themselves
 'They were always shooting at one another.'

2.1.3.2. Interrogative Pronouns

Examples:

v'ata	'what?'
(hin) ak	'who (sg.)?'
(hir) ak	'who (pl.)?'
ak	'who?'

Usage in Clauses:

v'ata i- en au lera?
 what it/real.-makes person that
 'What's the matter with him?'

ak i- silu atlahatu?
 who he/real.-dance around over there
 'Who is dancing around over there?'

a- v- v'i hir ak?
 3rd non.s./real.-pl.-be they who
 'Who are they?'

hin ak ipa- sapa kana?
 he who he/irreal.-follow me
 'Who will follow me?'

2.1.4. Formation of Complex Nouns

Complex nouns are formed by derivation or composition, as follows:

2.1.4.1. Derived Nouns

There are five types of derived nouns: abstract nouns, articted nouns, ordinal nouns, determinative nouns, and reverential nouns.

2.1.4.1.1. Abstract Nouns

These are formed by suffixing -ien to verb stems:

Verb Stem		Abstract Noun	
-lu	'vomit'	lu-ien	'vomitus'
-v'ənv'ənah	'steal'	v'ənv'ənah-ien	'theft'
-tkar	'be pregnant'	tkar-ien	'pregnancy'
-hap'il	'tell a lie'	hap'il-ien	'deceit'
-vətəma	'laugh'	vətəm-ien	'love'
-m'akar	'work'	m'akar-ien	'work'
-m'atr	'sleep'	m'etr-ien	'sleep, dream'
-m'at	'be feverish'	m'et-ien	'fever'

2.1.4.1.2. Articted Nouns

The prefix na- or n- before a vowel, is used with many verb stems to make the verb stem act as a noun. In this way, it could be called an article, and the form na- parallels similar articles in other Melanesian languages.

For example:

i-kal	'it props'	na-kal	'the prop'
i-mi	'it shakes'	na-mi	'the quake'
i-si	'it grows'	n-isi	'what grows (sugar cane)'
i-lua	'it shoots'	na-lu	'the shot' (cartridge)
i-u	'it rains'	n-u	'rain'
i-van	'it bears fruit'	na-van	'the fruit'
i-rp	'it strikes'	na-rp	'the club'

Further support for calling na- an article can be adduced from the following uses of nouns without the article, in contrast with their use with the article.

i-tu v'et
 he/real.-put stone
 'he places stones (on pudding)'

na- v'et i- vral
 article-stone it/real.-be scattered
 'the stones are scattered.'

dap'- n i- studau arana-n
 earth-its it/real.-is plenty on- it
 'there is plenty of earth adhering to it'

na- dep' etka i- p'as
 article-earth here it/real.-good
 'the earth here is good.'

ui m'tu i- laləm
 water coconut it/real.-sweet
 'coconut milk is sweet.'

na-ui p'rei i- p'es-et
 article-water fresh it/real.-good-very
 'fresh water is lovely.'

2.1.4.1.3. Ordinal Nouns

These are formed by prefixing the nominaliser *ni-* and suffixing the possessive segment *-a* to the stems of numeral verbs, 'three', 'four', and 'five'.

Examples:

-tl	'three'	ni-tl-a	'the third'
-v'a	'four'	ni-v'a ¹	'the fourth of'
-ləm'	'five'	ni-ləm'-a	'the fifth of'

2.1.4.1.4. Determinative Nouns

These are formed by prefixing *ter-* to certain adjective stems.

Adjective Stem	Determinative Noun
p'arei 'long'	ter-p'arei 'the long one'
m'iel 'red'	ter-m'iel 'the red one'
pa 'small'	ter-pa 'the small one'
lil 'big'	ter-lil 'the big one'
dau 'proper'	ter-dau 'the authentic one'

¹Elision has occurred here.

2.1.4.1.5. Reverential Terms

These are formed by suffixing -et to certain nouns.

Basic Noun		Reverential Term	
nut	<i>'place'</i>	nutet	<i>'a sacred place'</i>
dui	<i>'man'</i>	duiet	<i>'a sacred man'</i>
mliṇ	<i>'chief'</i>	mliṇet	<i>'a sacred chief'</i>
nam'el	<i>'nakamal'</i>	nam'elet	<i>'a sacred nakamal'</i>
nahau	<i>'vine'</i>	nahauet	<i>'a sacred vine'</i>
napən	<i>'day'</i>	napənet	<i>'a sacred day'</i>
navanel	<i>'road'</i>	navanelet	<i>'a sacred road'</i>
nəpin	<i>'song'</i>	nəpinet	<i>'a sacred song'</i>
nap'	<i>'fire'</i>	nep'et	<i>'sacred fire'</i>
nav'et	<i>'stone'</i>	nev'etet	<i>'sacred stone'</i>

Note the morphological alteration of a > e in the last two examples.

The form teret is formed by combining the determinative prefix and a reverential suffix.

ter- et
determinative prefix-reverential suffix

lit. *'a sacred thing', 'a huge one', 'a whopper'*

e.g. teret na pua
huge one of pig
'what a colossal pig!'

2.1.4.2. Compound Nouns

There is only one type of compound noun; it consists of a noun followed by a verb stem.

Examples:

pət- m'iel
head-be red

'red-head' (a type of bird, also a term for *'policeman'*)

dəh- uas
tail-be yellow

'yellow-tail (fish)'

nep'-kris
fire-scrape

'matches'

2.1.5. Usage of Nouns in Phrases

In the above description of nouns and their classes, phrases have been used to show their use. A fuller summary of the types of noun phrases encountered in this language now follows.

There are eight types of noun phrases, all of which can be used as

subject and objects of clauses: titular, appositional, modified, possessive, descriptive, relative, co-ordinate and serial.

2.1.5.1. Titular Noun Phrases

This consists of the referential particle *a* and a title noun. When the person is addressed, *a* is omitted.

Examples:

a Vinp'el
r.p. *Vinp'el*
'*Vinp'el*' (man's name)

Vənuhei, m- a- ruh
Vənuhei, (woman's name) 2nd/irreal. cond.- neg.-run away
'*Vənuhei*, don't run away!'

a v'ən- ək
r.p. *sister-my*
'*my sister*' (man speaking)

2.1.5.2. Appositional Noun Phrases

These are expansions of the titular noun phrases. They are formed thus: the pronouns *hin* 'he', or *hir* 'they' may precede a Titular Noun Phrase or alternatively two such phrases may be placed in apposition.

Examples:

hin a Kalpau i- vətəma
he r.p. *Kalpau he/real.-laugh*
'*Kalpau* (slightly emphatic) *is laughing*'

hir a Kalpau a- tə- vra-hau
they r.p. *Kalpau they/real.-compl.-pl.-go away*
'*Kalpau and his friends have gone away.*'

a tap'- ək *a* Sera si i- an- i
r.p. *grandmother-my* r.p. *Sera something it/real.-makes-her*
'*My grandmother Sarah is sick.*'

p'ənei *a* Tunapit, pa- ma!
uncle r.p. *Tunapit you/irreal.-come*
'*Uncle Tunapit, come!*'

2.1.5.3. Modified Noun Phrase

Nouns of classes I and II may be modified in phrases by a variety of modifiers of which several may be used at once.

Possible modifiers for nouns are as follows:

(a) Attributive Adjective

e.g. tam'a stu-stu
devil bad-bad

'*a very bad devil*'

p'ət m'erm'ler
navel swollen

'*a man with an umbilical hernia*'

(b) Attributive Adjective of Size

- | | | |
|------|-----------------|--------------|
| e.g. | tav'et pa | nil lil |
| | woman small | hair big |
| | 'a small woman' | 'bushy hair' |

(c) Attributive Adverb

- | | |
|------|---------------|
| e.g. | dui etka |
| | man here |
| | 'a local man' |

(d) Denotative Adjective

- | | |
|------|---------------|
| e.g. | v'anu laha |
| | island this |
| | 'this island' |

(e) Limiting Adjective

- | | | | |
|------|---------------|-------------|---------------------|
| e.g. | m'rtu udrlani | pai kinkin | ar-tav'et nakl |
| | man all | yam some | all-woman each |
| | 'all men' | 'some yams' | 'each of the women' |

The phrases involving attributive adjectives may be possessed, and the possessive marker falls on the attributive adjective except in Class I nouns, where the possessive must stay on the noun to which it is bound.

Class II

- | | | | |
|------|-----------------------|-----------|------------------------|
| m | lin tarap'-am'i | tratr | lil-ak |
| ch | ief old- your (pl.) | yam-stand | big-my |
| | 'your senior chief' | | 'my big yam-stand' |
| a | Uvi p'as-am'em' | mardel | p'as pa- k |
| r.p. | Uvi good-our (excl.) | child | good little-my |
| | 'our good (girl) Uvi' | | 'my good little child' |

Class I

- | | | | |
|------|--|--------------|--------------------------|
| a | nat-ək p'as | v'at- | əm mərər lera |
| r.p. | son-my good | stomach-your | fat there |
| | 'my good son' | | 'your fat stomach there' |
| dəh- | n p'arei | | |
| bot | tom part-its long | | |
| | 'its long hindquarters (e.g. fish, snake)' | | |

Examples of phrases expanded maximally are as follows:

- | | | | |
|------|---------------------|--------------|-----------------------------|
| ar- | du lilil | lera udrlani | ak pa len |
| all- | man big (pl.) | that all | who small that |
| | 'all those big men' | | 'Who is that small person?' |

- | | | | | | |
|----|---|----|---------------------------------|----|----|
| m | lin lil a- | r- | ru lera apa- | r- | ma |
| ch | ief big they-real.-restr.pl.-two | | that they/irreal.-rest.pl.-come | | |
| | 'Those two important chiefs will come.' | | | | |

- | | | | |
|--------|------------------------|-------|--------------------------|
| tav'et | p'as lera udrlani | si | p'əsp'as udrlani-ak lera |
| woman | good that all | thing | good all-my that |
| | 'all those good women' | | 'all this glory of mine' |

2.1.5.4. *Possessive Noun Phrases*

As has been seen above, some nouns are classed according to the way they are used in possessive phrases. The basic structure of the possessive noun phrase is that the possessed noun immediately precedes the possessor. When the possessed noun is in Class I (2.1.1.), and it is possessed by a common (not titular) noun, no possessive marker is used, and the two nouns are merely juxtaposed.

Examples:

vli lpu	net lip'ah
tail rat	baby dog
'the tail of a rat'	'puppy (the baby of a dog)'

With a titular noun, the Class I noun must show a possessive marker.

nil- n a Lim'ei	a nat- n a Mlin
hair-her r.p. Lim'ei	r.p. baby-his r.p. chief
'Limei's hair'	'the chief's baby'

Where the possessed noun belongs to Class II (2.1.2.), the relevant possessive marker is used for the possessed noun, according to which subclass it is in.

e.g. Subclass 1.

nahau nan a Mlin a Lm'lasei	nahət nar ar- tav'et
tassel his r.p. chief at Lm'lasei	louse their all-woman
'the chief at Lm'lasei's tassel'	'all the women's lice'

Subclass 2.

nitel nen a Vitar	naten nen a v'an- ək
sling her r.p. Vitar	basket tea her r.p. sister-my
'Vitar's sling'	'my sister's marriage feast'

Subclasses 3, 4 and 5

a teti- an a Kalau	lip'ah-an a Sus
r.p. father-his r.p.p Kalau	dog- his r.p. sus
'Kalau's father'	'George's dog'

Note that when the possessor is plural, it is shown by the possessive marker.

nəmah-ar a Muna	pitvet-ar nelnal
house-their r.p. Muna	garden-their everybody
'Muna and his family's house'	'Everybody's garden(s)'

2.1.5.5. *Descriptive Noun Phrases*

A Descriptive noun phrase consists of a noun or noun phrase and a prepositional phrase.

Examples:

nauei na pai	dui na m'əkarien
water of yam	man for work
'yam-water'	'a worker, servant'

nipal na pai
platform for yam

'a yam platform'

nai a tah nambah
tree at rear of house

'a tree behind the house'

a unei pa asən a Hav'i
r.p. mother small at r.p. Hav'i

'Aunty (who is) married to Hav'i'

ə tap'- ək asən a Muna
r.p. grandmother-my at r.p. Muna

'my grandmother who lives in the same house as (her son) Muna'

2.1.5.6. Relative Noun Phrases

This consists of a noun and another possessed noun in juxtaposition. The construction is elliptical.

Examples:

i- a- v'ev'a dui pua-n
he/real.-neg.-bring man pig-his

'He didn't bring the man whose pig it was (that did the damage).'

kə- tə- v- pasla dui pitvet-an
you/real.-compl.-pl.-find man garden-his

'Have you found the man whose garden (was involved)?'

2.1.5.7. Coordinate Noun Phrases

These consist of a noun, pronoun, or noun phrase followed by m'a 'with' and a noun, pronoun or noun phrase.

Examples:

nas m'a nuk
banana with island cabbage

'banana and island cabbage'

dui m'a tav'et
man with woman

'a man with a woman'

hin a Lui m'e- r a Suta
he r.p. Louis with-them r.p. Judah

'Louis and Judah'

kəm'em' m'e- i
we (excl.) with-him

'he and I'

2.1.5.8. Serial Noun Phrases

This consists of a list of nouns which may be continued ad libitum. Intonation is distinctive. It starts high in each individual word and goes down at the end of each word.

Examples:

i- tu kəna nas, pai, m'ətu nuk...
he/real.-give me banana, yam, coconut, island cabbage...

'He gave me bananas, yams, coconuts, island cabbage.'

Nelnal a- v- sapa kana; a Sim'is, a Sun, a
 Many they/real.-pl.-follow me r.p. James, John, r.p.

Susev', a Hav'i..
 Joseph, r.p. Hav'i..

'Many people followed me: James, John, Joseph, Hav'i..'

2.2. ADJECTIVES

Adjectives in Big Nambas are defined as a class of words which modify nouns in Noun Phrases. They always immediately follow the noun. The following classes of adjectives occur in Big Nambas: Attributive Adjectives, Denotative Adjectives and Gastronomical Adjectives.

2.2.1. Attributive Adjectives

These are all stative verb stems used adjectivally. They may be suffixed for possession.

Examples:

Stative Verb

i- lil
 he/real.-big
 'He is big.'

k- r- p'as
 you/real.-restr. pl.-good
 'You are both good.'

Adjective

nas lil
 banana big
 'a big banana'

dui pa
 man small
 'a small man, a little boy'

Possessed Adjective

nas lil-ak
 banana big-my
 'my big banana'

dui pa- k
 man small-my
 'my small boy'

Attributive adjective stems may be partially reduplicated to express intensity or plurality.

Examples:

p'as 'good'

p'əs- p'as
 good- good
 'very good'

pa 'small'

pa- pa
 small-small
 'small (pl.)'

mardel papa
 child small
 'little children'

lil 'big'

li- lil
 big-big
 'big (pl.)'

dui lilil
 man big
 'the big men'

Two attributive adjectives of colour have their stem partially reduplicated, when quadrupeds are described.

Examples:

tilau m'iel <i>fish red</i> 'a red fish'	BUT	pua m'i-m'iel <i>pig red-red</i> 'a red pig'
m'anəh m'ət <i>bird black</i> 'a black bird'	BUT	lip'ah m'ət- m'ət <i>dog black-black</i> 'a black dog'

2.2.2. Denotative Adjectives

These are non-verbal and may never be possessed or in any other way affixed.

Examples:

dui lera <i>man that</i> 'that man'	nas lahara <i>banana that one</i> 'that banana, you know the one I mean'
dui kinkin <i>man a certain</i> 'a certain man'	a nat- n dau <i>r.p. child-his proper</i> 'his very own son'
dui nen <i>man the one in question</i> 'the man in question'	pua nen <i>pig (m.) the</i> 'the male of the species'
elta nen <i>elder the</i> 'the elder'	prapar nen <i>sow the</i> 'the female of the species'

2.2.3. Gastronomical Adjectives

These are modified transitive verb stems used adjectivally. They are connected with eating and drinking and are obligatorily possessed.

Examples:

tam'a na- k <i>devil eating-my</i> 'my victim to devour (by cannibalism)'	si na- n <i>thing eating-his</i> 'his yam'
---	--

na-k etc. may only refer to cooked staple food and the expression si nak can only refer to a yam and not to any other staple vegetable.

nas uada- k <i>banana eating-my</i> 'a banana for me to eat (uncooked)'
nisi sama- m <i>sugarcane chewing-your (sg.)</i> 'sugarcane for you to chew'

nauei m'am'a- m
water drinking-your (sg.)
'water for you to drink'

si uada prapar
something eating sow
'Pig food'

nas na- n a Lipa
banana eating-his r.p. Lipa
'Lipa's bananas, to eat'

Derivation of the gastronomical adjectives:

na- comes from -nana 'eat'
 uada- comes from -ud 'eat (uncooked food)'
 sama- comes from -sama 'chew'
 m'am'a- comes from -m'en 'drink'

The question of whether these words could be noun class markers has been considered, as the gastronomical nan is like the nan in subclass 1, but it seems that they do not mark out any one class of nouns as the food words they are used with (like nisi, pua, pai) may alternately take the ordinary possessive endings -ak, -am, -an, etc., when it has no connection in the context with eating and drinking.

Examples:

nisi- an a Hau
sugarcane-her r.p. title of chief's wife
'the sugarcane belonging to the chief's wife' (i.e. which she planted)

pua-n a Asisa
pig-his r.p. assessor
'the assessor's pig (owned by him, but not necessarily to eaten by him)'

nau-i- an a uni- ak
water-her r.p. mother-my
'my mother's water (i.e. in a bamboo container)'

Therefore these gastronomical adjectives, though limited in their use by the bounds of meaning, are not noun class markers, in terms of other Oceanic languages.

2.3. PREPOSITIONS

Prepositions may be divided into three classes:

1. The unaffixed preposition.
2. Those that are suffixed with the direct object suffixes (see 2.5.7.3).
3. Those that are suffixed with possessive suffixes.

2.3.1. Unaffixed Prepositions

Examples: al 'to, towards, in', a 'at'.

Examples in a Phrase:

i- v'a al nauei
 he/real.-go to water
 'He went to the river.'

nut al P'atei i- v'iv'a
 place in breadfruit it/real.-distant
 'The place, "In amongst the breadfruit trees" is distant.'

n- ln- i al naten- ak
 I/real.-leave-it in basket-my
 'I left it in my basket.'

nut a Tuluei i- mima
 place at Tulwei it/real.-be close
 'Tulwei is nearby.'

a Mlin a P'renuei i- vr- i
 r.p. chief at Brenwei he/real.-say-it
 'The chief of Brenwei said so.'

i- lak a nadep'
 he/real.-sit at ground
 'He sat on the ground.'

i- ter a nah nəmah
 it/real.-stay at front of house
 'It is in front of the house.'

2.3.2. Prepositions Suffixed with Direct Object Suffixes

Examples: m'a- 'with', a or an- 'to (dative and locative); with (instrumental)'.

m'a- is inflected as follows:

m'a dui	'with a man'
m'a kana	'with me'
m'a-h	'with-you'
m'e-i	'with him'
m'e-r	'with them'

a is inflected as follows:

a dui	'to a man'
a kana	'to me'
an-əh	'to-you'
an-i	'to-him, to-her, to-it, with-it'
an-r	to-them, with-them'

Examples in phrases.

a) m'a-
 hin i- lak m'a kam'em'
 he he/real.-stay with us (excl.)
 'He stayed with us.'

i- rn ti ipa- duduvah m'a- h
 he/real.-want that he/irreal.-play with-you (sg.)
 'He wants to play with you.'

n- v- p'əlt m'e- i
 lst/real.-pl.-join with-him
 'We are united with him.'

n- a- v- an si ki m'e- r məl
 lst/real.-neg.-pl.-do thing any with-them more
 'We don't do anything with them anymore.'

b) a or an-

i- tu su pua a lip'ah
 he/real.-give bone pig to dog
 'He gave a pork bone to the dog.'

i- v'iv'en prapar-an an a mlin
 he/real.-show sow- his to r.p. chief
 'He showed his sow to the chief.'

i- rp- i a nai
 he/real.-hit-him with stick
 'He hit him with a stick.'

i- t- tu sare- i an-əh?
 he/real.-compl.-give finishing-it to-you
 'Has he already given it to you?'

i- viviln an-i
 he/real.-be straight to-it
 'He is directly opposite it.'

i- utakm an-i
 he/real.-spoil to-him
 'He spoiled him.'

m- a- tu an-r
 2nd/irreal. cond.-neg.-give to-them
 'Don't give it to them!'

i- va hin an- i
 he/real.-wipe him with-it
 'He wiped himself with it.'

2.3.3. Prepositions which have Possessive Suffixes

There are only three of these and they are as follows: asən- 'towards', sena (sana-) 'because of' and na (ne) 'of'.

The possessive suffixes used are those used by the nouns in 2.1.2.

Examples:

pa- ma asən-ək
 you/irreal.-come to- me
 'Come to me!'

i- ter asən- m
 it/real.-stay to- you
 'It is up to you!' (i.e. it's your
 decision)

i- ta- v'a asən-n
she/real.-compl.-go to- him
'She went to him.'

i- ruh asən-m'em'
he/real.-run away to- us (excl.)
'He ran away from us.'

p'e- v'alet asən-m'i
I/irreal.-go to- you (pl.)
'I will come to you.'

a- v- lak asən-r
they/real.-pl.-stay to- them
'They stayed with them (chez eux).'

i- v'a asən nut a Pitar
he/real.-go to place at Pitar
'He went to Pitar.'

i- ter asən-r ar-mlin
it/real.-stay to- them all-chief
'It is up to all the chiefs.'

nəl- r i- rer sena v'əlv'elien
inside-them it/real.-be sore because of quarrel
'They were angry because of a quarrel.'

When affixed the stem is always sana-. The endings are perfectly regular.

sana- k
because of me
'because of me'

kuprativ i- ta- ra sare- i sana- m'i
cooperative it/real.-compl.-fall finishing-it because of-you (pl.)
'The cooperative has collapsed because of you people.'

a- v- an tim'ah sana- r
they/real.-pl.-make feast because of-them
'They made a feast for them.'

nipal na pai
platform for yam
'a platform to put yams on'

nipal ne- n
platform for-it
'a platform for it'

nipal ne- r
platform for-them
'a platform for them'

2.4. PARTICLES

Particles are words which function mainly at clause and sentence level as Introducers, Connectors, Interrogatives, Emphasizers, Aspect Particles and Referential Particles. Only Aspect Particles may be inflected.

2.4.1. Introducers

Examples: naran 'when', sena ti 'because', ti 'because', a ti 'so that', arna ti 'so that'.

Examples in Sentences:

naran i- le- i, i- dedrən
 when he/real.-see-him, he/real.-be afraid
 'When he saw him, he was afraid.'

i- valau sena ti n- rp- i
 he/real.-cry because I/real.-hit-him
 'He cried because I hit him.'

pa- v'ah prapar lera ti i- haahaa
 you/irreal.-look out sow that because it/real.-bite-bites
 'Look out for that sow - it bites!'

i- lena ruplet arna ti ipa- rn- du sei
 he/real.-read book so that he/irreal.-know-prop. something
 'He studies so that he may be wise.'

2.4.2. Connectors

Examples: v'eti 'but' (adversative), v'aha 'or' (alternative),
 la .. ra 'who, whom, which' (relative), lam .. ra 'who, whom, which'
 (relative), na 'then' (consecutive), ti 'that' (factual).

Examples in Sentences:

k- le- p'la kana, v'eti n- a- v'ah -i
 you/real.-look-wrongly me but I/real.-neg.-think-it
 'You hate me, but I don't care.'

pa- v'a eia v'aha i- k- a- hei?
 you/irreal.-go above or it/real.-nec.-neg.-not
 'Are you going up or not?'

pua la k- tu kana ra i- a- p'as
 pig which you/real.-give me (that) it/real.-neg.-be good
 'That pig which you gave me is no good.'

Atua i- t- rn sera drəl mardel a nut la
 God he/real.-compl.-hear compl. voice child in place which
 i-lak ra
 he/real.-stay that

'God has heard the voice of the child in the place where he is.'

ki lam kə- tu kana ra...
 the one which you/real.-give me that...
 'that one which you gave me'

mardel i- lil pa na hin ka- lak arna nut kaka
 child he/real.-be big small, then he and-stay in place deserted
 'The child grew up a little, and then lived in the wilderness.'

n- a- rn ti p'e- la ti a nat- ək ipa m'a
 I/real.-neg.-want that I/irreal.-see that r.p. child-my he/irreal.-die
 'I don't want to see my son die.'

2.4.3. The Particle ki

ki is used in a number of different ways. It is basically a shorter form of a denotative adjective kinkin 'some', 'any'. But according to intonation, it may assume rather different meanings.

Examples:

dui ki i- amək
man a certain he/real.-be one
'a man'

ki laha i- v'i nka- k
the one this it/real.-be poss.pn. my
'This one is mine.'

(Here ki is virtually used as a noun, with adjective following.)

hin ak i- spəspa liu? kana ki
he who he/real.-knock door I of course
'Who's knocking on the door? I am, of course.'

a Lia ki?
r.p. Leah where
'Where's Leah?'

2.4.4. The Particle ra

Although used extensively in questions, ra is not merely an interrogative particle, but has also an affirmative function.

a) Interrogative Usage: Here it is equivalent to the French 'n'est-ce pas'.

pa- v'a eia, ra?
you/irreal.-go up interr. part.
'You're going up, are you?'

b) Affirmative Usage:

hin ra
it now
'That's it! That's the way to do it.' (Bisl. em ya nao)

i- p'as ra
it/real.-be good now
'That's good.'

Also in relative clauses, the particle is used to complement the relative pronoun at the end of the clause.

Example:

pa- sila nut la kə- tr-i ra
you/irreal.-wash place which you/real.-cut-it now
'Wash the spot that you cut.'

It should be noted that the two segments la and ra come together to form the denotative adjective lera 'that'.

2.4.5. The Particle pər

pər, like ki, may be used adjectivally, as well as having other uses. pər is more emphatic in all its meanings than ki.

Examples:

a) Adjectival Usage

si pər
thing some
'something indefinable'

b) Verbal Usage

i- k- p'əlt m'a nəkəd pər
he/real.-nec.-join with us (incl.) must
'He must join us.'

In this example, pər complements the verb with the necessity prefix and is obligatory in an independent clause.

The concept of complementation is similar to ra, as outlined above.

c) Interrogative Usage

k- kre- i pər?
you/real.-ask for it indeed
'I hope you asked for it?' (sarcastic)

k- lev' ki i- han pər?
you/real.-take one it/real.-sharp indeed
'I do hope you got (me) a sharp one.'

d) Emphatic Usage

tituei pər
ago very much
'a long time ago'

2.4.6. The Referential Particle

This particle precedes title nouns in narrative or descriptive speech. Title nouns are the names of people and also include all kinship terms.

Examples:

a tap' - ək i- lil
r.p. grandmother-my she/real.-be big
'My grandmother is big.'

a M'ikail i- lak arna nut atka
r.p. M'ikail he/real.-live in place here
'M'ikail lives here.'

2.5. VERBS

2.5.0. Introductory

A verb may be described as an inflected stem, which expresses mode, actor, aspect, number and manner of action. A very large part of the Big Nambas language consists of verbs. With the exception of nouns, other parts of speech carry only a small functional load. Adjectives are few and they are subsumed mainly under the category of verbs. Almost all numerals are inflected as verbs and carry most of the verbal prefixes.

Examples of the Range of Verbs:

i-	lil	ipa-	p'as	i-	vərvər
he/real.-big		he/irreal.-good		he/real.-run	
'He is big.'		'He will be good.'		'He runs.'	

i-	lak-	kar	navanel
he/real.-sit down-blocking road			
'He is sitting down in the road and blocking it.'			

i-	ta-	tl
it/real.-compl.-three		
'There are three of them already.'		

kə-	v'i	lihav
you/real.-be show-off		
'You are a show-off!'		

pa-	hau	ipa-	lahməl
you/irreal.-go away		it/irreal.-be immediate	
'Go away immediately!'			

2.5.1. Verb Classes

There are two classes of verbs in Big Nambas; these are divided on the basis of differences in inflection. All verbs follow the general structure of affixes outlined in the charts (2.5.2.), but in 10, 20, 30, 40, 50 and 60, there are two different sets of morphemes to represent them. The verbs which take the more commonly occurring set have been called Class I, and the verbs taking the other set of affixes, Class II. There seems to be no semantic criterion for this division into classes. The members of Class II are all monosyllabic and intransitive, but Class I includes transitive and intransitive verbs, some of which are monosyllabic.

The charts which follow (2.5.2.) show how the inflections for the two classes differ.

2.5.1.1. Examples of Class I Stems

Transitive Verbs

-	'leave'
-nen	'put in (e.g. a bag)'
-rp	'hit'
-təh	'punch'
-v'i	'be' ¹

Intransitive Verbs

-hap'il	'tell a lie'
-lal	'hang'
-laləv	'swing'
-lil	'be big'
-vərvər	'run'
-vətəma	'laugh'
-v'əlv'al	'quarrel'

These are only a few samples from a great number of other verbs, transitive and intransitive, which form Class I.

2.5.1.2. Examples of Class II Stems

The following are all the examples discovered, to date.

-an	'leave (a place)'
-dəv	'be heavy'
-hau	'go away'
-iak	'be born'
-kal	'be wedged'
-lis	'be lazy' (Bislamanism)
-ləm	'leak'
-ləm'	'be five'
-lu	'vomit'
-ma	'come'
-mi	'quake' (earthquake only)
-məs	'break' (intrans.)
-mu	'cool down'
-m'a	'die'
-m'ət	'be black'
-nev'	'have asthma'

¹The verb 'to be' is considered as a transitive verb because it may take a pronoun object suffix, for example:

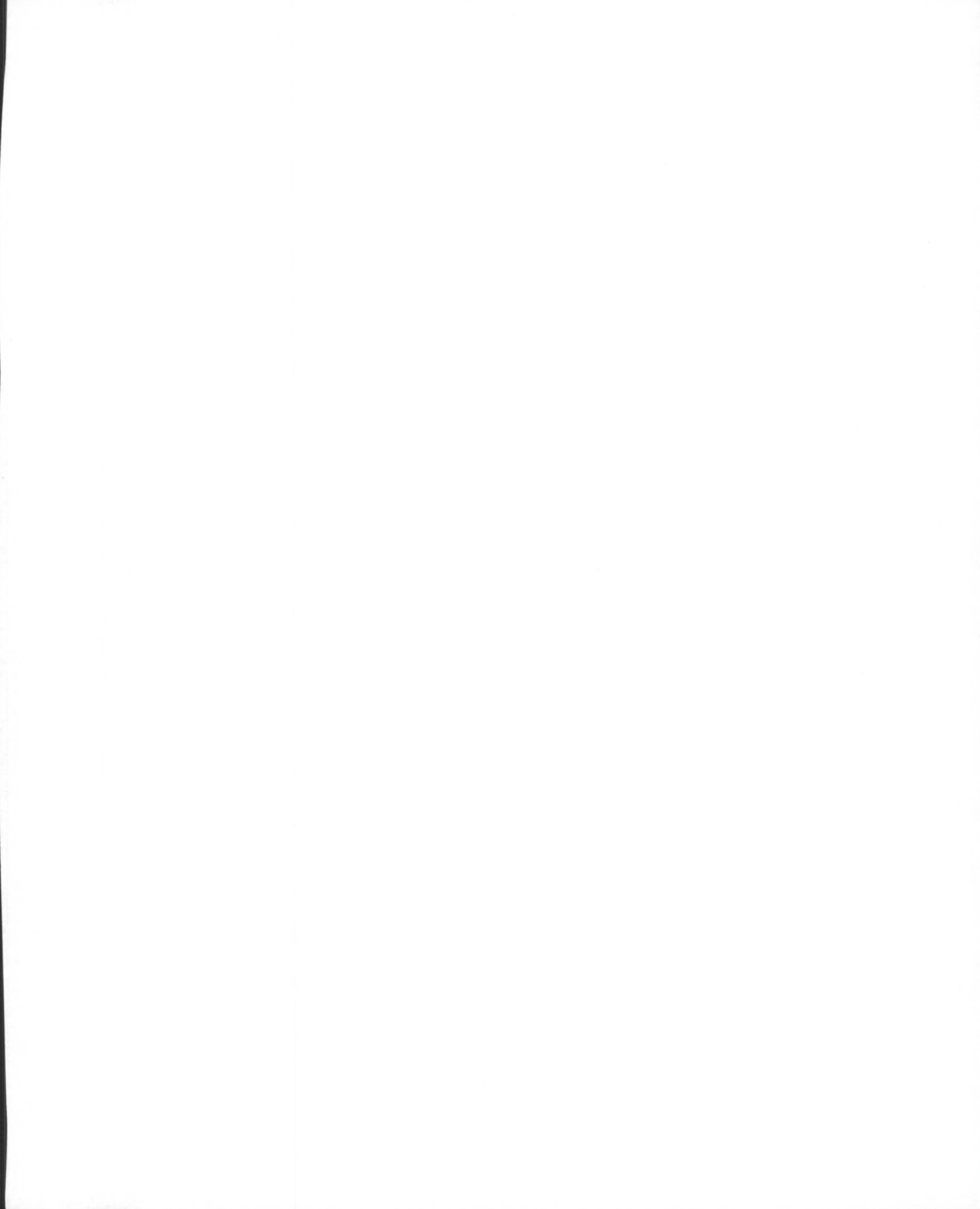
i-	a-	v'i	-əh
it/real,-neg,-be			-you (s.)
'It doesn't involve you.'			

-pəd	'be satiated'	
-pət	'be silent'	
-pu	'be putrid'	
-p'el	'choke' (intrans.)	
-p'æs	'alight' (used of a bird alighting on a branch)	
-ren	'shed light'	
-rer	'be sore'	
-rs	'fall down'	
-ru	'be two'	
-sel	'be lost' (non-human subject)	
-səm	'drip'	
-səp	'curve' (pig's tusk)	
-səp'	'be awake'	
-ter	'stay' (mostly with non-human subject)	
-tl	'be three'	
-təp'	'be infected'	
-tr	'cohabit' (woman staying with a man)	
-u	'be raining'	
-uas	'be yellow'	
-un	'form a pool'	
-uv'	'sit on eggs'	
-van	'bear fruit'	
-v'a	'go'	} These two verbs are homophonous.
-v'a	'be four'	

2.5.2. Inflection of Verbs

2.5.2.1. Comprehensive Chart of Affixes showing Class I and Class II separately

		C L A S S I																		
		00	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90									
Co-ord	Actor/Mode	Necess.	Aspect	Negative	Number	Habit	Verb Stem	Stem Modifiers	Ability	Pronoun Object/Benefactive										
01 ka-	11 Realis	21 -k-	31 Complete -t-	41 {-a-}	51 -ǫ- sing.	61 -mu-		71 Intensifier -et	81 Competence {-dau}	91 Pronoun Object										
	111 n- 1st							911 -ǫh 2nd												
	112 {ka-} 2nd							912 -i 3rd sing												
	113 i- 3rd sing.							913 -r 3rd non-sing												
	114 a- 3rd non-sing.							92 Benefactive												
	12 Irrealis							921 -ak 1st												
	121 {p'e-} 1st sing.							922 -am 2nd sing												
	122 {pa-} 2nd sing.							923 -an 3rd sing												
	123 {ipa-} 3rd sing.							924 -ad 1st pl. incl.												
	124 {apa-} 3rd non-sing.							925 -am'em'- 1st pl. excl.												
	125 p'a- 1st pl.							926 -am'i 2nd pl.												
	126 p'e- 1st restr. plural							927 -ar 3rd non-sing.												
	13 Irreal Condition																			
	131 m'a- 1st																			
	132 ma- 2nd																			
	133 im- 3rd sing.																			
	134 am- 3rd non-sing.																			
	14 Imperative																			
	141 da- sing.																			
	142 ǫ- sing.																			
	143 a- non-sing.																			
	C L A S S II																			
	01 ka-							11 Realis			221 -ka- sing. 21 -k- non-sing.	331 Complete -ta- sing. 31 -t- plural 332 Continuative -da- sing. 32 -d- non-sing. 33 Proximity -p'ah-	441 * -ah- sing. 41 {-a-} pl. 332 Continuative -da- sing. 32 -d- non-sing. 33 Proximity -p'ah-	51 -ǫ- sing. 52 -r- restricted plural 53 -vra- plural 54 -v- general pl.	61 {-mur-}		71 Intensifier -et	81 Competence -dau Ability -dri	Note: 72, 91 and 92 not included, as Class II verbs are all intransitive and do not use them.	
								111 n- 1st												
112 {ka-} 2nd																				
113 i- 3rd sing.																				
114 a- 3rd non-sing.																				
12 Irrealis																				
1121 p'a- 1st sing.																				
1122 pa- 2nd sing.																				
123 ipa- 3rd sing.																				
124 apa- 3rd non-sing.																				
125 p'a- 1st pl.																				
126 p'e- 1st restr. plural																				
13 Irreal Condition																				
1131 m'a- 1st sing.		* Note re 441																		
1132 ma- 2nd sing.		When preceded by 13 (m'a- etc) or 221 (ka-) or 332 (da-) the vowel of the 1st prefix coalesces with the a in ah to form mah-, kah- dah- etc.																		
1133 ima- 3rd sing.																				
134 am- 3rd non-sing.																				
1135 ama- 3rd gen. plural																				
131 m'a- 1st pl.																				
132 ma- 2nd pl.																				
14 Imperative																				
1141 dah- sing.																				
141 da- non-sing.																				
143 a- sing. & plural																				



2.5.2.2. Inflection of Verbs: Synopsis Chart of Affixes

Where Class II differs from Class I, the additional Class II elements are in brackets.

00	10		20	30	40	50	60	70		80	90						
Co-ord	Actor/Mode		Necess.	Aspect	Negative	Number	Habit	Verb Stem	Stem Modifiers	Ability	Pronoun Object/ Benefactive						
01 ka-	11 Realis		21 -k(a)- (sing.) and non- sing.	31 Compl. -t(a)- (sing.) and non-sing. 32 Contin. -d(a)- (sing.) and non-sing. 33 Proximity -p'əh-	41 -a(h)- (sing.) and non-sing.	51 ∅- sing. 52 r- restr. plural 53 -v(ra)- plural 54 -∅(v)- general plural	-mu(r)-		71 Intens. -et	81 Competence -dau 82 Ability -dri	91 Pronoun Object						
111	n-	1st							-t(a)- (sing.) and non-sing.		-a(h)- (sing.) and non-sing.	∅- sing.	72 Manner	911 -əh	2nd		
112	{kə-}	2nd											721 -sər-	depository	912 -i	3rd sing.	
113	i-	3rd sing.											722 -kar-	obstructive	913 -r	3rd non- sing.	
114	a-	3rd non- sing.											723 -p'la-	accidental		92 Benefactive	
12 Irrealis													724 -da-	prehensile		921 -ak	1st sing.
(1)121	p'e-/(pa-)	1st sing.											725 -la- or -lua-	} abstractive		922 -am	2nd sing.
122	pa-	2nd sing.											726 -ur		} repetitive	923 -an	3rd sing.
123	ipa-	3rd sing.											727 -urur			924 -ad	1st pl. incl.
124	apa	3rd non- sing.											728 -səmən-	bungling	925 -am'em'	1st pl. excl.	
125	p'ə	1st plural											729 -pr-	fractional	926 -am'i	2nd pl.	
126	p'e	1st restr. plural											7210 -us-	divisive	927 -ar	3rd pl.	
13 Irreal Condition													7211 -p'ən-	fatal			
(1)131	m'ə/(m'a)	1st sing.											7212 -p'i-	surrounding			
(i)132	mə/(ma)	2nd sing.				7213 -sp'-	superficial										
(1)133	im(a)-	3rd sing.				7214 -ulul-	covering										
134	am-	3rd non- sing.				7215 -dina-	inchoative										
(1)135	ama-	3rd gen. plural)				7216 -srah-	expectant										
14 Imperative																	
(1)141	da(h)-	(sing.) & plural															
142	∅-	sing.															
143	a-	non-sing.															

2.5.3. Description of Verb Prefixes

2.5.3.0. Introductory: Independent Verbs

Distinction is made in the following description between those prefixes which can be used with independent verbs and those which can be used with dependent verbs.

An independent verb is considered as one which is the predicate of an initial clause of a sentence or discourse. Discourse - medial or sentence - medial verbs which are co-ordinated with initial verbs are made dependent verbs and are characterised by the use of the co-ordinating prefix 00 in place of the actor/mode prefixes 10, and by the restriction in the use of other prefixes (see 2.5.6.).

The prefixes first described will be those used by independent verbs.

2.5.3.1. First Order of Prefixes (10)

These are the obligatory actor/mode portmanteau morphemes. These are four modes in Big Nambas, each manifested by a different set of prefixes, thus:

a) Realis Mode (11)

This mode shows that the action is real, whether in the past or in the present. It is used in conjunction with all other orders of prefixes.

Examples:

Class I

n- le- i
I/real.-see-him
'I saw him.'

ka- ruh
you/real.-run away
'You ran away.'

i- duduvah
he/real.-play
'He is playing.'

n- il nai
I/real.-saw tree
'I sawed the tree.'

i- l- i
he/real.-saw-it
'He sawed it.'

Class II

n- nev'
I/real.-have asthma
'I have asthma.'

ka- lu
you/real.-vomit
'You vomited.'

i- lam'
it/real.-be five
'Five.'

k- iak
you/real.-be born
'You were born.'

i- ak
he/real.-be born
'He was born.'

Note that in the 3rd person singular of verbs whose stems begin with the phoneme i, one i is elided.

Class I

n- r- laləv
I/real.-restr.pl.-swing
'We both swung.'

nə- v- hap'r
I/real.-pl.-climb
'We climbed.'

The above four examples may be either exclusive or inclusive according to the subject pronoun preceding them or the context.

e.g. Class I

kam'em' n- r- ru n- r- titihap'el
we (excl.) I/real.-restr.pl.-be two I/real.-restr.pl.-trip
'We both tripped.'

nakəd nə- v- rukrkr
we (incl.) I/real.-pl.-be ambidextrous
'We are ambidextrous.'

Class II

kam'em' nə- vra- pət
we (excl.) I/real.-pl.-be silent
'We fell silent.'

nakəd n- r- v'a
we (excl.) I/real.-restr.pl.-be four
'There are four of us.'

Allomorphic Variation: {kə} kə- ~ mə-. The second person realis morpheme {kə} has two allomorphs: mə- occurs before the necessity morpheme -kə- and kə- occurs elsewhere.

Examples:

kə- dilin
you/real.-be crazy
'You're crazy!'

kə- v- hai
you/real.-pl.-sing
'You (pl.) are singing.'

mə- k- r- v'el pr
you/real.-nec.-restr.pl.-walk nec.
'You two must walk.'

k- r- tutuah
you/real.-restr.pl.-hide
'You're both hiding.'

mə- kə- v- hai pr
you/real.-nec.-pl.-sing nec
'You (pl.) must sing.'

mə- k- a- v- hai
you/real.-nec.-neg.-pl.-sing
'You (pl.) must not sing.'

Class I

a- r- tr- i
they/real.-restr.pl.-cut-it
'They both cut it.'

a- v- məhr- i
they/real.-pl.-stone-him
'They stoned him.'

Class II

a- r- pəd
they/real.-restr.pl.-be satiated
'They were both satiated.'

a- vra- səp'
they/real.-pl.-be awake
'They were awake.'

The third person singular realis form *i-* is often used in a collective sense with a non-singular subject.

Examples:

tav'et i- studau i- v'a
 woman it/real.-many he/real.-go
 'Many women went.'

m'rtu udrlani i- hap'il
 person all he/real.-tell a lie
 'All people lie.'

mardel i- nelnal i- tē- ln skul
 child it/real.-one hundred he/real.-compl.-leave school
 'A large number of children have left off attending school.'

Irrealis Mode (12)

The irrealis mode¹ indicates that action will take place in the future. The only other prefixes which may be used in conjunction with it are 33 (Proximity) and 50 (Number).

Examples:

Class I

p'e- hapr
 I/irreal.-bend over
 'I'll bend over.'

apa- v- varvər
 they/irreal.-pl.-run
 'They will run.'

Class II

p'a- rs
 I/irreal.-fall
 'I'll fall.'

apa- vra- m'a
 they/irreal.-pl.-die
 'They will die.'

When the irrealis prefixes precede a Class I stem which commences with a vowel followed by a consonant, the last vowel of the irrealis prefix is elided before it.

Examples:

p'e- lu
 I/irreal.-plant
 'I shall plant.'

Class I

pa- tēp'- r
 you/irreal.-push- them
 'You will push them.'

ipa- iaul
 he/irreal.-bow down
 'He will bow down.'

p'- ul
 I/irreal.-buy
 'I shall buy.'

p- il- i
 you/irreal.-saw-it
 'You will saw it.'

ip- utakma
 he/irreal.-spoil
 'He will spoil'

p'a- lu
 I/irreal.-vomit
 'I shall vomit.'

Class II

pa- hau
 you/irreal.-go away
 'You will go away.'

ipa- rs
 he/irreal.-fall down
 'He will fall down.'

¹In the interests of clarity and consistency with the other actor/mode prefixes, it has been decided to consider the irrealis prefixes as portmanteau morphemes, despite the POC form *pano.

Class I

p'ə- v- lak
I/irreal.-pl.-stay
'We shall stay.'

p'ə- v- an- i
I/irreal.-pl.-do- it
'We shall do it.'

Class II

p'ə- vra- v'a
I/irreal.-pl.- go
'We shall go.'

When the proximity aspect morpheme p'əh is used with 1st person irrealis of any number or class of verb, the actor/mode morpheme is always p'e -.

Examples:

Class I

p'e- p'əh- vr- i
I/irreal.-prox.-say-it
'I shall say it soon.'

p'e- p'əh- ul
I/irreal.-prox.-buy
'I shall soon buy.'

Class II

p'e- p'əh- ma
I/irreal.-prox.-come
'I shall soon come.'

Sometimes the irrealis mode is used in a habitative sense, as in:

a Num'i ipa- hap'il uaki
r.p. Naomi she/irreal.-lie only

'Naomi is a continual liar.'

The irrealis mode is regularly used in conditional sentences which express conditions of fact.

Example:

ipa- vr ti ipa- ma m'ieh,
he/irreal.-say that he/irreal.-come tomorrow,

ipa- uirma si uada- k.
he/irreal.-bring thing eating-my.

'If he comes tomorrow, he will bring something for me to eat.'

Irreal Condition (13)

The irreal condition mode expresses contrary-to-fact conditions, and when used in the negative expresses prohibitions. The other prefixes which may be used in conjunction with it are 31, 32, 40 and 50.

Examples: (The Class II verbs are all underlined>)

Class I

m'ə- vr ti m'ə- v'el m'ə- le- i.
I/irreal cond.-say that I/irreal cond.-walk, I/irreal cond.-see-him
'If I had walked, I would have seen him.'

Class II

m'ə- vr ti m'a- ma m'ə- uirma pai.
I/irreal cond.-say that I/irreal cond.-come, I/irreal cond.-bring yam.
'If I had come, I would have brought a yam.'

Class I

ipa- vr ti mə- lua pua, im- p'as
it/irreal cond.-say that you/irreal cond.-shoot pig, it/irreal cond.-be good
'If you had shot a pig, it would have been good.'

Class II

lpa- vr ti ma- hau, m'ə- rn i- stu
It/irreal.-say that you/irreal cond.-go, I/irreal cond.-feel it/real.-be bad
'If you had gone away I would feel sad.'

Class I

lpa- ve ti im- sran ruplet im- nal,
It/irreal-say that he/irreal cond.-throw pound it/irreal cond.-be ten
 im- vivilan
it/irreal cond.-be right
'If he had contributed ten pounds, it would have been just.'

Class II

Nami ima- mi, m'ə- vra-m'a
Earthquake it/irreal cond.-quake, I/irreal cond.-pl.-die
'If an earthquake had struck, we would have died.'

Class I

im- vr ti m'ə- v- ruh, n- d-
I/irreal cond.-say that I/irreal cond.-pl.-run away I/real.-cont.-
 a- v- la nauak
neg.-pl.-see ship
'If we had run away, we wouldn't have seen the ship.'

Class II

i- d- vr ti m'ə- vra-v'a a Ləv'iep',
it/real.-cont.-say that I/irreal cond.-pl.-go to Leviamp
 m'ə- tə- v- la nap'el
I/irreal cond.-compl.-pl.-see whale
'If we had gone to Leviamp, we would have seen the whale.'

Class I

i- d- vr ti mə- v- p'əit m'a kam'em'
it/real.-cont.-say that you/irreal cond.-pl.-unite with us (excl.)
 m'ə- tə- v- siv'- r
I/irreal cond.-compl.-pl.-defeat-them
'If you had united with us, we would have defeated them.'

Class II

lpa- vr ti mə- vra-səp', i- d-
It/irreal.-say that you/irreal cond.-pl.-be awake he/real.-cont.-
 a- v'ənah- i
neg.-steal- it
'If you (people) had been awake, he wouldn't have stolen it.'

Class I

am- vr ti am- tr- us nai,
3rd non s./irreal cond.- say that 3rd non-s.irreal cond.- cut-through log
 navanel i- d- p'as
road it/real.-cont.-be good
'If they (in general) had cut through the log, the road would have been clear.'

Class I

lpə- vr ti əm- r- həp'ɪl im-
it/irreal.-say that they/irreal cond.-restr.pl.-lie it/irreal cond.-
 utəkəmə si udrləni
spoil thing all

'If they had both lied, it would have spoiled everything.'

Class II

əm- vr ti əmə- mā, im-
 3rd nons./irreal cond.- say that *they/non s.irreal cond.- come, it/irreal cond.-*
 p'əs
be good

'If they (in general) had come, it would have been good.'

Class I and II

əm- v- vr ti əm- v- vərvar,
they/irreal cond.-pl.-say that they/irreal cond.-pl.-run
 əm- tə- vrə v'ə sərə- i ərnə nəuək
they/irreal cond.-compl.-pl.- go compl.-it onto ship
'If they had run, they would have gone onto the ship already.'

Examples of Irreal Condition in the Negative

m'ə- vr ti m'ə- d- ə- mimen- əh nekəm
I/irreal cond.- say that I/irreal cond.-cont.-neg.-ask- you (s.) you
 mə- d- əh- mə ki
you/irreal cond.-cont.-neg.-come indeed

'If I hadn't asked you, you wouldn't have come.'

M- ə- v'el
you/irreal cond.-neg.-walk

'(If) you hadn't walked.....' or 'Don't walk.'

m- əh- mə
you/irreal cond.-neg.-come

'(If) you hadn't come ...' or 'Don't come.'

Imperative Mode (14)

The imperative mode expresses a command. The only other prefix used in conjunction with imperative morphemes is 50.(number). There are two different sets of morphemes expressing the imperative.

1. Using the morpheme də- (Class I) and dəh- (Class II), which appears to be 32 plus 41 (Class I), 332 plus 441 (Class II), used without the actor/mode morpheme (112).

Example: Realis mode

kə- d- ə- p'tir
you/real.-cont.-neg.-stand up
'You haven't yet stood up.'

Imperative mode

d- ə- p'tir
cont.-neg.-stand up
'Stand up!'

The negative meaning 'not yet' is lost and it becomes a positive imperative.

Further examples:

Class I

da- ruh
imp.(141)-run away
'Run away!'

da- r- p'tir
imp.-restr.pl.-stand up
'Both of you stand up!'

da- v- p'tir
imp.-pl.-stand up
'All of you, stand up!'

Class II

dah- ma
imp.(1141)-come
'Come (here)!'

da- r- ma
imp.-restr.pl.-come
'Both of you come!'

da- vra- ma
imp.-pl.- come
'All of you come!'

2. The second way of expressing the imperative is by using the simple verb stem in the singular and a- in the plural for class I. With the corresponding prefixes -a- for the singular and a- plus plural markers for class II. This form of the imperative is a more peremptory one.

Class I

varvər
(142)run
'Run!'

tu kana
give me
'Give it to me!'

Class II

a- v'a
imp.(143)-go
'Go!'

a- hau
imp.-go away
'Go away!'

In one class II verb -ma 'come', nə- is used as a singular imperative prefix.

Example:

nə- ma
imp.-come
'Come (here)!'

This appears to be used instead of *ama which does not occur. However in the restricted plural arma 'you two come' is used and avrama 'all of you come' is used in the plural.

a- v- lak
imp.(143)-pl.-sit down
'All of you sit down!'

a- r- ruh
imp.-restr.pl.-run away
'Both of you run away!'

a- vra- hau
imp.-pl.- go away
'All of you go away!'

a- r- v'a
imp.-restr.pl.-go.
'Both of you go!'

A third way of expressing the imperative is by using the second person forms of irrealis mode, accompanied by imperative intonation (greater stress).

pa- v- p'tir
you/irreal.-pl.-stand up
'Stand up!' (pl.)

pa- vra- v'a
you/irreal.-pl.- go
'All of you go!'

p- ul- i
you/irreal.-buy-it
'Buy it!'

pa- ma
you/irreal.-come
'Come!'

2.5.3.2. Second Order of Prefixes (20)

The second order of prefixes consists of the optional necessity aspect morpheme.

For class I verbs it is -kə-.

For class II verbs in the singular it is -ka-, in the plural it is -kə-.

It may not be used in conjunction with completive aspect (31) and (331), and proximity aspect (33). It may be used with only one mode - realis.

In the positive usage of the necessity aspect, it is normal for a secondary necessity particle to follow the verb as a separate word. This particle *pr* usually occurs at the end of the phrase or clause in question. In the negative, *pr* is not used.

Insofar as there is no negative of the irrealis mode, the negative of this aspect serves as a future negative.

Examples:

Class I

n- kə- v'eI pr
I/real.-nec.-walk must
'I must go for a walk.'

Class II

n- ka- v'a a Tulwei i- kə- lahməl pr
I/real.-nec.-go to Tulwei it/real.-nec-be immediate must
'I must go to Tulwei immediately.'

Class I

m- kə- lu m'ətu- am pr
you/real.-nec.-plant coconut-your must
'You must plant your coconuts.'

Class II

mə- kə- vra- ma asən- ək pr
you/real.-nec.-pl.- come to- my must
'You (pl.) must come to me.'

Class I

a- k- v- p'əlt uɖrlani atlaħa pr
they/real.-nec.-pl.-congregate all here pr
 'They must all assemble here.'

Class II

a- k- vra-hau m'a pua- r pr
they/real.-nec.-pl.-go away with pig- their must
 'They must go away with their pigs.'

Negative Examples:

Class I

n- k- a- la- h
I/real.-nec.-neg.-see-you (s,)
 'I won't see you.'

i- k- d- a- ruh
he/real.-nec.-cont.-neg.-run away
 'He mustn't run away yet.'

n- k- a- v- tɔəl
I/real.-nec.-neg.-pl.-drown
 'We must not drown.'

Class II

m- k- ah- m'a
you/real.-nec.-neg.-die
 'You won't die.'

i- k- ah- ma
he/real.-nec.-neg.-come
 'He mustn't come.'

n- k- a- vra- ma atlaħa
I/real.-nec.-neg.-pl.- come here
 'We mustn't come here.'

2.5.3.3. Third Order of Prefixes (30)

The third order of prefixes consists of optional morphemes indicating completive aspect (31), which denotes completed action, continuative aspect (32), which denotes continual action and proximity aspect (33), which denotes action near in time, whether in the past or future.

Completive and Continuative aspects have different forms for Class I and Class II verbs. The proximity morpheme (-p'əh- 33) is the same for both.

Completive aspect: Class I -t- 31
 Class II -ta- (singular) 331
 -t- (plural) 31

Continuative aspect: Class I -d- 32
 Class II -da- (singular) 332
 -d- (plural) 32

Completive aspect may be used only with realis and irreal condition modes. Completive particles usually are used in conjunction and follow the verb. (see 2.5.8.)

Continuative aspect may be used with realis and irreal condition modes. Proximity aspect may be used with realis and irrealis modes. All these aspects are mutually exclusive.

Completive and Proximity aspects may not be accompanied by the negative prefixes 41 or 441.

Examples: Completive aspect (31)

Class I

kə- t- ruh sare- i
you/real.-compl.-run away compl.-it
'You have run away.'

a- t- v- tu sare- i
they/real.-compl.-pl.-put compl.-it
'They have already put it.'

Class II

kə- ta- ma sare- i
you/real.-compl.-come compl.-it
'You have come.' (Bislama: Yu yu kam finis)

a- t- vra- hau sare- i
they/real.-compl.-pl.- go away compl.-it
'They have already gone away.'

Class I

n- t- v- lak etka sare- i
I/real.-compl.-pl.-stay here compl.-it
'We have settled here.'

Class I

i- t- təh- p'an sare- i
he/real.-compl.-punch-killing compl.-him
'He has punched him to death.'

Class II

i- ta- mu sare- i
he/real.-compl.-cool down compl.-it
'It (food) has already cooled down.'

Examples with irreal condition mode:

am- vr ti m'ə- t- rn- dau- i,
they/irreal. cond.-say that I/irreal cond.-compl.-feel-be able-it
 m' - t- en sera nəhau im- t- amk
I/irreal cond.-compl.-make compl. laplap it/irreal cond.-compl.-one
'If I had known it, I would have made a laplap.'

i- d- vr ti m'- a- sr lm'a- m,
it/real.-cont.-say that I/irreal cond.-neg.-help hand- your (s.)
 nakəm mə- ta- m'a sare- i
you/irreal cond.-compl.-die compl.-it
'If I hadn't helped you, you would have died.'

Continuative aspect (32 and 332)

When used positively, the continuative aspect denotes action that is still going on; used negatively it refers to action that has not yet happened.

It may also be used positively and negatively in conditional sentences with no apparent semantic difference from unreal condition mode.

Examples:

a) Positive

Class I

kə- d- uirma
you/real.-cont.-bring
'You are still bringing.'

a- d- r- v'el
they/real.-cont.-restr.pl.-walk
'They are both still walking.'

Class II

i- da- ma
he/real.-cont.-come
'He is still coming.'

a- d- vra-ma
they/real.-cont.-pl.-come
'They are still coming.'

b) Negative

kə- d- a- uirma
you/real.-cont.-neg.-bring
'You haven't yet brought....'

a- d- a- r- v'el
they/real.-cont.-neg.-restr.-walk
'They haven't both gone for a walk yet.'

i- d- ah- ma
he/real.-cont.-neg.-come
'He hasn't come yet.'

a- d- a- vra-ma
they/real.-cont.-neg.-pl.-come
'They haven't come yet.'

c) Conditional usage

kə- d- v'i taut, lait i- d- amək uaki
you/real.-cont.-be Big Nambas, light it/real.-cont.-one only

i- da- v'en (-v'en is a Class II verb)
it/real.-cont.-be alight

'If you were a Big Nambas man, one light only.'

mə- vr t* mə- lak atlaha, a
you/irreal cond.-say that you/irreal cond.-stay here, r.p.

m'an- m'em' im- d- ah- m'a
brother-(of woman)-our (excl.) he/irreal cond.-cont.-neg.-die

'If you had stayed here, our brother would not have died.'

[* shortened form of ti.]

Proximity aspect (33)

This aspect indicates that the action is comparatively near in time, whether past or future. Only realis and irrealis modes may be used with this aspect. Irreal condition and imperative modes may not be used with it; nor may the negative affix accompany it.

Examples:

n- p'əh ma
I/real.-prox.-come
'I have just come.'

p'e- p'əh- vra- ma
I/irreal.-prox.-pl.-come
'We shall soon come.'

a- p'əh- v- p'əlt
they/real.-prox.-pl.-join
'They have just joined.'

ipa- p'əh- lav'- i
he/irreal.-prox.-take- it
'He will soon take it.'

ipa- p'əh- pəhs- p'an- r
he/irreal.-prox.-squeeze-killing-them
'He will soon squeeze them to death.'

2.5.3.4. Fourth Order of Prefixes (40)

The negative morpheme is optional and may be used with all other orders of prefix.

The negative morpheme takes the form 41 {-a-} for Class I and Class II plural verbs, and 441 -ah- for Class II singular.

There is a phonologically conditioned allomorph: 41 {-a-} ~ {-ha-}, {-ha-}. {-ha-} is used when the conjunction of the 3rd plural realis morpheme 114 with the negative morpheme 41 would result in the hiatus of two a sounds. Elsewhere, when two a's coincide, as indicated in the footnote on the chart, they coalesce, but in this case they cannot coalesce.

Examples:

Class I

i- a- sahəv
he/real.-neg.-sneeze
'He did not sneeze.'

n- a- v- rn- dau- i
I/real.-neg.-pl.-feel-compet.-it
'We don't know.'

k- a- tutunm'u
you/real.-neg.-make remembrance
feast
'You didn't hold the feast of
remembrance.'

Class II

i- ah- ləm
it/real.-neg.-leak
'It doesn't leak.'

k- a- vra-ma
you/real-neg.-pl.-come
'You (pl.) didn't come.'

n- ah- tr asən- n
I/real.-neg-cohabit near- his
'I am not living with him.'

{-a-} ~ {-ha-} In these examples, the use of the negative form {-a-} after 14 (a- 'they'/realis) would have resulted in the hiatus of two a's, so the allomorph {-ha-} is used.

Examples:

a- ha- v- hap'il
they/real.-neg.-pl.-lie
'They didn't tell a lie.'

a- ha- vra- v'a
they/real.-neg.-pl.-go
'They didn't go.'

Class I

a- ha- v- rn- i
they/real.-neg.-pl.-feel-it
'They don't want to.'

Class II

a- ha- vra- van
they/real.-neg.-pl.-bear fruit
'They did not bear fruit.'

a- d- a- v- tahtah i- da- ah- hau
they/real.-cont.-neg.-pl.-burn off he/real.-cont.-neg.-go away
'They have not burnt off yet.' *'He hasn't gone yet.'*

m'- a- t̥pətpal- i hin im a- le- i
 I/irreal cond.-neg.-point out-it he he/irreal cond.-neg.-see- it
 'If I hadn't pointed it out, he wouldn't have seen it.'

n- d- a- v- məln i- ka- ah- sel
 I/real.-cont.-neg.-pl.-be lost he/real.-nec.-neg.-be mislaid
 'We haven't got lost yet.' 'It mustn't be mislaid.'

The negative morpheme is not used with the irrealis mode. To express the meaning of irrealis negatives, the necessity morphemes 21 or 221 is used with the negative.

Examples:

Class I

n- k- a- hai
 I/real.-nec.-neg.-sing
 'I will not sing.'

Class II

n- ka- ah- rs
 I/real.-nec.-neg.-fall
 'I won't fall!'

Class I

mə- k- a- v- kakar atlera
 you/real.-nec.-neg.-pl.-make noise there
 'You can't make a noise there.'

i- k- a- vlkas- de- i
 he/real.-nec.-neg.-hold with tongs-holding-it
 'He won't hold it with the tongs.'

Class II

i- ka- ah- uv'
 she/real.-nec.-neg.-sit on eggs
 'She won't be sitting on eggs.'

a- k- a- vra- səp
 they/real.-nec.-neg.-pl.-curve around
 'They (pig's teeth) will not curve around.'

2.5.3.5. Fifth Order of Prefixes

This order consists of an obligatory number morpheme.

Singular is expressed by \emptyset .

Restricted plural (usually dual but may express 'several') is expressed by -r-.

Plural in class I verbs is expressed by -v- and in class II verbs by -vra-.

There is also a 'general plural' to express the collective sort of plural equivalent to 'on' in French or 'man' in German. In this case the 3rd non-singular actor/mode morpheme is used, with \emptyset in the number position for class I and class II in modes other than realis. Class II verbs in realis mode use -v- for general plural.

Examples:

Class I

n- vərvar
I/real.-run
'He is running.'

i- t- ruh
he/real.-compl.-run away
'He has run away.'

pa- laləv
you/irreal. (s.)-swing
'You will swing.'

a- r- lak
they/real.-restr. pl.-stay
'They both stayed.'

apa- r- duduvah
they/irreal.-restr. pl.-play
'They will both play.'

a- v- m'ahu
they/real.-pl.-play
'They agreed.'

kə- tə- v- m'ahu
you/real.-compl.-pl.-allow
'You (pl.) have agreed.'

a- tr- i
they/real. (3rd non-s.)-cut-it
'They (in general) cut it.'

apa- lau- i
3rd non-s./irreal.-plant-it
'They (in general) will plant it.'

am- tupien
3rd non-s. irreal cond.- heap together
m'ətu dika im- p'as
coconut today it/irreal cond.-be good
'If they were heaping coconuts
together today, it would be good.'

Class II

kə- ma
you/real.-come
'You have come.'

n- ta- ma
I/real.-compl.-come
'I have come.'

ipa- ma
he/irreal.-come
'He will come.'

n- r- ma
I/real.-restr. pl.-come
'We both came.'

apa- r- hau
they/irreal.-restr. pl.-go away
'They will both go away.'

a- vra- lu
they/real.-pl.- vomit
'They vomited.'

a- tə- vra- hau
they/real.-compl.-pl.- go away
'They have gone away.'

apa- ma
3rd non-s./irreal.-come
'They (in general) will come.'

a- v- lu arna nauak
3rd non-s./real.-gen.pl.-vomit on ship
'People in general vomit on ships.'

ntu a- d- v-
fowl 3rd non s./real.-cont.-gen.pl.
uv' hilaha, im- p'as
sit on eggs now , it/irreal cond.-be good
'If fowls were sitting on eggs, it
would be good.'

In Big Nambas, the numeral verbs for 3 and all numbers higher may use either the restricted plural or plural morpheme. The numbers 2-5 are class II verbs.

Class I

n- r- ləm'sei
I/real.-restr.pl.-be six
'There were six of us.'

Class II

n- r- tl OR
I/real.-restr. pl.-be three
n- vra- tl
I/real.-pl.- be three
'There were three of us.'

Class I

nə- v- ləm'sei
I/real.-pl.-be six

'There were six of us.'

kə- v- saru
you/real.-pl.-be seven

'There are seven of you.'

pə- v- satl
you/irreal.-pl.-be eight

'There will be eight of you.'

Class II

a- r- ləm'
they/real.-restr. pl.-be five OR

a- vra- ləm'
they/real.-pl.-be five

'There are five of them.'

a- r- ru
they/real.-restr. pl.-be two

'There are two of them.'

NOTE: The numeral verb 'be two' may only have restricted plural number.

apa- r- nal
they/irreal.-restr. pl.-be ten

'There will be ten of them.'

2.5.3.6. Sixth Order of Prefixes

The optional habitative aspect is only used with realis mode and has restrictions on the extent of its use. In the positive it is only used with certain class I verbs, whose stems are all partially or fully reduplicated. The verb stems denote repetitive or intensive action.

Apart from these verbs, the use of the habitative is confined to verbs with a negative affix.

The morphemes used are as follows:

Class I -mu-

Class II -mu-, except for two verbs -ma 'come' and -v'a 'go', which have -mur- in all examples.

Positive examples of the habitative aspect: (Class I stems only)

dui i- mu- trtr la pua
man he/real.-hab.-excise testicle of pig

'The man who habitually castrates pigs. The pig surgeon.'

tr means 'cut'.

i- mu- həp'həp'r a nai
he/real.-hab.-climb constantly on tree

'He's always climbing up trees.'

həp'r means 'climb'.

kə- v- mu- həp'həp'il
you/real.-pl.-hab.-lie constantly

'You people are perpetual liars!'

həp'il means 'tell a lie.'

Negative examples of the habitative aspect: (other class I and II stems)

n- a- mu- le- i
I/real.-neg.-hab.-see-it

'I have never seen it.'

i- d- a- mu- le le- i
 he/real.-cont.-neg.-hab.-see initially-him
 'He hasn't yet seen him at any time.'

a- d- a- mu- səhs le- i
 3rd non-s./real.-cont.-neg.-hab.-give an injection initially-him
 'They (in general) have never given him an injection at any time.'

kə- d- a- v- mu- tr pnaret
 you/real.-cont.-neg.-pl.-hab.-cut tree fern
 'You (pl.) have never cut a treefern decoration.'

a- d- a- v- mur- ma
 they/real.-cont.-neg.-pl.-hab.-come
 'They have never come.'

i- d- a- mur- v'a le- i a Vila
 he/real.-cont.-neg.-hab.-go initially-it to Vila
 'He has never gone to Vila.'

NOTE: The explanation for the different form for the above two examples may be found by comparing them with other related verbs. For example the verbs 'to bring', 'to remove' and 'to take away' are as follows:

'he brings it' i- ui- r- ma
 he/real.-carry it-ligative-come
 Compare Bislama: karim i kam.

'he removes it' i- ui- r- v'a
 he/real.-carry it-ligative-go

'he takes it away' i- ui- r- hau
 he/real.-carry it-ligative-go away

2.5.4. The Verb Stem

There are various types of verb stems.

1. Simple Stems.
2. Reduplicated Stems.
3. Compound Stems.

All three types may include transitive and intransitive verbs. They may all be used as independent verbs or dependent verbs.

2.5.4.1. Simple Stems

Most verbs in Big Nambas fall into this category. The term 'simple' does not mean that the stem may not have modifying suffixes, but means that the nucleus of the stem is not compounded in any way.

Examples:

-tr 'cut'
 -la 'see'

-dedrn	'be afraid'
-duduvah	'play'
-ka	'pick (leaf)'
-sva	'pluck (fruit)'
-kas	'peel (with a knife or bamboo)'
-ses	'whittle'
-lu (when suffixed w. object suffix lau-)	'plant' (Class I verb)
-lu	'vomit' (Class II verb)
-lalau	'be taboo'
-lelha	'roll (cigarette)', 'roll up (blanket)'

2.5.4.2. Reduplicated Stems

1) In some verbs the stem is reduplicated to express intensive, repetitive or distributive action.

Examples:

Unreduplicated form

a- v- vr
they/real.-pl.-say
'They said.'

a- v- hu pai
they/real.-pl.-bind yam
'They fastened the yam (to
poles).'

a- v- tu
they/real.-pl.-give
'They gave...'

i- pa
it/real.-small
'It is small.'

Reduplicated form

a- v- vr- vr a hir
they/real.-pl.-say-say to them(selves)
'They discussed amongst themselves.'

a- v- hu- hu nai an- i
they/real.-pl.-bind-bind pole to- him
'They tied his body to a pole.'

a- v- tu- tu a nelnal
they/real.-pl.-give-give to everyone
'They distributed them to everybody.'

i- pa- pa- pa- pa
it/real.-small-small-small-small
'It is absolutely minute.'

11) By partially reduplicating a syllable, certain verbs may become intransitive.

Examples:

Transitive form

i- kra sei
he/real.-ask for something
'He asked for something.'

i- həl pai
he/real.-dig up yam
'He dug up a yam.'

i- sip'len kana
he/real.-mock me
'He made fun of me.'

Intransitive form

i- krakr nakl
he/real.-make requests always
'He is constantly full of requests.'

i- həlahəl al pitvet
he/real.-dig in garden
'He dug in the garden.'

i- sip'sip'l
he/real.-be a mocker always
'He is a continual scoffer.'

iii) Some transitive verbs have both an intransitive and an intensive form.

Examples:

Transitive

i- tr nas
he/real.-cut banana
'He cut the banana.'

Intransitive

i- tratr al rahvien- an
he/real.-cut in cleared ground-his
'He was cutting in his cleared garden.'

Intensive Transitive

i- trtr nina
he/real.-cut vigorously grass
'He was cutting the grass vigorously.'

Transitive

i- rp a nat- ək
he/real.-hit r.p. child-my
'He hit my child.'

Intransitive

i- rparp i- el
he/real.-hit it/real.-be continual
'He is always hitting out.'

Intensive Transitive

tisa lera i- rprp kam'em'
teacher that he/real.-hit continually us (excl.)
'That teacher is always flogging us.'

2.5.4.3. Compound Stems

Compound Stems consist of a combination of two simple verb stems.

Examples:

i- vətəma- didilin
he/real.-laugh- be crazy
'He laughs crazily.'

i- vr- dedrn
he/real.-say-fear
'He shivered.'

a- v- tu- pien m'ətu
they/real.-pl.-put-assemble coconut
'They gathered the coconuts.'

i- la- p'as a kana
 he/real.-see-be good to me
 'He likes me.'

nə- v- lak- p'əlt
 I/real.-pl.-stay-join
 'We were assembled together.'

a- tə- vra- hau- m'alet
 3rd non-s.-compl.-pl.- go away-return
 'They have returned home.'

i- dul- en nəmah
 he/real.-move-make house
 'He made the house move.'

2.5.5. Description of Independent Verb Suffixes

As mentioned before (2.5.2.) there are three orders of suffixes:

1. Stem modifiers.
2. Ability Suffixes.
3. Pronoun object and benefactive morphemes.

It should be noted that both independent and dependent verbs from Class I may have all three orders of affixes and that independent and dependent Class II verbs may only have the first order intensifying suffix and the second order suffixes.

2.5.5.1. First Order of Suffixes (70)

These stem modifiers are very commonly used in the language.

Examples: -et The Intensifier. (71)

This morpheme may be used with intransitive verbs of both Class I and Class II.

Class I

i- ruh- et
 it/real.-run away-very much
 'It ran away helter-skelter.'

i- uir- et
 he/real.-be wet-very much
 'He is soaked to the skin.'

i- vərvar- et
 he/real.-run- very much
 'He raced furiously.'

i- p'les- et
 she/real.-be good-very much
 'She is lovely.'

i- studau- et
 he/real.-very big-very much
 'He is enormous.'

i- m'iel- et
 it/real.-be red- very
 'It is very red.'

Class II

i- m'ət- et
 it/real.-be black-very
 'It is very black.'

i- dəv- et
 it/ .-be heavy-very
 'It is very heavy.'

Suffixes denoting Manner of Action. (72)

-sər- The depository suffix (721). This morpheme may only be used with transitive verbs.

Examples:

i- rv'- sər- i
he/real.-pull-down-it
'He pulled it down.'

a- v- ka- sər- i
they/real.-pl.-knock-down-him
'They knocked him down.'

-kar- The obstructive suffix (722). This morpheme may be used with both transitive and intransitive stems. When used with intransitive verbs it gives a transitive to the verb.

Examples: Transitive stems

i- səns- kar- i
he/real.-plug- blocking-it
'He plugged it.'

m- a- tu- kar- r
you/irreal cond.-neg.-put-preventing-them
'Don't stop them.'

p'e- r- vr- kar- əh mē- k- ah- v'a
1st/irreal.-restr.pl.-say-preventing-you (s.) you/real.-nec.-neg.-go
'We shall both forbid you to go.'

Intransitive stems

kə- lak- kar navanel
you/real.-sit- blocking path
'You are sitting in the road!'

am- a- v- p'tir- kar kana
they/irreal cond.-neg.-pl.-stand up-preventing me
'They mustn't stand in my way!'

m'au ipa- lel- kar nah- n
dance feathers it/irreal.-hang down-blocking forehead-his
'His dance feathers will hang down over his forehead.'

{-p'la-} The accidental suffix (723). This has two phonologically conditioned allomorphs: -p'la when followed by an object or 2nd person singular object suffix. -p'le- when followed by third person singular and plural object suffixes.

Examples:

i- ua- p'la tris- an
she/real.-wear-wrongly dress-her
'She has her dress on inside out.'

i- ua- p'le- i
 she/real.-wear-wrongly-it
 'She has it on inside out.'

n- v- ln- p'la tan- am'em'
 lst/real.-pl.-leave-wrongly rifle-our (excl.)
 'We've left our rifles behind!'

a- v- le- p'la- h
 they/real.-pl.-see-wrongly-you (s.)
 'They hate you.'

{-da-} The prehensile suffix (724). This has two phonologically conditioned allomorphs: -da when followed by an object or 2nd person singular object suffix. -de- when followed by third person singular and plural object suffixes.

Examples:

i- ua- da lip'ah
 he/real.-carry-holding dog
 'He held the dog.'

ntu i- təp- da tək tim'ah
 fowl he/real.-peck at-holding scrap of food
 'The fowl pecked at a scrap of food and kept it in its beak.'

p'e- mlen- de- i
 I/irreal.-twist-holding-it
 'I shall screw it tight.'

pua laha ipa- ha- da- h
 pig this he/irreal.-bite-holding-you (s.)
 'This pig will bite you and you won't be able to get away.'

{-la-}, {-lua-} The abstractive suffix (725). These suffixes each have two allomorphs: -la and -lua when followed by an object or 2nd person singular object suffix. -le- and -lue- when followed by 3rd person singular and plural object suffixes. These suffixes may only be used with transitive verbs.

Examples:

i- ri- la lu- k
 he/real.-extract-out tooth-my
 'He extracted my tooth.'

i- vlkas- la nav'et
 he/real.-hold with bamboo tongs-out stone
 'He removed the stone (from the fire) with bamboo tongs.'

p'ə- v- rv'- la lip'ah
 I/irreal.-pl.-pull-out dog
 'Let's pull out the dog.'

pa- ua- la nəhau
 you/irreal.-carry-out laplap
 'Unwrap the laplap!'

a- tə- v- lev'-la sare- i
 they/real.-compl.-pl.-take-out compl.-it
 'They have taken it out.'

mardel i- hs- lua sat- an
 child he/real.-pull up-off shirt-his
 'The child pulled off his shirt.'

ak i- hs lue- i
 who he/real.-pull up-off- it
 'Who pulled it off?'

di- n a lesu ipa- sila- lua si stu- ad
 blood-his r.p. Jesus it/irreal.-wash- away thing bad- our (incl.)
 'The blood of Jesus will wash away our sins.'

-ur- The repetitive suffix (726). This morpheme may only be used with transitive verbs.

Examples:

i- vr- ur- əh
 he/real.-say-about-you (s.)
 'He talked about you.'

a- v- an- ur- i
 they/real.-pl.-do- again-it
 'They repaired it.'

i- p'a- ur- r
 he/real.-look-after-them
 'He looked after them.'

i- v'ah- ur kana i- studau
 he/real.-think on-again me it/real.-very much
 'He thinks about me very much.'

-urur- The repetitive suffix (727). This morpheme may be used with transitive stems only.

Examples:

prapar i- tu- urur- i
 sow she/real.-give birth-separately-it
 'The sow gave birth to them one after the other.'

-səmən- The bungling suffix (728). This morpheme too is only used with transitive verbs.

Examples:

i- lua- səmən m'anəh
 he/real.-shoot-missing bird
 'He shot at the bird but missed it.'

kə- ka- səmən- i
 you/real.-let fall-missing-it
 'You dropped it!'

a- v- sr- səmən ntu
 they/real.-pl.-trap-missing fowl
 'They set a snare for a fowl but it escaped from it.'

n- r- ua- səmən- i
 I/real.-restr. pl.-carry-missing-it
 'We both (tried to catch it but) missed it.'

-pr- The divisive suffix (729). The primary meaning of this suffix is the idea of 'breaking'. The difference between it and the morpheme which will be considered next is that -pr- refers to a partial or surface break, like a broken egg. The morpheme -us- is used of a total break, as when a twig is snapped. The morpheme -pr- is used with both transitive and intransitive stems.

Examples:

Intransitive

nahadri ntu i- rda- pr- i
 egg fowl it/real.-break-breaking-it
 'The fowl's egg was broken.'

Transitive

i- ua- pr nəhau
 he/real.-carry-breaking laplap
 'He carried a laplap but the surface of it broke.'

i- ka- pr- i
 it/ .-let fall-breaking-it
 'He dropped it and it broke.' (e.g. breadfruit or glass)

lip'ah i- ha- pr m'ərtu
 dog he/ bite-breaking person
 'The dog bit a person, causing a surface wound.'

n- lden- pr tlə- k
 I/real.-bump- breaking leg- my
 'I bumped (into something) and (the skin on) my foot was broken.'

i- tu- pr ar- m'rtu
 he/real.-put-dividing all-people
 'He divided up all the people.'

The suffix -pr- may itself be modified by being preceded by the verb stem -pa 'small'.

Two examples follow:

i- tr- pa- pr- i
 he/real.-cut-small-breaking-it
 'He cut it up into little pieces.'

i- ka- pa- pr p'ret
he/real.-pluck at-small-breaking bread
'He broke the bread into small pieces.'

-us- The destructive suffix (7210). This suffix is mostly used with transitive stems. One example of an intransitive usage has been encountered. The form is -usi, which is a parallel to -pri in the immediately preceding section.

Examples:

Intransitive

nahau i- rda- us- i
rope it/real.-break-breaking-it
'The rope snapped.'

Transitive

i- ka- us rana nai
he/real.-pick-breaking branch of tree
'He snapped off a branch of a tree.'

p'e- tr- us su pua lera
I/irreal.-cut-breaking bone of pig that
'I'll cut through that pig bone.'

m'- a- r- pr- us nai kinkin
1st/irreal cond.-neg.-restr. pl.-break-breaking stick any
'You and I had better not break any twigs.'

Sometimes the suffix -us- is used hyperbolically, with less than its full meaning, as in the following examples:

kə- t- span- us sera tlə- m?
you/real.-compl.-stub- breaking compl. foot-your (s.)
'Did you stub your toe?'

pua i- ha- us navapapi- ak
pig he/real.-bite-breaking ankle- my
'A pig bit my ankle.'

-p'ən The fatal suffix (7211). This morpheme is used with transitive and intransitive stems.

Examples:

i- ha- p'ən- i
he/real.-bite-killing-him
'It bit him fatally.'

a vən pa- k i- pəhs- p'ən puskat
r.p. daughter small-my she/real.-squeeze-killing cat
'My daughter squeezed the cat to death.'

apa- v- lue- p'ən- r
they/irreal.-pl.-shoot-killing-them
'They will shoot them.'

Sometimes the suffix -p'ən is used with less than its full meaning, as in the following example:

trisa i- səhs- p'ən kana
dresser he/real.-give injection-killing me

'The dresser gave me an injection and nearly killed me.'

n- m'akar- p'ən
I/real.-work- killing

'I am working fit to kill me.'

{-p'i-} The surrounding suffix (7212). This has two allomorphs: -p'i when a noun object follows it. -p'a when followed by the 3rd singular object suffix -i 'it'. The suffix -p'i may only be used with transitive verbs. It is not a commonly used suffix.

Examples:

kam'i udrlani pa- v- əhs- p'i nəmah
you (pl.) all you/irreal.-pl.- pull out grass-around house

'All of you will pull out the grass around your houses.'

nəmah i- p'as nakl sena ti a- v- əhs-
house/it/real.-be good each because they/real.-pl.-pull out grass-

p'a- i
around-it

'The houses are all attractive because they have removed the grass from around them.'

hin ak i- tr- p'i m'ətu
he who he/real.-cut-around coconut tree

'Who cut (away all the undergrowth) around the coconut tree?'

-sp'- The ineffective suffix (7213). This suffix is only used with transitive verbs. It refers to action which is superficial.

Examples:

i- lua- sp'- i
he/real.-shoot-grazing-him

'He shot at him, but it was only a superficial wound.'

k- v- tr- sp'- i
you/real.-pl.-cut-superficially-it

'You cut it only on the surface.'

a- v- kas- sp'- i
they/real.-pl.-peel-superficially-it

'They peeled it very thinly.'

-ulul- The covering suffix (7214). This suffix is only used with transitive verbs. All the examples discovered deal with skin diseases spreading over a large portion of a person's body.

Examples:

mulmul i- ua- ulul- i
Bakua it/real.-carry-covering-him

'Bakua (a fungal skin disease) is spreading over his whole body.'

nan i- er- ulul- i
ringworm it/real.-reach-covering-him
'He caught ringworm and it was all over him.'

m'altuir i- tuir- ulul- i
mite it/real.-irritates-covering-him
'A mite made his whole body itchy.'

{-dina} The inchoative suffix (7215). This suffix is used with both transitive and intransitive verbs. It has two allomorphs: *dina-* when followed by an object or 2nd person s. object suffix; *dine-* when followed by 3rd s. and pl. object suffixes.

Examples:

ak ipa- m'an dine- i
who he/irreal.-drink trying-it
'Who will have a try at drinking it?'

m- a- an- dina kam'em'
you/irreal cond.-neg.-make-trying us (excl.)
'Do not test us.'

n- v- v'el- dina sare- i nu i- u n-
I/real.-pl.-walk- trying compl.-it, rain it/real.-rain I/real.-
vra- hau- m'alet
pl.- go- return
'We had started to walk, but the rain came and we turned back.'

-srah The expectant suffix (7216). This suffix is used with intransitive verbs and gives them a transitive quality.

Examples:

dui laha i- lak- srah kam'em'
man this he/real.-stay-waiting us (excl.)
'This man has been here waiting for us.'

a- v- tu pai i- ter- srah kam'i
they/real.-pl.-put yam it/real.-stay-waiting you (pl.)
'They put the yam there and it was waiting for you.'

k - v- p'tir- srah a mlin?
you/real.-pl.-stand up-waiting r.p. chief
'Are you all standing, waiting for the chief?'

2.5.5.2. The Second Order of Suffixes

Ability suffixes. There are two suffixes in this order: the competence suffix {-dau} 81 and the ability suffix -dri 82. -dau- means 'be able', 'know how to'; -dri means 'be physically able to'.

As stated before (2.5.7.), both class I and class II verbs may use these suffixes. Nevertheless, there are not many class II examples, as these verbs are mostly of a stative rather than an active nature.

{-dau-} has two allomorphs: -dau- before pronoun object suffixes (-h, -i, -r) and when suffixed to intransitive verbs. -du when followed by an object or conjunction introducing a clause. -dau- has another meaning 'truly' or 'properly'.

Examples of 81:

With class I verbs

hin i- a- laləv- dau
 he he/real.-neg.-swing- be able
 'He doesn't know how to swing.'

n- le- dau- əh
 I/real.-see-be able-you
 'I recognize you.'

i- a- rman- dau- i
 he/real.-neg.-carry-be able-him
 'He can't carry him.'

n- v- lue- p'ən- dau- r
 I/real.-pl.-shoot-fatally-be able-them
 'We can shoot them to death.'

k- sin- du kana
 you/real.-jostle-properly me
 'You are bumping against me.'

i- en- du nəmah
 he/real.-make-can house
 'He can construct a house.'

n- v- rn- du ti pa- ma
 I/real.-pl.-feel-truly that you/irreal.-come
 'We knew that you would come.'

With class II verbs

i- ah- lu- dau
 he/real.-neg.-vomit-be able
 'He is unable to vomit.'

n- ah- ma- dau
 I/real.-neg.-come-be able
 'I cannot come.'

Examples of 82 with class I verbs:

Tituei i- a- hua- dri v'eti hilaha i- v'el-
 Before he/real.-neg.-strong-be able but now he/real.-walk-
 dri məl
 be capable of again
 'Previously he was powerless but now he can walk again.'

kə- p'tir- dri
 you/real.-stand up-be able
 'Can you stand up?'

i- hei, n- a- p'tir- dri sena ti n- m'ənm'ən
it/real.-not, I/real.-neg.-stand up-be able because I/real.-be drunk
 'No, I can't stand up because I am drunk.'

n- v'ahti i- a- m'im'in- dri
I/real.-think that he/real.-neg.-breathe- be able
 'I don't think he can breathe.'

Examples of 82 with class II verbs:

The only examples available employed the negative prefix 441 as well.

n- ah- ma- dri
I/real.-neg.-come-be able
 'I cannot come.'

i- ah- v'a- dri
he/real.-neg.-go- be able
 'He cannot go.'

2.5.5.3. The Third Order of Suffixes (90)

Pronoun object 91

Benefactive 92.

91 pronoun object suffixes are optional and are mostly used with transitive verbs.

There are only three morphemes under this category:

-əh	'you (s.)'	911
-i	'him', 'her', 'it'	912
-r	'them'	913

The first person singular and plural objects and second person plural object are expressed by separate words. (See 2.1.3.).

Examples with Transitive Verbs:

i- snar- əh uaki
he/real.-tease- you (s.) only
 'He is just teasing you.'

NOTE: The morpheme 911 (-əh) is also used with reflexive verbs.

k- thi- əh
you/real.-hack- you (s.), yourself
 'You are coughing.'

m- a- lue- p'ən- i
you/irreal cond.-neg.-shoot-fatally-him
 'Don't shoot him!'

sus- ak i- uir, n- a- hs- le- dau- r
shoes-my it/real.-be wet, I/real.-neg.-pull up-off-be able-them
 'My shoes are wet (and) I can't get them off.'

Examples with Intransitive Verbs:

Some verbs whose overall meaning is intransitive may use 91 to modify a suffix or an aspect particle: in this case only 912 may be used.

i- ta- hau sare- i
he/real.-compl.-go away compl.-it
'He has gone away.'

pua ial- n i- rda- us- i
pig leash-his it/real.-break-breaking-it
'The pig's leash is broken.'

92 Benefactive suffixes are really the possessive suffixes which are used by the second class of nouns. They are used with intransitive verbs denoting work and indicate the person for whom the work is done.

List of morphemes:

-ak	921	First person singular
-am	922	Second person singular
-an	923	Third person singular
-ad	924	First person plural (inclusive)
-am'em'	925	First person plural (exclusive)
-am'i	926	Second person plural
-ar	927	Third person plural

Examples:

i- m'akar- ak
he/real.-work- my
'He works for me.'

a- v- lulu- ar a mlin dika
they/real.-pl.-plant-their r.p. chief today
'They are planting the gardens of the chiefs today.'

nakəm pa- uas- am'em'?
you (s.) you/irreal.-wash-our (excl.)
'Will you do our washing?'

kam'em' p'ə- v- usus- am'j
we (excl.) I/irreal.-pl.-gather firewood-your (pl.)
'We will gather firewood for you.'

nə- v- təhtah- ar
I/real.-pl.-burn off garden-their
'We burnt off their garden for them.'

2.5.6. Description of Dependent Verb Prefixes

Dependent verbs are very important in the Big Nambas language and are used constantly. They are generally used sentence-medially as the co-ordinating prefix *ka-* 'and' serves as a linkage between two verbs. A discourse may never begin with a dependent verb, but in the middle of

a consecutive discourse, a sentence may commence with a dependent verb.

As mentioned in 2.5.3., the co-ordinator 01 ka- is used instead of the actor/mode prefix. The only prefixes that may be used with it are 30 and 50. All suffixes may be used with dependent verbs, as with their corresponding independent verbs. All verb stems may be used in dependent constructions.

One noteworthy feature of class II verbs is the use of the continuative prefix 332 in the singular of dependent constructions, with apparent loss of meaning. It may not be used in the plural (32), in which case the normal class II plural -vra- 553 is used.

2.5.6.1. Contrastive Chart of Prefixes that may be affixed to class I and class II verbs, when used dependently.

Class I			
Coord. 00	Aspect 30		Number 50
ka- 01	-t- compl.	31	-∅- s. 51
	-d- cont.	32	-r- restr. pl. 2
	-p'əh- prox.	33	-v- pl. 53
Class II			
ka-	-ta- compl. s.	331	-∅- s. 51
	-tə- compl. non-s.	31	-r- restr. pl. 52
	-da- s.	332	-vra- pl. 553
	-p'əh- prox.	33	

2.5.6.2. Examples of Dependent Verbs (class II verbs are underlined>).

a) Class I verbs

i- dedrən ka- ruh
he/real.-be frightened and-run away
 'He became frightened and ran away.'

n- r- duduvah ka- r- sihav'əs
I/real.-restr. pl.-play and restr. pl.-jump
 'We both played and jumped about.'

a- v- lue- r ka- v- ruh
they/real.-pl.-shoot-them and-pl.-run away
 'They shot them and ran away.'

b) Completive Aspect in dependent verbs

i- ln pari- an ka- t- ruh
he/real.-leave work- his and-compl.-run away
 'He left his job and ran away.'

i- an a Narsəv ka- ta- ma
 he/real.-leave at Norsup and-compl.-come
 'He left Norsup and has come.'

n- v- an a Narsəv ka- tə- vra- ma
 I/real.-pl.-leave at Norsup and-compl.-pl.- come
 'We left Norsup and have come.'

kə- tə- r- sila p'let ka- tə- r- hau?
 you/real.-compl.-restr. pl.-wash plate and-compl.-restr. pl.-go away
 'Did you two wash the plates and go?'

c) Class II dependent verbs

n- m'at ka- da- lu
 I/real.-be feverish and-cont.-vomit
 'I was feverish and vomiting.'

a- r- m'at ka- r- lu
 they/real.-restr. pl.-be feverish and-restr. pl. vomit
 'They were both feverish and vomiting.'

n- vra- ma etka ka- vra- nev'
 I/real.-pl.- come here and-pl.- have asthma
 'We came here and had asthmatic attacks.'

d) Class I with continuative prefix

ar- tav'et a- tə- v- v'et sera v'iu ka- d-
 all-woman they/real.-compl.-pl.-weave compl. pandanus and-cont.-
 v- lak
 pl.-sit down

'All the women have finished weaving the pandanus and are sitting down.'

e) Examples with proximity aspect

k- p'əh- ma ka- p'əh- lev' sei
 you/real.-prox.-come and-prox.-take something
 'You came recently and took something.'

n- v- talu ka- p'əh- vra- ma
 I/real.-pl.-go to garden and-prox.-pl.- come
 'We went to the garden and have just come (home).'

p'a ma ka- p'əh- ul- i
 I/irreal.-come and prox.-buy-it
 'I will come and buy it shortly.'

2.5.6.3. Verb Stems

All verb stems, including compound stems may take the co-ordinating prefix and the other prefixes mentioned above to form a dependent verb.

Examples:

a- vra- ma ka- v- lak- p'əlt
 they/real.-pl.- come and-pl.-stay-join
 'They came and united together.'

i- nap'i hin kə- v- lak ka- v- vətəma- didilin
it/real.-why it you/real.-pl.-stay and-pl.-laugh- be insane
 a kam'em'ʔ
at us (excl.)
'Why are you laughing us to scorn?'

2.5.7. Usage of Dependent Verbs with Suffixes

As mentioned before, there is no restriction on the use of suffixes with dependent verbs. Some representative examples follow:

Suffix 71

mardel pa lera i- lll ka- p'es- et
child small that he/real.-be big and good- very
'That baby is big and lovely.'

Suffixes of Manner 72

ar- mlin a- v- p'əlt ka- v- vr- kar- i
all-chief they/real.-pl.-join and-pl.-say-preventing-it
'All the chiefs joined together and forbade it.'

n- p'əh- ma ka- p'əh- lue- p'ən- r
I/real.-prox.-come and-prox.-shoot-fatally-them
'I have just come and shot them all.'

Suffixes of Ability 80

i- lələv- dau ka- hap'r- dau
he/real.-swing- can and-climb- can
'He can swing and climb.'

i- rv'i ka- m'im'in- dri məl
he/real.-recovered and-breathe- can again
'He recovered and was able to breathe again.'

Pronoun Object Suffixes 91

i- ta- ma ka- t- le- i
he/real.-compl.-come and-compl.-see-him
'He has come and has seen him.'

Benefactive Suffixes 92

i- mahmah a kana ka- m'akar- ak
he/real.-help to me and-work- my
'He helps me and works for me.'

2.5.8. The Use of Aspect Particle to Form Phrases

Aspect particles are verbal particles which closely follow the verbs. Although they are separate words (see examples 4), they may take the object suffixes (91). However, when used with intransitive verbs, the aspect particle takes only the third person singular object suffix -i (912).

Three of these aspect particles are completive in meaning: sara, tapa and m'ət.

The fourth particle is la 'immediately', 'now'.

The fifth particle udrlan 'all', which also functions as an adjective, has been included in this class because its inflection is the same as that of the others.

Examples:

Meaning	With object following	With 2nd s. suffix	With 3rd s. suffix	With 3rd pl. suffix
Compl.	sara	sara - h	sare - i	sara - r
Compl.	tapa	tapa - h	tape - i	tapa - r
Compl.	m'ət	m'ət - əh	m'ət - i	m'ət - r
'now'	la	la - h	le - i	le - r
'all'	udrlan	-	udrlan - i	udrlan - r

Examples in sentences:

1. Intransitive verbs

n- t- ruh sare- i (or tapei or m'əti)
I/real.-compl.-run away compl.-it
'I have run away.'

a- tə- v- sisil tape- i
they/real.-compl.-pl.-have a wash compl.-it
'They have already had a wash.'

kana p'a- hau le- i
I I/irreal.-go now-it
'I'm going now.'

a- tə- v- v'el udrlan- i
they/real.-compl.-pl.-set out all- it
'They have all set out.'

2. Transitive verbs with object included in aspect particle

n- tə- v- la sare- i
I/real.-compl.-pl.-see compl.-him
'We have already seen him.'

i- t- lua tapa- r
he/real.-compl.-shoot compl.-them
'He has already shot them.'

p'e rp la- h
I/irreal.-hit now-you
'I shall hit you now.'

p'e- hiris udrlan- r
I/irreal.-finish all- them
'I will finish them all off.'

3. Transitive verbs with object following

kə- tə- v- an sara pari- am'i?
 you/real.-compl.-pl.-make compl.-work- your (pl.)

'Have you all done your work?'

kə- tə- hsrasr tapa nut eim?
 you/real.-compl.-sweep compl. place inside

'Have you swept inside the house?'

p'e- rp udrlan mardel
 I/irreal.-hit all child

'I shall hit all the children.'

4. Sometimes the particles may be used without verbs, as follows. But always the verb is implicit.

nakəm sara le- i, kana
 you compl. now-it, I

'You go first, then I will.'

5. When used with verbs suffixed for benefaction (see 2.5.5.3.), the completive particle sarei takes the benefactive suffix, as follows:

i- t- m'akar sari- am
 he/real.-compl.-work compl. your (s.)

'He has already worked for you.'

nə- v- təhtah sari- an
 I/real.-pl.-burn off garden compl.-his

'We have already burnt off his garden for him.'

2.5.9. Continuant Relators

These words constitute a restricted class. They are formed by attaching the continuative prefix da- 332 to certain class II verbs of motion.

The verbs are

-an	'leave'
-v'a	'go'
-ma	'come'
-hau	'go away'

Examples:

nə- ma d-¹ an a Lev'iep'
 I/real.-come cont.-leave at Leviamp

'I have come from Leviamp.'

a- v- rp- i da- v'a ti i- valau
 they/real.-pl.-hit- him cont.-go that he/real.-cry

'They hit him until he cried.'

¹The first a in da- is elided before the a of the stem -an.

i- unanut da- hau da- ma ka- rn ti np'- ən
he/real.-wander cont.-go cont.-come and-feel that tiredness-his

i- stu
it/real.-be bad

'He wandered around coming and going until he felt tired.'

2.5.10. Numerals

As already mentioned in 2.5.0. most numerals in Big Nambas are inflected as verbs. They may never be suffixed but take the following prefixes: 00, 10, 20, 30, 40 and 50. Numerals higher than the number 'ten' require a phrasal expansion.

There is one numeral which may not take any further inflection - isət 'one'. It is only used in counting. There is another form iamək, which may take the full range of inflections and also served as an indefinite article.

sənal 'ten' is only used in counting and has an inflected form inal. When used in counting, the numbers 6-9 omit all prefixes.

2.5.10.1. The numerals 1-10 are as follows:

i- sət	'one' (counting)
i- amək	'one'
i- ru'	'two'
i- tl	'three'
i- v'a	'four'
i- ləm'	'five'
i- ləmsei	'six'
i- saru	'seven'
i- satl	'eight'
i- sav'et	'nine'
sə- nal	'ten' (counting)
i- nal	'ten'

NOTE: Numerals 2-5 are class II verbs. All the rest are class I verbs.

Examples in sentences:

pa- tu kana ruplet ipa- satl
you/irreal.-give me pound it/irreal.-be eight
'Give me eight pounds.'

pai- an i- d- ah- ru
year-his it/real.-cont.-neg.-be two
'He is not yet two years old.'

prapar- am'em' i- ta- tl sare- i
sow- our (excl.) it/real.-compl.-be three compl.-it
'We already have three sows!'

mə- kə- vra- tɪ pr
 you/real.-nec.-pl.- be three nec.
 'There must be three of you.'

p'e- p'əh- vra- tɪ
 I/irreal.-prox.-pl.- be three
 'There will soon be three of us.'

2.5.10.2. Numerals between 11 and 19. These numerals require the use of the linking particle *dəman* 'plus'. e.g. *inal dəman iamək* 'eleven'. When an actor other than the 3rd person singular is used in the first verb, the second verb does not repeat the person of the first verb but uses the 3rd person singular actor/mode prefix.

Examples:

i- nal dəman i- v'a
 it/real.-be ten plus it/real.-be four
 'Fourteen.'

nə- v- nal dəman i- ru
 I/real.-pl.-be ten plus it/real.-be two
 'There are twelve of us.'

Normally the mode of the first verb is repeated in the second verb.

e.g. p'ə- v- nal dəman ipa- tɪ
 I/irreal.-pl.-be ten plus it/irreal.-be three
 'There will be thirteen of us.'

n- də- v- nal dəman i- də- ləm' i- d-
 I/real.-cont.-pl.-be ten plus it/real.-cont.-be five it/real.-cont.-
 p'as
 be good
 'If there were fifteen of us, it would be good.'

Necessity aspect follows suit:

kam'i mə- kə- v- nal dəman i- ka- ru pr
 you (pl.) you/real.-nec.-pl.-be ten plus it/real.-nec.-be two nec.
 'There must be twelve of you!'

Completive aspect follows suit, as follows:

a- tə- v- nal dəman i- ta- ru
 they/real.-compl.-pl.-be ten plus he/real.-compl.-be two
 'There were ten of them.'

But continuative aspect in the negative in the first verb requires the use of the irrealis mode in the second verb.

e.g. n- d- a- v- nal dəman ipa- ru
 I/real.-cont.-neg.-pl.-be ten plus it/irreal.-be two
 'There are not yet twelve of us.'

2.5.10.3. Numerals between 21 and 99. There is little complexity with the numbers which are multiples of 10. They are as follows:

i- nel- ru
it/real.-be ten-two
'20'
ineltl '30'
inelv'a '40'
inell'əm' '50'
inelləm'sei '60'
inelsaru '70'
inelsatl '80'
inelsav'et '90'

But when a number is used which is not a multiple of 10, a different type of clause is used, as follows: (Unit B is obligatory and is always 10 more than the numeral in unit A).

	A	B	C
nə-	v- nel- ru	nel- tl nen	i- ləm'
I/real.-pl.-10-	2 10-	3 its	it/real.-5

'There were twenty-five of us.'

	A	B	C
pai- an i-	nel- v'a nel- ləm'	nen i-	ləm'sei
year-his it/real.-10-	4 10-	5 its	it/real.-6

'He is forty-six years old.'

2.5.10.4. Hundreds and Thousands. These are formed by multiplication.

'one hundred' is i- nel- nal i- v'a- mək
it/real.-10- 10 it/real.-times-one

'two hundred' is i- nel- nal i- v'a- ru
it/real.-10- 10 it/real.-times-2

This is perfectly regular until 1,000 which is:

i- nel- nal i- v'a- nal i- v'a- mək
it/real.-10- 10 it/real.-times-10 it/real.-times-one

'2,000' is: i- nel- nal i- v'a- nal i- v'a- ru
it/real.-10- 10 it/real.-times-10 it/real.-times-2

Numbers which involve 'hundreds' and 'thousands' but which are not themselves multiples of 100 and 1,000 are expressed as follows:

'146' is: i- nel- nal i- v'a- mək pəln i- nel- v'a
it/real.-10- 10 it/real.-times-one plus it/real.-10- 4
nel- ləm' nen i- ləm'sei
10- 5 its it/real.-6

'1,264' is: i- nel- nal i- v'a- nal i- v'a- mək
it/real.-10- 10 it/real.-times-10 it/real.-times-one
 pəln i- nel- nal i- v'a- ru i- nel-
plus he/real.-10- 10 he/real.-times-2 it/real.-10-
 ləm'sei nel- saru nen i- v'a
 6 10- 7 its *it/real.-4*

'Millions' are denoted by using the English word, presumably because of the colossal size of the numeral, if rendered in Big Nambas.

Numbers like 2,564 are very rare. Usually the Big Nambas are satisfied with a round number,

e.g. pa- tu kam'em' ruplet ipa- nel- nal ipa-
you/real.-give us (excl.) pound it/irreal.-10- 10 it/irreal.-
 v'a- nal ipa- v'a- mək
times-10 it/irreal.-times-one
 'Give us a thousand pounds!'

2.6. ADVERBS

Adverbs in Big Nambas are defined as a class of words which modify verbs or fill the temporal/locative slot of Interrogative or Declarative clauses.

In verb phrases they immediately follow the verb; in interrogative clauses they occur at the end of the clause.

There are three classes of adverbs:

- a) Modifying adverbs which must immediately follow the verb or other word modified.
- b) Adverbs of location and time which may occur at varying positions in the sentence.
- c) Interrogative adverbs which usually occur at the end of the sentence. They are used in a different type of clause from the second class of adverbs.

2.6.1. Modifying Adverbs

The examples are as follows:

dau 'very', 'indeed'
 uaki 'only'
 mau 'how!'
 məs 'quietly'

Examples in phrases:

kə- lil dau
you/real.-be big very
 'You are huge!'

i- p'as uaki
 it/real.-be good only
 'It's all right.'

a- v- lil mau
 they/real.-pl.-be big how
 'How big they are!'

pa lak mäs
 you/irreal.-stay quietly
 'Keep quiet!'

There are some other modifying adverbs of manner which immediately follow the verb. When used transitively, they employ the indirect object rather than a direct object.

The adverbs are as follows:

sali 'wrongly'
 maməln 'aimlessly'
 lilai 'upside down'
 p'sev' 'individually'

They are considered as adverbs and not as suffixes (see 2.5.7.) because they may not take the object suffix (90). All the suffixes of manner (72) may take the object suffixes.

Examples:

k- en sali an- i
 you/real.-do wrongly to- it
 'You did it wrongly.'

i- v'el maməln
 he/real.-walk aimlessly
 'He walked about aimlessly.'

a- v- an maməln a nəhau
 they/real.-pl.-make aimlessly to laplap
 'They made the laplap in a slovenly fashion.'

tav'et lera i- ua lilai a naten- an
 woman that she/real.-wear upside down to basket-her
 'That woman is wearing her brassiere upside down!'

ar- mlin a- v- ua p'sev' a pai nar r
 all-chief they/real.-pl.-carry individually to yam eating-their
 'All the chiefs took away their individual yams to eat.'

n- tē- v- ruh p'sev'
 I/real.-compl.-pl.-run away individually
 'We have all gone our individual ways.'

2.6.2. Adverbs of Location and Time

Adverbs of location are formed by adding a prefix *at-* to a denotative adjective of location.

e.g. *laha* means 'this' but *at-laha* means 'here'.

The following adverbs of location are formed in exactly the same way:

atlahatu 'there (not so close)'
atlahadei 'over there'
atka 'here'
atlera 'there (nearby)'

Examples:

prapar- ak i- hālahāl at- lahadei
sow- my she/real.-dig around adverb-aliser-that (over there)
'My sow is rooting around over there.'

at- ka nu i- u i- el
adverb-aliser-this rain it/real-rain it/real.-be constant
'Here in this village it rains constantly.'

Examples of Adverbs of time:

hilaha 'now'
naki 'always'
dika 'today'
nanāv' 'yesterday'
naua 'the day before yesterday'
paua 'the day after tomorrow'
tituei 'before', 'a while ago'
hatuei 'a few hours ago'
hethatuei 'just now'
m'iaḥ 'tomorrow'
uam 'soon'

Examples:

hilaha kam'em' n- a- v- m'akar arna Sadi naki
now we (excl.) I/real.-neg.-pl.-work on Sunday always
'Nowadays we never work on Sundays.'

kana p'a ma- asən- m'i m'iaḥ kənarav'
I I/irreal.-come to- you tomorrow evening
'I will come to you tomorrow evening.'

2.6.3. Interrogative Adverbs

There are two interrogative adverbs in the language:

v'aran 'when?'
ip'i 'where?'

Neither is inflected.

Examples:

pa- vra- v'a al pitvet v'aran?
you/irreal.-pl.- go to garden when
'When will you go to the garden?'

ar- du lilil lera a- v- an ip'i?
all-man big (pl) that they/real.-pl.-come from where
'Where have all those important men come from?'

2.6.4. Modification of Adverbs

Adverbs may be modified by other adverbs or particles following.

Examples:

i- tetəv eia sp'ən
it/real.-fly above very
'It flew way up high.'

tituei dau nə- v- lak a lili
before indeed I/real.-pl.-stay in bush
'Long ago we lived in the bush.'

nəmah- ək i- ter auei ki
house- my it/real.-is situated down a bit
'My house is down there a little way.'

CHAPTER 3

SYNTAX

3.1. CLAUSES

3.1.0. Introductory

There are eight classes of clause type based on internal contrastive features. There is a basic subdivision between principal and subordinate clause types, as follows.

Principal clauses are those which may stand independently as a complete sentence. Subordinate clauses are those which are dependent on a principal clause and are basically incomplete sentences.

- a. Principal Clauses
 1. Declarative Clauses
 2. Imperative Clauses
 3. Interrogative Clauses
- b. Subordinate Clauses
 1. Adverbial Clauses
 2. Purpose Clauses
 3. Relative Clauses
 4. Noun Clauses
 5. Dependent Clauses

3.1.1. Principal Clauses

3.1.1.1. *Declarative*

The structure of the declarative clause type is minimally a single predicate (with subject included). There are various expansions of this nucleus as follows:

Intransitive

Minimal:

n- rs
I/real.-fall down
'I fell down.'

a- d- a- v- rahəv
they/real.-cont.-neg.-pl.-clear ground
'They have not yet cleared the ground.'

Maximal:

kana p'a- hau a ut- ak arna tv'el parei
I I/irreal.-go away to home-my on brother (second) work (day)
'I am going home on Tuesday.'

m'etav'aran drndren n- sahəv i- el
morning early I/real.-sneeze it/real.-be constant
'I always sneeze early in the morning.'

Simple Transitive

Minimal:

n- rp- i
I/real.-hit-him
'I hit him.'

i- t- lev'- la hin
it/real.-compl.-take- out it(self)
'It has come undone.'

a Rapnp'el i- a- v'a su- n a teti- an
r.p. Rapnp'el he/real.-neg.-dig up bone-his r.p. father-his
'Rapnp'el hasn't dug up his father's bones!'

hin a Maiti ipa- sila p'let lihat dika
she r.p. Maiti she/irreal.-wash plate night today
'Maiti will wash the plates tonight.'

Extended Transitive

Minimal:

k- en sali an- i
you/real.-do wrongly to- it
'You're doing it wrongly.'

n- a- v'iv'en sei an- i
I/real.-neg.-show thing to- him
'I didn't show him anything.'

i- tu kana pai
he/real.-give me yam
'He gave me a yam.'

Maximal:

hir udrłani a- v- tu kam'em' tim'ah i- studau
they all they/real.-pl.-give us (excl.) food it/real.-much
'They all gave us plenty of food.'

a uni stu- ak i- vr- p'ep'a lsəlsien stu a kana arna
r.p. mother bad- my she/real.-say-look swearing bad to me on
 nah nelnal
face-of many

'My old mother openly said a bad swearword to me in front of everyone.'

Equational: This consists of a subject, the equational verb -v'i
 'to be' and an equational subject which follows the verb.

Minimal:

i- v'i- əh
it/real.-be- you
'It was you.'

kə- v'i lihav
you/real.-be show-off
'You are a show-off.'

i- v'i masin
it/real.-be love-magic
'It was love-magic.'

Occasionally the verb 'to be' is omitted, e.g.

dika Sadi a
today Sunday hey
'Hey, today is Sunday.'

Maximal:

nakəm kə- v'i saru na dui i- miman kis laha
you you/real.-be seven of man he/real.-ask for case this
'You are the seventh man to ask for this case.'

pai n- v'iv'en an- əh al pitvet i- v'i ter- p'as nen
yam I/real.-show to you (s.) in garden it/real.-be nom.-good of-it
'The yam I showed you in the garden is a good variety.'

Stative: These clauses consist of two stative subjects juxtaposed,
 without a verbal predicate.

Examples:

nu hin
rain it
'Here comes the rain.'

kana hin luh
I he here
'Here I am.'

hin uaki arna tiv'
it only on table
'It's just on the table.'

dui lahara n- vr- ur- i hara hin laha
man that I/real.-say-about-him that he here
'Here is that man I mentioned.'

3.1.1.2. Imperative

Imperative clauses are characterised by an imperative predicate - either a verb stem without a subject or a verb with imperative prefixes (14). They may include a vocative noun, which is a titular noun without a referential particle, or just a simple noun like dui 'man' or armardel 'children'. The vocative noun may either precede or follow the imperative verb.

Examples:

Intransitive

Minimal:

lak
 sit
'Sit down!'

a- v'a
 imp. s.-go
'Go!'

dah- ma m'le- r
 imp. s.-come with-them
'Come with them!'

Maximal:

mə- d- ah- v'a al pitvet, Lim'ei
you/irreal.-cont.-neg.-go to garden Lim'ei
'Don't go to the garden yet, Lim'ei.'

pa- v- lak le- i uam atlera
you/irreal.-pl.-stay now-it still there
'Stay there for a while longer.'

v'alet eim lil lahadei
go towards inside big that (over there)
'Go and join them in the big house over there.'

Transitive

Minimal:

pa- npe- i
you/irreal.-wrap-it
'Wrap it up!'

m- a- r- sənar- i
 you/irreal cond.-neg.-restr. pl.-tease- him
 'Don't you two tease him!'

a- rp- i a nai
 imp.-hit-him with stick
 'Hit him with a stick!'

da- v- ka neiet hilaha
 imp.-pl.-pick thatch now
 'Pick the thatch (leaves) now!'

Maximal:

ar- mardel, pa- v- v'ah nəmat lil i- amək
 all-child you/irreal.-pl.-watch out snake big it/real.-be one
 arna nai vaha
 on tree this
 'Children, look out for a big snake on this tree.'

ar- du a- v- tala tali- ak i- sel al nina
 all-man imp.-pl.-look for knife-my it/real.-be lost in grass
 ipa- lahməl
 it/irreal.-be immediate
 'Everyone, look for my knife lost in the grass immediately.'

uirma nai lahatu ser Litamat
 bring wood that quickly Litamat
 'Bring me that log straight away, Litamat!'

Extended Transitive

Minimal:

tu kana ki
 give me some
 'Give me some!'

pa- tu pai an- i
 you/irreal.-give yam to- him
 'Give him a yam.'

Maximal:

a- r- v'iv'en naten p'as-am'i a m'rtu eim
 imp. s.-restr. pl.-show basket good-your (pl.) to person inside
 lara, Siriai m'e- i Asnet
 that Siriai with-her Asnet
 'Siriai and Asnet, show your good baskets to the people inside there.'

Stelin, da- vr a kam'em' sei i- an- əh
 Stelin, imp.s.-say to us (excl.) thing it/real.-make-you (s.)
 'Stelin, tell us what (sickness) is troubling you!'

Equational

m- a- v'i pət- hua
 you/irreal cond.-neg.-be head-strong
 'Don't be a stubborn person.'

ar- tav'et, pa- v- vli ki asən- m'em' arna parei laha
all-woman, you/irreal.-pl.-be some with- us (excl.) in work this
 'Girls, be part of this work with us.'

3.1.1.3. Interrogative Clauses

Interrogative clauses are characterised by the presence of an interrogative word, whether it be an interrogative adverb, such as v'aran 'when?', an interrogative predicate such as inap'i 'why?', an interrogative subject or object such as hin ak 'who(m)?', v'ata 'what' or (mutually exclusive with the above) an interrogative particle ra.

Declarative clauses of all kinds can be also made interrogative by the use of the interrogative intonation pattern, e.g.

ntu- am i- nelnal
fowl-your (s.) it/real.-many (Declarative)
 'You have many fowls.'

ntu- am i- nelnal?
fowl-your (s.) it/real.-many (Interrogative)
 'Do you have many fowls?'

nəm nai i- an- i
spirit-of tree it/real.-make-him
 'A tree spirit is troubling him.'

nəm nai i- an- i
spirit-of tree it/real.-make-him
 'Is a tree spirit troubling him?'

Examples using interrogative words:

Intransitive

hin ak i- valau?
he who he/real.-cry
 'Who is crying?'

i- m'a sena v'ata?
he/real.-die because-of what
 'Of what disease did he die?'

ar- mlin a Pitar a- vra- ma v'ata atka?
all-chief at Pitar they/real.-pl.- come what here
 'For what reason have all the Pitar chiefs come here?'

k- r- nap'li?
 you/real.-restr. pl.-why
 'What is the matter with you two?'

i- nap'i kə- m'ənəm'ən?
 it/real.-why you/real.-be drunk
 'Why are you drunk?'

Simple Transitive

ak i- rp ak?
 who he/real.-hit who
 'Who him whom?'

k- en v'ata?
 you/real.-do what?
 'What did you do?'

pa- v- an v'ata a Larv'et m'iaħ m'etav'aran?
 you/irreal.-pl.-do what at Laravat tomorrow morning
 'What are you people doing at Laravat tomorrow morning?'

i- nap'i hin kə- tu m'aləħ eim a tav'et?
 it/real.-how it you/real.-put kava inside to woman
 'What was the reason for your putting kava inside the women's house?'

Extended Transitive

ak i- tu nav'et an- r?
 who he/real.-give money to- them
 'Who gave them the money?'

kə- v- an si p'as a kana sena v'ata?
 you/real.-pl.-do thing good to me because-of what
 'Why do you do good to me?'

p'e- tu pai laha an ak?
 I/irreal.-give yam this to whom
 'To whom will I give this yam?'

Equational

naha- m i- v'i ak?
 name- your it/real.-be who
 'What's your name?'

i- v'i a teti- an a hin ak?
 he/real.-be r.p. father-his r.p. he who
 'Whose father is he?'

nki laha i- v'i nas v'ata?
 thing this it/real.-be banana what
 'What kind of banana is this?'

Stative

a Kalpau hin- i?
 r.p. Kalpau he interrogative
 'Where is Kalpau?'

nana ler- i?
 pawpaw *this-interrogative*
 'Is this a pawpaw?'

tav'et stu lahara a- v- əln kana hara hlr- i?
 woman bad that they/real.-pl.-leave me that they-interrogative
 'Where are those bad women that left me behind?'

Sai, nakəm hin uam?
 Sai you it still
 Sai, are you still there?'

Examples using ra, the interrogative particle:

kə- m'at, ra?
 you/real.-be sick eh
 'Are you sick?'

nəhau laha i- t- m'ah, ra?
 laplap this it/real.-compl.-cooked eh
 'Is this laplap cooked?'

tav'et lip'ah- an i- vr ti ipa- tu mənah- ən
 woman dog- her she/real.-say that she/irreal.-give payment-its
 a kam'i uam ra?
 to you (pl.) still eh
 'Did the woman whose dog it was say that she would give you people a
 repayment some time?'

3.1.2. Subordinate Clauses

3.1.2.1. Adverbial Clauses

An adverbial clause is characterised by the presence of an introducer such as naran 'when' or sena ti 'because'. These clauses may precede or follow a principal clause.

Examples:

naran m'ərtarap' i- m'a, nə- v- tin- i
 when old man he/real.-die I/real.-pl.-bury-him
 'When an old man dies, we bury him.'

nə- v- dedrən naran nə- v- le- i
 I/real.-pl.-be afraid when I/real.-pl.-see-him
 'We were frightened when we saw him.'

naran dui lahara i- t- ha sara m'aləh a m'ei lil
 when man that he/real.-compl.-chew compl. kava at nakamal big
 lahatu, i- ruh da- v'a a ut- an
 that he/real.-run away cont.-go to place-his
 'When that man in question had chewed kava in that big nakamal, he
 went off to his place.'

a- v- la- p'as a nut lihat i- hua, sena ti
 they/real.-pl.-see-good to state-of night it/real.-be strong because
 m'akar-ien- ar i- a- p'as
 work- their it/real.-neg.-be good

'They love darkness very much because their actions are bad.'

i- a- rn ti ipa- lak sena ti im- a-
 he/real.-neg.-want that he/irreal.-stay because it/irreal cond.-neg.-
 hei ipa- m'a
 not he/irreal.-die

'He doesn't want to stay because he might die.'

da- v- tu la nāhau atlera, sena ti tup' i- d- ah- v'en
 imp.-pl.-put now laplap there, because oven it/real.-cont.-neg.-burn up
 'Put the laplap there for now, because the oven is not hot yet.'

3.1.2.2. Purpose Clauses

Purpose clauses follow the principal clause. They may be positive, when they are introduced by *arna ti* or *a ti*, which both mean 'in order that', or negative, when they are introduced by *imahei* 'in case', 'lest'. The irrealis mode is always used in the predicate of a purpose clause.

Examples:

Positive

i- skul a ti ipa- rn- du sei
 he/real.-attends school in order that he/irreal. feel-be able thing
 'He attends school so that he will learn something.'

a- m'akar a pitvet- ar hilaha arna ti
 3rd non-s./real.-work in garden- their now in order that
 apa- hatat atah
 3rd non s./irreal.-eat next year
 'People are working on their gardens now so that they may eat next year.'

p'ə- v- rada a ti p'ə- v- ier nut a Narsəv
 I/irreal.-pl.-hurry in order that I/irreal.-pl.-reach place at Norsup
 naran nut i- da- ren
 when place it/real.-cont.-shed light
 'Let us hurry so that we may reach Norsup while it is still light.'

pa- padah arna ti p- il- i ipa-
 you/irreal.-exert oneself in order that you/irreal.-saw-it it/irreal.-
 lahməl
 be immediate
 'Try hard so that you may saw through it quickly!'

Negative

pa- tiren nas laha arna tratr im-
 you/irreal.-put up banana this on vegetable stand-it/irreal cond.-

a- hei ntu ip- ud- i m'etav'aran
 neg.-not fowl he/irreal.-eat-it morning

'Put these bananas up on the vegetable stand, in case the fowls eat them in the morning.'

v'ah- əh im- a- hei pa- rs
 think about-you (s.) it/irreal cond.-neg.-not you/irreal.-fall

'Look out in case you fall!'

am- a- tu uidua al nəmah- an a mlin
 3rd non s./irreal cond.-neg.-put window in house- his r.p. chief

im- a- hei tam'a ipa- ue- i lihat
 it/irreal cond.-neg.-not devil he/irreal.-carry-him night

'They had better not put a window in the chief's house, lest a devil carry him off at night.'

3.1.2.3. Relative Clauses

Relative clauses are mostly characterised by being introduced by a relative particle or denotative adjective (this is not compulsory) and by their position in an utterance - following the noun they modify and preceding the principal predicate.

The introducers are:	laha	'that'	}	(adjectives)
	lara	'that'		
	lahara	'that'		
	la	'which'	}	(particles)
	lam	'which'		

The denotative adjectives often undergo tmesis, one half of the word being placed at the beginning of the relative clause, and the other half at the end, or else, the denotative adjective is used in its entirety at the beginning of the relative clause, with the second half of it being repeated at the end. e.g. laha, la.....ra; la.....hara; lahara...hara; lara.....ra.

Examples:

tav'et a Sun i- ul- i i- a- p'as
 woman r.p. John he/real.-buy-her she/real.-neg.-be good

'The woman whom John bought is no good.'

tav'et lei a Sun i- ul- i ha i- a- p'as
 woman whom r.p. John he/real.-buy-her this she/real.-neg.-be good

'The woman whom John bought is no good.'

tav'et lahara a Sun i- ul- i hara i-
 woman that one r.p. John he/real.-buy-her that one she/real.-

a- p'as
 neg.-be good

'That woman John bought (you know the one I mean) is no good.'

nai n- rp- i an- i i- p'arei
 stick I/real.-hit-him with-it it/real.-be long
 'The stick with which I hit him is long.'

n- lev' talei la a- tr kinu nakl na ka-
 I/real.-take knife which 3rd non s./real.-cut canoe always then and
 da- v'a av'aran
 cont.-go outside
 'I took the adze with which they cut canoes and then went outside.'

pai lam n- tu an- əh nanəv' ulien nen i-
 yam which I/real.-give to- you (s.) yesterday price of it it/real.-
 studau
 very much
 'The yam which I gave you yesterday was worth a lot of money.'

pa- sila nut lara i- təp' ra
 you/irreal.-wash place that it/real.-be infected that
 'Wash the spot that is infected.'

3.1.2.4. Noun Clauses

A noun clause is one that takes the place of a noun after verbs like 'to think', 'to say' and 'to want'; they are all introduced by *ti* 'that'.

Examples:

n- rn ti pa- tu kana nav'et
 I/real.-want that you/irreal.-give me money
 'I want you to give me some money.'

kana n- rn ti apa- rp tam'a na- k a Nəvənpis
 I I/real.-want that 3rd non s./irreal-kill devil eating-my at Nvnpis.
 'I want them to kill someone at Nvnpis for me to eat.'

nakəm kə- v'ah ti ipa- ma v'aran?
 you (s.) you/real.-think that he/irreal.-come when
 'When do you think he'll come?'

i- vr ti a- kə- v- m'akar pr
 he/real.-say that they/real.-nec.-pl.-work nec.
 'He said that they had to work.'

i- vr ti ipa- ma asən- ək dika arna m'etaneiel
 he/real.-say that he/irreal.-come to my today at o'clock

ipa- tɪ
 it/irreal.-be three

'He said that he would come to me today at three o'clock.'

a- rp həmau na ti apa- tɪtalu
 3rd non s./real.-hit drum for that 3rd non s./irreal.-go to gardens
 'They are beating the drum as a signal that people are to go to their
 gardens.'

3.1.2.5. *Dependent Clauses*

These are a type of subordinate clause already touched on in 2.5.6. and 2.5.7. Dependent clauses are so named because they depend on the existence of a preceding principal clause. They are co-ordinated with the previous clause by the co-ordinating prefix *ka-* 'and' and the verb is inflected as set out in the sections of the previous chapter mentioned above.

Examples:

a Vin'pel i- m'at ka- thi hin
r.p. *Vinp'el he/real.-be sick and-hack him(self)*

'Vinp'el is sick and is coughing.'

a- vra- v'a ka- v- tu tamat asən vən- m'aran
they/real.-pl.- go and pl.-give peace near woman-dry

'They went and prayed beside the old woman.'

i- riri ka- la si p'əsp'as i- nelnal ka- iela liu
he/real.-peep and-see thing very good it/real.-plenty and-open door

ka- da- v'a eim ka- v'ənah ki
and cont.-go inside and-steal some

'He peeped in and saw lots of good things, opened the door, went in and stole some.'

Subsumed under this type of clause is the comparative clause, which is expressed by a dependent clause - 'and beats it' (comparative) and 'and beats them all' (superlative). Both are introduced by the co-ordinating prefix *ka-*.

Examples:

hin i- p'as ka- siv' a Muna
he he/real.-good and-beats r.p. Muna

'He is better than Muna.'

tali- ak i- p'arei ka- siv' nka- m
knife-my it/real.-long and-beat that of-yours

'My knife is longer than yours.'

hin a mlin lera i- stu ka- siv' nelnal udrlani
he r.p. chief that he/real.-bad and beat plenty all

'That chief is the worst of them all.'

3.2. SENTENCES

3.2.0. *Introductory*

All the principal clauses outlined above (3.1.1.) may stand as complete sentences, but in addition there are some constructions which require specific treatment as sentences. There is a subdivision between Independent Sentences and Defective Sentences, as follows:

- a. Independent Sentences
 1. Adversative Sentences
 2. Alternative Sentences
 3. Conditional Sentences
 4. Quotative Sentences
 5. Continuative Sentences.
- b. Defective Sentences
 1. Response Sentences
 2. Addition Sentences
 3. Interrupted Sentences
 4. Alternative Defective Sentences.

3.2.1.1. Adversative Sentences

Adversative sentences consist of two Declarative clauses linked by v'eti 'but'. Sometimes v'eti is omitted but the general meaning is still clear.

Minimal Examples:

nə- miman an- i v'eti i- ah- ma
 I/real.-ask to- him but he/real.-neg.-come
 'I asked him but he didn't come.'

nə- miman an- i i- ah- ma
 I/real.-ask to- him he/real.-neg.-come
 'I asked him but he didn't come.'

Maximal Examples:

kana n- vr ti p'a- v'a al nauei, v'eti n- a-
 I/real.-say that I/irreal.-go to river, but I/real.-neg.-
 ua si p'e- va kana, n- a- suim
 take thing I/irreal.-wipe myself, I/real.-neg.-have a swim
 'I intended to go the river, but I didn't take a towel, so I didn't
 have a wash.'

a- v- vr ti a Uvi ipa- m'akar, i- hei
 they/real.-pl.-say that r.p. Uvi she/irreal.-work, it/real.-not
 'They said that Uvi was to work, but she didn't turn up!'

3.2.1.2. Alternative Sentences

Alternative sentences consist of two principal clauses linked by v'aha 'or'. Two declarative clauses or two interrogative clauses may be thus linked.

Examples:

Minimal

ipa- həl nəmah- an atka v'aha ipa- həl- i a Unmah
 he/irreal.-build house- his here or he/irreal.-build-it at Unmah
 'He will either build his house here or he will build it at Unmah.'

pa- v'a al nauei v'aha pa- liak atlaha uaki?
 you/irreal.-go to river or you/irreal,-stay here only
 'Will you go to the river or will you just stay here?'

Maximal

hilaha a- v- nen tan nplik a ti apa-
 now they/real.-pl,-pack shell green-snail in order that they/irreal.-
 v- uirv'a a Lev'iep', v'aha apa- v- ulul an- i arna
 pl.-take to Leviamp. or they/irreal.-pl.-sell to- it on
 nauak lil uaki.
 boat big only
 'Now they are putting green snail shells in bags in order to sell them
 at Leviamp or they will just sell them on the big ship.'

kam'i pa- v- rn- du v'ənen- am'em'
 you (pl.) you/irreal.-pl.-feel-be able language-our (excl.)
 ipa- lahməl v'aha pa- v- lak ipa-
 it/irreal.-be immediate or you/irreal.-pl.-stay it/irreal.-
 p'arei ka- v- rn- dau- i?
 be long and-pl.-feel-be able-it
 'Will you people learn our language quickly or will you stay a long
 time before you know it?'

3.2.1.3. Conditional Sentences

There are two types of conditional sentences.

1. Conditions of fact and
2. Condition contrary to fact.

Conditions of Fact are those in which if the condition laid down in the protasis is fulfilled, the result in the apodosis, will follow as a matter of fact.

Conditions contrary to fact are those in which there is little likelihood of the condition in the protasis being fulfilled.

The general pattern of a conditional sentence is for the protasis to be introduced by a form of the verb -vr 'say', for example:

ipa- vr ti pa- ma, ipa- p'as
 it/irreal.-say that you/irreal.-come, it/irreal.-be good
 'If you come, it will be good.'

Conditions of fact are usually introduced by -vr in the irrealis mode, which is used throughout the whole sentence. Generally speaking this introducer has the same actor as the verb following it, but this is not obligatory and 3rd singular irrealis ipavr ti may be used in all situations.

Examples if Conditions of Fact:

apa- r- vr ti apa- r- ma
 they/irreal.-restr. pl.-say that they/irreal.-restr. pl.-come
 paua, pa- trah- r
 the day after tomorrow you/irreal.-wait for-them
 'If they both come the day after tomorrow, wait for them.'

kana p'e- vr t* p'e- la sak, p'e- dedrən
 I I/irreal.-say that I/irreal.-see shark, I/irreal.-be frightened
 'If I see a shark, I'll be frightened.'

In the example above ipavr ti could have been substituted for p'evr ti.
 [* shortened form of ti.]

ipa- vr ti dui uraur ipa- ma arna nah- an uaki,
 it/irreal.-say that man other he/irreal.-come in name-his only,
 pa- v- lav'- i
 you/irreal.-pl.-take- him
 'If another man comes in his own name, you will welcome him.'

Conditions contrary to fact may also be introduced by ipavr ti, followed by the irreal condition mode in protasis and apodosis, but it is more common for the introducer to have the irreal condition mode, in uniformity with the rest of the sentence.

The introducer normally has the same actor as the verb following it, but there is a tendency for the third person to be used, no matter what the actor of the subsequent verb is.

An alternative way of expressing contrary to fact conditions is the use of the realis mode with a continuative prefix (32, 332) throughout the sentence, with or without introducers.

The third person (both singular and general plural) introducers of all the possible variations mentioned above may be freely interchanged.

Examples of Conditions Contrary to Fact:

Examples with introducers

im- vr ti nauak ima- ma dika,
 it/irreal cond.-say that ship it/irreal cond.-come today

im- p'as
 it/irreal cond.-be good

'If the boat were to come today, it would be good.'

hir am- v- vr ti am- v- rn- du
 they they/irreal cond.-pl.-say that they/irreal cond.-pl.-feel-be able
 ti m'a- ma, am- tə- v- an sara
 that I/irreal cond.-come, they/irreal cond.-compl.-pl.-make compl.

nəhau im- t- amək
 laplap it/irreal cond.-compl.-be one

'If they had known that I was coming, they would have made a laplap.'

ipa- vr ti nakəm ma- ma təv'al- ək im-
 it/irreal.-say that you you/irreal.-come brother-my he/irreal cond.-

d- ah- m'a
 cont.-neg.-die

'If you had come, my brother wouldn't have died.'

i- d- vr ti hin im- a- uada kana
it/real.-cont.-say that he he/irreal cond.-neg.-hold me

m' - t- ier a Ularu
I/irreal cond.-compl.-reach at Uiaru

'If he hadn't detained me, I would have reached Uiaru.'

a- d- vr ti am- lua
3rd non s./irreal cond.-cont.-say that 3rd non s./irreal cond.-shoot

lip'ah i- nap'i lera, i- d- p'as
dog it/real.-be like that, it/real.-cont.-be good

'If they (in general) shot dogs like that, it would be good.'

Examples without introducers

i- dē- v'i kana n- d- a- m'ahu a si stu lil lera
it/real.-cont.-be me I/real.-cont.-neg.-allow to thing bad big that
'If I had anything to do with it, I wouldn't allow that great injustice.'

kə- dē- v'i taut, lait i- d- amək uaki
you/real.-cont.-be Big Nambas, lantern it/real.-cont.-be one only

i- da- v'en
it/real.-cont.-burn

'If you were a Big Nambas man, only one lantern would be burning.'

For other examples of Conditional Sentences, refer to 2.5.3.1. Irreal Condition Mode.

3.2.1.4. Quotative Sentences

A Quotative sentence consists of an introductory quotative clause, which must end with *-vr ti a* or *-vr a* or *-ani kan a* together with distinctive introductory intonation and a quotation which consists of a principal clause or independent sentence.

Examples:

i- vr ti a, n- rn ti apa- rpe- p'n
he/real.-say that intro., I/real.-want that 3rd non s./irreal. kill-dead

la du Aməh lp- amək p'e- han le- l
now man Amh he/irreal.-be one I/irreal.-eat now-him

'He said, "I want someone to kill, an Amh man for me to eat straight-away".'

a m'əhip'- an i- vr ti a, k- a- le-
r.p. grandchild-her she/real.-say that intro., you/real.-neg.-see-

i a tap'- ək ki?
her r.p. grandmother-my at all

'Her granddaughter said, haven't you seen my grandmother?'

a- v- vr a, au lera i- lev' si- an lera ip'i?
they/real.-pl.-say intro., man that he/real.-take thing-his that where
'They said, where did that man get that thing of his?'

n- an- i k- an a, pa- sapa kana
I/real.-make-it and-make intro., you/irreal.-follow me
'I said, "Follow me".'

3.2.1.5. Continuative Sentences

A continuative sentence consists of a principal clause, a continuant relator, which may be repeated up to six times, and a second clause co-ordinated with the first one. The second clause may be a principal clause, a dependent clause or a noun clause.

Examples:

1. with a principal clause as the second clause.

n- r- ruh laha da- v'a da- v'a da- v'a
I/real.-restr. pl.-go away now cont.-go cont.-go cont.-go
 i- ma mēl ka- p'tir a nut la apa-
he/real.-come again and-stand at place which 3rd/non s./irreal.-
lue- i hara
shoot-him that one
'We both went away until he returned and stood at the place where they
were to shoot him.'

2. with a dependent clause as the second clause.

a- r- lak da- v'a da- v'a ka- r- ier
they/real.-restr. pl.-stay cont.-go cont.-go and-restr. pl.-reach
lihalm'au
mid-day
'They both stayed until mid-day.'

3. with a noun clause as the second clause.

n- ususe- i da- v'a da- v'a ti i- m'atr
I/real.-pat- him cont.-go cont.-go that he/real.-sleep
'I patted him (until he went) to sleep.'

3.2.1.6. Appendix on Sequence of Mode and/or Aspect

There is a strong tendency when a particular mode or aspect has been used in the initial verb in the sentence for succeeding verbs to maintain the same mode or aspect.

Examples:

ipa- ma ipa- lahmēl
he/irreal.-come he/irreal.-be quick
'He will come quickly.'

nki ip- amək ipa- m'alet
thing he/irreal.-be one it/irreal.-come back
'One is to come back (Give me one back)'

dui i- amək i- m'a dlka
 man he/real.-be one he/real.-die today
 'A man died today.'

nki i- ta- tl i- t- m'ah
 thing it/real.-compl.-be three it/real.-compl.-be cooked
 'Three of them are cooked.'

ipa- vr ti apa- p'əh- vra- ma, ipa- p'as
 it/irreal.-say that they/irreal.-prox.-pl.-come, it/irreal.-be good
 'If they come soon, it will be good.'

m'ə- vr ti m'ə- lev' mani lil, m'-
 It/irreal cond.-say that I/irreal cond.-get money big, I/irreal cond.-
 ul sl- am
 buy thing-your (s.)
 'If I were to get a lot of money, I would buy something for you.'

i- k- ah- ma i- k- lahməl
 he/real.-nec.-neg.-come he/real.-nec.-be quick
 'He won't come quickly.'

3.2.2. Defective Sentences

3.2.2.1. Response Sentences

Response sentences are parts of sentences, i.e. words, phrases or subordinate clauses which only make sense as responses to a question. In the following conversations, the response sentences are marked with an 'R' following.

Examples:

ip'i len?
 where-to then
 'Where are you going now?'

al nauei eia R
 to river above
 'To the upper reaches of the river.'

nakəd R
 we (incl.) - you and I
 'Let's go together.'

au, i- p'as
 yes, it/real.-be good
 'Yes, all right.'

pa- tu kana pal lahara
 you/irreal.-give me yam that one
 'Give me that yam (you know the one I mean),'

pai v'ata? R
yam what
'What yam?'

lam n- tu an- əh nanəv'
which I/real.-give to- you (s.) yesterday
'The one I gave you yesterday.'

v'ata lah?
what this
'What's this?'

kalsun uaki R
underpants only
'Just underpants.'

kalsun- an a hin ak? R
underpants-his r.p. he who
'Whose underpants?'

kalsun- an a Timi
underpants-his r.p. Timmy
'Timmy's underpants.'

ak i- rn ti ipa- m'ən sei
who he/real.-want that he/irreal.-drink thing
'Who wants to drink something?'

kana ki R
I indeed
'I do, of course.'

k- t- lua sara ntu- ak?
you/real.-compl.-shoot compl. fowl-my
'Have you shot a fowl for me?'

sena ti pari- ak i- huadau R
because work- my it/real excessive
'(No,) because I have far too much work.'

pa- lue- i v'aran?
you/irreal.-shoot-it when
'When will you shoot it?'

m'iaħ R
'Tomorrow.'

hin i- a- v'i təv'al- m, ra?
he he/real.-neg.-be brother-your, eh
'He's not your brother, is he?'

au, a p'əni- ak uaki
yes, r.p. uncle- my only
'No, he's just my uncle.'

nakəm kə- lav'- i?
 you you/real.-take- it
 'Did you take it?'

isrer!
 'the idea! (expletive)'

3.2.2.2. Addition Sentences

Addition sentences are phrases which are added after the conclusion of an independent sentence.

Examples:

n- rn p'- ul pua ki ip- amək
 I/real.-want I/irreal.-buy pig a it/irreal.-be one
 'I want to buy a pig.'

ter- p'as nen
 nom.-good the one in question
 'The good one.'

pa- tau- i eim lera. a nadepl'
 you/irreal.-put- it inside that. on ground
 'Put it inside there. On the ground!'

ap- an nipa! na m'ətu. eia.
 3rd non s./irreal.-make bed for copra. above
 'They are to make a copra drying platform. Up there.'

3.2.2.3. Interrupted Sentences

These are examples of a person interrupting himself, either through nervousness or uncertainty about the exact expression to use.

Examples:

a- vra- v'a a- v- an v'ata ki laha
 they/real.-pl.- go they/real.-pl.-do what thing this
 a- v- tala m'it uad- ar
 they/real.-pl.-look for meat eating-their
 'They went and then what did they do? they hunted for
 meat to eat.'

kam'em' n- v- rn ti ipa- ma v'eti dika laha
 we (excl.) I/real.-pl.-want that he/irreal.-come but today this
 ua a- dr nēmah dika n- a- v- rn-
 oh they/real.-sew house today I/real.-neg.-pl.-feel-
 du naran trisa ipa- ma
 be able when dresser he/irreal.-come

'We want him to come but today now.... oh..... they're sewing (thatch on) the dispensary (roof) today.....we don't know when...when the dresser will come.'

orait ia n- vr ti a p'e- vr la
 all right now I/real.-say that intro.-.... I/irreal.- say now
 dui i- vr ti ipa- p'ep'a nas pr,
 man he/real.-say that he/irreal.-look for banana assuredly,
 nah- an i- v'i a Sai, a Sai a Lamu.
 name-his it/real.-be r.p. Sai r.p. Sai at Lamu

'All right now.... I say..... I will talk about a man now....he said that he would look for a banana, his name was Sai, Sai of Lamu.'

3.2.2.4. Alternative Defective Sentences

An alternative defective sentence consists of either the words sah or v'aha 'or'.

Examples:

k- rn p'e- n nēhau na- m? Sah.
 you/real.-want I/irreal.-make laplap eating-your. or.

'Do you want me to make a laplap for you to eat? Or don't you?'

i- vr ti p'ə- vra- ma arna Madi? V'aha.
 he/real.-say that I/irreal.-pl.- come on Monday. Or.

'Did he say that we were to come on Monday. Or didn't he?'

a Venu i- talu a M'ihaul? Sah.
 r.p. Venu he/real.-go to garden at M'ihaul. Or

'Is Venu gardening at Mihual? Or isn't he?'

3.3. DISCOURSES

3.3.0. Introductory

This section has been divided into five main parts.

1. Opening of a Discourse.
2. Connection of sentences in a Discourse.
3. Paragraph Introduction.
4. Quotations.
5. Closure of Discourse.

3.3.1. Opening of a Discourse

3.3.1.1. Establishment of the time when the narrative took place.

Examples: a)

a- v- vr tav'et i- amək TITUEI.
 they/real.-pl.-say woman she/real.-be one BEFORE

a- r- lak da- v'a da- v'a
 they/real.-restr. pl.-stay cont.-go cont.-go

da- v'a da- v'a na i- vr t a
 cont.-go cont.-go then she/real.-say that intro.

i- vr an a rin- an stu, i- v'i
 she/real.-say to r.p. mother-in-law-her ugly, she/real.-be

vənm'aran stu, i- vr ka- vr t apa- r-
 old woman ugly, she/real.-say and-say that they/irreal.-restr. pl.-

liliak m'e- i a nat- n
 stay with-her r.p. child-her

'They tell of a woman OF LONG AGO. They both stayed (in the same place) continually until she said, (the woman) said to her ugly mother-in-law, who was an ugly old woman, she spoke and said that she should stay with her daughter.'

In the example above, the word which establishes then the action took place is in the first sentence - tituei.

b) NARAN m'ərtarap' i- m'a, nə- v- tin tape- i
 WHEN old man he/real.-die, I/real.-pl.-bury compl.-him

(n- t- vr sara si vara an- i i- tauamu),
 I/real.-compl.-say compl. thing this to- him it/real.-be first,

nə- v- lak da- v'a da- v'a da- v'a pai i- t1.
 I/real.-pl.-stay cont.-go cont.-go cont.-go year it/real.-be three

'When an old man died, we would bury him (I've already told him this in the first place) then we would stay until three years passed.'

The time is established by naran 'when' in the first sentence.

3.3.1.2. Outlining of the topic.

a) p'e- vr- ur la naur ki i- amək. naur i-
 I/irreal.-say-about now war a it/real.-be one war it/real.-

amək. nə- v- lak da- v'a a Tavhapat a mliur- ak
 be one. I/real.-pl.-stay cont.-go r.p. Tavhapat r.p. chief- my

i- vr a, kana hilaha n- rn ti apa-
 he/real.-say intro. I now I/real.-want that 3rd non s./irreal.-

rp la tam'a na- k a Nəvənpis
 kill first devil eating-my at Nvnnpis.

'I shall now speak about a war. A war. We stayed there until my chief Tavhapat said, now I want someone to kill a Nvnnpis person for me to eat.'

The topic in the above example is outlined in the first sentence and repeated in the second.

- b) a mlin a m'el eia m'e- i a mlin a Udualau,
 r.p. chief at nakamal above with-him r.p. chief at Udualau,
 a. mlin a Ləm'lasei a- r- tl
 r.p. chief at Lm'lasei they/real.-restr. pl.-be
 'The chief of M'eleia and the chief of Udualau and the Chief of
 Lm'lasei were three in number.'

This story is an origin myth and deals with the origins of three chiefs whose mother was allegedly a sow. The topic is basically outlined in this first sentence.

3.3.2. Connection of Sentences in a Discourse

General remarks: Sentences follow experiential order. Rather than subordination, there is co-ordination and continuation.

For example one could say,

i- uirma nai i- t- tr sare- i
 he/real.-bring log he/real.-compl.-cut compl.-it
 'He brought the log which he had cut.'

but it is more natural to say,

i- tr nai ka- uirma
 he/ cut log and-bring
 'He cut the log and brought it.'

3.3.2.1. Contrast

Examples of contrast between sentences.

- a) a m'əhip'- an pa i- vr an- i ka- vr ti
 r.p. granddaughter-her small she/real.-say to- her and-say that
 a, k- a- le- i a tap'- ək ki? t a
 intro., you/real.-neg.-see-her r.p. grandmother-my at-all that r.p.
 tap'- ən lahara i- vr ti a, kana hilaha
 grandmother-her that one she/real.-say that intro., I now
 ki. V'ETI i- vr a, i- hei. kana i-
 in-fact. BUT she/real.-say intro., it/real.-not. I it/real.-
 a- v'i a tap'- ək hilaha.
 neg.- be r.p. grandmother-my now
 'Her small granddaughter spoke to her and said, you haven't seen my
 grandmother, have you? But her grandmother (to whom I alluded before)
 said, "Here I am." But she said, "No." That's not my grandmother now.'
 Contrast between sentences is expressed by v'eti 'but'.

- b) a mlin a M'el eia, a mlin a Udualau, a mlin a
 r.p. chief at nakamal above, r.p. chief at Udualau r.p. chief at
 Ləm'lasei a- r- tl. V'ETI a uni- ar
 Lm'lasei they/real.-restr. pl.-be three BUT r.p. mother-their
 i- amək uaki. a uni- ar i- v'i prapar.
 she/real.-be one only r.p. mother-their she/real.-be sow
 'The chief at M'eleia, the chief at Udualau and the chief of Lm'lasei
 were three in number. But they had only one mother. Their mother was
 a sow.'

v'eti is used in this narrative in the same way as in example a).

3.3.2.2. Continuation

This feature is very important, as implied in 3.3.2. The following text is a good example of continuation, and observations will be made on it under certain headings.

The sentences have been numbered for ease of reference.

Example:

1. a- v- vr tav'et i- amək tituei.
they/real.-pl.-say woman she/real.-be one before
'They tell the story of a woman of long ago.
2. a- r- lak da- v'a da- v'a da- v'a na
they/real.-restr. pl.-stay cont.-go cont.-go cont.-go then
 i- vr an a rin- an stu, i- v'i vən'm'aran
she/real.-say to r.p. mother-in-law-her ugly, she/real.-be old woman
 stu, i- vr ka- vr t apa- r- liliak
ugly, she/real.-say and-say that they/irreal.-restr. pl.-stay
 m'e- i a nat- n.
with-her r.p. child-her
They both stayed where they were until she (a woman) said to her ugly mother-in-law, who was an ugly old woman, she spoke and said that she should stay with her child.
3. na a- r- liliak.
then they/real.-restr. pl.-stay.
So they both stayed there.
4. a- r- lak da- v'a da- v'a ka- r- ier
they/real.-restr. pl.-stay cont.-go cont.-go and-restr. pl.-reach
 lihalm'au.
mid-day
They both stayed there until mid-day.
5. na a tap'- ən i- vr an a m'əhip'- an
then r.p. grandmother-her she/real.-say to r.p. granddaughter-her
 pa lahara ka- vr ti a, p'e- r- v'a le- i
small that one and-say that intro., I/irreal.-restr. pl.-go now-it
 ka- r- suim le- i.
and-restr. pl.-swim now-it
Then her grandmother said to her granddaughter (the little girl I referred to) and said, "Let's go now and have a wash now".
6. a m'əhip'- an pa i- vr a, alei, p'e-
r.p. granddaughter-her small she/real.-say intro., O.K. I/irreal.-
 r- v'a ka- r- v'el.
restr. pl.-go and-restr. pl.-walk
Her little granddaughter said, "O.K., let's go!"
7. ka- r- v'el da- v'a da- v'a ka- r- v'el al nauei.
and-restr. pl. walk cont.-go cont.-go and-restr. pl.-go to river
So they went on their way until they reached a river.

8. ka- r- v'el al nauei nen laha nah- an
 and-restr. pl.-walk to river the one in question this name-its
 i- v'i, 'nauei mul'.
 it/real.-be water-of peel-off
 So they went to that river called 'The waters of rejuvenation'.'

3.3.2.2.1. Change of Subject (Observations on Text)

There are three changes of subject in the first two sentences. The first subject is 3rd plural, the second is 3rd singular (i- amək), the third is a proleptic 3rd restricted plural and the fourth subject is 3rd singular.

Another change of subject is seen in the sentences 6-8 as the narrative passes from direct speech to narrative. The implied subject is the first karv'el is 'we (incl.)' but the same word used in the succeeding sentence must be 3rd person restricted plural.

3.3.2.2.2. Specifying Words Typical of Discourses

1) nen 'the one in question'.

..... ka- r- v'el al nauei. ka- r- v'el al nauei
 and-restr. pl.-walk to river, and-restr. pl.-walk to river

nen laha
 the-one-in-question this

'..... and they both walked to the river. They both walked to that river in question'

Another example is seen in the following example:

dui kinkin i- tp'ev' dui ki arna v'anu ki ka- va- p'an-
 man a-certain he/real.-chase man a in village a and-spear-killing-
 i. v'anu nen ipa- v'a ka- tp'ev' a
 him. village the-one-in-question it/irreal.-go and-chase in
 nut ki ka- va- p'an- i
 some place a and-spear-killing-it

'A certain man chased a man in a village, and speared him to death.

The village in question (the attacked village) will go and chase some village somewhere and spear them to death.'

nen is used readily enough in ordinary conversation, but is used considerably more in discourses, where the need for identification of actor and object is greater.

ii) lahara 'the one I referred to before'.

Examples:

1) na a tap'- en i- vr an a m'əhip'- an
 now r.p. grandmother-her she/real.-say to r.p. granddaughter-her

pa lahara...
 small the one I referred to previously

'Now her grandmother said to her small grandchild (the one I referred to before)....'

- 2) i- ruh da- v'a a nāv' nav'et i- amək,
he/real.-go away cont.-go to underneath of stone it/real.-be one,
 naha nut nen i- v'i Ut Lalau a m'el.
name place the-one-in-question it/real.-be place sacred in nakamal.
 na ka- m'atr a nāv' nav'et lahara na ka-
so and-sleep at underneath of stone the-one-in-question then and-
 lev' mlin lera a- r- tl ra
gave birth to chief that they/real.-restr. pl.-be three indeed
'She (the sow) went off until she went under a rock, in a place called
Sacred Place in the Nakamal. So she slept under that rock and then
gave birth to those three chiefs.'

3.3.2.2.3. Co-ordination of Sentences

This construction has already been adumbrated in 2.5.6. and 2.5.7. (Verb Morphology) and 3.1.2.5. (Dependent Clauses). It is significant also on the level of discourses.

One notable feature is that a sentence may start without an expressed subject. The subject of the dependent verb is that of the previous sentence or is deducible from it.

Examples:

1. "p'e- r- v'a ka- r- v'el." ka- r-
I/irreal.-restr. pl.-go and-restr. pl.-walk and-restr. pl.-
 v'el da- v'a da- v'a ka- r- v'el al nauei.
walk cont.-go cont.-go and-restr. pl.-walk to river
"Let's be on our way!" So they both went on their way until they
reached the river.'
2. n- r- ru ka- r- v'a. ka- r-
I/real.-restr. pl.-be two and-restr. pl.-go and-restr. pl.-
 v'a ka- r- m'atr ka- r- an skul asn- r.
go and-restr. pl.-sleep and-restr. pl.-make church amongst-them
 na ka- vr- p'ep'a sara v'anen- an a mlin eia ka- vra-
then and-say-look compl. word- his r.p. chief above and-pl.-
 v'a ka- v- ha m'aləh ka- v- m'an- i.
go and-pl.-chew kava and-pl.-drink-it
'Both of us went on our way. And we went and slept there and conducted
a service in their midst. So we both proclaimed God's Word and all
went and chewed kava and drank it.'

3.3.2.2.4. Temporal Continuation

Five discourse level temporal continuators have been discovered. They are *dav'a* 'until', *na* 'then', *vaha uam ti* 'then' and *vaha or laha* (or *lahara*) 'then'.

They are used to link sentences in a discourse.

Examples:

1. dav'a dav'a

i- vr sare- i lahara hin ka- la ti a- r-
 he/real.-say compl.-it then he and-see that they/real.-restr. pl.-
 pi daua lahara ti i- le- i ti ka- pi
 hunt for grasshopper that one that he/real.-see-it that and-hunt for
 mæl as- r. da- v'a da- v'a da- v'a ka- vr an- r
 again alongside-them cont.-go cont.-go cont.-go and-say to- them
 ka- vr ti a, n- vr ti le- i pa- r-
 and-said that intro., I/real.-say that first-it you/irreal.-restr.pl.-
 v'a
 go...

'After he had said this, he saw that they were both hunting for grasshoppers, as mentioned above. On seeing it he started to hunt them alongside them. (Things continued like this) until he spoke to them and said, "I want you both to go now....'

In the above example dav'a dav'a dav'a links the previous sentence with the sentence in which it occurs itself.

2. na

i- vr ka- vr ti apa- r- liliak m'e- i
 he/real.-say and-say that they/irreal.-restr. pl.-stay with-him
 a nat- n. na a- r- liliak.
 r.p. child-his. so they/real.-restr. pl.-stay

'She spoke and said that she should stay with her child. So they both stayed there.'

3. vaha uam (ti)

i- vr ti a, aui, naur ei, ka- v'ara namas ki.
 he/real.-say that intro., hey, war eh? and-call for spear a
 vaha uam a teti- an i- ru- la namas.
 then soon r.p. father-his he/real.-pull-out spear

'He said, "Hey, the fight is on", and called for a spear. Then his father pulled out a spear.'

vaha uam ti is a variant of vaha uam.

4.vaha

....v'anu a Ləm'lasei, v'anu a Maiak i- k- a- lulua
 village at Lm'lasei, village at Maiak it/real.-nec.-neg.-shoot
 hin. i- vr- i vaha, a- tr su lamu
 itself. he/real.-say-it then, 3rd non s./real-cut bone of bamboo
 ka- hu a Nahal.
 and-fasten r.p. Nahal

'The villages at Lm'lasei and Maiak must not shoot one another. After he had said this, they cut a length of bamboo and tied Nakal's body to it.'

In the above example, vaha is not an adverb, but links the sentence in which it occurs to the preceding sentence.

5. laha and lahara

m- a- valau mël. p'e- r- v'a asn
 you/irreal cond.-neg.-cry any more. I/irreal.-restr. pl.-go to
 a uni- am. hiladi uakih. lahara laha ivr a, a-
 r.p. mother your. there only that this he/real.-say intro. imp. s.-
 pët ser laha i- pët laha, i- vr a,
 be silent quickly then he/real.-be silent then, he/real.-say intro.,
 k- rn nam'er i- vr a, au n- rn nam'er.
 you/real.-feel hunger. he/real.-say intro., yes I/real.-feel hunger
 'Don't cry any more. Let's go to your mother. There she is over there.
 Then he said, "Hush, don't cry any more!" At that point he stopped
 crying, and he said, "Are you hungry?" He said, "Yes, I am hungry".'
 As seen above laha and lahara are used in the same way as vaha.

3.3.2.2.5. Repetition

In continuous discourse, the last dependent verb of a sentence is repeated at the beginning of the next sentence. This feature is not just a personal idiosyncrasy on the part of the narrator of a story, but a feature which occurs in oral literature regularly.

Examples:

- a) 1. "p'e- r- v'a ka- r- v'el."
 I/irreal.-restr. pl.-go and-restr. pl.-set off
 "'Let's be on our way!"
 2. ka- r- v'el da- v'a da- v'a ka- r- v'el al
 and-restr. pl.-walk cont.-go cont.-go and-restr. pl.-walk to
 nauei.
 water
 So they set off and went until they both reached the river.
 3. ka- r- v'el al nauei nen laha, nah- an
 and-restr. pl.-walk to river the one in question this, name-its
 i- v'i nauei mul.
 it/real.-be water-of peel-off
 And they both reached the river in question, named 'The Waters of
 Rejuvenation'.'

Note the repetition at the beginning of the second sentence and the beginning of the third sentence.

- b) 1. a- v- nunu an-i, a uni- ar
 they/real.-pl.-drink at breast at-her r.p. mother-their
 lahara, da- v'a ka- v- lilil.
 that one, cont.-go and-pl.-large
 'They were fed at the breast of that mother of theirs until they grew up.
 2. ka- v- lilil na, ka- v- lak a nav'et lahara i-
 and-pl.-large then, and-pl.-stay at stone that one it/real.-
 v'i nãmah- ar
 be house- their
 So they grew up and stayed in that stone, which was their home.'

Note the repetition at the beginning of the second sentence.

3.3.3. Paragraph Introduction

Paragraphs are introduced by phrases such as the following:

1. si iamək məl 'another matter'
2. v'eti iahiris atlera 'but it doesn't end there'
3. si uraur məl 'another matter'

Examples:

si i- amək məl, n- rn i- stu an-
 thing it/real.-be one again, I/real.-feel it/real.-be bad at-
 i i- huadau
 it it/real.-exceedingly

'There is another point, at which I am greatly disturbed....'

and then follows the grievance in question.

v'eti i- a- hiris atlera, i- ma ka- v'ənah
 but it/real.-neg.-finish there, he/real.-come and-steal

udrlan nas na- k.
 all banana eating-my

'But that's not all, he came and stole all my eating bananas.'

si uraur məl, dui stu lahara i- utakm an a
 thing another again, man bad that one he/real.-spoil to r.p.

vən pa- k
 girl small-my

'Another matter, that scoundrel harmed my little girl.'

3.3.4. Quotations

A quotation may consist of one sentence or a multiplicity of sentences or a long narrative. But, as mentioned already at sentence level (3.2.1.4.), it must be preceded by one of the following introductory formulae.

- a) -vr a b) -vr ti a c) -an-i ka - n a

Examples:

a) a Hap'lili a Ləm'lasei i- p'tir- srah kam'em' a
 r.p. Hap'lili at Lm'lasei he/real.-stand- wait us (excl.) at

vətlam'el- am'em' ka- vr a, a mlin laha, a
 dancing-ground-our (excl.) and-say that, r.p. chief this, r.p.

Tavhapat i- rn- i ka- vr naur, ka- la m'əln- an.
 Tavhapat he/real.-want-it and-say war and-see retribution-its

'Hap'lili of Lm'lasei was standing waiting for us at our dancing-ground and said, "Chief Tavhapat desired and declared war, and now he sees the retaliation".'

b) au laha, hin a makau Etnameleun i- vr ti a,
 man this he r.p. killer Etnameleun he/real.-say that intro.,

am- a- ruh ki, a- t- lue-
 they/irreal.-neg.-go away at all, 3rd non s./real.-compl.-shoot

p'en a mlin. p'ə- v- p'əlt ka- v- hau- i.
 killing r.p. chief. I/irreal.-pl.-join and-pl.-tie- him

n- k- a- v- lulua nakəd. v'anu a Ləm'lasei, v'anu
 I/real.-neg.-pl.-shoot us (incl.). village at Lm'lasei village
 a Maiak i- k- a- lulua hin.
 at Maiak he/real.-neg.-not-shoot him.

'This man, Etnameleun the hatchet-man, said, "Nobody at all is to run away, they've shot the chief! We must band together and tie him (his body) (to the bamboo pole). We mustn't shoot one another. The village at Lm'lasei and the village of Maiak must not shoot one another".'

c) a Hap'i tarap' i- an- i ka- n a, a-
 r.p. Hap'i old he/real.-make-it and-make intro., they/real.-
 r- ru, kə- v- rp la v'anu a Nəvənpis
 restr. pl.-be two, you/real.-pl.-kill first village at Nvnpis
 uaki i- lahməl? i- lue- p'ən a teti- an a
 only it/real.-be quick. it/real.-shoot-killing r.p. father-his r.p.
 mliun, k- a- v- rap'e- i məl ki a?
 chief you/real.-neg.-pl.-pay back-him again at-all eh
 'Old Hap'i said, "You two, have you shot the village of Nvnpis quickly?
 They shot the chief's father. Haven't you retaliated in any way?"'

3.3.5. Closure of a Discourse

Depending on the speaker and topic, the conclusion of a discourse may be abrupt, or drawn-out and recapitulatory. But there are certain formulae, common to sermons, narratives and discourses, which mark the end.

They are as follows:

hilaha (uaki)
 there it is (only)
 'That's all.'

v'nen- ak i- hiris atlera.
 word- my it/real.-finish there
 'My speech concludes at this point.'

i- ma
 it/real.-be enough
 'It is enough. That is all.'

hin ra
 it now
 'That's all.'

CHAPTER 4

TEXTS

1. A Revenge Story from Pitar

sturi i- amək a pitar,
 story it/real.-be one at Pitar.

au taut tituei m'ærtu i- amək nah- an i-
 in-Big-Nambas-area before person he/real.-be one name- his it/real.-

v'i avaneiev', i- rn tam'la i- amək. tam'la
 be Avaneiev' he/real.-experience devil it/real.-be one. devil

lahara i- rp m'ærtu nakl. avaneiev' naran i- rn
 that-one it/real.-kill person always Avaneiev' when he/real.-want

ti ipa- rp m'ærtu i- utar hin na ka-
 that he/irreal-kill person he/real.-metamorphose him(self) then and-

v'i m'anəh pa i- amək pət- n i- m'iel. naran
 be bird small it/real.-be one head-its it/real.-be red when

i- utar hin ka- v'i pətm'iel, naran m'ærtu kinkin
 he/real.-metamorphose him-and-be red-dove when person some

ip- an si stu a təv'al- n, ipa- rp- i saha
 he/irreal.-make thing bad to brother-his, he/irreal.-kill-him or

ipa- th- i. təv'al- n lahara ipa- v'la asn
 he/irreal.-assault-him brother-his that one he/irreal.-go to

avaneiev' ka- vr an- i ka- vr ti a, pa- v'la ka-
 Avaneiev' and-say to- him and-say that intro., you/irreal.-go and-

rp tam'la na- k lera, sena ti i- en si stu m'la kana.
 kill devil eating-my that, because he/real.-make thing bad with me

i- utar hin ka- v'i pətm'iel ka- tetəv ka- da-
 he/real.-metamorphose him(self) and-be red-dove and-fly and-cont.-

v'la ka- da- p'əs arna nai na pua a nah nəmah na dui
 go and-cont.-alight on tree of pig at front-of house then man

lahara i- le- i ka- lev' pəhris saha nav'et ka-
 that-one he/real.-see-him and-take clod of earth or stone and-

vnas- i na hin i- rda- la pla nəm'- ən ka- tetəv
 stone-it then he he/real.-pull-out base-of tongue-his and-fly

da- v'a ka- da- rs arna napas a didi ka- v'ana i- nep'a
 cont.-go and-cont.-fall on tree at Didi and-speak it/real.-be like
 pətm'iel v'eti i- nep'a ti i- en niv'el.
 red-dove but he/real.-be like that he/real.-make tapping sound
 i- en sare- i k- utar hin ka- sisi ka-
 he/real.-do compl.-it and metamorphose him(self) and-come-down and-
 da- ma a nadep' ka- ue- i ka- vrvr ka- da- v'a ka- tau
 cont.-come to earth and-carry-it and-run and-cont.-go and-give
 a dui lahara ka- vr ti a, tam'a na- m tahpe- i
 to man that-one and-say that intro.,devil eating-your roast- it
 ser. dui lahara i- lav'- i ka- tahpe- i i-
 quickly. man that-one he/real.-take- it and-roast- it it/real.-
 lalahmæi k- ud- i. na a- v'rn ka- rn ti
 very quickly and-eat-it then 3rd non-s./real.-listen and-hear that
 a- takl asən dui nen.
 3rd non s./real.-cry near man the one in question.

Translation

A Story from Pitar (origin village of Tulwei).

Once long ago in the Big Nambas bush, there was a man named Avaneiev' who had a familiar spirit. That spirit used to kill people all the time. When Avaneiev' wanted to kill a person, he would change into a small bird, which had a red head. When he had changed into a red-dove and when somebody had injured his brother, he would kill him or assault him. That brother of his would go to Avaneiev' and tell him, "Go and kill that man and I will eat him, because he injured me." So he changed into a red-dove and flew until he alighted on a tree to which pigs were tethered, in front of the house. Then that man (the malefactor) saw it (the bird) and picked up a hard clod of earth or a stone and hurled it at it. But the bird pulled out his tongue and flew away until he alighted on a napas tree at Didi and made the sound of a red-dove but it was as if he made a tapping sound. He did this and changed into a man again and came down from the tree, carrying it (the tongue). Then he ran to that man (the wronged individual) and gave it to him, saying, "Here's your victim. Roast it quickly." So that man took it and roasted it very quickly and ate it. Then they listened and heard sounds of lamentation near the body of that malefactor.

2. An Earthquake

nami
earthquake

tituei naran a- tr nina, nami lil i-
 before when 3rd non s./real.-cut grass, earthquake big it/real.-
 mi. nelnal a- v- iv natav ka- v- sna həmau da- v'a
 quake. everybody they/real.-pl.-blow conch and-pl.-beat drum cont.-go
 ka- v- ruh ka- vra- v'a al pitvet- ar ka- v- m'atr nal
 and-pl.-run away and-pl.- go to garden- their and-pl.-sleep month

i- amək a lili. ka- vra- ma a vtlim ka- v- la nata
it/real.-be one in bush and-pl.- come to village and-pl.-see sea
 i- mar. a- v- lev' tilau ka- v- lev' patilah ka-
it/real.-drain they/real.-pl.-take fish and-pl.-take shellfish and
 v- ue- i ka- vra- v'a məl a lili ka- v- tahpe- i. m'ərtu
pl.-carry-it and-pl.- go again to bush and-pl.-roast- it person
 kinkin a- v- vr ti a- k- a- v- han ki naran
some they/real.-pl.-say that they/real.-nec.-neg.-pl.-eat some time
 lara a rukis, a matlen, enies a- v- lak da- v'a
that r.p. Rukis, r.p. Madeleine, Agnes they/real.-pl.-stay cont.-go
 a matlen i- vr ti a, ar- du, p'ə- vra-
r.p. Madeleine she/real.-say that intro., all-man, I/irreal.-pl.-
 v'a ka- v- han la naus al namətalū. a-
go and-pl.-eat now fruit (spondias dulcis) at Namltalu they/real.-
 v- vr ti a, alei, ka- vra- v'a ka- v- sve- i ka- v- kas-
pl.-say that intro., o.k., and-pl.- go and-pl.-pick-it and-pl.-peel-
 i da- v'a ka- v- tah a tna nami i- d-
it cont.-go and-pl.-be startled at sound-of earthquake it/real.-cont.-
 an al nauei ka- v- vr ti i- v'i tna nalen, ka- v-
leave at river and-pl.-say that it/real.-be sound-of wind, and-pl.-
 tah an-i a ti i- mi an-r. a- v-
startled at-it in-that it/real.-quake at-them. they/real.-pl.-
 əln talei ka- v- ruh ka- v- m'i arna pitha ka- v-
leave knife and-pl.-run away and-pl.-go over on mountain and-pl.-
 la ti nadep' i- rda- pa- pr- i ka- da- v'a al nauei.
see that ground it/real.-break-small-break-it and-cont.-go to river.
 a rukis i- tamamu, a matlen i- valau ka-
r.p. Rukis she/real.-be first r.p. Madeleine she/real.-cry and-
 sape- i, enies i- tauatah, ka- vr ti a, nə-
follow-him, Agnes she/real.-be behind and-say that intro., I/real.-
 v- valau lara, v'eti p'ə- v- le- r a uni- ad
pl.-cry now, but I/irreal.-pl.-see-them r.p. mother-our (incl.)
 dika. p'ə- v- la p'ak- r dika.
today. I/irreal.-pl.-see body- their today

Translation

The earthquake (of 1965)

*Some time ago, when people were cutting grass, there was a great earth-
 quake. Everybody blew their conch-shells and beat the slit-drums and
 later fled to their gardens and stayed in the bush for a month. Then
 they came to the village and saw that the sea had drained away. They
 picked up fish and shellfish and went to the bush and roasted them.
 Some people said that THEY wouldn't eat any.*

*At that time Rukis, Madeleine and Agnes were in one place and then
 Madeleine said, "Everybody, let's go and eat some naus at Namltalu."
 They said, "O.K."*

*So they went and picked them and peeled them and ate them and were
 astonished at the sound of the earthquake coming from the river and*

thought it was the sound of a cyclone. They were astonished at it and thought that it would engulf them. So they left their knives and ran away and climbed over the hill and saw the earth gape open and fall into the river. Rukis went away first, then Madeleine followed her, crying. Agnes was last of all and said, "We are crying now but we will see our mothers today. We will see them in person today,"

3. Spirit Worship

naran m'ərtarap' i- m'a, nə- v- tin tape- i (n-
 when old-man he/real.-die, I/real.-pl.-bury compl.-it (I/real.-
 t- vr sara si vara an- i i- tauamu) nə- v-
 compl.-say compl. thing this to- him it/real.-be first) I/real.-pl.-
 lak da- v'a da- v'a da- v'a pai i- tl. pai
 stay cont.-go cont.-go cont.-go year it/real.-be three. year
 i- tl a nat- n i- m'at. a- v-
 it/real.-be three r.p. child-his he/real.-be sick. they/real.-pl.-
 vr a, v'ata i- en au lera a- v- vr a,
 say intro., what it/real.-make person that they/real.-pl.-say intro.,
 ua, i- a- v'a su- n a teti- an a- v-
 hey, he/real.-neg.-dig up bone-his r.p. father-his they/real.-pl.-
 vr- i na, i- rn- i na ka- raharah ka- lua m'anəh, ka-
 say-it then, he/real.-hear-it then and-hunt and-shoot bird, and
 lua pua ka- uirma ka- tup'an- i a m'el. ka- lev' dui
 shoot pig and-bring and-cook in laplap-it in nakamal. and-take man
 kinkin i- amək, a- r- ru m'e- i,
 a-certain he/real.-be one, they/real.-restr. pl.-be two with-him
 i- vr a, nakəm pa- v'a su- n a tatei.
 he/real.-say intro., you you/irreal.-dig up bone-his r.p. father.
 a- r- v'a nəhau lahara, i-
 they/real.-restr. pl.-take out of oven laplap that one he/real.-
 tup'len pua a rana- n hara a nat- n lahara
 cook in laplap pig at top- its that one r.p. child-his that one
 i- v'a nəhau nə- n au lahara ka-
 he/real.-take out of oven laplap eating-his person that-one and-
 kaka pua na- n au lahara, i- han tape-
 cut into slices pig eating-his person that-one, he/real.-eat compl.-
 i. i- han tape- i i- v'a ka- hsrasr m'əti asən tah
 it. he/real.-eat compl.-it he/real.-go and-sweep compl. near grave
 nan a teti- an a phat. i- hsrasr m'əti au
 his r.p. father-his in innermost-part. he/real.-sweep compl. person
 lahara i- v'a ka- lak ka- v'e- i a teti- an.
 that-one he/real.-go and-sit down and-dig up-him r.p. father-his.
 i- v'e- i da- v'a da- v'a da- v'a ka- lev' su- n
 he/real.-dig up-him cont.-go cont.-go cont.-go and-take bone-his
 papa, nut vaha, nut vaha, i- lev' udrlan al tah,
 small (pl.), part this, part this, he/real.-take all from hole,
 nut vaha, nut vaha, nut i- ah- ter al tah, i- sran
 part this, part this, part it/real.-neg.-stay in hole, he/real.-throw

udrlan aut. da- v'a ka- lev'- la pət- n i- tauatah m'a
 all out. cont.-go and-take- out head-his it/real.-be after with
 naha- n laha. ka- lev'- le- i ka- lev' nav'et lil i-
 jaw-bone-his this. and-take- out-it and-take stone big it/real.-
 nap'i lah ka- tu a phat na na- m'el. ka- tu a
 be like this and-put in innermost part of the-nakamal. and-put in
 phat na na- m'el ka- lev' pət- n a teti- an au
 innermost part of the-nakamal and-take head-his r.p. father-his person
 lahara ka- tiren maməh a rana- n. ka- tiren naha- n
 that-one and-put properly at top- its and-put jaw-bone-his
 asən- n, a- r- ter a nut i- amək a
 near- it, they/real.-restr. pl.-stay in place it/real.-be one in
 phat na na- m'el. naran a nat- n lahara i-
 inner part of the-nakamal. when r.p. child-his that-one-he/real.-
 rn ti nəm- ən i- an- i i- v'a ka- siden m'aləh
 feel that spirit-his it/real.-make-him he/real.-go and-place kava
 asən- n ti i- uln- i. la ti i- m'at ra,
 near- it so it/real.-let go-him. now that he/real.-be sick there,
 i- ua m'aləh da- v'a ka- siden asən pət- n a teti-
 he/real.-carry kava cont.-go and-put near skull-his r.p. father-
 an lahara ti i- uln- i a phat lahara. naran
 his that one that it/real.-let go-him at inner place that one. when
 i- rn ti ipa- talu da- v'a a nut
 he/real.-want that he/irreal.-go to garden cont.-go to some place
 kinkin, tam'a ipa- ter vah i- v'a ka- siden m'aləh
 some, devil it/irreal.-stay there he/real.-go and place kava
 ka- vr ti a, tatei pa- tauamu a kana ka- tauatah
 and-say that intro., father you/irreal.-go before to me and-go behind
 a kana. p'a- v'a al lili lera hilaha tam'a uraur
 to me I/irreal.-go into bush that now devil strange
 im- a- rp kana. pa- tp'ev' tam'a uraur
 he/irreal cond.-neg.-assail me. you/irreal.-chase devil other
 ipa- ruh da- v'a aau, nakəm ka- sapa kana atlera.
 it/irreal.-runaway cont.-go far away, you- and-follow me there.
 naran i- həl- dina ut- an i- v'a ka- ha m'aləh
 when he/real.-dig- trying garden-his he/real.-go and-chew kava
 a m'el m'etav'aran. i- ha m'aləh m'etav'aran ka- vr ti
 in nakamal morning. he/real.-chew kava morning and-say that
 a, tatei, p'a- v'a hilaha al naməl- ak ka- həl pai-
 intro., father, I/irreal.-go now to garden-my and-dig up yam-
 ak, pa- tutu nl- n ipa- lilil a. p'a-
 my, you/irreal.-give inside-its it/irreal.-be very big eh. I/irreal.-
 həl- i ti ipa- lilil. na i- v'a al naməl-
 dig- it that it/irreal.-be very big then he/real.-go to garden-
 an ka- həl- i. i- lev'- dina sei naran i-
 his and-dig up-it. he/real.-take- trying thing when he/real.-
 rahəv, i- ua pai pa ka- da- v'a ka- tahpa-
 clear ground, he/real.-carry yam small and-cont.-go and-roast
 dine- i a m'el. naran i- tr urah, i- ua pal
 trying-it in nakamal. when he/real.-cut stake, he/real.-carry yam

pa da- v'a ka- tahpe- i a m'el, naran i- lu- dina
small cont.-go and-roast- it in nakamal, when he/real.-plant-trying
 nut i- ua pai pa da- v'a ka- tahpa- dine- i a
place he/real.-carry yam small cont.-go and-roast- trying-it in
 m'el ka- an nəhau lila m'el i- həthatu ka- na
nakamal and-make laplap big in nakamal it/real.-be huge and-fill up
 lamu na nata i- nelnal ka- tutu a dui la i- v'i
bamboo for seawater it/real.-plenty and-give to man who he/real.-be
 dui a natei ha a m'el ka- tu an- i. naran pua- n i-
man to person here in nakamal and-give to- him when pig- his it/real.-
 ruh i- ah- ma i- v'a ka- siden m'aləh a
run away it/real.-neg.-come he/real.-go and-put kava in
 phat asən pət- n a teti- an ka- vr ti a,
innermost part near head- his r.p. father-his and-say that intro.,
 tatei, pua- k ipa- ma. pua- n i- ma məl asən-
father, pig- my it/irreal.-come. pig- his he/real.-come again to-
 n. i- msənan- i məl. naran si kinkin i- an-
him. he/real.-feed- him again when thing some it/real.-make-
 i, i- m'at v'aha pət- n i- rer v'aha i-
him, he/real.-be sick or head- his it/real.-be sore or it/real.-
 nap'i, i- v'a ka- siden m'aləh ka- vr ti a, tatei
be like, he/real.-go and-put kava and-say that intro., father
 si lera i- en kana, ip- uln kana a. i-
thing that it/real.-make me, he/irreal.-let go me eh. it/real.-
 uln- i, nəm- ən a teti- an lahara i- lev'- le-
let go-him, spirit-his r.p. father-his that-one it/real.-take- out-
 i a rana- n. ipa- vr ti ipa- raharah m'a lip'ah,
him at top- his. it/irreal.-say that he/irreal.-hunt with dog,
 ipa- vr ti a, tatei, p'e- raharah dika, n-
he/irreal.-say that intro., father, I/irreal.- hunt today, I/real.-
 rn ti pa- tu kana pua ip- amək p'e- rp-
want that you/irreal.-give me pig it/irreal.-be one I/irreal.-kill-
 i ka- ue- i ka- da- hau. i- raharah ka- rp pua
it and-carry-it and-cont.-go away. he/real.-hunt and-kill pig
 i- amək ka- uirma arna ti i- t- kra m'at- i
it/real.-be one and-bring just as he/real.-compl.-request compl.-it
 asən a teti- an. i- nep'a ti nakəd luki ti
from r.p. father-his it/real.-be like that we (incl.) only that
 nə- v- v'ana m'e- i a mlin eia ha. i- vr
I/real.-pl.-speak with-him r.p. chief above here. he/real.-say
 uaki i- nap'i lera ka- ua pua ka- uirhau a vtlim.
only it/real.-be like that and-carry pig and-take away to village.
 naran kinkin, i- rn ti ipa- v'a a v'anudl
time some, he/real.-want that he/irreal.-go to foreign village
 naran naur i- də- hau, i- v'a ka- siden m'aləh
when war it/real.-cont.-be strong, he/real.-go and-put kava
 ka- vr ti a, tatei pa- tauamu a kana atlera kana
and-say that intro., father you/irreal.-go before to me there I
 p'a- v'a atlera dika. pa- rp n!- n a dui kinkin
I/irreal.-go there today. you/irreal.-smite heart-his to man some

ipa- vr ti ipa- lua kana arna navanel. im-
 it/irreal.-say that he/irreal.-shoot me on road it/irreal cond.,
 a- hei. ka- vr- i ka- da- v'la a nut nen lera, si
 neg.-not. and-say-it and-cont.-go to place in-question that, thing
 i- ah- an- i. hin ra.
 it/real.-neg.-harm-him. it now.

Translation

Spirit Worship.

When an old man died and we'd buried him (I told him this earlier), we would wait three years. In the third year his son is sick. People said, "What's the matter with him?" They said, "Hey, he hasn't dug up his father's bones!" Now they spoke like this in his hearing, so he went hunting. He shot a bird and a pig and brought them to cook in the laplap oven in the nakamal. So he took a man with him. He said, "You dig up father's bones".

They both removed the laplap I mentioned from the oven, with the pork cooked in it. The son (of the dead man) takes out a laplap for that other man to eat and cut up some pork for him to eat. He ate it all. When he had finished eating, he went and swept near the grave of his father in the innermost part of the nakamal. When he had finished sweeping, that other man went and sat down and dug up his father. He dug until he'd taken his small bones, this part, this part, until he'd taken it all out of the grave. He took out this part, this part, nothing was left in the grave: he had taken it all out. Then at last he took out his head and jaw-bone. He took it out and took a big stone like this and put it in the innermost part of the nakamal. He put it in the inner part of the nakamal and took that man's father's skull and put it neatly on it. He put his jaw on it and both objects remained in one spot at the back of the nakamal. When the son felt that his (father's) spirit was troubling him, he would go and put kava near him and then it would leave him alone. Or supposing that he was sick some time, he would take some kava and put it near his father's skull in the innermost part of the nakamal, and the sickness would leave him. When he wanted to go to some place in the garden which was frequented by a devil, he would go and insert a kava leaf and say, "Father, go before me and come behind me. I'm going to that part of the bush now; don't let some strange devil assail me. Chase the strange devil far away, but you must follow me to that place." When he started digging up the produce in his garden, he would go and chew kava in the nakamal in the morning. He would chew kava in the morning and say, "Father, now I'm going to my garden to dig up my yams, grant that they will be substantial, that they will be huge. When I dig them up, I want them to be huge."

So he would go to his garden and dig them up. When he cleared his garden, he would take something initially: he would carry a small yam to the nakamal and roast it first. When he cut his yam-stakes, he would take a small yam and roast it in the nakamal. When he started to plant a garden, he would take a small yam and roast it in the nakamal and would make a huge laplap in the nakamal and pour it (the paste) into a bamboo with seawater in it. He would make plenty of these and give them to the man who is 'his man-friend' in the nakamal. He would give it to him.

When his pig ran away and didn't return, he would go and insert kava in the inner part near the skull of his father and say, "Father, (I want) my pig to come back." Then his pig would come back and he would feed him again.

When something troubled him, whether he was sick or had a headache or something similar, he would go and insert kava and say, "Father, this thing is afflicting me. I want it to leave me, eh!" So it would leave him and the spirit of his father would withdraw from him again.

If he wanted to hunt with a dog, he would say, "Father, I'm going hunting today; I want you to give me a pig. I want to kill it and take it away."

So he would hunt and kill a pig and bring it, as he had requested of his father. It is just like we talk with God now. He would just talk like that and take the pig away to the village.

On some occasion, if we wanted to go to a foreign village while fighting was still fierce, he would go and insert kava and say, "Father, you go before me to that place where I'm going today. Quieten the heart of any man who might intend to shoot me on the road. It must not happen."

Having spoken thus, he would go to the place and nothing harmed him. That's the end of my story.

4. The Water of Youth

nauei mul
water rejuvenation

tituei, naran Atua i- tu v'anu, i- tu nauei i-
long ago when God he/real.-put land he/real.-put water it/real.-
amək arna v'anu kinkin i- amək, v'anu nen i- v'i v'anu
one in land some it/real.-one land its it/real.-is land
a naha. nauei lahara i- rarəv' ka- v'i nauei na
r.p. place name water that one it/real.-flow and-is water of
mul. tav'let i- amək i- v'a da- v'a ka-
rejuvenation woman she/real.-one she/real.-go cont.-go and
trtarep' ka- lak da- v'a ka- rn nava- n ka- vr a tav'let
old and-live cont.-go and-feel mouth-her and-say to girl

pa i- amək i- v'i a m'əhip'- ən ka- vr ti
small she/real.-one she/real.-is r.p. grandchild-her and-say that
 a, p'ler- r- v'a ka- r- av' la
quote. we/irreal.-restr. pl.-go and-restr. pl.-fill container now
 nauēi m'am'a- d. ka- r- ru ka- r-
water for drinking our (incl.) and-restr. pl.-two and-restr. pl.-
 v'el lihalm'au ka- r- av' sara nauēi ka-
walk midday and-restr. pl.-fill container complete water and
 r- ue- i ka- r- ma ka- r- tau- i a
restr. pl.-take-it and-restr. pl.-come and-restr. pl.-put- it loc.
 navanel. vən'm'aran lahara i- vr a tav'et pa lahara,
road old woman that one she/real.-say to girl small that one
 i- v'i a m'əhip'- ən ka- vr ti a, pa-
she/real.-is r.p. grandchild-her and-say that quote. you/irreal.-
 lak- srah da kana atlera. na tav'et pa lahara
sit wait temporarily me there con. girl small that one
 i- lak- srah- i na vən'm'aran lahara i- m'alet
she/real.-sit- wait- her con. old woman that one she/real.-return
 ka- da- v'a mēl al nauēi lahara. i- rn ti i-
and-cont.-go again to water that one she/real.-feel that she/real-
 trtarap'-dau na ka- da- v'a na ka- rara hinal nauēi
old- truly and and-cont.-go and and-submerge herself in water
 lahara ka- ru- la murakən na ka- v'i tav'et malakal
that one and-take out-out old skin and and-is woman young person
 lil. ka- da- v'a mēl aut ka- da- ma ka- da- v'a asən
big and-cont.-go again out and-cont.-come and-cont.-go
 tav'et pa lahara ka- vr ti a, v'alet, p'e- r-
girl small that one and-say that quote. go we/irreal.-restr. pl.-
 hau. tav'et pa lahara i- vr ti a,
go home girl small that one she/real-say that quote.
 e, e, kana a tap'- ək i-
exclamation of contradiction I r.p. grandmother-my she/real.-
 da- ah- ma ki. vən'm'aran lahara i- vr a
cont.-neg-come indef. part. old woman that one she/real.-say to
 tav'et pa lahara ka- vr ti a, kana. laha ki.
girl small that one and-say that quote. I here indef. part
 i- vr- i. i- hei, a tap'- ək i- d-
she/real.-say- it it/real.-is not r.p. grandmother-my she/real.-cont.-
 ah- ma ki. i- vr ti a, e, kana, laha
neg-come indef. part. she/real.-say that quote. exclamation I here
 ki. v'alet, p'e- r- hau. na i-
indef. part. go we/irreal.-restr. pl.-go home and she/real.-
 vr an- i. tav'et pa lahara i- valau mau.
say to-her girl small that one she/real.-cry exceedingly
 i- la ti i- t- v'i malakal lil ka- da-
she/real.-see that she/real.-compl.-is young person big and cont.-
 ma i- a- v'i vən'm'aran mēl. tav'et pa lahara
come she/real.-neg.-is old woman again girl small that one
 i- vr ti a, kana, a tap'- ək i- d-
she/real.-say that quote. I r.p. grandmother-my she/real.-cont.-

ah- ma. ka- valau mau ka- lden hin mau al nina.
 neg-come and-cry exceedingly and-bash herself exceedingly in grass
 da- v'a, da- v'a, da- v'a vən'm'aran lahara i- vr ti
 cont.-go cont.-go cont.-go old woman that one she/real.-say that
 a, au, kə- vr ti pa- le- le- i a tap'-
 quote. yes you/real.-say that you irreal.-see-see-her r.p. grandmother-
 əm məl. ka- da- v'a məl ka- m'alet məl al nauei ka- rara
 your again and-cont.-go again and-return again to water and-submerge
 hin məl al murakən lahara al nauei ka- v'i vən'm'aran lil
 herself again into old ski that one in water and-is old woman big
 məl ki, ka- da- ma maməh aut ka- da- v'a asən
 again indef. part. and cont.-come good out and-cont.-go loc.
 tav'et pa lahara məl. tav'et pa lahara i- p'əh-
 girl small that one again girl small that one she/real.-prox.-
 pət. i- pət na i- a- valau məl. i-
 be quiet she/real.-be quiet and she/real.-neg.-cry again she/real.-
 vr ti a, v'alet, p'e- r- hau. n- vr
 say that quote. go we/irreal.-restr. pl.-go home I/real.-say
 ti ki p'e- r- hau ipa- tauamu
 that indef. part. we/irreal.-restr. pl.-go home it/irreal.-first
 lahara. kə- vr k- a- rn- i. kə-
 that one (time) you/real.-say you/real.-neg.-want-it you/real.-
 vr ti k- rn vən'm'aran. v'alet, p'e- r-
 say that you/real.-want old woman go we/irreal.-restr. pl.-
 hau. a tap'- əm hin i- p'əh- ma ra. ka-
 go home r.p. grandmother-your she she/real.-prox.-come now and-
 r- hau ki da- hau a vtlim na
 restr. pl.-go home indef. part. cont.-go home loc. village and
 a- ha- mul məl. tituei, naran atua i- tu
 they/real.-neg-rejuvenate again. long ago when God he/real.-put
 v'anu. v'eti a- ha- mul məl al nauei lahara.
 land but they/real.-neg.-rejuvenate again in water that one
 i- nep'a ti m'rtu i- v'a da- v'a da- v'a ka-
 it/real.-is like that a person he/real.-go cont.-go cont.-go and
 m'arit uaki ka- mul. na tituei nauei nen
 marry (Bisl.) only and-rejuvenate and long ago water that one
 a- vr nahan i- v'i nauei mul. i-
 they/real.-say name it/real.-is water rejuvenation it/real.-
 ter arna v'anu kinkin i- amək i- v'i v'anu a
 is situated in land some it/real.-one it/real.-is land r.p.
 naha. na i- nep'a sturian lera, ki
 place name and it/real.-is like story (Bisl.) that kindef. part.
 lera i- hiris atlera.
 that it/real.-finish here

Free Translation

The River of Youth

Long ago, when God created this place, he put a river in a place called Naha. That river flowed and was a river of youth.

A certain old woman felt thirsty and said to her granddaughter,

"Let's go and get some water to drink." So the two of them went at midday and filled their containers with water and took it and put it on the road.

The old woman said to her little granddaughter, "You sit and wait for me here." So the little girl sat and waited for her and the old woman returned again to the river. She felt that she was very old, so she went and submerged herself in that water and removed her old skin and became a young woman.

She came out again and said to the little girl, "Here I am."

She said, "No, my grandmother hasn't come yet."

She repeated, "But here I am. Come, let's go home."

And she kept talking this way.

The little girl cried and cried. She saw that she was a young woman and not an old woman any more. The little girl said, "My grandmother hasn't come yet," and she cried and banged her head in the grass. It went on like this till the old woman said, "All right, you say you want to see your grandmother again."

So she returned to the river and submerged herself again into her old skin in the water and became an old woman again. Then she came out and went back to the little girl. The little girl soon became quiet and stopped crying. She said to the little girl, "Come on, let's go home. I said before that we should go home but you said that you didn't want to because you wanted an old woman. Come on, let's go home. Your grandmother has just come now, hasn't she?"

So they went home to the village and now people do not become young any more. This was long ago, when God created this place. But now they don't change any more in that river. Now people get married and then they become young again (through their children). Long ago they called that river the river of youth. It was in a place called Naha. And that is the end of the story.

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