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Nalik grammar (New Ireland, Papua New Guinea)

Volker, Craig Alan, Ph.D.

University of Hawaii, 1994

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NALIK GRAMMAR
(NEW IRELAND, PAPUA NEW GUINEA)

**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF**

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN LINGUISTICS

MAY 1994

By

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Kun

a Pelis Mazakmat ma Violet Hoehnke,

u roxis i liaa

di odor ratangiza pan a rangaan a yaai tapal,

di i naxaam maalova akula la burburaai na vaaraalaing

ka matmuri daxo mase.

For

a Pelis Mazakmat and Violet Hoehnke,

nightingales of paradise,

and their song on the tree of eternity,

a duet praising the seat of sanctity,

a duet of resplendent beauty.

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Government, and the New Ireland University Centre in facilitating administrative matters concerning my field work.

Abstract

Nalik is an Austronesian language of central New Ireland, Papua New Guinea. It is spoken by approximately 4,000 persons, all of whom are also fluent in Tok Pisin. This dissertation describes the most salient features of Nalik morphology and syntax. An important characteristic of contemporary Nalik grammar is the variation between constructions used by members of different social groups.

Nalik shows morphological differences between transitive and intransitive verbs, the latter including the copula and adjectival verbs. The head of a verb may be preceded by a subject marker, aspect and tense markers, a reciprocal marker, and a habitual marker. The head may be followed by suffixes marking number, transitivity, focus or completion.

Noun phrases are headed by a noun or a pronoun. A noun may be preceded by an article, or nonsingular marker. It may be followed by a modifying noun phrase, incorporated adjectival verbs, demonstratives, or possessives.

Nalik forms prepositional phrases with five prepositions, which may be preceded by a durative marker. Nalik also has adverbs and conjunctions.

Unmarked word order in a simple sentence is subject - verb - direct object, although fronting and clefting occur. Prepositions are often stranded when a head is fronted.

In some common constructions elements which normally head arcs terminating in a clause head arcs which terminate in a phrase. These include direct objects which are incorporated into the verb complex, serial and causative verbs

constructions, and the use of adjectival verbs to modify a noun. Nouns or verbs which are not clause dependent in these constructions are not preceded by an article or subject marker.

Passivization advances direct objects to subjects and requires a participial verb form. Both indirect objects and obliques can advance to direct objects.

There is considerable variation between the syntactic constructions used by various speakers of Nalik. Generally, the more innovating speakers are male, younger rather than older, and have low traditional status and orientation. Innovative speakers tend to avoid the passive, to use adjectival verbs and prepositions in a way similar to Tok Pisin and English and not to differentiate alienable and inalienable possession, not to use dual and paucal markers. In part these innovations reflect the fact that Tok Pisin in particular has become the dominant language in an increasing percentage of language domains used by Nalik speakers. They are also the result of the loss of marked grammatical features.

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List of Abbreviations and conventions used

The following abbreviations are used:

*	ungrammatical, unattested proto-form
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ADJ	adjectival verb
ADV	adverb
ANT	anterior
AP	alienable possession
ART	nonspecific article
BEN	benefactive
CAU	causative
CDN	conditional
CML	completive
COM	comparative
CON	conjoined relation

DEM	demonstrative
DU	dual
EMP	emphatic marker
EX	nonsingular exclusive
EXT	existentiality
f.c.	forthcoming
FOC	focus
FUT	future
HAB	habitual
HD	head of a phrase
ICP	inceptive
IMP	imperative marker
IN	nonsingular inclusive
INT	intensifier
IO	indirect object
IP	inalienable possessive
LOC	locative

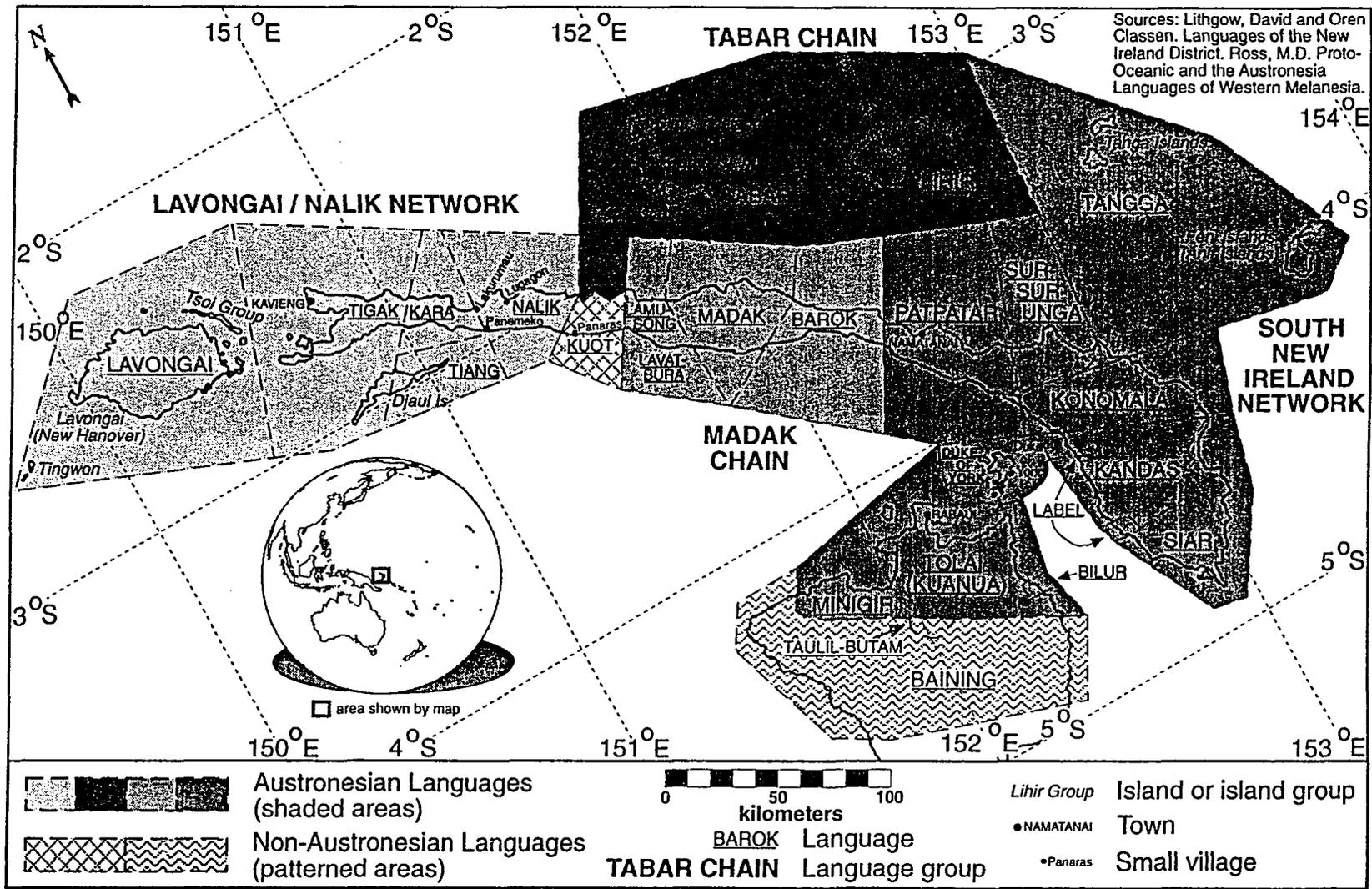
M.B.E.	Member of the British Empire
MOD	modifier
NEG	negative
NP	modifying noun phrase
NOM	nominalizer
NPL	nonplural
NSG	nonsingular
NTM	nonterm (oblique and chômeur)
PAR	participle
POSS	possessive
POC	Proto Oceanic
PHBT	prohibition marker
PAR	participle
PS	possessive
REC	reciprocal
RED	reduplication
SG	singular

SPC	specific article
SM	subject marker
TAG	tag question marker
TP	Tok Pisin
TR	transitive

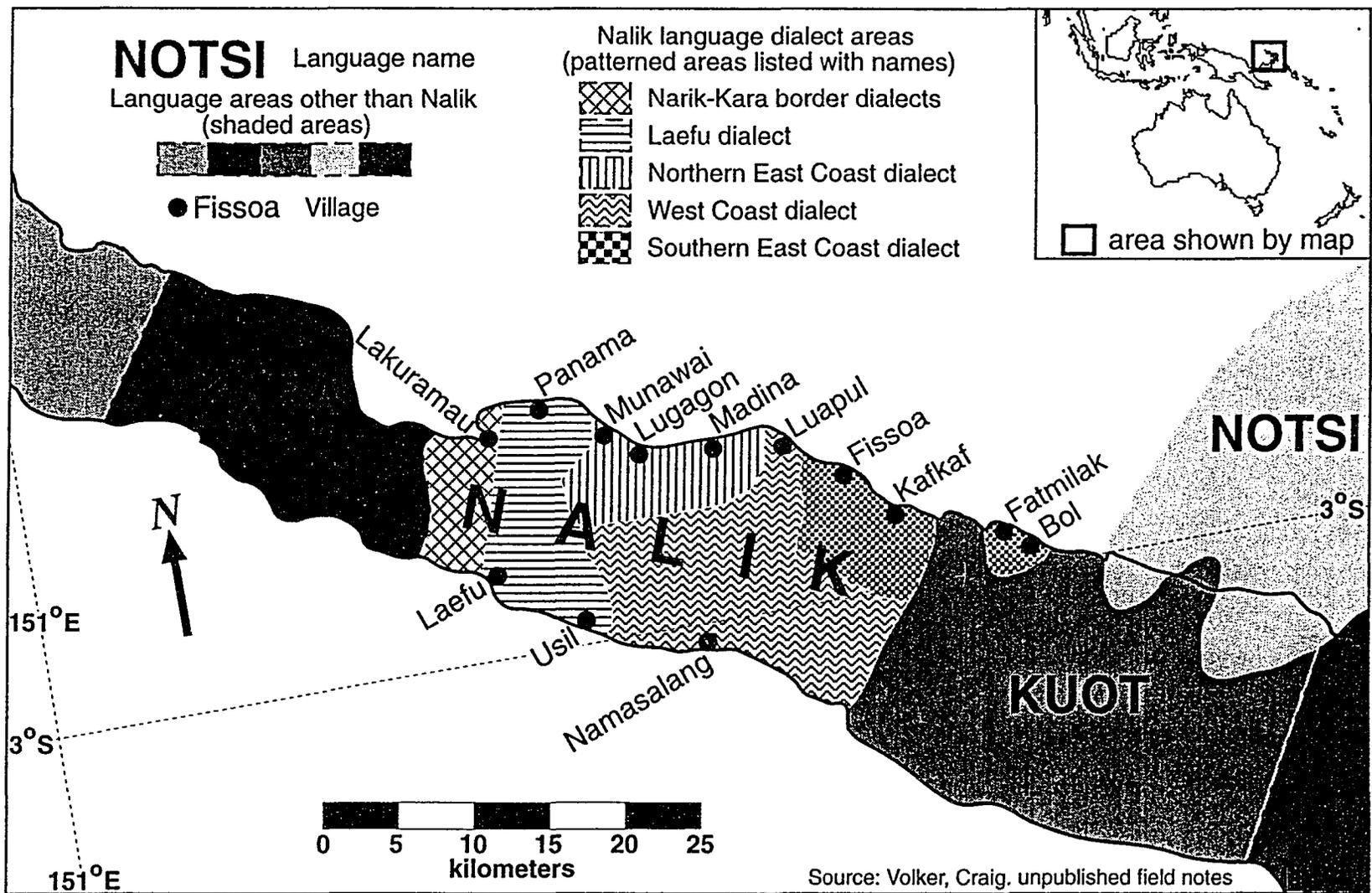
The following conventions are followed in examples and glosses:

1. Lower case italic letters are used to indicate coreference.
2. Morpheme boundaries are indicated by a hyphen. In portmanteau morphemes a colon is used in glosses between the various meanings conveyed by the one morpheme. Where it is necessary to use more than one English word to gloss one word in another language, a period . is used (e.g., pick.up).
3. In glosses the number of English *you* is indicated by an appropriate small capital suffix, i.e., youSG youDU youPL. Similarly, first person nonsingular inclusive and exclusive are differentiated in glosses by IN and EX, e.g., weIN and weEX.
4. In glosses, proper names are indicated by an initial.
5. Alienable possessive forms are glossed with `of', e.g., *a vaal surago* `the house of:I' and *a vaal si Tivian* `the house of T.'. Inalienable possessive forms are glossed with English possessive forms, e.g., *a langa-nagu* `the ear-my'.

6. In Nalik both possessors and indirect objects are marked by the same forms. To capture the ambiguity this sometimes causes, only one gloss, a possessive, is used for the one form which is used to express these two different grammatical relations. The English free translation, however, differentiates between the two wherever possible. Thus there is sometimes an apparent discrepancy when a phrase is glossed as a possessive, but translated as an indirect object.



Map 1. Languages of New Ireland and eastern New Britain



Map 2. Nalik-Speaking New Ireland

Chapter 1

Introduction

Nalik is an Austronesian language of north-central New Ireland in northeastern Papua New Guinea. This dissertation is an attempt to describe some of the most salient characteristics of Nalik morphology and syntax at the phrase and clause levels. These are described using a relational grammar framework. In the description consideration is given to the intergenerational and other variation found in this language community which is undergoing rapid cultural change.

The Nalik language has also been referred to as Lugagon, Fesoa, and Fessoa (Grimes 1988:667) -- all names of Nalik-speaking villages. This introduction will discuss the scope of the study and a short introduction to the relational grammar framework used in this study. Because many readers will be unfamiliar with Nalik and the society in which it is spoken, a short introduction is also necessary to the links Nalik has with other languages, to the geographical and cultural setting of the language, to the orthography used in this work, and to the boundaries of the main geographic dialects of Nalik.

1.1 Methodology and scope of study

Most of the data corpus for this work was collected during an extended period of residence in New Ireland in 1989. Additional data were collected from 1990 to 1992 during shorter visits to New Ireland and consultations with native speakers of Nalik living in urban areas in Papua New Guinea and overseas. Reference was also

made to the only known written texts in the language: an unpublished collection of Bible verses, prayers, and the Catholic catechism translated before World War II by Hoffman (1947a, 1947b, 1947c), a translation of a Bahá'í religious pamphlet (*A doring dikdik pana Lotu Bahá'í* n.d.), a short legend written by a Nalik college student (Tagai n.d.), a collection of Christian, Moslem, and Bahá'í prayers (*Saauale Nakmai* (1991)), and draft vernacular preschool literacy materials (Lawe 1990). The latter two were produced in conjunction with this study.

This study does not attempt to construct an artificial idealized 'standard' form of Nalik. Instead, where grammatical variation in the community has been noted, this is reported and an attempt has been made to correlate this with identifiable social variables such as age, gender, or degree of participation in traditional activities. With the establishment of a Nalik orthography (see 1.4 Phonology and orthography) and the development of written materials in Nalik for religious and vernacular literacy purposes, it is hoped that an awareness of this variation will help potential writers in Nalik make conscious decisions about the style in which materials are to be written.

It should be noted that the question of register is not discussed at length in this study. Although it is recognized that variation in the speech of even one individual is often linked to differences in register, the limited scope of this initial study has not permitted a detailed examination of the characteristics identifying different registers in Nalik (and, indeed, in the other languages used by the multilingual Nalik community).

Data were collected from male and female native speakers from age six to over ninety, from both those with strong and those with weak ties to traditional values, and from all three main religious communities in the area (United Church

(Methodist), Roman Catholic, and Bahá'í). Most, except some of the older women, had had some formal Western education, and a number had had postsecondary education. A few had lived only in New Ireland, but many had been off island for extended periods of time, and several had visited or lived overseas. A number were living in urban areas away from New Ireland when interviewed. Data were collected from speakers from Bol, Fatmilak, Kafkaf, Fissoa, Luapul, Madina, Lugagon, Munawai, Laefu, Usil, and Namasalang villages (see Map 3 Nalik dialects). Data were collected from people from Panemeka and Lakuramau villages, who speak what have been described as 'transitional dialects' (Lithgow and Claassen 1968:10) or 'transitional languages' (Schlie and Schlie 1987:7), but these data were not included in the corpus.

Much of the data was collected informally through participation in community life, as well as in formal interviews lasting from five to sixty minutes. Some of these interviews were conducted entirely in Nalik, but most, especially at the beginning of the study, consisted of translations from English or Tok Pisin. In addition, a total of approximately twelve hours of oral texts on a wide variety of topics were recorded. Some of these oral texts were recorded in public situations, such as adult education lectures or church sermons, while others were stories tape-recorded informally and in private at the speakers' homes. These texts were transcribed, usually with the help of someone other than the person originally recorded. When an older person helped transcribe a text recorded from a younger person, the older person was encouraged to comment on any words or constructions that seemed 'wrong' or 'unusual', so that intergenerational variation could be noted. Data were included from a number of people whose mothers were not Nalik and who, in this matrilineal society, therefore

do not describe themselves as ethnically Nalik. This was done when it was clear that they had lived in a Nalik-speaking community since early childhood.

1.2 Relational grammar

In this study, the grammar of Nalik is described using a relational grammar framework, as developed by Perlmutter (1983), Perlmutter and Rosen (1984), and Postal (1990). This framework has been chosen because using it facilitates a concise description of the relationship between many Nalik sentences which have similar meanings, but different syntactic representations. This is particularly so in chapter 12 (Advancement in simple sentences). Similarly, some instances of grammatical variation between the speech of different subgroups of Nalik society can be explained as an element shifting from one grammatical relation to another (see, for example, 9.1.4 Comitative marker *feraxei*).

Central to this framework are the identification of the grammatical relation that each element has to other elements in a clause or phrase and the specification of the level (initial, final, or intermediate) of a particular grammatical relation. The grammatical relation an element has to a clause or phrase is called an arc. The arc is said to be headed by the element and terminate in the clause or phrase. For example, a noun phrase which is the direct object of a sentence is described as heading a direct object arc which terminates in a clause.

In a relational grammar framework, a sentence may be described as monostratal or multistratal. A multistratal sentence is the result of one or more elements of the sentence having one grammatical relation at an initial stratum and one or more different grammatical relations in subsequent strata. A hierarchy of

grammatical relations is posited in the following order from highest to lowest: subject, direct object, indirect object, and nonterm relations (oblique and chômeur) (see, for example, Perlmutter and Postal (1983a:81)). Changes in grammatical relations are the result of a constituent in a multistratal sentence 'advancing' up the hierarchy or being 'demoted' down the hierarchy. Advancement and demotion explain why different structures, such as active sentences and their passive equivalents, can have different final structures, but the same underlying meaning.

In a relational grammar framework, universal laws are posited which set conditions for the well-formedness of a network of grammatical relations in any language. The laws which are of particular relevance to this study are the Stratal Uniqueness Law, the Motivated Chômeur Law, and the Oblique Law.

The Stratal Uniqueness Law permits no more than one term (subject, direct object, or indirect object) grammatical relation in each stratum (Perlmutter and Postal 1983a:19-20). When a constituent advances to a term grammatical relation which is already held by a second constituent, that second constituent loses its initial term grammatical relation and is demoted to a chômeur grammatical relation.

The Motivated Chômeur Law states that chômeur relations do not exist in the initial stratum (Perlmutter and Postal 1983b:99). They exist only in subsequent strata and only as a result of a constituent being 'en chômage', i.e., losing its initial grammatical relation due to advancement to that grammatical relation by another constituent.

The Oblique Law states that an element which has an oblique relation must have that oblique relation in the initial stratum (Perlmutter and Postal 1983b:90).

Thus, while an initial oblique may advance to a final term relation, the reverse is not possible.

1.3 The New Ireland-Tolai languages

Nalik is a member of the New Ireland group of twenty-two Oceanic Austronesian languages in the New Ireland and East New Britain provinces of Papua New Guinea (see Map 2 New Ireland-Tolai languages). Ross (1988:291) has defined this group as the Kuanua (Tolai), Duke of York, Minigir, Bilur, and Tomoip languages of East New Britain, as well as all the languages of New Ireland Province except Austronesian Mussau-Emira and Tenis (Tench), and non-Austronesian Kuot (Panaras). The New Ireland-Tolai languages of East New Britain appear to be the result of relatively recent immigration from New Ireland to coastal New Britain.

The New Ireland languages were the first Papua New Guinean languages to be recorded by Westerners. According to Grace (1976:56), the Le Maire and Schouten expedition of the seventeenth century collected several word lists in New Ireland languages. However, extensive knowledge about these languages only became available much later. There have been several works describing the historical relationships among the New Ireland-Tolai languages and between them and other Austronesian languages of western Melanesia, the most recent and detailed being Ross (1988), but individually these languages have received an uneven amount of attention.

Because both the Methodist and, to a lesser extent, Catholic missions used Kuanua as a lingua franca, and because the colonial capital was located in Rabaul, Kuanua was the first language of the New Ireland-Tolai group for which dictionaries

and grammars were produced. Religious books and school texts began to appear in the 1880s and 1890s (Mosel 1982:158-160), and several reference books were produced by, for example, Meyer (1961) and Constantini (1907). The most recent overall grammars of Kuanua are a pedagogical text produced by the Summer Institute of Linguistics for government officials in the area (Franklin et al. 1974) and a description of Kuanua syntax by Mosel (1984), which includes some discussion about intergenerational variation caused in part by contact with Tok Pisin and English. Mosel (1980) has also written about possible substrate influences of Kuanua on Tok Pisin.

Tigak has been described by Beaumont (1979) and there are currently active Summer Institute of Linguistics teams working on Kara (e.g., Schlie and Schlie 1988) and Lavongai (e.g., Fast 1990). The Catholic mission previously had a policy of using the vernacular as much as possible at the local level, so the missionaries were required to learn the language spoken in the area in which they worked. Because of this, before World War II German Catholic missionaries prepared grammars based on the traditional study of the European classical languages for five New Ireland languages: Lavongai, also known as Tungag and Tungak (published as Stamm 1988), Patpatar (Peekel 1909), Label (Peekel 1929-30), Lihir or Lir (Neuhaus 1954), and Tangga (Maurer 1966, also Bell 1977). No detailed grammatical description exists for any of the thirteen other languages of the New Ireland-Tolai group, including Nalik. The lack of accurate detailed information about the New Ireland-Tolai languages is shown by the fact that reports of the existence of a 'new' language in the group, Bilur, were only made available in the previous decade (Ross 1988:259).

Beaumont (1976a:390-91) has mentioned several grammatical features which are shared by all New Ireland-Tolai languages. All the languages have unmarked subject - verb - object word order and adjectives generally follow a head noun. They all have a pronoun system in which singular, dual, trial, and plural are distinguished. As in most Oceanic languages, the possession of inalienable nouns, i.e. body parts and certain kinship terms, is marked by inalienable possessive suffixes. He claimed that in the New Ireland-Tolai languages as a whole, alienable nouns are divided into two classes, edible and inedible, on the basis of different uses of the possessive pronouns. Plurality is marked by pronominal particles or qualifying adjectives and articles, although at present they carry 'little semantic significance'.

Beaumont went on to say that tense and aspect are indicated by preverbal particles. Except in Tiang, the verb is also prefaced by a subject marker, which is obligatory even if a subject noun phrase, either a noun or an independent subject pronoun, is present.

1.3.1. Subgrouping of New Ireland-Tolai languages. Beaumont (1972:10) has credited Father Meyer as the first to posit a genetically related subgroup of New Ireland-Tolai languages. Looking at the languages of New Ireland Province itself, Meyer said in 1932 that all the languages were related 'Melanesian' languages except Kuot, which he called 'mixed Papuan-Melanesian'. The existence of a New Ireland subgroup including Kuanua was supported by Grace (1955) who grouped these languages as Group 11 in his subgrouping of Oceanic languages, and by Capell (1962:375), who also confirmed the status of Kuot as a non-Austronesian language. Since then only Dyen (1965:52) has disagreed about the existence of a New Ireland-Tolai group of languages. Dyen stated that there were not enough statistically

relevant cognate sets to justify its being postulated as a group, particularly one linking Kuanua with the languages of New Ireland. It should be pointed out that the only data from New Ireland languages which Dyen used were from three northern New Ireland languages, Lavongai, Mussau-Emira, and Nalik. As Beaumont (1972:18) has noted, he did not include any of the languages of southern New Ireland, which are considered today to be the most closely related to Kuanua and the other Austronesian languages of the Gazelle Peninsula. Except for Dyen, no other linguist working in the area has raised an objection to a New Ireland-Tolai subgroup and today this subgroup is generally accepted.

The next two major studies after Dyen (1965), by Lithgow and Claassen (1968) and Beaumont (1972), were also based on the lexicostatistical study of basic word lists of 60 to 120 words. Unlike Dyen, their limited geographic range allowed them to examine data from all the languages of what was then the New Ireland District. Lithgow and Claassen postulated two Austronesian groups in the district, Nuguria (which they recognized as a Polynesian outlier and which is now politically included in the North Solomons Province), and Patpatar, the latter comprising all the other Austronesian languages of the district, including Emira-Mussau and Tench. They did not consider Madak and Lavasong, which lie to the south of non-Austronesian Kuot, to be Austronesian. They limited themselves strictly to the political boundaries of the colonial district of New Ireland and did not link these languages to those in neighboring provinces. They did, however, provide cognate percentages for Kuanua and two Austronesian languages of Milne Bay Province, which, like the languages of New Ireland, were compared with Patpatar, the arbitrary reference point.

If one looks at their results, a number of problems can be seen. First of all, the disadvantage of limiting oneself to colonial political boundaries is apparent when it is seen that no claim of any relationship at all other than common membership in the Austronesian family was made for Kuanua, which was listed as having an astonishing 62% of the basic vocabulary cognate with Patpatar. The problems of using only lexicostatistics for subgrouping can be seen by the claim of common group membership for Patpatar and Nalik while other factors, in particular the obvious Polynesian linguistic and ethnic identity of Nuguria Islanders, meant that a much more distant claim had to be made between Patpatar and the Polynesian outlier Nuguria. This was in spite of the fact that Nuguria had virtually the same basic vocabulary cognate with Patpatar as Nalik did, 38% and 39% respectively. Similarly, no explanation was given for linking Barok with Patpatar, with which it has 54% cognate basic vocabulary, and not with supposedly non-Austronesian Madak, where the figure is nearly the same, 52%.

Beaumont (1972) used the same lexicostatistical information in his analysis, but came up with different results. He agreed with earlier claims including Madak and Lavasong as Austronesian languages, but he did not place them in the same group as the other Austronesian languages of the province. He further divided Claassen and Lithgow's Patpatar group into a St. Matthias group with Emira-Mussau and Tennis, and a Patpatar-Tolai group with the other languages. The latter was divided into a northern subgroup comprising those languages north of non-Austronesian Kuot, including Nalik, and a southern subgroup of the rest of the languages, including Kuanua.

Capell (1971:254-65) also provided comparative information about the languages as a group, although not with the primary purpose of subgrouping them. He discussed the most noticeable typological similarities and differences between the languages, noting that the southern languages of New Ireland are typologically more similar to Kuanua than to the northern languages of New Ireland. He also provided a short comparative vocabulary in languages of the province, including non-Austronesian Kuot.

Ross' recent doctoral dissertation on western Oceanic languages (Ross 1986), subsequently published as Ross (1988), was the first major work since Grace's to discuss the New Ireland-Tolai languages without relying on lexicostatistics. He argued against the use of lexicostatistics on the basis that in this region, even basic vocabulary can often be borrowed, and that lexicostatistics does not provide a mechanism for differentiating between easily borrowed items and those unlikely to be borrowed. As mentioned above, evidence from Nalik confirms that in this region even very common lexical items can be borrowed. For example, today younger Naliks usually use Tok Pisin terms for many close kinship ties, and even older persons use Tok Pisin loans for 'to have' and 'must'.

Ross includes the New Ireland-Tolai languages in the Meso-Melanesian cluster, one of three major branches he posits of Western Melanesian, which in turn is one of the primary branches of the Oceanic languages. He defines the New Ireland-Tolai languages as those sharing the phonological innovation of a merger of Proto Oceanic **k* and **q* as Proto New Ireland **K*, after which lenition occurred, so that medially Proto New Ireland **k* is reflected as zero, whereas initially the lenis reflex split into **Y* (before many, but not all, occurrences of **a*) and zero (Ross 1988:280-

283). The group is also characterized by four morphosyntactic innovations: a reflex of Proto Oceanic **sai* 'who' as Proto New Ireland **si* (rather than expected **sai*), a reflex of Proto Oceanic **paRi-* 'reciprocal prefix' as Proto New Ireland **var-* (rather than expected **vari-*), the use of a locative preposition Proto New Ireland **la*, and an expansion of the Proto Oceanic preposition **(q)i* (Proto New Ireland **i*) to be used in 'phrases with an adjective as possessum' (Ross 1988:283-90).

Ross agrees with the separation of the two St. Matthias languages, Mussau and Tennis, from the other New Ireland-Tolai languages, for which, in apparent contrast to earlier findings by Blust (1984), he suggests the possibility of a distant link with the Admiralty languages (Ross 1988:316 and 383). He also agrees with Beaumont in separating Madak and Lavasong as a subgroup, the Madak chain. Where he differs from Beaumont is in separating Tabar and Notsi from Beaumont's southern subgroup and grouping them with Lihir from Beaumont's northern subgroup as a separate third subgroup, the Tabar chain. He also differs by including Tomoip in East New Britain with the New Ireland-Tolai languages, as well as linking the North-West Solomonic languages with the languages of southern New Ireland and the Gazelle Peninsula on the basis of three shared innovations (Ross 1988:290-314).

1.3.2 Characteristics of the Lavongai-Nalik languages. Ross (1982, 1986, and 1988) defines the Lavongai-Nalik network as the five languages Lavongai (also known as Tungag and Tungak), Tigak, Tiang, Kara, and Nalik. These languages are located on Lavongai (New Hannover), Dyaul Island, and the northern New Ireland mainland. As mentioned above, Ross differs with Beaumont's earlier subgrouping of the New Ireland-Tolai languages. However, Beaumont (p.c.) now accepts the revisions made by Ross.

Ross (1982) has discussed the internal relationships of the Lavongai-Nalik languages discussed, claiming that Nalik is a primary branch of 'Pre-Lavongai-Nalik' separate from the other four languages, as shown in Figure 1.1 (The Lavongai-Nalik languages). This subgrouping agrees with a comment by Capell (1971:264), who, in claiming that some dialects of Kara, as well as the Barok (or Komalu) language to the south, are tonal, said that there are 'considerable differences' between Nalik and its northern neighbors, Tigak and Kara. Recently Ross (1991:446) has claimed that Nalik is the most conservative and sedentary member of the network, suggesting that the Proto Lavongai-Nalik homeland is to be found in the Kara-Nalik area.

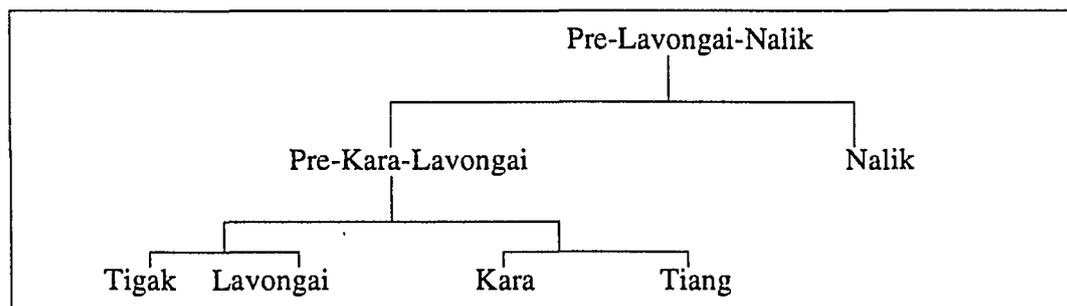


Figure 1.1 The Lavongai-Nalik languages

In his earlier analysis Ross listed two innovations unique to the group, the use of reduplication of the verb stem rather than the infix *-in-* as a deverbal noun formative, and the replacement of the personal article by Proto Lavongai-Nalik **na* (Ross 1982:177). Later he added the following five innovations which arose in the group: Proto Oceanic **o* becoming Proto Lavongai-Nalik **u* in word final syllables; the loss of word final Proto Oceanic **-i*, **-e*, **-o*, and **-u*, but retention of word final Proto Oceanic **-a*; the reinterpretation of the Proto Oceanic prepositional verb **suRi* as a prepositional form with possessive pronominal suffixes; the reinterpretation of **-ana*, the Proto Oceanic suffix forming a locative noun from a verb, as an abstract noun

formative; and the reinterpretation of the Proto Oceanic remote transitive suffix **-aki* as a detransitivizing suffix (Ross 1988:291).

In addition to discussing subgrouping problems, Beaumont (1988b, f.c.) has also discussed phonological and grammatical similarities among the Lavongai-Nalik languages. Because of insufficient data available for Tiang and Nalik, he has had to limit himself for the most part to making generalities regarding Tigak, Lavongai, and Kara, expanding the analyses mentioned in Beaumont (1976a) and Ross (1982) of grammatical characteristics shared by all New Ireland-Tolai languages and discussing some features not presented in earlier works. Beaumont (f.c.: 7-8) began by discussing the article systems, saying that all three languages have a dual system of general and personal articles, the latter used before names of people, kinship terms, and, in Tigak, pronouns. In Lavongai and Tigak the general articles are further divided into what he describes as 'generally equivalent' to English definite and indefinite articles. Beaumont (f.c.: 11) has noted that, although adjectives generally follow the noun they modify, as in Kuanua and Patpatar, attributive adjectives can precede the noun. In these cases the ligature (*i*)*na* is obligatory between the adjective and noun.

Earlier, Beaumont (1976a:390) had discussed the existence of both independent pronouns and subject markers in the verb phrase. In his more recent analysis, he has noted that the subject pronouns in the three languages are all reflexes of the Proto New Ireland pronouns reconstructed by Ross (1982:188). He discussed the fact that the object pronouns differ more from the subject marker clitics and independent pronouns than in Kuanua and Patpatar (Beaumont f.c.: 14). As in many other Oceanic languages, object clitic suffixes exist which are usually used even

when there is a noun for the object (Beaumont f.c.: 15). He also noted that in Nalik, as in Lavongai and Patpatar, the nonsingular subject markers are identical in form with the independent pronoun (Ross 1982:179).

The existence of possessive affixes for inalienable nouns has already been mentioned above. In the three languages Beaumont (f.c.: 16-17) examined, these suffixes are also used with certain prepositions, and in Kara he reported a number of different suffixes apparently subcategorized for use with individual nouns. The possession of alienable nouns is expressed by a stem or preposition, often *ka*, with possessive suffixes.

Beaumont (f.c.: 19-24) has therefore claimed that in all three languages the verb phrase usually begins with the subject marker, followed by a tense marker, which may also be zero, and which may be followed by an aspect marker, several of which are cognates. Beaumont (f.c.: 21) reported that Ross has reconstructed, but not published, the following set of tense/aspect markers for Proto Lavongai-Nalik: *zero 'unmarked', *reduplicated verb stem 'habitual' (reflected today only in Nalik), **na* 'future' (reflected today only in Nalik), *(*g*)*a* 'past', **ta* 'nonhabitual', **ka/kV* 'consequential' and **vo* 'perfective'.

Beaumont (f.c.: 23-24) has given examples of a number of verbal affixes in the three languages. He also reports that Ross has used data from all five Lavongai-Nalik languages to reconstruct three Proto Lavongai-Nalik verbal affixes: **ta*- 'intransitive', **va*- 'transitivizer', and **vaR*- 'reciprocal marker'.

Beaumont (f.c.:24-31) has made some reconstructions of Proto Lavongai-Nalik, but has pointed out that the lack of data from Nalik means that any

reconstruction such as his of Proto Lavongai-Nalik done solely on the basis of the three languages for which reliable and ample data are available (Lavongai, Tigak, and Kara) is suspect, since it is quite possible that the reconstruction is only a reconstruction of lower order Pre-Kara-Lavongai.

Ross (1982:180) has published an overview of the Lavongai-Nalik tense/aspect marker. He claimed that although the Lavongai-Nalik languages now use a zero aspect marker for various functions, which differs from language to language, in Proto Lavongai-Nalik the zero aspect marker indicated realis (past or present). In addition, verb reduplication to indicate habitual action and six aspect or tense particles can be reconstructed for the protolanguage. He presented evidence that as the protolanguage was breaking up, this system was unstable, causing sequences of two aspect markers to be reinterpreted as one in different ways in different daughter languages.

1.4 Phonology and orthography

To date there has been no detailed study of Nalik phonology and until 1988 there was no attempt to produce a systematic standard orthography for the language. While it is beyond the range of this study to examine Nalik phonology in great detail, the following short explanation will give the reader an overview of the phonological system and facilitate an understanding of the orthography used in this study.

1.4.1. Phonology. In previous survey or comparative articles there have been several comments about various phonological features of the language. For example, Lithgow and Claassen (1968:10) repeated New Ireland folk wisdom in reporting that

'(-)he outstanding phonological feature in Nalik is the frequent occurrence of voiced fricatives'.

Proto Oceanic	Proto Lavongai-Nalik	Modern Nalik
*p	*p (fortis)	f
	*f (lenis)	f
*b	*b	b
*w	*u	u
*m	*m	m
*mw	*mw	-
*t	*-t	-t, -t-, d-, r-
*d, *dr	*d	d
*n, *ñ	*n	n
*l	*l	l
*r, *R	*r	r
*s, *c	*s	s
*j	*s	s
*y	*y	i
*k, *q fortis	*k	k
*k, *q lenis	-	-
*k, *q initial	*Y	i
*g	*g	g
*ŋ	*ŋ	ŋ

Figure 1.2 Nalik Reflexes of Proto Oceanic consonants
(from Ross 1988:266-68)

A more comprehensive account can be found in Ross' (1988:266-68) list of the reflexes of Proto Oceanic consonants in the Meso-Melanesian languages, giving the reflexes in Proto Lavongai-Nalik and Nalik shown in Figure 1.2 (Nalik Reflexes of Proto Oceanic consonants).

Ross' primary concern was to discuss relationships among and between subgroupings of various levels in the Austronesian languages of western Melanesia, not to analyze modern Nalik phonology. Ross did not include the voiced fricatives in his list, nor did he explain their derivation. It is possible that he regarded them as al-

liphonic variants of their voiceless counterparts. He did make the interesting observation that the initial **-t-* of kinship terms is voiced in Nalik, so that the reflex of Proto Austronesian **tama* 'father' is *dama-* and of Proto Austronesian **tuqaka* 'older sibling' *dua-*.

A more complete analysis of Nalik phonology is found in Beaumont's (1972:20-22) earlier discussion of the phonology of New Ireland languages. In it Nalik has been described as having the following sound system, although the difference between phonemes and allophones was not made explicit:

consonants			vowels		
p	-t	k		i	u
b	d	g		e	o
				a	
f	s		y	w	
v	z				
m	n	ng			ai, oi, au
	l	r			

Figure 1.3 Nalik phonology (from Beaumont 1972)

Although in general this is an accurate description of Nalik phonology, several comments need to be made. One is that /v/ is actually [β]. Another is perhaps the most noticeable characteristic of the Nalik consonant system, one apparently not noticed by earlier survey works. This is that usually, when preceded by vowels (and in the West Coast and Southern East Coast dialects, liquids), the two noncoronal voiceless stops /p/ and /k/ become fricatives and that, subsequently, the voiceless fricatives are voiced. Thus /f/ and /p/ are usually realized as [β] (written

\underline{v})¹, /s/ as [z], and /k/ as [ɣ] (\underline{x} in the new Nalik orthography) when immediately preceded by a vowel, as these examples show:

- (1.1) *Ga vaan-paan.*
 1SG RED-go
 'I always go.'
- (1.2) *a mun faal / a vaal*
 ART NSG house ART house
 'the houses' / 'the house'
- (1.3) *a buk sina / a yai zina*
 ART book of:(s)he ART tree of:(s)he
 'his book' / 'his tree'
- (1.4) *a mun kulau / a xulau*
 ART NSG youth ART youth
 'the youths' / 'the youth' (singular)

In the same environment the coronal voiceless stop /-t/ is usually realized as the liquid [r], e.g.,

- (1.5) *Ga rain / Ga rabung tain*
 1SG see 1SG ANT see
 'I see' / 'I saw'

Although it would appear at first that this consonantal alternation is allophonic, there are several reasons for regarding each of the two pairs of sounds as two separate phonemes. The first is that speakers often emphasize a word by consciously using the 'wrong' form e.g., *a faal* 'the house' or *a mun vaal* 'the houses'.

¹ In the preposition *pan* and the negative marker *pe(n)*, /p/ is often also realized as [w] after a vowel.

The second is that with a number of words, especially proper names of persons or places, this pattern of alternation is not followed, e.g., the village name *Luapul*, which one would expect to be *Luawul*. Most important is that in modern Nalik there is at least one minimal pair for [k] (written k) and [ɣ] (written x), the Tok Pisin loan word *koko* 'sweet potato' (from Tok Pisin *kaukau*) and the nonloan *xoxo* 'a type of yam' (Tok Pisin *mami*).

Another reason is that when a provisional orthography was being established for Nalik, and each of these pairs of sounds was initially represented by one letter, readers were unanimous in asking that each of the members of these pairs be represented by a separate letter. This could be explained by the influence of literacy in English, i.e., that bilingual speakers who were literate only in English were trying to impose English phonemic distinctions in Nalik writing. But the fact that speakers also asked for a separate letter or letter combination to represent [ɣ], a phoneme which does not exist in English and which I had initially proposed to represent (together with [k]) with an 'English' k, indicates that the real reason was that Nalik speakers view these different sounds as separate phonemes.

Because of increasing knowledge of English and use of English loan words, several English phonemes have been introduced into Nalik: /h/ (e.g., *hos* 'horse'), /ʃ/ (e.g., *ship* 'sheep'), and /tʃ/ (e.g., *ticha* 'teacher') for all speakers; as well as /ʒ/ (e.g., *solja* 'soldier') for most younger and many older speakers and, for a rather small number of speakers as yet, /ð/, usually only in the use of *the* in English titles and phrases (e.g., *the Yunaited Neishens* 'the United Nations').

The vowel system is somewhat more complicated than shown in Figure 1.3 (Nalik phonology) above. What is represented as /a/ in Figure 1.3 is actually two

phonemes, a short central vowel somewhat lower than schwa (written as a), and a long low back vowel (written as aa), as in the minimal pair *laraf* 'yesterday' / *laraaf* 'afternoon'². There are also two diphthongs not mentioned by Beaumont, /ou/, as in *nounau* 'shape' and /ei/ as in *masingsaxei* 'but'. Contiguous vowels do not necessarily form diphthongs and may be separated by a glottal stop, as in *doxo'ing* 'goodness'. There are noticeable phonetic differences in the length of both the front and back high vowels in different words (i.e., /i/ and /ɪ/, and /u/ and /ʊ/). Only one minimal pair could be found to differentiate between the former pair, the English loan *miit* 'meat' and the nonloan *mit* 'hand'. No minimal pair could be found which could be differentiated solely on the basis of the difference between the second pair. Native speakers did not object to representing these two pairs of vowels with only one letter for each pair in writing.

Both Capell (1971:264) and Lithgow and Claassen (1968:9-11) report phonemic tone in Kara and Barok. No tonal distinctions were recorded in Nalik. Similarly, although stress is not entirely predictable in Nalik, there is no evidence that differences in stress are used to differentiate between words which are otherwise identical.

1.4.2. Orthography. Traditionally, Naliks and their neighbors have used a system of pictographs in *malagan* carvings and other traditional art to depict spiritual concepts such as 'justice', 'sanctified', and 'compassion'. Although limited to less than one hundred symbols of abstract ideas, the system is viewed as a writing system by Naliks, who today use the same word for modern writing as for painting these symbols on a traditional carving, *faral*.

² Blust (p.c.) has noted that these two words are often related historically in Austronesian languages and even sometimes represented by one morpheme synchronically.

The first modern writing in Nalik was by German Catholic missionaries. The only surviving documents from this era are translations of Bible verses, prayers, and a catechism made by Father Gerhard Hoffman in the years just before and just after World War II and now stored at the Vunapope mission in East New Britain (retyped as Hoffman 1947a, b, c, respectively). Although he is reported to have taught a number of men to read and write, his translations seem to have been made only for his own use and were retyped but not published. Basing his orthography on German, he represented the semivowels /y/ with j, and /w/ with u. His representation of /ɣ/ changed over the years from h to ch, and in one document he even used both, using the two symbols to differentiate between phonemically insignificant degrees of backness. Similarly, in two texts he used k and q to distinguish between allophones of /k/, while not distinguishing between the alveolar and velar nasals or between the voiceless stops and their voiced alternates. In all his writing he did not distinguish between the low vowels, writing both as a.

In the absence of any attempt to standardize Nalik spelling, the decisions Hoffman made at different times in his career and the variation he introduced in his own writing were reflected in the way different Naliks already literate in Kuanua, Tok Pisin, or English decided to write their language. Different people spell the same phoneme in quite different ways; /ɣ/, for example, is spelled h, ch, or gh by different persons (the latter reportedly having been introduced by an anthropologist in the 1950s). Few writers attempt to differentiate the two low vowels, and those who do use quite ad hoc and usually inconsistent measures. In part because of this confusion, many Naliks write only in English or Tok Pisin, even in letters to family members with whom they would ordinarily use Nalik when speaking.

The New Ireland Provincial Government has recently begun a program of vernacular preschools as part of an overall policy to change the currently monolingual English-medium school system to a bilingual English-vernacular system. Because of this, as part of the current study I developed and tested a provisional orthography together with the prominent clan orator Michael a Xomerang in a number of Nalik villages in all the four dialect areas. This orthography is used in this work. It has also been used in the first book published in Nalik, *Saauale Nakmai* (1991), as well as pilot Nalik preschool literacy materials prepared at a University of Papua New Guinea workshop (Lawe 1990) and a compendium of Nalik traditional philosophical concepts currently being written (p.c. a Xomerang). The latter is being prepared as part of a locally organized effort to establish a 'Nalik Culture School' in Madina village in 1993.

For a number of years there has been a Summer Institute of Linguistics team, Virginia and Perry Schlie, producing literacy and religious materials in the neighboring Kara language. Because Kara and Nalik share strikingly similar phonological systems, and because of widespread bilingualism in Kara among older Nalik speakers, the Nalik orthography is based to a large extent on that developed for Kara. In addition to the graphemes and digraphs shown in Figure 1.4 (Nalik orthography) which represent indigenous phonemes, the following are used with their English values to represent consonantal phonemes introduced from English: h, ch, sh, j, th.

The most controversial part of this system to Nalik speakers was the use of x for the velar fricative. While some preferred the digraph gh, especially Bahá'ís who were familiar with gh in the transcription of /ɣ/ into English of Arabic proper names,

most preferred h. This is, however, not satisfactory because of the existence of minimal pairs between /h/ and /ɣ/, such as *hos* 'horse' and *xos* 'a cold', with the introduction of English loans. When this was explained, and Naliks learned that most other New Ireland languages with velar fricatives, including neighboring Kara, also use x, this objection disappeared.

Consonants				Vowels		
p	-t	k	'	i		u
b	d	g		e		o
					a	aa
f	s			ai		au
v	z	x				ao
m	n	ng		ei		oi
					aau	
	l	r				
w		y				

v = /β/, x = /ɣ/, ng = /ŋ/, ' = /ʔ/

Figure 1.4 Nalik orthography

In the past the biggest difficulty in representing the vowels of Nalik has been in representing the low vowels, either in the confusion of not differentiating them at all, or the confusion caused by ad hoc attempts to differentiate between the two. Because the most noticeable difference between the two is their length, in this orthography the short low central vowel is represented by a, while the long low back vowel is represented by aa, e.g. *laraf* 'yesterday' and *laraaf* 'afternoon'. This is modelled on the orthography developed by the Summer Institute of Linguistics for Kara, in which a is also used to represent a short low central vowel and aa is used to represent what Schlie (p.c.), a Summer Institute of Linguistics linguist studying Kara, describes as a low front vowel.

In Kara the degree of length of the high vowels is also phonemic and this is represented in double vowel digraphs to differentiate long /i/ and /u/ from short /i/ and /u/. As mentioned above, this difference of length is marginally phonemic for the front high vowels and apparently not phonemic at all for the back high vowels in Nalik, and is therefore not represented in the orthography.

Diphthongs are represented by the digraphs ai, au, ao, ei, and oi. The trigraph aau, as in *saaule* 'praised be', represents the short low central vowel /a/ followed by the diphthong /au/. Contiguous vowels which do not form diphthongs, usually across morpheme boundaries, are separated by ' , which in the careful speech of most speakers is a glottal stop, but in rapid speech is simply a break, or even a glide, between the two vowels. This symbol is also used to differentiate the sequence /ng/ (n'g) from the velar nasal ng.

It should be pointed out that, pending the establishment of a 'Nalik Language Committee' by the provincial government, conventions for all spelling decisions are not yet final. There is a particular lack of consensus regarding certain word division decisions which I have made. Among these is whether the article *a* should be joined to a preposition immediately preceding it, e.g., *pan a* or *pana*, and whether the preverbal durative markers *i* and *-t* and the postverbal particles *ang* and *ing* should be written as separate words. In this work the article *a*, the preverbal particle *i*, and the postverbal particle *ang* are all written as independent words, while the preverbal particle *-t* is joined to the preceding subject reference particle. Similarly, the postverbal particle *ing* is joined to the preceding verb stem. For the most part, although these decisions do follow the preferences of the majority of Nalik speakers surveyed, they are admittedly the arbitrary decisions of a non-native speaker, and in

the case of *i* and *ing*, probably as much the result of Tok Pisin and English spelling conventions regarding phonologically identical morphemes as of the structure of Nalik itself.

1.5 Setting

New Ireland is a long island approximately three hundred twenty kilometers from its northwest point to its southeast point. Although it is fifty kilometers wide in the south, the average width is only eleven kilometers (Carter 1984:356). A relatively high mountain range along the spine of the island divides the more developed east coast from the west coast.

Nalik is spoken in fifteen³ villages in northern central New Ireland, in an area bounded by speakers of Kara, another Austronesian language, to the north, and by speakers of Kuot (or Panaras), the only non-Austronesian language on New Ireland, to the south (see Map 1 Languages of New Ireland and eastern New Britain). This area is a thirty kilometer long band across the island in an area where the island is approximately ten kilometers wide.

Recent census reports have regrettably not included data on nonurban language use, and recent and reliable information about the number of speakers is not available. The most widely reported estimate of Nalik speakers, even in the latest edition of *Ethnologue* (Grimes 1988:667), is still that reported by Beaumont (1972:13), 2,618. But just four years earlier Lithgow and Claassen (1968:26) had reported only a little more than half this number of speakers, 1,461. In the mid-1990

³ Or eighteen, if the villages of Lakuramau, Panemeka, and Panagai are also included (see 1.6 Geographic dialects).

census a total of 3,525 people were recorded living in villages in the Nalik area, with an additional 796 living in areas where dialects are spoken which have an as yet undetermined relationship with the Nalik and Kara languages (PNG National Statistical Office 1992). This totals 4,321 persons. It can reasonably be assumed that about the same number of Naliks live outside the Nalik area as do non-Naliks in the Nalik area, so either 3,500 or 4,300, depending on whether one chooses to include the dialects along the Kara-Nalik border as Nalik, can be taken as a very rough approximation of the total number of Naliks. As will be seen below, the degree of fluency in the Nalik language varies among Naliks, and there is evidence that the language is beginning to disappear as a primary language among some younger Naliks.

Early anthropological work in the Nalik-speaking village of Fissoa was undertaken by William Groves (available as Groves [197-]). Descriptions of the Notsi-speaking society to the south of the Nalik-speaking area are found in Powdermaker (1933) and Lewis (1969). Although somewhat dated, these descriptions are generally still valid for modern northern New Ireland society, i.e., the Tabar Islands and the New Ireland mainland from Tigak-speaking Kavieng to the Notsi-speaking area, including the Nalik area. A description of the culture of the Kara-speaking society by a Summer Institute of Linguistics team working there provides a comprehensive and more contemporary, if less accessible, description of everyday life today, which in almost all aspects is equally applicable to the neighboring Nalik-speaking society (Schlie and Schlie 1987).

Most Naliks have adopted Christianity, although there is an influential Bahá'í minority centered in Madina, Luapul, and Fatmilak villages. At the same time,

traditional beliefs continue to play an important role in society, and *maimais* (clan leaders and orators) have been encouraging a revival of traditional arts and ceremonies among younger persons. The area is well known for its *malagan* (or *malanggan*) carvings and accompanying traditional ceremonies, as well as for the practice of shark-calling, portrayed in the film *Shark Callers of Kontu* (O'Rourke 1967). Nalik society is matrilineal and a number of Nalik-speaking women have achieved national recognition. For example, the first Papua New Guinean woman law graduate, Margaret Elias, is Nalik, and her mother, Elti Kunak, was a recipient of the M.B.E. for her work in promoting the post World War II women's movement.

Since the German colonial administration before World War I, most Nalik speakers have lived on the east coast along the Boluminski Road, although there are several Nalik-speaking villages on the west coast, and many families still have gardens on the small central interior plateau. Most people are subsistence farmers, and earn money through the sale of copra and cocoa. Palm oil has recently been introduced, but is as yet mainly limited to large plantations owned by non-Naliks.

Some Naliks, however, do receive income from royalties from, or employment with, both these plantations and the controversial export-oriented timber industry. The latter has destroyed most primary rain forests in New Ireland and been the target of numerous Papua New Guinea Ombudsmen Commission inquiries into government corruption. There has been extensive gold prospecting in the central mountains, but, in contrast to the vast discoveries on nearby Tabar and Lihir islands, Nalik leaders report that there has not yet been any discovery of commercial importance. Since before the period of Australian colonial rule, a considerable number of Nalik speakers have also been wage earners in private industry or the

public service. Today, except for those who have retired and returned to their home villages, or who teach in local schools, most of these wage earners live in Kavieng, the New Ireland provincial headquarters, or in urban areas outside the province.

As in New Ireland as a whole, the Nalik-speaking area benefits from a high standard of education. Virtually all children in New Ireland attend primary school, and in comparison to the national population, a disproportionately large number receive secondary and tertiary education. In Papua New Guinea as a whole, one third of all children of primary school age do not attend school at all, of those who begin grade one one-third drops out before completing grade six, and of those who do finish, two-thirds are not admitted to secondary school (Rannells 1990:37). In contrast to these national statistics, primary education in the Nalik area is virtually universal and village authorities do not permit children to drop out of primary school. In 1989, for example, all children in Nalik-speaking Madina and Luapul villages (except one boy with Down's syndrome) attended primary school and eighty-seven percent of the graduating grade six class was accepted into secondary school the following year. Except for the PNG Fisheries College in Kavieng, a preseminary institute in Lugagon, and a vocational center in Fissoa, after grade ten, students must leave the province to continue their studies. Until recently all education in Nalik schools was English-medium, although the provincial government has a plan to introduce vernacular preschool, and eventually primary school, education in all New Ireland languages, including Nalik. With this in mind, introductory monolingual Nalik primers were prepared in 1990 in conjunction with this study (Lawe 1990). A pilot Nalik-medium preschool was established in 1992 in Madina village.

At any given time there are up to three dozen expatriates, some with families, in the Nalik area. These include Catholic priests, teachers at the two high schools, foreign spouses of Naliks, and businesspersons associated with the timber or oil palm industries. More influential linguistically are the large number of non-Nalik Papua New Guineans, including Sepiks and Highlanders as well as non-Nalik New Irelanders, who have been attracted for economic reasons over the years since World War II to settle in the Nalik area. Many of the Sepiks in particular now living in the Nalik area are third generation immigrants to New Ireland and regard the province as their home.

1.5.1 History. Oral history states that the ancestors of the Naliks came from northern New Ireland, either Kavieng or Lavongai (New Hannover), moving 'up' towards central and southern New Ireland, and that as they moved, they encountered, and to some extent assimilated, the indigenous Kuots (*a vun a bina*, literally 'the essence of the land') of the interior, (p.c. Matthias Tovat and Maimai Michael a Xomerang). Legend relates that as these northern New Ireland groups moved, they fell under the spell of the spirits (Tok Pisin *masalai*) of the different areas which they settled, so that their speech separated into the related, but different languages of northern New Ireland today.

Oral history also relates that originally most Naliks lived near Laefu, but as a result of the breaking of a customary incest taboo, there was civil war and division between different groups. This resulted in different groups moving out into new areas and assimilating the original Kuots through intermarriage. Even today the relatively small Laefu dialect is regarded as the oldest, if not necessarily most prestigious, dialect of Nalik.

1.5.2. Language use. Because of immigration and traditional ties between Naliks and speakers of other languages to the north and east, bi- or multilingualism is universal among Naliks. In particular, knowledge of Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin English) is universal. A concerted search in 1989 failed to uncover any Naliks without a knowledge of Tok Pisin. Even the oldest person interviewed for this study, a ninety year old Madina woman, had a functional command of basic Tok Pisin. One old man on the less-developed west coast who died in 1988 was reported to have been monolingual. It is quite possible that he was the last living monolingual Nalik speaker.

Older speakers report that until World War II, Tok Pisin was usually learned in adulthood. Today Tok Pisin is learned in childhood, often before, or even instead of, Nalik. In a survey of language use in 1989, grade five and six pupils from Madina and Luapul villages at Madina Community School reported that Tok Pisin was used as the sole home language in approximately half the pupils' homes and 'often' or more at home in a total of two thirds of the families. Only a third reported that Nalik was the only language used at home. Given the perception in the community of my position as someone interested in promoting the use of Nalik, it is quite likely that the children overstated their use of Nalik, and that it is actually less than this. Only a handful reported using Nalik with other children either on the playground or at play elsewhere outside the home. This correlates with my own observations; living next to the school for almost a year, I noticed children using Nalik among themselves only once, although many would speak to me in Nalik.

Undoubtedly, the mixed background of most families today plays an important part in this decrease in the use of Nalik; less than half the students reported

that both their parents were Naliks. Even in many households which I visited where both parents were Nalik, a sizeable minority of children appeared to be learning Tok Pisin before Nalik. The impression that Nalik is more difficult relative to Tok Pisin can be seen in the fact that when young children do not understand something an adult says, the adult often repeats it in Tok Pisin.

In such a situation it is not surprising that the Nalik lexicon has been heavily influenced and, in the opinion of most older speakers, impoverished, by Tok Pisin. This has not been limited to words for new ideas or technologies that did not exist in precontact society, such as *baalus* 'airplane', *kompyuta* 'computer', *paati* 'political party', and *lotu* 'religion'. Increasingly, even words which could be thought to be among the basic core of the lexicon of a language are being replaced by loans from Tok Pisin, e.g. *anti* 'aunt', *gaat* 'have', and the entire numeral system.

Moreover, the semantic range of indigenous Nalik words is changing in the direction of Tok Pisin. Since Tok Pisin is a pidgin language, its words tend to have a more general semantic range than in a non-pidgin language. Thus, although Nalik traditionally had three words for each of the three main kinds of fishing nets used in New Ireland, today younger speakers only use one general word, a cognate of Tok Pisin *umben* 'fishing net', for all three. Similarly, younger speakers today do not usually know the Nalik names for many of the reef fish they catch. Since Tok Pisin does not have many names for many individual fish species, this means that many younger speakers must use ad hoc descriptions to differentiate species.

Perhaps the most interesting example of semantic change has been the influence of the Tok Pisin word *hat*. Previously Nalik made the same distinction as English between 'hot' (*lagaf*) and 'hard' (*vulvulazai*). In Australian and Papua New

Guinean English these two English words are differentiated primarily on the basis of vowel length. In Tok Pisin, with no distinction of vowel length, a much less complex vowel system than English, and regular devoicing of final stops, these two words have become homonyms, so that Tok Pisin *hat* can mean both 'hot' or 'hard'. In Nalik the meaning of *lagaf* 'hot' has expanded to parallel that of Tok Pisin *hat*, so that it, too, now means both 'hot' and 'hard', while *vulvulazai* 'hard' has become obsolete.

Another widely spoken introduced language is English. English has been used as the medium of instruction at all schools since the 1960s, and, in contrast to most of the rest of the country, New Ireland has had universal primary education for many years. Formal English classes for adults were also held in some areas in the 1960s so that acquaintance with at least basic English is not uncommon even among older persons. Nevertheless, relatively few Naliks have achieved a high degree of fluency in spoken English, as it plays a very minor role in the society outside of school. There are, however, a few educated households with one non-Nalik spouse in which English is the home language. Although a number of Nalik families have Malay, Chinese, or German ancestry, these languages are not used today.

Both today and in the past, Naliks have been reluctant to learn Kuot, the neighboring non-Austronesian language to the south, and have generally expected Kuot speakers to learn Nalik. The fact that many Nalik speakers can trace their ancestry to Kuot families indicates that Nalik has been in a dominant position over Kuot for a number of generations.

Ross (p.c.) has noted that Nalik may have been influenced by Kuot. It is even more probable that prolonged contact between Kuot and Austronesian languages, including Nalik, has resulted in extensive borrowing into Kuot from Nalik and other

Austronesian languages. Lithgow and Claassen (1968:28), for example, found that on the Summer Institute of Linguistics list of 120 basic words, 23% of Nalik and Kuot words were cognate. At least one lexical difference between geographic dialects in Nalik appears to be due to borrowing from Kuot. 'White coral' is *balangtang* in all dialects except the West Coast dialect, where it is *blaakan*, the same as in Kuot.

In contrast to non-Austronesian Kuot, many Naliks have traditionally had at least passive knowledge of Austronesian Tabar, spoken on islands to the east of the Nalik-speaking area, or one of the other Austronesian languages of the northern New Ireland mainland, especially neighboring Kara. This is reflected today in the knowledge which many older Naliks have of these languages, and in the fact that the lyrics of many well known traditional songs alternate in the middle of a stanza between these languages. It is also reflected in the use of the Kara word *raxo* 'good', a cognate of Nalik *daxo / doxo* in the idiom:

- (1.6) *Ka raxo, ka daxo vaa?*
 3 good 3 good where
 'Things will be all muddled in the end.'

It should be noted, however, that younger Naliks tend not to develop bilingualism in these languages. Instead, younger Naliks usually use Tok Pisin with non-Naliks, including those from nearby Tabar or Kara-speaking villages, or even the 'transitional dialect' village of Lakuramau.

Another Austronesian language formerly used quite extensively in the Nalik area was Kuanua, the language of the Tolais of nearby East New Britain. For many years Kuanua was the language used by the Methodist mission in its schools and for

religious purposes. Older Methodist Naliks are often quite fluent in Kuanua, to the extent that they switch to Kuanua to define religious topics or to quote the Bible. Although Kuanua is still used for hymns in the United Church (the successor to the Methodist mission), middle-aged and younger Naliks usually know Kuanua only if they have a Tolai parent or have spent a considerable amount of time in East New Britain.

Today the domain where Nalik is most dominant is in the home or in private conversation. Nalik is still used in many families and, together with or more often interspersed with, Tok Pisin, it is commonly heard in private conversations in Nalik villages, or among Naliks in the 'diaspora'. Because many people living in Nalik villages do not understand the language, or at least not very well, it is rare to have public meetings which are entirely in Nalik. At weekly Monday morning village meetings, for example, the most important announcements are made in Tok Pisin, although often they are repeated and discussed in more detail in Nalik.

Most religious services are in Tok Pisin. Although many older Catholic Naliks still remember prayers translated into Nalik and taught to them before World War II by a German missionary, Father Hoffman, these are usually used only in family or private situations. Mass and catechism classes are almost always held in Tok Pisin except for one or two Nalik hymns. The United Church, the largest religious group in the area, used to conduct part of its services in Nalik before World War II, but today most of the spoken part of the service is in Tok Pisin, while hymns are usually sung in Kuanua. The Bahá'ís, who have few non-Nalik members in New Ireland, often conduct part of their meetings in Nalik, but until recently read prayers and Bahá'í scripture only in English or Tok Pisin. With the publication of a multifaith

prayer book in Nalik, and a decision by the local Bahá'í administrative body to promote the use of 'pure' Nalik, this is beginning to change. The Bahá'ís are alone in having children's religious instruction only in Nalik and have recently opened a Nalik-medium preschool for both Bahá'í and Christian children.

Even at traditional *malagan* ceremonies, held to commemorate the dead and to exchange money between clans, Tok Pisin is often used. This is especially the case when non-Nalik relatives or in-laws are present. Because a *malagan* has traditionally been an occasion to display one's skills in rhetoric, many speakers prefer to speak in Tok Pisin rather than shame themselves by what they believe to be a lack of eloquence in Nalik.

Many older *maimai* 'clan orators' claim that today, even when leaders do speak in Nalik, they use a direct style of address in imitation of English, rather than the very indirect style used in the past. For example, in the past if a leader wished to chastise someone for committing adultery, he would either speak to the whole group about animals going astray or a garden going wild, or he would simply chant traditional words meaning the equivalent of 'sin' or 'unclean'. The guilty parties would not be named, but would, at least in theory, feel publicly shamed and amend their ways. Today the offending parties are more likely to be spoken to directly, sometimes even in public and told to behave properly, often with the offence being described in very direct terms.

The modern media are virtually all in Tok Pisin or English. The only books (with one or two recent exceptions), magazines, and newspapers come from outside New Ireland, and the only television is by satellite from Australia or the United States. The provincial radio station in Kavieng broadcasts speech (as opposed to mu-

sic) only in Tok Pisin and, occasionally, English. There is only one public sign in Nalik, that on the village meeting house (*a vaal a piraan*) in Munawai village. Even very local signs, such as at trade stores, schools, or churches, are in Tok Pisin or English. Nalik is, however, often used in singing, both in traditional and modern styles, and a number of Nalik musical groups have been recorded for broadcast on provincial or national radio, or even for commercial release on cassette.

The effect of these developments indicates that the percentage of domains in which Nalik is used in the society as a whole is much less now than it was before World War II. Whereas previously it was used almost exclusively in all domains in Nalik society, today there are many domains in which only other languages are used and there is no domain in which Nalik is used exclusively. Even in the home, Nalik appears to be giving ground to Tok Pisin and, to a much lesser degree, English. Although there is no danger that Nalik will disappear in the near future, unless this trend changes, it is unlikely that the language will have long term viability.

1.6 Geographic dialects

With rare exceptions, earlier accounts of Nalik have not reported dialectal variation within the language. This is reflected in the lack of dialectal divisions in the Nalik area on Wurm and Hattori's (1981) linguistic map of New Ireland. As mentioned above, Lithgow and Claassen (1968:10) did mention the 'transitional dialects' along the Nalik-Kara border, but no mention was made of variation in Nalik proper. Evidence for dialectal variation in Nalik proper based on variation in accounts of Nalik counting systems was given in Lean's (1985:31) survey work on New

Dialect	Village	Population
Southern East Coast		1,033
	Bol ^a	118
	Bura	150
	Fatmilak ^b	191
	Kafkaf	157
	Fissoa	345
	Tovaabe	72
Northern East Coast		916
	Madina	457
	Panafau	50
	Lugagon	191
	Munawai	218
West Coast		622
	Namasalang	127
	Usil	252
	Luapul	243
Laefu		954
	Bulifa ^c	295
	Laefu ^c	228
	Panamana ^d	431
Total all core Nalik dialects		3,525
Nalik-Kara border dialects		796
West Coast:	Panemeka	209
	Panagai	76
East Coast:	Lakuramau	511
Total all villages		4,321
Notes:		
^a Bilingual village ca. 70% Nalik, 30% Kuot		
^b Kuot-speaking Kama (pop. 46) separates Fatmilak and Kafkaf.		
^c The West Coast dialect is becoming dominant in Laefu and Bulifa villages.		
^d The Northern East Coast dialect is becoming dominant in Panamana village.		

Figure 1.5 Nalik dialects

Ireland counting systems, but he did not attempt to state where dialectal lines might be drawn.

Older speakers report that in the past, each Nalik-speaking village had a distinct dialect. With the movement of groups since the advent of colonial rule, and increased intermarriage, especially since the Boluminski Road was built along the east coast at the beginning of this century, this is no longer the case. Today only four distinct dialects can be distinguished on the basis of variation in pronunciation, the lexicon, and, as described in subsequent chapters below, grammar (see Map 2 Nalik dialects). The villages where each dialect is spoken and the population recorded in the 1990 National Population Census are shown in Figure 1.5 (Nalik dialects). In the table the villages are listed within each dialect area from West Coast to East Coast and from south to north (i.e., in Nalik terminology from 'up' to 'down'). The villages along the Nalik-Kara border where aberrant dialects are spoken are listed separately.

With approximately one thousand⁴ speakers the largest dialect is the Southern East Coast dialect spoken in six villages extending from bilingual Kuot-Nalik Bol village to Fissoa village along the east coast. This figure does not include Kama village (between Fatmilak and Kafkaf), which is Kuot-speaking. The most prestigious dialect is the Northern East Coast dialect, with about nine hundred speakers in four villages extending from Madina, the largest Nalik-speaking village, north to Munawai along the east coast. This dialect is overtaking the Southern East

⁴ Estimates of speakers are made on the basis of the 1990 national census reports of village populations (Papua New Guinea National Statistical Office 1992). The assumption is made that the number of non-Nalik speakers in a village is approximately equal to the number of Nalik speakers from that village who live outside the Nalik-speaking area. Obviously, such an assumption can only be approximate and is subject to considerable error. One example of just how approximate these figures must be is the fact that the census reported that an astonishing 55% of the population of these Nalik villages was male and only 45% was female. This suggests that differences between in and out

Coast dialect in numbers as younger Nalik speakers of Panamana (population 431) drop the Laefu dialect for the Northern East Coast dialect. Three villages with about six hundred inhabitants speak the West Coast dialect, Namasalang and Usil on the west coast and, because of relatively recent migration, Luapul on the east coast. The Laefu dialect is spoken in the west coast villages of Laefu and Bulifa and the east coast village of Panamana which together have approximately six hundred fifty inhabitants. The most distinctive features of this dialect are disappearing and the speech of younger 'Laefu' speakers is difficult to distinguish from neighboring dialects.

Within each of these dialects, it is not usually possible to determine which village a speaker is from on the basis of speech alone, e.g., in the Northern East Coast dialect whether a speaker is from Munawai or Madina, or in the Southern East Coast dialect whether a speaker is from Bol or Fissoa. This process of dialect levelling is still continuing today as the Laefu dialect is giving way to the West Coast dialect in Laefu and to the Northern East Coast dialect in Panamana. Younger speakers in all areas often mix elements from different dialects, especially if they attend a boarding high school where Nalik teenagers from different dialect areas mix socially for an extended period of time.

The Laefu dialect is regarded as the 'purest' form of Nalik by clan orators, probably because oral history places the homeland of most Naliks in the Laefu area. But today the Northern East Coast dialect appears to be becoming the most prestigious dialect. This is probably largely due to the fact that the only high schools in the Nalik area are located in Madina and Lugagon villages, both in the Northern

migration patterns have resulted in significant numbers of one gender having moved into or out of the Nalik area.

East Coast dialect area. Students from other villages normally board at these two high schools for four years, going home only during school holidays. Other contributing factors include the facts that Madina is the largest village in the Nalik-speaking area (unless Lakuramau is included), and that it is a center for aspects of traditional culture, such as *malagan* carving, that have been lost in some other Nalik-speaking villages. Most of the field work for this study was undertaken in Madina village, so this work is heavily biased towards the Northern East Coast dialect.

The differences among the four core dialects are minor and do not impede communication. In general there is ready acceptance of forms between the dialects. There is, however, some misgiving about the domination of the Northern East Coast dialect. This was reflected in comments at the annual convention in 1989 of the United Church in the Nalik-speaking area. When the idea of changing from Tok Pisin and Kuanua to Nalik for the language of church services was raised, several West Coast speakers protested because the Northern East Coast dialect would undoubtedly be chosen for writing, and therefore a 'foreign' form of Nalik would probably become a standard imposed upon them. They said they would feel more at home remaining with Tok Pisin and Kuanua. This indicates that some sensitivity to dialect differences will be needed in the production of Nalik literacy and school materials.

Although the four core dialects mentioned so far describe a very obvious and well defined language community, the classification of the speech in villages between the northern core Nalik villages and the southern core Kara as dialects of Nalik, of Kara, or as separate languages is problematic. These dialects are spoken in three villages with populations of about eight hundred. The biggest by far is Lakuramau on

the east coast, where a planned township to service the new oil palm industry has been started. Many persons from outside New Ireland Province, especially the New Guinea mainland, now live in Lakuramau. The ambiguity of the status of these transitional villages is reflected politically in the fact that although residents of Lakuramau vote with the Kara constituency for provincial elections, they are located within the Nalik village court circuit. Texts recorded from these villages were not intelligible to speakers of either Kara or 'core' Nalik. Nalik speakers, even from the adjoining village of Panamana, report greater comprehension of Kara than Lakuramau, although this may reflect patterns of passive bilingualism rather than language distance as such. It does indicate, however, that further research could quite possibly determine that these 'transitional dialects' are, in fact, one or more languages separate from both Nalik and Kara.

Chapter 2

Verbs

A verb is an element which must be preceded by one of the subject markers listed in Figure 3.2 (Subject markers) unless that subject marker has been deleted as a result of one of the conditions described in 4.1.2 (Serial verbs), 7.2 (Modifying adjectival verbs), and 11.3 (Imperatives and exhortatives)

A verb is the nucleus of a verbal complex. Except for some verbless descriptive or equative sentences which consist of only a subject noun phrase and a complement (see 11.2 Verbless sentences), every Nalik sentence must have a verb complex as a nucleus to be complete. Although other elements may be present in a sentence, a sentence with only a verbal complex is a complete sentence.

There are definite classes of constituents within the verbal complex which appear in a fixed order. For purposes of facilitating encoding by Nalik literates, certain somewhat arbitrary decisions have been made to divide these verbal complex constituents into easily read 'words' in the new Nalik orthography. The verbal complex has four main components: the subject marker, the other preverbal particles, the head verb itself, and the postverbal particles. Within each of these there are rules governing the order of constituents.

Just as the inclusion of a verbal complex determines whether a group of words is a complete sentence or a sentence fragment, the class to which the verb belongs governs the possibilities of sentence structures available. There are three main classes: intransitive verbs, stative verbs, and transitive verbs. There are also several

modal verbs. Because of their syntactic properties, these modal verbs can be considered a subgroup of intransitive verbs.

2.1 Intransitive verbs

In a relational grammar framework, transitivity and intransitivity are defined in terms of strata, i.e., if a stratum contains both a subject and a direct object, that stratum is transitive. Otherwise that stratum is intransitive (Perlmutter and Postal 1984a:95). Intransitive verbs can therefore be defined as those which govern a final stratum which has only a subject together with a verb. Examples of intransitive verbs include *wut* 'come' and *dodor* 'talk' in the following two sentences, respectively:

(2.1) *Ga na wut tanin.*
 1SG FUT come today
 'I'll come today.'

(2.2) *Ga na dodor pan a rot.*
 1SG FUT talk NTM ART road
 'I'll talk about the road.'

2.1.1 Modals. There is one indigenous modal verb in Nalik, *faraxas* 'can'. This verb has three distinctive characteristics: it requires an initial clausal direct object in which the verb is marked for future tense, it is used with a dummy subject and, like some existential verbs, is therefore unaccusative (see 2.2.2 Existential verbs), and it must be immediately preceded by the durative marker *-t* (which is written as one word with the preceding subject marker in the new Nalik orthography). Although *faraxas* is like other verbs in that it can be negated by being preceded by *ka*

vit 'it is not', this usage is rare. Usually a sentence with the negative particle *pe(n)* is used instead of a modal construction.

In a number of languages intransitive verbs fall into two major classes, differing according to whether they are unaccusative, requiring only an initial direct object, and unergative, requiring only an initial subject (Rosen 1984: 43-61 and Perlmutter and Postal 1984a: 95). In Nalik these two classes are marked by the mandatory use of a dummy subject. Those which use a dummy subject marker are unaccusative, while those which do not use a dummy subject marker are unergative.

With *faraxas* the initial direct object must be a clause, not a noun phrase. In example (2.3) this is the clause *gu na wut saait* 'you are coming also':

- (2.3) *Ka-t faraxas, gu na wut saait?*
 3-DUR can 2NPL FUT come also
 'Can you come also?'

The subject marker *ka* cannot be considered an indicator of the initial subject argument of the verb because it does not have all the properties of subjects which have an initial term grammatical relation. For example, a final subject which is an initial term relation (i.e., which is either an initial subject or an initial direct object which has undergone passivization) can normally be represented by an overt coreferential noun phrase subject as well as by the obligatory subject marker, as in *ka/xa* 'third person singular subject marker' and *a ravin doxo* 'a good woman', respectively, in (2.36) below. With *faraxas* an overt subject is not possible, e.g.,

- (2.4) **A ravin doxo ka-t faraxas,*
 ART woman good 3-DUR can
 'A good woman can'

Moreover, as with existential *roxin* and *gaat*, only a third person singular subject is possible, so that the following sentence, in which third person singular *ka* is replaced by third person nonsingular *di* is ungrammatical:

- (2.5) **Di-t* *faraxas,* *di* *na* *wut* *saait?*
 1:3NSG-DUR can 1:3NSG FUT come also
 `Can they come also?'

The final subject *ka* is therefore a dummy subject, which is not an argument of the verb at the initial stratum.

The durative marker *-t* is normally used only with transitive verbs (see 3.7 Durative markers). The fact that this marker rather than intransitive *i* is also used with *faraxas* indicates that, in addition to being used in sentences with a final direct object, the *-t* durative marker is also used when a final direct object chômeur (e.g., the clause *gu na wut saait* `you will come also' in (2.3)) is present. Although the direct object chômeur immediately follows the verb, a position normally filled by the final direct object of a transitive verb (see 11.1 Word order in simple sentences), it cannot be considered a final direct object. This is because unaccusative sentences cannot undergo passivization and are therefore not transitive. The dummy subject must therefore be inserted in a noninitial stratum as a direct object, which `bumps' the initial clausal direct object to a direct object chômeur relation. In the final stratum the dummy subject then advances to a final subject.¹ Thus the grammatical relations of (2.3) can be represented as:

¹ With this interpretation the structure of Nalik unaccusative constructions is the same as that of Germanic languages, discussed in Perlmutter and Zaenon (1984).

	P	DO	INITIAL STRATUM		
DO	P	DO-chô			
SU	P	DO-chô	FINAL STRATUM		

(2.3b) *Ka-t faraxas, gu na wut saait?*
 3-DUR can 2NPL FUT come also
 `Can you come also?'

Today the Tok Pisin loan word *naaf* (Tok Pisin (*i*)*nap* from English *enough*) has replaced *faraxas* in the speech of middle aged and younger speakers. Unlike *faraxas*, *naaf* does not require a preceding durative marker, either transitive *-t* or intransitive *i*, but like *faraxas* it does require a dummy subject marker and a direct object clause in future tense. Thus while all speakers would understand (2.3) with *faraxas*, most speakers would say:

(2.6) *Ka naaf gu na wut saait?*
 3 can 2NPL FUT come also
 `Can you come also?'

In addition to *naaf*, Nalik has borrowed two other Tok Pisin modal verbs, *ken* `can' and *mas* `must', as in:

(2.7) *Gu na ken paan l-a skol.*
 2NPL FUT can go LOC-ART school
 `You could go to the school.'

(2.8) *Gu na mas gaat a vara-nop-ing*
 2NPL FUT must have ART REC-respect-NOM

l-a maskan a bina.
 LOC-ART inside ART home
 `You must have mutual respect in your home village.'

These are used in a different way than *faraxas* and its loan equivalent *naaf*. Whereas *faraxas* and *naaf* require a clausal direct object, *ken* and *mas* do not. *Ken* and *mas* require a final subject and a subject marker which indicates the person and number of that subject, while *faraxas* and *naaf* require *ka*, the subject marker used for agreement with a null expletive subject. Moreover, *ken* and *mas* appear only in serial verb constructions. A characteristic of such constructions is that the subjects of each of the constituent verbs be the same (see 4.1.2 Serial verbs).

Ken is the semantic equivalent of *faraxas* and in the past, and in the speech of older and more traditional speakers today, sentences such as (2.7) would have been expressed using *faraxas* with a dummy subject and clausal direct object in a construction like that of (2.3). Only one person, a clan orator who is highly respected for his knowledge of traditional Nalik, could provide an indigenous Nalik equivalent of *mas*. He claimed that in the past *vangai* was used to mean 'must'. It is not clear if this word is related to *va(a)ng* 'group'. In sentences he provided, *vangai* was used in a serial construction in the same way as *mas*, so that he gave the following as a 'pure' equivalent of (2.8):

(2.9) *Gu* *na* *vangai* *roxin*
 2NPL FUT must have

 a *vara-nop-ing* ...
 ART REC-respect-NOM
 'You must have mutual respect ...'

In part as a reaction to the research for this study, this clan orator has begun a campaign to encourage the use of indigenous Nalik words instead of Tok Pisin and English loans. As part of this campaign, he has spoken in public and at Sunday

school classes in Madina village urging *inter alia* the use of *vangai* as a replacement of *mas*. Until he began this campaign, *vangai* was an unknown word to the Nalik public at large.

2.2 Stative verbs

In Nalik stative verbs can be defined as those verbs which do not permit the use of any elements between the subject marker and the head verb except the two tense markers, *na* 'future marker' and *tabung* 'anterior marker', and, with the adjectival verbs, the causative suffix *fa-*. A particularly noticeable test of stativity is their inability to be preceded by a durative marker *-t* or *i*, e.g., **ga-t/i vinai* 'I was' or **gu-t/i doxo* 'you are good'. The copula, the existential verbs, and the adjectival verbs are all stative verbs.

2.2.1 Copula. Nalik is like most other Oceanic languages in having verbless sentences (see 11.2 Verbless sentences), eliminating the need for a copula in most circumstances. This verbless construction may also be used for narratives in the past. Alternatively, in the past the overt copula *vinai* 'was' may be used as in the following two sentences:

(2.10) *Di vinai l-a vaal a gis.*
 1:3NSG was LOC-ART house ART sick
 'They were at the hospital.'

(2.11) *Anita, gu vinai vaa?*
 A. 2NPL was where
 'Anita, where were you?'

Vinai differs from other verbs in that it cannot be used for action occurring in the present or the future. This is shown in the ungrammaticality of the following equivalents of the last example in which *nambre* 'now' and *lamaf* 'tomorrow' have been added:

(2.12) **Nambre* *gu* *vinai* *vaa?*
 now 2NPL was where
 'Now where were you?'

(2.13) **Lamaf* *gu* *na* *vinai* *vaa?*
 tomorrow 2NPL FUT was where
 'Tomorrow where will you were?'

Instead a verbless equivalent must be used, e.g.,

(2.14) *Naande* *l-a* *vaal* *a* *gis.*
 they LOC-ART house ART sick
 'They are at the hospital.'

(2.15) *Anita, nu* *vaa?*
 A. youSG where
 'Anita, where are you?'

Similarly, since *vinai* already marks the past tense, the anterior marker *tabung* (see 3.3.1 Anterior particle *tabung*) cannot be used with *vinai*. This is shown by the ungrammaticality of the following sentence:

(2.16) **Ga* *tabung* *vinai* *l-a* *uma.*
 1SG ANT was LOC-ART garden
 'I was in the garden.'

In the grammatical sentences with *vinai* above, (2.10) and (2.11), the complement following *vinai* is locative, *la vaal a gis* 'at the hospital' and *vaa* 'where', respectively. Locatives are the only complements possible with *vinai*. Thus the following sentences are ungrammatical because they contain complements which are not locative:

(2.17) **Gu vinai a ticha.*
 2NPL was ART teacher
 'You were a teacher.'

(2.18) **Ka vinai doxo*
 3 was good
 'She was good.'

2.2.2 Existential verbs. Nalik has three existential expressions, *gaat*, *roxin*, and *bawai*. Like the modal *faraxas* the first two differ from other verbs in that they are unaccusative verbs requiring a dummy subject marker, usually *ka* but sometimes *a*. *Bawai* differs in that it requires no subject marker at all. There is also a negative existential expression, *vit*, but it is syntactically not different from other verbs.

The most common existential expression *ka gaat* illustrates this distinction. *Gaat*, a loan from Tok Pisin *gat* (from English *got*), normally means 'have', as in the following sentence:

(2.19) *Ga gaat a kaar.*
 1SG have ART car
 'I have a car.'

But because *ka gaat* is also an expression of existentiality, the sentence below can have two meanings, depending on whether *gaat* is interpreted as 'have' (and *ka* as

the third person subject marker) or an existential verb (and *ka* as a dummy subject marker):

- (2.20) *Ka gaat a kaar.*
 3 have ART car
 'He has a car.' / 'There is a car.'

With the first meaning 'have', *gaat* has both an initial subject and an initial direct object. The subject can be any number or person. This is shown in (2.19) and (2.20) above, where the subject markers are first and third person, respectively, singular. Moreover, even when the subject marker is third person singular, it is possible to have an overt subject coreferential with the third person singular subject marker *ka*, either a noun, as with *Tommy* in the first of the following two sentences, or a pronoun as with *naan* '(s)he' in the second:

- (2.21) *Tommy ka gaat a kaar.*
 T. 3 have ART car
 'Tommy has a car.'

- (2.22) *Naan ka gaat a kaar.*
 (s)he 3 have ART car
 '(S)he has a car.'

When *gaat* expresses existentiality, however, it is not possible to have a subject marker other than third person singular *ka*. Similarly, it is not possible to have an overt subject, even one which, as in the two sentences above, is third person singular. As soon as such an overt subject is added, the meaning changes to become transitive 'have'. This indicates that the *ka* subject marker of existential *gaat* is the subject marker that agrees with a final null expletive subject that has no initial

grammatical relation. This 'invisible' dummy subject is required because of the Final-1 Law which states that in a relational grammar framework the presence of a subject must be postulated in the final stratum of each sentence. The dummy pronoun *ka* must appear in a sentence with no initial subject grammatical relation because except in imperatives (see 11.3 Imperatives and exhortatives) and the nearly obsolete verb *bawai*, Nalik syntax requires an overt final subject.

With this analysis the noun phrase immediately following existential *gaat* must be both an initial and a final direct object, just as is the case with the noun phrase following transitive *gaat* 'have'. If the noun phrase following existential *gaat* were a subject rather than direct object, there would be no motivation for the obligatory presence of a dummy subject. Thus two sentences with the verb *gaat* can have the same surface string, but quite different grammatical structures depending on whether *gaat* is existential and unaccusative or transitive and unergative 'have'.

This can be seen in the following two representations of the two versions of (2.20). In both, *kaar* 'car' has the same initial and final direct object grammatical relation, while *ka* has the same final, but different initial grammatical relations in both sentences. In the first, *gaat* has an initial direct object, but no initial subject and is therefore unaccusative. It requires a final subject marker, third person singular *ka*, which agrees with a null expletive subject. In the second sentence, *gaat* is transitive and *ka* is the third person singular subject marker:

		P		DO		INITIAL STRATUM
	SU	P		DO		FINAL STRATUM
(2.23a)	<i>Ka</i>	<i>gaat</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>kaar.</i>		
	3	have	ART	car		
	`There is a car.'					
	SU	P		DO		MONOSTRATAL
(2.23b)	<i>Ka</i>	<i>gaat</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>kaar.</i>		
	3	have	ART	car		
	`He has a car.'					

This analysis explains why a normally transitive verb *gaat* would be used in an existential expression; both unaccusative existential and transitive verbs require an initial direct object. This parallels the semantic link between transitive *gaat* 'have' and existential *gaat* 'there is', as the latter has a general meaning of 'some unnamed person has'.

In Tok Pisin existentiality is also expressed with 'have' (*gat*) and a subject marker (*i*, which is not marked for person in Tok Pisin), as in the following equivalent of (2.23):

(2.24)	<i>I</i>	<i>gat</i>	<i>wanpela</i>	<i>kar.</i>
	SM	have	one	car
	`There's a car.'			

Certainly the actual lexical item *gaat* is a Tok Pisin loan. But it is not clear whether the use of 'have' and a dummy subject marker to express existentiality has been introduced into Nalik from Tok Pisin or whether this construction predates the introduction of Tok Pisin into the Nalik area. Although *gaat* is used today by all

generations, older Naliks report that the original and 'pure' word for 'have' is *roxin*, a word unknown to many younger speakers and very rarely used even by older speakers - unless they are scolding younger speakers about their 'corrupt' Nalik! These older Naliks also cite the expression *ka roxin* as the original expression of existentiality, but this could be a calque of the Tok Pisin and modern Nalik construction, and not a precontact construction.

That this might, indeed, be the case is suggested by the fact that there is another existential expression which was recorded only in the speech of older and traditional speakers. This expression, *bawai*, does not have a subject marker, a fact which differentiates it from all other verbs:

- (2.25) A *rafin* *bawai*.
 ART sardine EXT
 'There are sardines.'

At this stage it is not possible to determine whether this was the only original existential expression, or whether it coexisted with *ka roxin* even before the introduction of Tok Pisin.

There is a negative existential verb *vit*, which corresponds to *roxin / gaat*. While negation can be expressed by a preverbal particle (see 3.5 Negation), *vit* is more common.

The initial direct object of *vit*, i.e., the element being negated, can be a noun phrase, such as *na zaan doxo* 'a good thing' in the following sentence:

- (2.26) *Ka vit na zaan doxo.*
 3 NEG ART thing good
 'It's not a good thing.'

The initial direct object can also be a clause such as *ga na wut* 'I will come' in the following sentence:

- (2.27) *Ka vit ga na wut.*
 3 NEG 1SG FUT come
 'I won't come.'

When the initial direct object is a clause, *ka vit* can appear immediately before the subject marker, at the end of a sentence or, if an overt subject is present, before the overt subject. It may not appear immediately after the verb complex and before the direct object. In such a position it would form the subject and verb of a clausal direct object and this use of *ka vit* appears to be ungrammatical in Nalik. Thus *ka vit* may appear in a sentence-initial position as in (2.28a) or, as the result of movement rules in either of the positions marked by ^ in (2.28b). It may not appear between the verb *bul* 'buy' and the direct object *a barei* 'a pig' as in (2.28c).

- (2.28a) *Ka vit na rate ka bul a barei.*
 3 NEG ART man 3 buy ART pig
- (2.28b) *A rate ^ ka bul a barei ^.*
 ART man 3 buy ART pig
- (2.28c) **A rate ka bul ka vit na barei.*
 ART man 3 buy 3 neg ART pig

The position of *ka vit* determines the meaning of the sentence. If *ka vit* precedes the overt subject *a rate* 'the man' in the sentence above, the subject is negated and the sentence means 'It was not the man who is buying a pig'. If *ka vit*

precedes the verb complex *ka bul* 'he is buying', the verbal complex is negated: 'The man is not buying a pig'. If *ka vit* appears at the end of the sentence, the meaning of the negative marker is changed somewhat so that the sentence means 'The man is not yet buying a pig'.

The use of *vit* permits or requires certain other forms of the subject marker and article to be used in the initial direct object clause noun phrase. These are discussed in 3.1 (Subject markers) and 6.1.1 (Nonspecific articles *a, na*), respectively. The dummy subject of *vit* can be *ka* as in the examples above, or *a* as in the following sentence:

- (2.29) *A* *vit* *di* *rexas-ing* *a* *giu*
 3SG NEG 1:3NSG know-TR ART make

 ang *a* *vaal.*
 FOC ART house
 'They don't know about building a house.'

For most speakers *vit* does not appear with a subject marker other than third person singular *ka* (or *a*). In fact, when writing, most speakers of Nalik write it as one word, since for most *vit* is not used as a separate word. However, the following sentence, which was accepted as grammatical, although unusual, by most speakers, has *vit* with what appears to be the first person inclusive or third person non singular subject marker *di*:

- (2.30) *Di* *vit!*
 1:3NSG NEG
 'Not us!'

Di, however, can be a first person inclusive pronoun as well as the first person inclusive subject marker as in:

- (2.31) *Di di na wut.*
 weIN 1:3NSG FUT come
 'We'll come.'

In the following sentence, *vit* is also used with a subject which is not third person singular. But this time because the subject is first person singular, it is possible to see that it is the pronoun subject *ni* which has been used rather than the first person singular subject marker *ga*:

- (2.32) *Ni vit ga vara-virai.*
 I NEG 1SG REC-teach
 'I wasn't (formally) educated.'

In the corpus the only sentences using *vit* with a subject other than third person singular were recorded with older women who are prominent leaders in the women's movement. Although other speakers accepted these sentences as grammatical, they did not produce this kind of construction themselves. It is not clear why *vit* acts like an adjectival verb in a verbless sentence (see 11.2 Verbless sentences) when the subject is specifically first person, but like an unaccusative (and not adjectival) verb requiring a dummy subject marker in other environments. One possible explanation is that the classification of *vit* as an adjectival verb in at least some environments for these speakers represents an older classification and that *vit* has been reclassified as an unaccusative verb only relatively recently, perhaps in tandem with the introduction from Tok Pisin of the positive existential and unaccusative constructions *ka gaat* and *ka roxin*. Another possible explanation is that

there are two verbs *vit*, one an unaccusative verb and one, for these speakers only, an adjectival verb.

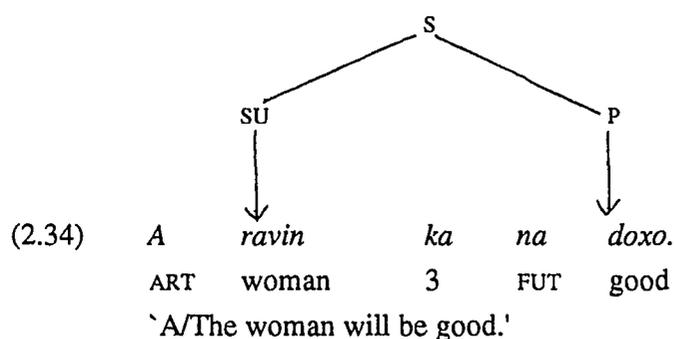
There is another verb which is semantically also a negative existential verb, *malik* 'exclude', as in the following sentence:

- (2.33) *Jon* *ko* *ka* *malik*.
 J. EM 3 exclude
 'John isn't there.' / 'excluding John'

Unlike the positive existential verbs and negative *vit*, *malik* does not display any syntactic irregularities. It can be preceded by all tense markers and any subject marker. As the sentence above shows, even if it is preceded by *ka*, this subject marker agrees with an overt subject so it is not a dummy subject. *Malik* therefore has an initial subject and is unergative rather than unaccusative.

2.2.3 Adjectival verbs. Ross (1988: 184) has stated that in Proto Oceanic most morphemes with adjectival meanings were grammatically stative verbs. This continues to be the case in modern Nalik. Although one would expect adjectival verbs such as *doxo* '(to be) good' to be unaccusative on semantic grounds, in Nalik they are like intransitive (unergative) verbs in that they have an initial subject, but no initial or final direct object. Normally unaccusative and unergative verbs can be differentiated by the choice durative markers; verbs with a final direct object or direct object chômeur use *-t*, while other verbs use *i*. But because durative markers cannot be used with stative verbs, it is difficult to determine on syntactic grounds whether they are ergative or unaccusative.

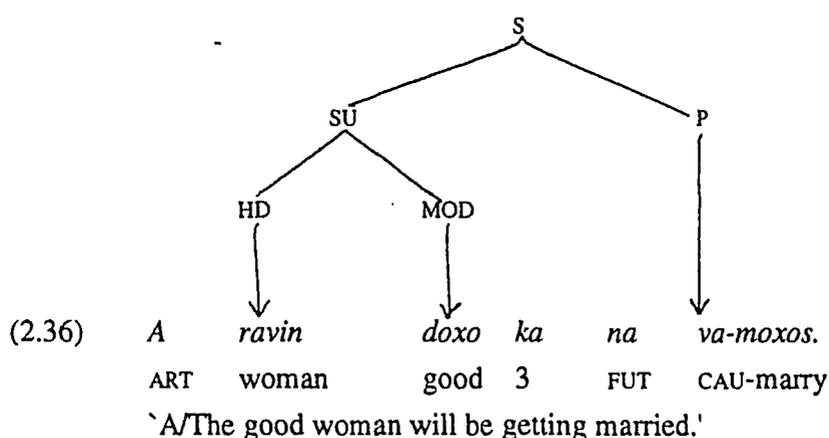
Thus like an intransitive verb the adjectival verb *doxo* 'good' in the following sentence is preceded by the third person singular subject marker *ka* which agrees with an overt subject, *a ravin* 'the woman'. In this sentence the verb is preceded by the optional future marker *na*. The tense markers (see 3.3 Aspect and tense markers) are the only elements which can appear between the subject marker and the verb. If the tense marker *na* were replaced by another preverbal element, such as an aspect or durative marker, this sentence would be ungrammatical.



Adjectival verbs can become part of a noun phrase, so that the arcs which they head terminate in the noun phrase rather than a clause. In this process of being no longer clause level dependent, the grammatical particles which identify them as verbs, i.e., the subject markers and tense markers, are deleted. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, a verbal complex can be a sentence on its own, but without a subject marker an adjectival verb can no longer be recognized as a verb. The resultant expression is therefore not a complete sentence. For example, in the following expression derived from the sentence above, the grammatical particles identifying the verb *doxo* as a verb, *ka* 'third person singular subject marker' and *na* 'future marker' are deleted:

- (2.35) *a ravin doxo*
 ART woman good
 'a/the good woman'

Doxo 'good' is an integral part of the noun phrase *a ravin doxo* 'a good woman' which can then be used as a unit in the same way as any other noun phrase, e.g., as a subject as in the first of the following sentences or a direct object in the second:



- (2.37) *Di na raain a ravin doxo.*
 1:3NSG FUT see ART woman good
 'Let's go see a/the good woman.'

Adjectival verbs can also be incorporated into another verb. To do this they must normally have the causative prefix *fa-*. This is discussed in 4.1.2.2. (Serial constructions with causative *fa-*), which also gives additional evidence of the verbal nature of the adjectival verbs.

2.3 Transitive verbs

In a relational grammar framework transitive verbs are defined as those which require both an initial subject and an initial direct object (Perlmutter and Postal

1984a:94). Transitive verbs in Nalik can be subdivided into those which can permit an initial indirect object and those which do not. Two subsets of those permitting an initial indirect object are those which do not require an initial direct object and those which govern Indirect-object-to-direct-object advancement (discussed in 12.3 Indirect-object-to-direct-object advancement).

Many transitive verbs can be paired with an intransitive verb whose meaning is identical, the only difference being their transitivity. There are several types of pairing. Many of these pairs are entirely separate words, so that the presence or lack of transitivity is marked in the lexicon itself, as in the first group of examples in Figure 2.1 (Examples of transitive and intransitive verb pairs). Other verbs are made transitive through the transitivizing suffix *-ing*, as in the second group.

	Intransitive	Transitive
Marked in the lexicon	<i>piat</i> `say' <i>yen</i> `eat' <i>ramai</i> `look' <i>varal</i> `write'	<i>faze</i> `tell' <i>vangan</i> `eat' <i>raain</i> `see' <i>varan</i> `write' (Older speakers only. Younger speakers do not use <i>varan</i> and use <i>varal</i> only as a transitive verb.)
Marked with <i>-ing</i>	<i>rexas</i> `know' <i>varavirai</i> `learn' <i>famozes</i> `work'	<i>rexasing</i> `know' <i>varaviraiing</i> `learn' <i>famozesing</i> `build'

Figure 2.1 Examples of transitive and intransitive verb pairs

It should be noted that the *-ing* suffix also has other functions. As described in 5.1.3.1.1 (Nominalizer *-ing* suffix), this suffix is often used to nominalize a verb. In addition, there is at least one transitive verb which is derived from another transitive verb through the addition of an *-ing* suffix, *fazeing* `send a message' from *faze* `say'. *Faze* is also unusual in that it is the only verb with a general meaning of

`say' which permits a final direct object (see 9.1.5.1 Use of *si* to mark indirect objects).

As a transitive marker *-ing* corresponds to the *-im* transitive marker in Tok Pisin (see Mihalic 1971:24). With loans from Tok Pisin, this Tok Pisin transitive marker is also used in Nalik instead of *-ing*, as the loans *wokim* `build' and *katim* `cut' in the following sentences show:

(2.38) *Di na wok-im a vaal.*
 3NSG FUT work-TR ART house
 `They're building a house.'

(2.39) *A naif ka kat-im ni.*
 ART knife 3 cut-TR I
 `A knife cut me.'

In Nalik this suffix has become as productive as in Tok Pisin, so that even transitive loans which enter Nalik directly from English with no cognates in Tok Pisin have *-im* in Nalik. This is shown by the admittedly still unusual loan *havim* `have' in the following sentence:

(2.40) *Ma ga hav-im a brekfast.*
 and 1SG have-TR ART breakfast
 `And I have breakfast.'

Only one example could be found of a Tok Pisin or English transitive loan which had the indigenous *-ing* suffix instead of Tok Pisin *-im*. This was *woking* `work', which some speakers use instead of *wokim*. This is then identical to English *working*, a high frequency word which persons with an English-medium education would have learned early in school. But if the use of the *-ing* suffix is due only to the

influence of English, one would expect other loans with a direct or indirect English origin to use *-ing* as well, especially those such as *have*, which have no Tok Pisin cognate. This is not the case, so *woking* remains an unexplained anomaly.

2.3.1 Verbs permitting an initial indirect object. A number of verbs permit an initial indirect object, which in Nalik is marked by the genitive preposition *si* as discussed in 9.1.5.1 (Use of *si(n)* to mark indirect objects). Most of these are three place transitive verbs requiring an initial subject, an initial direct object, and an initial indirect object. There is, however, one small subset of verbs, all with a general semantic meaning of 'say', which require a final indirect object, but no final direct object. These are also discussed in 9.1.5.1 (Use of *si(n)* to mark indirect objects).

For some, generally older and traditional, speakers, there is another subset of verbs which govern the advancement of an initial indirect object to a final direct object. This is discussed in 12.3 (Indirect-object-to-direct-object advancement). For most verbs this does not entail a change in the verb. A few verbs do have a participial form used with this advancement, e.g., *lis* 'give' which becomes *relas* as in (12.12).

2.4 Conclusion: Verbs

Verbs are marked by the presence of a subject marker, the first constituent in the verbal complex, except when the subject marker is deleted under certain regular conditions. Nalik verbs can be classified as intransitive, stative, or transitive.

In a relational grammar framework, verbs are defined as intransitive when they do not have a final direct object and transitive when they have both a final

subject and a final direct object. In Nalik the intransitive verbs include the modals. A number of these are loans from Tok Pisin. While most Nalik intransitive verbs are unergative, i.e., with an initial subject but no initial direct object, some of the modals are unaccusative, i.e., they have an initial direct object but no initial subject. The third person subject marker *ka* is used as a final dummy subject with these unaccusative verbs.

Stative verbs in Nalik include a past tense locative copula, several existential verbs with the meaning 'have', and the adjectival verbs. These stative verbs do not permit any elements in the verbal complex between the subject marker and the head verb other than a tense marker or the causative prefix *fa-*. Like the modal *faraxas*, some existential verbs are unaccusative.

Among the transitive verbs are those permitting an initial indirect object and those governing indirect-object-to-direct-object advancement. Some of the latter have a marked participial form. Many transitive verbs are formed from intransitive verbs by the transitive suffix *-ing*. The Tok Pisin transitive suffix *-im* is used with transitive loan verbs from Tok Pisin and English.

Chapter 3

Preverbal elements in the verbal complex

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the verbal complex begins with a subject marker which agrees with any overt or implied subject. Between this and the verb a number of particles and one prefix may appear. There are five relative preverbal positions after the subject marker in which these may appear. Each particle and prefix is subcategorized to appear in only one of these positions, as shown in Figure 3.1 (Preverbal elements). Although the particles themselves are different from language to language, this pattern of 'subject marker + aspect markers + verb' is the norm for the New Ireland-Tolai languages (Ross 1982:176).

1	2	3	4	5	6	Verb
subject marker (see Figure 3.2)	conditional <i>lek</i>	tense <i>tabung</i> <i>na</i>	reciprocal <i>vara</i> <i>vavur</i>	durative <i>-t, i</i>	causative <i>fa-</i>	
		aspect <i>vala</i> <i>runa</i>	negative <i>pe(n)</i>	locative <i>su, o</i>	reduplication	

Figure 3.1 Preverbal elements

In the first preverbal position only the obligatory subject marker may appear. In the second the conditional marker *lek* may appear. In the third position an aspect or tense markers may appear. In the fourth position a reciprocal marker may appear. In the fifth a durative marker may appear. After the third position a negative or

locative marker may appear, but it is not clear whether these are subcategorized for the fourth or fifth position, or both. In the last position, prefixed to the verb itself, may be either the prefix *fa-*, the main, but not sole function of which is to indicate causality, or a reduplicated first syllable, which normally indicates duration.

3.1 Subject markers

Like many other Oceanic languages, including all the other Lavongai-Nalik languages except Tiang (Ross 1982:179), Nalik has a set of subject markers. In works discussing related languages, these have also been called 'subject reference pronouns' (Keesing 1988), 'pronominal prefixes' (Thurston 1987), and 'subject pronouns' (Beaumont 1988b), as well as 'subject markers' (e.g., Ross 1982 and Mosel 1984). In descriptions of Melanesian languages, they are often considered part of the verbal complex as opposed to the independent personal pronouns, which act as noun phrases (see, for example, Ross (1982:186-88) regarding New Ireland-Tolai languages, Beaumont (1988b:35-37) regarding Lavongai-Nalik languages, and Thurston (1987:42) for languages in northern West New Britain).

As has already been mentioned above, a subject marker is required in Nalik in almost all sentences. Exceptions include verbless sentences, imperatives, and poetry or song.

Verbless sentences by definition do not have a verbal complex or verb (see 11.2 Verbless sentences). Since subject markers are part of the verbal complex, they, too, do not appear. This can be seen in the following verbless sentence which consists of the overt subject *nu* 'youSG' and the complement *a rate ngolngol* 'an insane man':

- (3.1) *Nu a rate ngolngol.*
 youSG ART man insane
 'You're a lunatic.'

Imperatives are the only sentences in normal discourse which have a verb, but no subject marker (see 11.3 Imperatives and exhortatives). In the following sentence, for example, the verb *lis* is not preceded by a subject marker:

- (3.2) *Lis a nur si naande.*
 give ART coconut of they
 'Give a coconut to them.'

In poetry and song a subject marker is sometimes deleted for poetic effect in a sentence where it would normally be required. For example, in the following song composed sometime at the turn of the century, the verbs *fanadu* 'spoil' and *ralizaat* 'to be related by marriage' are not preceded by subject markers which agree with their overt subjects *labat* 'some male' and *diravin* 'enchanted woman', respectively, as they would be in ordinary discourse:

- (3.3) *Labat fanadu a bina; di-ravin*
 some.male spoil ART home great-woman

ralizaat a man Nogene!
 be.related.by.marriage ART man New.Guinea
 'Some bloke is spoiling our village; the enchanting woman is
 lying down with a mainland New Guinea man!'

The range of each of the eight subject markers within these parameters is shown in Figure 3.2 (Subject markers). Like the personal pronouns (see chapter 8 Personal pronouns), the subject markers indicate person, number, and, in the first person nonsingular, inclusivity or exclusivity. But they cannot be considered

pronouns for two reasons. The first is that, in addition to marking person and number, subject markers identify an element as a verb. A verb can lose its independent verbal identity (see 4.1 Incorporated direct objects and serial verbs and 7.2 Modifying adjectival verbs). When this happens, the subject marker is deleted to show that the verb no longer heads an arc which terminates in a clause.

The second reason is that, while nouns and pronouns are interchangeable, nouns and subject markers have different functions. A personal pronoun can replace a noun and head a noun phrase, but a subject marker cannot. Similarly, a noun cannot replace a subject marker at the beginning of a verbal complex.

	Second person	First person		Third person
		Exclu- sive	Inclu- sive	
Plural	<i>nagu</i> (2PL)	<i>madi</i> (1EX)	<i>di(a)</i> (1:3NSG)	<i>di(a) ka</i> (1:3NSG)(3)
Dual & Paucal	<i>gu</i> (2NPL)	<i>madi</i> (1EX)	<i>di(a)</i> (1:3NSG)	<i>di(a) ka</i> (1:3NSG)(3)
Singular	<i>gu</i> (2NPL)		<i>ga</i> (1SG)	<i>a, na ka</i> (3SG) (3)

Notes:
Dia is used in the South East Coast and West Coast dialects, while *di* is used in the North East Coast dialect.

The abbreviations used in glosses in this work are in parentheses under each word.

Figure 3.2 Subject markers

As can be seen in Figure 3.2 (Subject markers), the first and third person subject markers group together differently than the second person subject markers,

both in the use of the nonsingular subject marker *di* with both persons, and in the different treatment of the dual and paucal.

As is common in Oceanic languages, in the first person nonsingular, Nalik differentiates between excluding the listener (*madi*) and including the listener (*di*). This difference is marked in both the subject marker and personal pronoun systems (see Figure 8.1 Personal pronouns) and there is a noticeable similarity between the exclusive and inclusive markers used in both systems. The first person nonsingular exclusive subject marker *madi* begins with the same sound as the first person exclusive plural pronoun *ma(a)m*, while the first person inclusive subject marker and pronoun are identical, *di*. But although the pronoun system uses completely different pronouns for first person inclusive and third persons (*di* and *naande*, respectively), in the subject marker system these are identical. Thus, out of context and with no overt subject, the following sentence is ambiguous:

- (3.4) *Di giu a vaal.*
 1:3NSG work ART house
 `They're building a house'
 or `You and I/we are building a house.'

This ambiguity is carried over into the Tok Pisin of many Nalik speakers, who use *ol i*, the standard Tok Pisin third person plural pronoun plus unmarked subject marker, for both third person nonsingular and first person inclusive subjects. In standard Tok Pisin first person inclusive subjects are expressed by *yumi*.

Because *di* is identical to the first person inclusive personal pronoun, while the third person nonsingular pronoun is completely different (*naande*), the first person meaning is primary. Thus the use of an overt pronominal subject to avoid

ambiguity is much more common when *di* refers to a third person subject than when it refers to a first person inclusive subject.

With the exception of third person subjects marked with *ka* discussed below, in all three persons both singular and plural (five and more) subjects must be marked for singular or nonsingular number, respectively. When the subject is dual or paucal (three or four) the verb is marked for either nonspecific nonsingular number or for specifically dual or paucal number using an appropriate verb suffix as well (see 4.2 Dual and paucal suffixes). When the verb does have a dual or paucal suffix, the nonsingular subject markers are used for first and third persons. Second person differs in that the 'singular' (actually nonplural) subject marker is used in conjunction with a dual or paucal verb suffix. Thus in the following two sentences with dual suffixes, the third person dual subject is marked by nonsingular *di* in the first sentence, while the second person dual subject is marked by nonplural *gu* in the second:

(3.5) *Di* *i* *waan-a* *masingkare.*
 1:3NSG DUR go-DU same.as
 'The two of them were going like this.'

(3.6) *Gu-t* *ngot-ngot-a* *ni.*
 2NPL-DUR RED-mock-DU I
 'The two of you are mocking me.'

There are several peculiarities relating to the third person subject markers. Although *di* is the usual nonsingular third person subject marker and *ka* usually a singular third person subject marker, in nonformal speech *ka* was often recorded for

overtly plural subjects. Thus both of the following sentences with plural subjects were recorded, the first using nonsingular *di*, and the second using *ka*:

(3.7) *A mun yen di lapuk faanong.*
 ART NSG fish 1:3NSG big CML
 `The fish have grown big.'

(3.8) *A mun yen ka lapuk faanong.*
 ART NSG fish 3 big CML
 `The fish have grown big.'

Because there was no noticeable variation between different age, gender, or social subgroups, this variation represents a stable difference in register, rather than the kind of grammatical change in progress which has been noted elsewhere in this study. This use of *ka* is not acceptable in formal speech. Moreover, when asked to judge the grammaticality of such not uncommon sentences, virtually all speakers judged sentences with a plural subject and *ka* to be `wrong'. Because of this, and because Nalik speakers inevitably translate foreign third person singular pronouns, such as English *he* or *she* and Tok Pisin *em* as *ka* (and third person plural *they* and *ol* as *di*), the singular meaning is obviously primary. For this reason, although *ka* is glossed simply as 3 in examples in this work, in the actual text it is referred to as a singular subject marker.

While *ka* is the subject marker used in the overwhelming majority of sentences with a third person singular subject, *a* and *na* can also be used. *A* may be optionally used instead of *ka* as a dummy subject for the unaccusative negative existential verb *vit* (see 2.1.2 Existential verbs). There is no difference in meaning, so

that the following two sentences, the first using *a* as a dummy subject and the second using *ka*, are synonymous:

(3.9) *A* *vit* *ga* *na* *wut.*
 3SG NEG 1SG FUT come

(3.10) *Ka* *vit* *ga* *na* *wut.*
 3 NEG 1SG FUT come
 `I won't come.'

Na, preceded by the durative marker *i*, is used for a cleft subject (see 11.1.2 Clefting). *Na* must also be used instead of *ka* immediately following *vit*. Thus in the following sentence the use of *ka* instead of *na* would make the sentence ungrammatical:

(3.11) *Ka* *vit* *na* *miraut.*
 3 NEG 3SG fear
 `He's not afraid.'

Na may also be used optionally instead of *ka* for emphasis. Thus both of the following sentences have the same meaning, but native speakers report that the second `feels stronger':

(3.12) *Naan ka* *piat* *surago.*
 (s)he 3 say of:1SG

(3.13) *Naan na* *piat* *surago.*
 (s)he 3SG say of:1SG
 `She spoke to me (about it).'

While the sentences above show that *na* may be used when an overt pronominal subject is present, *na* cannot be used when the overt subject is a noun, as the ungrammaticality of the following sentence with the overt subject *Maria* shows:

- (3.14) **Maria na piat, ka na wut.*
 M. 3SG say 3 FUT come
 'Maria said she would come.'

This sentence is grammatical when the overt subject *Maria* is changed to pronominal *naan*:

- (3.15) *Naan na piat, ka na wut.*
 (s)he 3SG say 3 FUT come
 'She said she would come.'

3.2 Conditional marker *lek*

The conditional marker *lek* may optionally appear immediately after a subject marker. *Lek* expresses a contrary to fact event. In the following sentence, for example, the use of *lek* implies that 'but there is rain, so I am not coming':

- (3.16) *Tamon a vit na daavur,*
 if 3SG NEG FUT rain

madi lek put.
 1EX CDN come
 'If there were no rain, I would come.'

Lek can only be used with nonfuture events. This is logical since one cannot know whether a future event will be contrary to fact or not. Thus the following sentence, where *lek* is used in conjunction with *lamaf* 'tomorrow' is ungrammatical:

- (3.17) **Ga lek faral a buk lamaf.*
 1SG CDN 'write ART book tomorrow'
 'I would have been writing the book tomorrow.'

The same sentence is grammatical with either *nambre* 'now' or *laraf* 'yesterday' instead of *lamaf* 'tomorrow'.

Lek occupies the second preverbal position. As (3.16) shows, *lek* appears after the subject marker. The following sentence with both the conditional marker *lek* and the anterior tense marker *tabung*, shows that *lek* appears immediately before tense marker:

- (3.18) *Ga lek tabung faral a buk.*
 1SG CDN ANT write ART book
 'I wouldn't have been writing the book
 (i.e., it was someone else who did).'

3.3 Aspect and tense markers

Aspect and tense markers are not obligatory in Nalik. Ross (1982:179) reported that while in the New Ireland-Tolai languages as a whole, the absence of an aspect or tense marker generally indicates non-future action, in Nalik it only indicates past realis. But in fact, the data collected for this study contained many sentences which used an unmarked verb for present action, conforming to the general New Ireland-Tolai pattern.

In the third preverbal position immediately following the conditional marker (if present) one of the tense or aspect markers may be used. These are the anterior and future tense markers *tabung* and *na*, respectively, and the inceptive and habitual aspect markers *vala* and *runa*, respectively.

3.3.1 Anterior marker *tabung*. The anterior marker *tabung* is one of several particles marking tense which may appear in the third preverbal position. The first syllable of *tabun*, is possibly a reflex of Proto New Ireland **ta* 'non-habitual' (Ross 1982:180). This marker is normally used as an overt marker of past tense, e.g.,

- (3.19) *Ga tabung tain nu laraf.*
 1SG ANT see youSG yesterday
 'I saw you yesterday.'

Its use is, however, not obligatory with all events in the past. This can be seen in the following sentence in which an older man described a past event which was not marked by *tabung*:

- (3.20) *Ga xulau, ga rak-taak pan a ragbi.*
 1SG youth 1SG RED-play NTM ART rugby
 'When I was a youth, I played rugby.'

Speakers generally choose to use *tabung* when they wish to emphasize the fact that the event being discussed happened in the past, or to clarify a possible ambiguity in the time reference.

In a text where either temporal expressions or the general context make it clear that the time reference is in the past, *tabung* marks one event that happened earlier in the past than another. For example, in the following sentence taken from a narrative set in the past, *faangon* 'eat' is marked by *tabung* to show that it took place before *vaan* 'go':

- (3.21) *Ga tabung faangon fanong*
 1SG ANT eat CML
ma ga vaan fanong.
 and 1SG go CML
 'I had eaten before leaving.'

Because of this function, *tabung* is more aptly described as an anterior than a past tense marker.

3.3.2 Future marker *na*. Another tense marker which may occupy the third preverbal position is the future marker *na*, which Ross (1988:360) has reconstructed with the same form in Proto Western Oceanic. Unlike the optional anterior marker *tabung*, *na* is obligatory in describing all future events, e.g.,

- (3.22) *Ga na wut lamaf.*
 1SG FUT come tomorrow
 'I will come tomorrow.'

This sentence would be ungrammatical without *na*. Included as a future event is any clause subordinate to a matrix clause with the verb *saxot* 'want to'. Anything that one would like to do must be something one is not yet doing, and must take place in the future. Thus the following sentence is grammatical, but would not be if *na* were omitted:

- (3.23) *Ga zaxot, ga na bag-bak.*
 1SG want 1SG FUT RED-shave
 'I'd like to shave.'

Na is also used in narratives set in the past to mark action that either did happen or could have happened next in sequence. This can be seen in the following

three sentences which form a short narrative about how a grandmother ensured that her daughter had desirable children. The first sentence establishes the setting and, although from the subject matter it is obviously in the past, there is no overt time reference. The second sentence gives a sequence of three events which happened, or were supposed to happen in order. Each is marked with *na*. The third sentence gives the result of these actions in the present and again, no time setting is required:

(3.24) *Di i ru l-a mara na*
 1:3NSG DUR stand LOC-ART eye ART

lok; madi piat, ga saxot
 hole 1EX say 1SG want

a nalik doxo.
 ART boy good

'They stood at the mouth of the cave and we said I wanted a good boy.'

(3.25) *Ga na vuza i ru l-a*
 1SG FUT ascend DUR stand LOC-ART

maran a lok ma ga na piat, a
 eye ART hole and 1SG FUT say ART

nalik a vin-a, ka na
 boy ART skin-3SG 3 FUT

malas-ing a mono.
 same-TR ART European

'Then I went to the mouth of the cave and said I wanted a boy whose skin would be like a European's.'

- (3.26) *Nagu rain, fu-nalik, Wabala ma Teresia,*
 2PL see NSG-boy W. and T.
- fu-nalik si nandi-a, a vin-nandi xa*
 NSG-boy of they-DU ART skin-they 3SG
- mas-ing a mono.*
 same-TR ART European
- 'You can see, the sons, Wabala and Teresia's
 sons' skin is like a European's.'

Both *tabung* and *na* function to remove ambiguity in sequences of past events. But they may not be used together, so that the following compound sentence, with the earlier clause marked by *tabung* and the later one by *na*, is ungrammatical:

- (3.27) **Ga tabung faangon ma ga*
 1SG ANT CML and 1SG
- na vaan faanong.*
 FUT go CML
- 'I had eaten and then I left.'

Another use of *na* is with nearly all exhortatives, e.g.,

- (3.28) *Di na vaan.*
 1:3NSG FUT go
- 'Let's go.'

In rare cases, when the speaker urgently requires immediate action, however, *na* may be omitted in an exhortative, e.g.,

- (3.29) *Di xaaf a yam ku naan.*
 1:3NSG dig ART yam NTM (s)he
- 'Let's dig some yams for him (right now!).'

3.3.3 Inceptive marker *vala*. In addition to the tense markers *tabung* and *na*, there are aspect markers may appear in the third preverbal position. One of these is the inceptive marker *vala*. This is used to express action which is just starting in the present and which will presumably continue into the future for some time, e.g.,

- (3.30) *Di vala re-texas ko.*
 1:3NSG ICP RED-know EMP
 'We're just starting to become enlightened.'

It is possible that this particle has its origin in a compound of the causative *fa/ va* (see 3.8 Causative prefix *fa-*) and the locative preposition and article *la* (see 9.1.2 Locative and temporal marker *l-*), so that it would literally mean 'to make to go in a certain direction'. Such an etymology did not seem credible to native speakers interviewed and must remain a speculation at this time.

3.3.4 Habitual marker *runa*. Another element expressing aspect which may appear in the third preverbal position is the habitual marker *runa*. It is used to express an action which has been done so many times that it is the norm, e.g.,

- (3.31) *Gu runa va-nam-doxo yang ni.*
 2NPL HAB CAU-stomach-good FOC I
 'You always make me so happy.'

Runa is a very emphatic word. A sentence with *runa* usually also has the focus marker (*y*)*ang*, as in the example above, to add to make the sentence even more emphatic. But as the following sentence shows, the use of (*y*)*ang* is not obligatory:

- (3.32) *A ze xo gu runa i mal bulai?*
 ART what EMP 2NPL HAB DUR lie always
 'Why are you always lying down?'

As both the sentence above and the sentence below show, *runa* may be used with a durative marker (*i* or *-t*), again presumably for added emphasis:

- (3.33) *Ka runa-t faral ang*
 3 HAB-DUR write FOC
a vin a bil.
 ART skin ART wall
 'He's always writing on the side of the wall.'

Runa may have its origin in *ru* 'stand'. In word for word translations native speakers often translate *runa* as 'stand' or 'will stand' (although 'will stand' would normally be the metathesis *na ru*). But at this stage it is not possible to determine whether this is the actual origin of *runa* or just a folk etymology.

3.4 Reciprocal particles

In the fourth preverbal position either of the reciprocal markers *vara* or *vavur* may be used. At least the first is a reflex of **var-*, the Proto New Ireland reciprocal prefix which Ross (1988:282) has listed as one of the innovations identifying the New Ireland-Tolai languages. There is no semantic difference between the two and, as can be seen from the examples below, they can be used with subjects of the same person and number. The reciprocity may involve the grammatical subject with a coreferential direct object, as in the following sentence in which the subject marker *di* and the direct object *naandi* are coreferential:

- (3.34) *Di vavur wasat-ing naandi.*
 1:3NSG REC swear-TR they
 'They're swearing at each other.'

The reciprocity may also be between the grammatical subject and an overt or implied coreferential indirect object. For example, in the following sentence the reciprocity is between the subject marker *di* 'they' and a deleted or implied coreferential indirect object 'to / with them':

- (3.35) *Di vara xol-xol-ing a baaxot.*
 1:3NSG REC RED-exchange-TR ART (shell)money
 'They're exchanging shell money.'

Another form of reciprocity is to link several persons and times as one action. In such a sentence the reciprocal marker gives the meaning 'all together at once', e.g.,

- (3.36) *Ma Anita zait di vara xus*
 and A. also 1:3NSG REC cold

ma yaya uru.
 and grandchild two
 'And Anita and the two grandchildren have all caught
 a cold at the same time.'

If a tense or aspect marker subcategorized for the third preverbal position is present, the reciprocal markers must come immediately after. This explains the grammaticality of the first of the following sentences, where the reciprocal marker *vara* immediately follows the anterior marker *tabung*, and the ungrammaticality of the second sentence, in which the same reciprocal marker immediately precedes the tense marker:

(3.37) *Dia tabung vara vaze-a pan a lotu.*
 1:3NSG ANT REC tell-DU NTM ART religion

(3.38) **Dia vara tabung vaze-a pan a lotu.*
 1:3NSG REC ANT tell-DU NTM ART religion
 'The two of them told each other about their religions.'

As the following sentence shows, a reciprocal marker (here *vara*) must precede a durative marker (here *-t*):

(3.39) *Di vara-t pilaan-ing-a di-a.*
 1:3NSG REC-DUR help-TR-DU they-DU
 'They are helping each other.'

One interesting possible use of the reciprocal marker *vara* is to differentiate *virai* 'teach' from *varavirai* 'learn'. When asked, native speakers analyzed *varavirai* as one lexical item and could not subdivide it into a verb *virai* preceded by the reciprocal marker *vara*, as they could, for example, with *vara xolxoling* 'reciprocal exchange' in (3.35). Nevertheless, an analysis of *varavirai* as *vara* 'reciprocal' + *virai* 'teach' would reflect Nalik attitudes about teaching and learning. While teaching another person does not place the teacher in any position of obligation, learning does place the learner in a position of debt towards the teacher. Since new knowledge must be repaid in currency, shell money, or kind, just as any physical debt, learning cannot exist without a reciprocal relationship between the learner and teacher. Even if modern Naliks no longer analyze *varavirai* in this way, this probably does reflect its etymology.

3.5. Negative particle *pe(n)*

The negative marker *pe(n)* may appear after the third preverbal position. Sentences in Nalik are usually made negative either by the use of the verb *vit* (see 2.1.2 Existential verbs), or the negative imperative particle *tua* (see 11.4 Interrogatives). A less common option though is to use the negative preverbal particle *pe(n)*, which, as in the following sentence, may become *we(n)* in certain phonological environments as described in 1.5.1 (Phonology), e.g.,

- (3.40) *Gu we tanin piran a bina.*
 2NPL NEG see big.man ART place
 'You no longer see fellow countrymen.'

The phrase *ka vit*, consisting of the third person subject marker and the negative verb *vit*, means 'no' as well as 'not'. Sentences with *ka vit* and the negative particle together are both possible and common, e.g.,

- (3.41) *Ka vit, ga na wen faral.*
 3 NEG 1SG FUT NEG write
 'No, I won't write (anything).'

In such sentences, if the verb is understood from context, it may be omitted. Thus in some environments, the following is a grammatical equivalent of the preceding example:

- (3.42) *Ka vit, ga na we.*
 3 NEG 1SG FUT NEG
 'No, I won't.'

For most speakers it is obligatory to use the future marker *na* with the negative marker. Thus for most speakers the preceding sentences without the future

marker *na* would be ungrammatical. Generally, those for whom the use of *pe(n)* without a future tense marker is grammatical are some older men who have achieved a high level of traditional education. Although they were recorded using *pe(n)* without the future marker in some simple sentences, such as the first example in this section, usually they were only recorded doing so in coordinate clauses such as the following:

- (3.43) *A* *rapti* *di* *bur* *naan l-a*
 ART man 3NSG consecrate him LOC:ART
- rabarau,* *ka* *pen* *do-dor* *ausait.*
 fence 3 NEG RED-speak outside
- 'The man whom they consecrate in the sacred enclosure may not speak outside (it).' (i.e., about the details of his consecration)

The motivation for this variation appears to be a shift in the meaning of *na* from being a future to an irrealis marker.¹ Among older speakers a negated activity may or may not involve future activity, so the use of *na* is optional. For younger speakers all negated activity is irrealis, so the use of *na* is obligatory.

There was no group of speakers who could be recorded using a tense or aspect marker other than *na* in conjunction with the negative marker. As examples such as (3.41) show, the negative marker comes immediately after the tense marker (e.g., *na*) so that the position of the negative marker in Figure 3.1 (Preverbal elements) in the position after the third position is quite certain. It is not used with the durative markers *i* and *t*. It is difficult, however, to ascertain what the relative position, if any, is of the negative and locative markers, as no sentences could be elicited with both of these. Thus in Figure 3.1 (Preverbal elements) the durative, negative, and locative

¹ I am indebted to Nicholas Faraclas for this observation.

markers have been represented as forming one class of particles subcategorized to be in the fifth preverbal position.

3.6 Locative particles

Nalik has two locative particles, *su* and *o*. These are not derived from verbs by, for example, using a causative prefix (see 3.8 Causative prefix *fa-*), and, as they cannot be used as verbs in their own right, they are not the same as serial verbs (see 4.1.2 Serial verbs). Similarly, they are not adverbs, because adverbs cannot be placed between the subject marker and the verb and these particles, unlike adverbs, cannot come after the verb. As (3.44) and (3.45) show, these particles appear after the tense or aspect markers. As (3.46) shows, if the verb has both a reduplicated syllable and a locative, the locative particle must occur before the reduplicated syllable. As explained in the previous paragraph, it is not possible to ascertain the relative position of these particles and the negative markers.

Su means 'nearly', as in the following sentence. This particle may be used only with verbs of motion where a locative, rather than temporal, meaning of 'nearly' is possible. Thus it may be used with verbs such as *wut* 'come', *vuzā* 'ascend', and *vizik* 'go up', but **su bul* 'nearly bought', **su kot* 'nearly cut', and **su imin* 'nearly drunk' are all ungrammatical. There does not seem to be a connection other than homophony between this particle and the verb *su* 'fall'.

- (3.44) *Di na su balis-a l-a rot.*
 1:3NSG FUT nearly become-DU LOC-ART road
 'The two of them will have nearly arrived at the road.'

The locative particle *o* means 'in the correct place', as in the following sentence. Without *o*, the sentence below would mean 'I dropped it off nowhere specific.'

- (3.45) *Ga tabung o lis naan.*
 1SG ANT correct.place give (s)he/it
 'I delivered it to the correct destination.'

Unlike *su* the particle *o* can be used with verbs which are not verbs of motion, as in the following sentence:

- (3.46) *A radio stesen ka o do-dor.*
 ART radio station 3 correct.place RED-talk
 'The radio station is the right place to talk about it.'

3.7 Durative markers

Nalik has two durative markers, *t* (written for phonological reasons as a suffix of the preceding word in the new Nalik orthography) and *i* (written as a separate word). These are used to mark action which is perceived to be long in duration. This can be seen in the following sentence, in which an action lasting a long time (speaking) is interrupted by an action of limited length (someone arriving). The long action is marked by the durative marker *i*, while the short action is not:

- (3.47) *A raan ka i do-dor,*
 ART time 3 DUR RED-talk

Seff ka balis.
 S. 3 become/arrive
 'When he was speaking, Seff arrived.'

As the above example shows, the durative markers appear before a reduplicated syllable. Example (3.32) with *runa* 'habitual' + *i* 'durative' shows that they appear after the aspect markers, and, as *vara-t* in (3.39) shows, they must also appear after a reciprocal marker. Reversing the order of any of these pairs of particles would make the phrase ungrammatical. Thus the durative markers are placed immediately after the reciprocal markers and immediately before reduplication in the order of preverbal elements shown in Figure 3.1 (Preverbal elements).

For most speakers the choice of *-t* or *i* as a durative marker is determined by the presence or absence, respectively, of an initial direct object. Transitive verbs therefore require the transitive durative marker *-t*, so that in the following sentence, with the transitive verb *firing* 'yell' and direct object *maam* 'us' *-t* is used:

- (3.48) *A* *rapti* *ka-t* *fir-ing* *fa-wut* *maam.*
 ART man 3-DUR yell-TR CAU-come weEX
 'A man was yelling out to us.'

In the preceding example the direct object is a noun phrase. The transitive durative marker *-t* is also chosen when the direct object is a clause. This can be seen in the following sentence where the direct object of the verb *naxaam* 'think' is the clause *ka sa* 'it is happening':

- (3.49) *Gu-t* *naxaam,* *ka* *sa?*
 2NPL-DUR think 3 happen
 'What do you think is happening about it?'

Intransitive verbs which are unaccusative, i.e., with an initial direct object, but no initial subject, also require *-t* as a durative marker. The most common example of this is the modal *faraxas* 'can' (see 2.1.4 Modals). With *faraxas* the final subject is a

dummy subject marker *ka*, not present in the initial stratum. The clause following *faraxas* is the initial and final direct object, i.e.,

	P	DO	INITIAL STRATUM			
	P	DO	FINAL STRATUM			
(3.50)	<i>Ka-t</i>	<i>faraxas</i>	<i>gu</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>lis</i>	<i>a kina?</i>
	3-DUR	can	2NPL	FUT	give	ART kina
	`Can you give a kina (= dollar)?'					

Verbs with only an initial subject and no direct object use *i* as a durative marker. For example, the following sentence has a subject *a ravin* 'the woman', but no direct object, so *i* is used:

(3.51)	<i>A</i>	<i>ravin</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>viang.</i>
	ART	woman	3	DUR	ascend
	`The woman is heading south-east.' ²				

Some verbs can be either transitive or intransitive. With these verbs the choice of *-t* or *i* varies according to whether an initial direct object is, or is not, respectively, present. Thus in the following two sentences with a durative marker and the verb *naxaam* 'think', the first has a direct object *nu* 'you' and therefore uses *-t*, while the second has no direct object and therefore uses *i*:

(3.52)	<i>Uwe,</i>	<i>ga-t</i>	<i>naxaam</i>	<i>buling nu.</i>
	ah	1SG-DUR	think	always youSG
	`Ah, I'm always thinking of you.'			

(3.53)	<i>Ga</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>naxaam</i>	<i>be.</i>
	1SG	DUR	think	only
	`I'm just day-dreaming (thinking).'			

² Naliks speak of southeast as 'up' and northwest as 'down'.

While the foregoing explanation is true for most speakers, with some verbs some speakers are beginning to use the durative markers without regard to the presence or absence of a direct object. These speakers often use *-t* as a less marked equivalent of *i*, representing a shorter period of duration. For these speakers both of the following sentences with the transitive verb *ngotngot* 'mock' and direct object *ni* 'I' are grammatical, even though the first uses intransitive *i* to indicate duration, and the second transitive *-t*. For these speakers the second sentence represents a shorter period of mocking than the first:

(3.54) *Ka i ngot-ngot ni.*
 3 DUR RED-mock I

(3.55) *Ka-t ngot-ngot ni.*
 3-DUR RED-mock I
 'He's mocking me.'

The motivation for this innovation appears to come from Tok Pisin. Like English, Tok Pisin does not have different durative forms for intransitive and transitive verbs. Tok Pisin also has a subject marker *i*, which appears in a preverbal position and is phonologically, but not semantically, identical with the Nalik durative marker which these innovative speakers report as the stronger of the two. These speakers appear to be adopting the lack of transitive-intransitive distinction of Tok Pisin and emphasizing the use of the *i* durative marker which has a phonological counterpart in Tok Pisin *i*. As *i* is the stronger of the two, it can be expected that if this innovation spreads to the entire population, the weakened meaning of *-t* will cause it to disappear gradually as a productive marker.

This usage is limited to men without a high degree of traditional learning, usually, although not always, young or middle-aged, indicating that it is a relatively recent innovation. As yet, no speaker using this innovation uses it exclusively with all verbs. All speakers have some verbs with which the choice of *-t* or *i* still depends on the presence or lack of an initial direct object. The `strong *i* / weak *-t*' choice is limited to a variable number of high frequency verbs, which may be relatively large or relatively small for each speaker using this innovation. This indicates that this innovation is diffused gradually through the lexicon of an individual speaker in the same way that it is diffused among individual members of the community.

3.7.1 Reduplication. In addition to using the particles *-t* and *i* to mark duration, a number of verbs also indicate duration through reduplication of the first two or three phonemes, e.g.,

- (3.56) *Ga* *gi-giu* *buling.*
 1SG RED-work always
 `I'm always working.'

This is common to most New Ireland-Tolai languages and Ross (1982: 180) has reconstructed verb reduplication with the meaning `habitual' as part of the Proto New Ireland aspect-marking system.

It is not possible to predict in all cases which phonemes will be included in reduplication, except that the reduplicated element is never more than one syllable. For verbs in which the first syllable is open (i.e., ending in a vowel), such as *giu* `work' above, it is the entire first syllable which is reduplicated. When the first syllable is closed (i.e., ending in a consonant), however, the final consonant is usually, but not always, reduplicated. Thus *ngot* `mock' and *zuf* `wash' are

reduplicated as *ngotngot* and *zuzuf*. Where a final stop of the first syllable is included in the reduplication, it is voiced if a voiced nonnasal consonant immediately follows the reduplicated syllable, so that *bak* 'shave' is reduplicated as *bagbak*. If the vowel in the reduplicated syllable is low back *aa*, in the reduplicated syllable it either becomes low mid *a*, as in *taak* 'poison', reduplicated as *raktaak* (with predictable *r/t* alteration), or it is omitted entirely, as in *piaat* 'say', reduplicated as *pitfiaat* (with predictable *p/f* alteration).

Reduplication is not productive, as there are many verbs for which reduplication is not possible; *faral* 'write', for example, cannot be reduplicated as **favaral*. Similarly, there are several verbs which use reduplication to create entirely new lexical items, rather than to mark duration. For example, *raak* means 'poison', but reduplicated *rataak* (with predictable *r/t* alteration) has a much more innocuous meaning, 'to play a sport'. This indicates that reduplication in verbs has become lexicalized. Although not all verbs can be reduplicated, those which can do not form a subclass based on any semantic criteria. Moreover, the class includes both transitive verbs such as *(ra)tabaat* 'hit' and intransitive verbs, such as *(do)dor* 'talk'.

Additional evidence for the lexicalized nature of reduplication can be seen in the use of the durative particles *-t* and *i* together with reduplication. Although the reduplicated verb *zuzuf* 'bathe', from *zuf* 'wash', does convey the idea of an extended action, in the following sentence the speaker uses the durative marker *i* to express, or at least emphasize, the extended nature of the action:

- (3.57) *Ga* *i* *zu-zuf* *panaraan*.
 1SG DUR RED-wash morning
 'I was bathing in the morning.'

With some reduplicated verbs, however, the use of a durative marker is ungrammatical. One of these is *dodor*:

- (3.58) **Di* *-ti* *do-dor*.
 1:3NSG DUR RED-talk
 `They are talking away.'

One explanation for this is that as a result of lexicalization, some, but not all, reduplicated verbs become subcategorized not to permit durative markers. A problem with this explanation is that there is no apparent semantic or grammatical motivation for this subcategorization. A more likely explanation is that reduplication is lexicalized in Nalik only for some verbs, which can be identified by their ability to be preceded by a durative marker, while those verbs which cannot be preceded by durative markers are those for which reduplication is still a grammatical process expressing duration. If this is the case, the partial lexification of reduplicated verbs is not a relatively recent or unstable occurrence, as there is no evidence of subgroup variation as has been noted for other constructions elsewhere in this study.

3.8 Causative prefix *fa-*

The prefix *fa-*, from the Proto Austronesian `verb formative and undergoer causative' **pa-* (Ross 1988: 391 and 456) is very productive and can be used with a wide range of verbs. Many of the verbs formed with the prefix *fa-* are causative, and therefore transitive, verbs. Some are formed from a base which is an intransitive verb, so that *su* `fall' becomes *fazu* `drop' (i.e., `make fall') and *maat* `die' becomes *famaat* `kill' (i.e., `make die'). An important subclass of these verbs is formed from verbs denoting direction, such as *wut* `come' becoming *fawut* `bring' (i.e., `make

come'). These are often used in serial constructions (see 4.1.2.1 Directional serial verbs) or in idiomatic expressions such as *zaleng famaata* 'to wait for no reason' (literally 'wait kill').

Some causatives are formed from a base which is a noun, such as *yen* 'fish' becoming *faiyen* 'to go fishing' (literally 'make fish', a reflection of the sorcery often used before a fishing trip) and *maimai* 'clan leader' becoming *famaimai* 'install someone as a clan leader'. While causatives with a base that is originally an intransitive verb are transitive, those formed from nouns can be either transitive, such as *famaimai*, or intransitive, such as *faiyen*.

Another function of the causative prefix is to permit certain verbs to be used in serial constructions. These include adjectival verbs, such as *famumut* formed from *mumut* 'small' and *fatok* from *tok* 'correct'. It also includes the formation of traditional (i.e., non-loan) ordinal numbers from cardinal numbers. Today most speakers use Tok Pisin or English ordinal numbers, but Nalik did have traditional ordinal numbers which were transitive verbs, e.g. *fa-rol-ing* 'third' (literally 'causative marker + three + transitive marker').

When *fa* is prefixed to a word beginning with a vowel, that vowel is deleted, as in *faroling* 'third', which has *orol* 'three' as its base. When the base begins in *y*, *fa-* becomes *fai-*, as in *faiyen* 'go fishing' mentioned above. The use of these adjectival causative verbs in serial verbs is discussed in 4.1.2.2. (Serial constructions with causative *fa-*).

3.9 Conclusion: Preverbal elements

A verbal complex normally begins with a subject marker and contains a head verb. Between the subject marker and the verb there are five positions in which one or more optional particles may occur. The conditional marker may come immediately after the subject marker. In the third position, one of the four tense or aspect markers may be present. These mark anterior and future tense and inceptive and habitual aspect.

In the fourth position, after the tense and aspect markers, a reciprocal marker may be used. In the fifth position, a durative marker may occur. A negative marker or one of two locative markers may also appear after a tense or aspect marker, but it is not clear what their relative position is to the reciprocal and durative markers. The last element before the head verb stem is the causative prefix or a reduplicated initial syllable marking duration.

There is variation in the use of the future marker, which is interpreted as an irrealis marker by most speakers except older traditional men. There is also variation in the use of the durative markers. While most speakers use different durative markers for transitive and intransitive verbs, some younger speakers, usually men, do not make this distinction with all verbs.

Chapter 4

Postverbal elements in the verbal complex

Beaumont (1988:47-48 and f.c.:14) has noted that in three other Lavongai-Nalik languages (Lavongai, Tigak, and Kara), there are direct object particles at the end of the verbal complex, which mirror the subject markers at the beginning of the verbal complex. In Tigak and Kara these are required even when an overt nominal direct object is present. In Tigak, at least, these are suffixed to the verb and are different from independent pronouns.

	1	2	3	4	5
v	incorporated	dual	transitive	focus	completive
e	direct object	-(y)a	-ing	ang	faanong
r	or serial verb	(DU)	(TR)	(FOC)	(CML)
b	(INC)	or paucal -(t)al (PAU)			

Figure 4.1 Postverbal elements¹

Nalik does not have this type of obligatory postverbal direct object particle. There are, however, several types of other optional constituents in the verbal complex which may follow the verb. As with the preverbal elements, there are specific rules governing the order in which they may appear in Nalik. The five positions into which they are arranged are shown in Figure 4.1 (Postverbal elements). If an incorporated direct object or a serial verb is present, it directly follows the verb. In the next position may come a dual or paucal marker. These may be followed by the

¹ The abbreviations used in glosses in this work are in parentheses.

transitivizer *-ing*, which like the dual and paucal markers is written as a suffix to the preceding word. This may be followed by the focus marker *ang*. The last element in the verbal complex is the completive marker *faanong*, which may also be moved out of the verbal complex entirely.

Although adverbs may appear in the verbal complex, they are usually located outside the verbal complex so it is most expedient to regard them as an independent class (see 10.1 Adverbs). The focus marker *ang* has functions outside as well as inside the verbal complex and its use is discussed in 10.3 (Focus marker *ang*). The other post-verb elements of the verbal complex will be discussed in this section.

4.1 Incorporated direct objects and serial verbs

Both direct objects and second verbs can become part of the verbal complex, losing their status as clause level dependents in the process. Normally noun phrases must begin with an article and verbal complexes with a subject marker. When an element loses its status as a clause level dependent, these identifying 'badges' are deleted as the arc which this element heads no longer terminates in a clause. It is as if the separate grammatical identity of the element is lost. This is similar to the inclusion of an adjectival verb as a modifying element of a noun phrase described in 7.2 (Modifying adjectival verbs).

4.1.1. Direct object incorporation. When a direct object directly follows the verb, i.e., when no adverb separates them, the use of the article *a* is optional. Thus, both of the following sentences, the first with and the second without the article *a* preceding the direct object, are grammatical:

- (4.1) *Ga na walis a ramu zunum.*
 1SG FUT deliver ART axe of:2SG
- (4.2) *Ga na walis ramu zunum.*
 1SG FUT deliver axe of:2SG
 'I'll deliver an axe to you.'

When, as in the second of the two examples above, the grammatical marker associated with the direct object noun phrase (the article) is deleted, the direct object has been incorporated into the verb complex. Evidence for this can be seen in the use of the dual and paucal suffixes, *-a* and *-(t)al*, respectively. Normally these suffixes follow the verb, as in the following intransitive sentence:

- (4.3) *Nadi-a uru rate di varop-a.*
 they-DU two man 1:3NSG fight-DU
 'The two men are fighting.'

In a transitive sentence where the direct object is preceded by the article (i.e., it is not incorporated), the dual and paucal suffixes are still affixed to the verb, e.g.,

- (4.4) *Num-tal gu rain-tal a vaal.*
 you-PAU 2NPL see-PAU ART house
 'The four of you are looking at the house.'

This is also the case when the direct object is a pronoun, as in the following sentence:

- (4.5) *Gu rain-tal ni?*
 2NPL see-PAU I
 'Do you three see me?'

These sentences indicate that the dual and paucal suffixes mark the end of the verbal complex, at least where there is no subsequent focus or completive marker.

Where there is no article before a nominal direct object, however, i.e., when it is incorporated, the dual or paucal suffix is affixed to the direct object, not the verb, for example, *ti* 'tea' in the following sentence:

- (4.6) *Di* *imin* *ti-ya*.
 1:3NSG drink tea-DU
 'The two of them are drinking tea.'

This suggests that the direct object, by preceding the dual marker, is now part of the verbal complex. In particular, the direct object is incorporated into the verbal complex, becoming, in effect, a compound with the verb. This incorporation is not possible with a pronominal direct object. Possibly this is because a pronoun cannot be preceded by an article, and thus has no grammatical 'badge' to delete to indicate that its independent grammatical identity has been lost.

It should be pointed out that although the use of nonsingular suffixes affixed to the incorporated direct object is possible with both the dual and paucal suffix, it is much more common with the dual marker. This is because of the ambiguity of the article *a* of an unincorporated nominal direct object immediately following the homophonous dual suffix *-a*. For example, if the following sentence is spoken quickly, the two *a*'s are collapsed, so that the nonsingular marker is not processed by the listener and the subject is incorrectly interpreted as singular, rather than dual, 'you':

- (4.7) *Gu* *zuruk-(a)* *a* *yen*.
 2NPL get-(DU) ART fish
 'You (one only / two) get the fish.'

By incorporating the direct object into the verbal complex, the dual suffix is affixed to the incorporated direct object and the dual person of the subject is unambiguous:

- (4.8) *Gu zuruk yen-a.*
 2NPL get fish-DU
 'You two get the fish.'

In these sentences with a dual subject, the function of incorporation can be to make a potentially ambiguous sentence clear. But usually direct object incorporation in Nalik has the same function as that described by Schlie and Schlie (1988) in Kara, which also deletes the article immediately before a nominal direct object coming directly after the verb complex. Schlie and Schlie describe Kara direct object incorporation as a process of antipassivization which emphasizes the subject by diverting attention away from the direct object. This is also true of Nalik. For example, both of the following sentences are grammatical and have the same core meaning, asking if the listener wants to have tea. But as the English translation tries to show, the incorporation of the direct object in the first sentence emphasizes the subject *gu* 'you' and therefore the intention of the speaker to provide hospitality. The lack of incorporation in the second sentence, where the article *a* is still present in the direct object, does not diminish the emphasis on the direct object. Instead, it is likely to be a question asking whether the listener would like tea in preference to another beverage.

- (4.9) *Gu imin ti?*
 2NPL drink tea
 'Would you like a cup of tea?'

- (4.10) *Gu imin a ti?*
 2NPL drink ART tea
 'Do you want to drink tea?'

4.1.2. Serial verbs. Second verbs as well as nominal direct objects can be included in the verbal complex. These verbs join the head verb to form serial verbs. Just as the deletion of the article in front of the direct object marks the incorporation of the direct object into the verbal complex (see 4.1 Direct object incorporation), so too does the deletion of the subject marker of the second verb indicate that the second verb is not a clause-level dependent.

For this reason when there is a serial construction, the subject of all the verbs must be the same so that the subject marker of the second verb can be deleted with no ambiguity. This process of subject marker deletion and formation of a serial construction is, however, not obligatory, and juxtaposition of clauses is grammatical and, indeed, quite common. This is shown by the following sentence consisting of two juxtaposed clauses, in which both verbs have overt coreferential subjects, first person nonsingular inclusive *di*:

- (4.11) *Di waan, di tok maani.*
 1:3NSG go 1:3NSG shoot bird
 'We went (and) we shot birds.'

This same sentence can be expressed as a serial verb by deleting the second first person nonplural inclusive subject marker *di*:

- (4.12) *Di waan tok maani.*
 1:3NSG go shoot bird
 'We went bird shooting.'

Not all deletions of subject markers are caused by verb serialization, however. In some cases equi-deletion permits the deletion of a coreferential subject marker. In the following sentence, for example, the conjunction *ma* 'and' between the two verbs

indicates that the second verb is still independent of the first and that its subject marker has been deleted through equi-deletion:

- (4.13) *Ka soxot naan ma na lis*
 3 want (s)he and FUT give

l-a vaal sina.
 LOC-ART house of:3SG
 'He likes her and will take her to his house.'

As with an incorporated nominal direct object, evidence that verbs with no subject marker between them and a preceding verb (such as *tok* 'shoot' in (4.12)) do not head arcs which terminate in a clause comes from the dual and paucal subject suffixes. As shown in 4.1 (Direct object incorporation), in the absence of a subsequent focus or completive marker, these are placed at the end of the verbal complex. In serial verb constructions dual and paucal subject suffixes are suffixed to the last verb in the serial construction, showing that the last verb has become part of the verbal complex. Thus in the following sentence, the dual marker *-ya* is suffixed to the incorporated second verb *zi* 'sit':

- (4.14) *Di vizik i zi-ya.*
 1:3NSG go DUR sit-DU
 'The two of them went and stayed (there).'

As this example illustrates, although a serial verb loses its subject marker, other preverbal elements, such as the durative marker *i* above, need not be deleted. This is analogous to the retention of some of these elements when a verb is nominalized (see 5.2.1.3 Verbal particles with verbal nouns).

It is possible for each verb in a serial construction to have a separate argument. In the following sentence, for example, the head verb *lis* 'give' and the causative verb *faruing* 'second' have different direct objects, *shok* 'injection' and *naan* 'him', respectively:

- (4.15) *Di lis a shok fa-ru-ing naan.*
 1:3NSG give ART injection CAU-TWO-TR (s)he
 'They gave him a second injection.'

Where the two verbs have coreferential arguments, there is no need for them to be repeated and so one is deleted through equi-deletion. In the following sentence, *ni* 'I' is the direct object of both serial verbs *rain* 'see' and *fakilaan* 'testify'. The direct object is not repeated:

- (4.16) *Ka rain fakilaan ni.*
 3 see testify I
 'He recognizes me.'

In (4.16) the two coreferential arguments of the serial verbs have the same grammatical relation. Where the grammatical relations of two coreferential arguments of the two verbs are different, usually the argument of the second verb is deleted, i.e., after the serial verbs there is an argument which has a grammatical relation for which the first verb is subcategorized. But a small number of directional verbs are subcategorized to require that their argument is deleted, even if they come first in a serial verb construction. The directional verb *wut* 'come' is such a verb. For example, in the first of the following sentences, *vaal* 'house' has a goal grammatical relation because of *wut*. In the second sentence *vaal* 'house' has a direct object grammatical relation because of the transitive verb *buak* 'break'. In the third sentence

buak 'break' has become part of the verbal complex which *wut* 'come' heads. Here *vaal* 'house' has a direct object grammatical relation because the argument of *wut* with goal grammatical relation has been deleted:

(4.17) *A mun finau di wut l-a vaal.*
 ART NSG thief 1:3NSG come LOC-ART house
 'The thieves came to the house.'

(4.18) *A mun finau di buak a vaal.*
 ART NSG thief 1:3NSG break ART house
 'The thieves broke into the house.'

(4.19) *A mun finau di wut buak a vaal.*
 ART NSG thief 1:3NSG come break ART house
 'The thieves came and broke into the house.'

Example (4.20) is an example of a more common marking of the grammatical relation of an argument of two serial verbs, i.e., the argument has the grammatical relation of the second verb. Here both the verbs have *a vaat a ravin* 'the woman's head' as an argument. The first verb, *zu* 'fall', requires a locative argument, whereas the second, *rabik* 'crack', requires a direct object. The grammatical relation which remains overt in the final stratum is that required by the first verb, locative, as indicated by the locative marker *l-*.

(4.20) *Ka zu rabik l-a vaat a ravin.*
 3 fall crack LOC-ART head ART woman
 'It fell cracking the woman's head.'

Of course, with some serial constructions one verb has an argument, but the other does not. In that case the argument retains its initial grammatical relation and,

if it is a direct object of the serial verb, it may be incorporated into the verbal complex. This is the case with *maani* 'bird' in (4.12).

Most serial verb constructions contain only one serial verb in addition to the head verb. But it is also possible, although uncommon, to have serial constructions with three verbs, as in the following sentence where the head verb *wut* 'come' is followed by two serial verbs *lis* 'give' and *tasin* 'put':

- (4.21) *A* *za* *Saande* *bane* *ga* *wut* *lis*
 ART some Sunday only 1SG come give
- tasin* *a* *za* *vi.*
 put ART some stuff
- 'One Sunday I came along and put away some stuff.'

It should be pointed out that not all verbs can occur in serial verb constructions. For example, although *raangan* 'sing' can incorporate *firai* 'teach' as *raangan firai* 'teach to sing', it is not possible to join *vataas* 'to fish' and *firai* 'teach' as **vataas firai* 'teach to fish'.

In some cases serial constructions are used to create new idioms whose meanings are not immediately transparent from the meaning of the individual verbs. One example of this which has already been seen above is *rain* 'to see' and *fakilaan* 'to swear, testify', which join to make *rain fakilaan* 'to recognize'. Another is *ramai* 'to look at' and *zuzuing* 'to fall' (from *su/zu* 'to fall' with durative reduplication and the transitive marker *-ing*), which together become *ramai zuzuing* 'to be jealous'.

4.1.2.1 Directional serial verbs. One important group of serial constructions are those in which the second component indicates direction, such as *apa* 'down' and *karek* 'back' in the following sentences:

(4.22) *A mbala ka laf apa.*
 ART arrow 3 fly descend
 'The arrow is flying down towards the ocean
 (or towards Kavieng).'

(4.23) *Madi na ule wut karek a rit*
 1EX FUT return come back ART here

l-a bina.
 LOC-ART home
 'We'll return to our home village.'

There are general expressions of direction and location in Nalik, e.g. *(n)are* or *arit* 'here' and *kanaan* 'there'. However, speakers of Nalik usually prefer the more exact expressions which reflect the Nalik division of space shown in Figure 4.2 (Directional verbs). As well as being used in serial constructions, each of these may be used as an independent verb e.g. *ka apa* 'it is "down" in the direction of either the beach or Kavieng' and *ka ata* 'it is "up" in the direction of Namatanai'. The use of *apa* and *ata* corresponds to the use of two words to mean 'go': *vizik* 'to go "down" towards Kavieng', and *vaan* 'to go "up" towards Namatanai', respectively. These latter two verbs often form serial verb constructions with directional verbs with the same meaning to form the redundant serial constructions *vizik apa* and *vaan ata*.

<i>akula</i> `above'	inland, off-island, or physically above
<i>apa(a)</i> `down'	towards the sea or northwest towards Kavieng (the provincial headquarters in northern New Ireland) also recorded as <i>pa(a)</i> in the Laefu dialect
<i>ata</i> `up'	southwest towards Namatanai (the only town in southern New Ireland)
<i>b(u)rut</i> `under'	physically below (also a verbal noun)

Figure 4.2 Directional verbs

Naliks are almost always aware of where they are in relation to these terms, especially *apa* and *ata*. For example, if someone drops something and asks where it is, while a speaker of English might use a general expression such as *down there*, a speaker of Nalik would usually specify if it was *apa* or *ata*, i.e., on the *apa* or *ata* side of the person.

These expressions are also used to refer to time, with the past being `under' or `down', as in the following two sentences, respectively:

(4.24) *Ka wut masingkerei pan a brut.*
 3 come thus NTM ART under
 `It's come down to us like from the past.'

(4.25) *Naan na ka apa pamu mase.*
 it 3 3 down before much
 `Once upon a time, long ago.'

Expressions of time in the future also use an expression of physical space, but with the locative prepositional phrase *la xor* 'at the top' rather than a serial verb construction:

- (4.26) *l-a* *marias* *l-a* *xor*
 LOC-ART year LOC-ART top
 `next year'

The use of expressions meaning 'under' to describe the past and expressions meaning 'top' to describe the future corresponds to the oral history of the Nalik people. *Apa* 'down' refers both to the past and to the two directions where the Naliks believe they came from, the sea and northern New Ireland. Similarly, terms meaning 'top' refer both to the future and to the direction in which Naliks believe it has been their historical destiny to settle, inland and 'up' towards southern New Ireland.

4.1.2.2. Serial constructions with causative *fa-*. Another important group of serial constructions has a verb with a causative prefix *fa-* (sec 3.8 Causative prefix *fa-*) as the second verb. As discussed in 3.8 (Causative prefix *fa-*), the causative prefix can be used to make a transitive causative verb from an intransitive verb (e.g. *famaat* 'kill' from *maat* 'die') or a noun (e.g. *faiyen* 'go fishing' from *yen* 'a fish'), as well as to form traditional ordinal numbers. But the most common use is to permit an adjectival verb to be used in a serial verb construction, as with the adjectival verb *mumut* 'small' in the following sentence:

- (4.27) *Ga* *na* *dodor* *fa-mumut.*
 1SG FUT RED-speak CAU-small
 'I'll speak a little bit.'

With one exception, adjectival verbs cannot appear in a serial construction, i.e., directly following another verb, without the *fa-* prefix. The sentence above, for example, would be ungrammatical if *famumut* were replaced by *mumut* 'small'. The exception is *doxo* 'good', which can appear directly after some verbs without the *fa-* prefix, e.g.,

- (4.28) *A nalik ka dor doxo.*
 ART boy 3 speak good
 'The boy speaks well.'

But when immediately following at least one verb, *piaat* 'say', *doxo* must have a *fa-* prefix, so that the following sentence is grammatical, but would be ungrammatical if *fadoxo* were replaced by *doxo*. It is possible that this is because *piaat fadoxo* has the idiomatic meaning 'speak up':

- (4.29) *A nalik ka piaat fa-doxo.*
 ART boy 3 say CAU-good
 'The boy is speaking up.'

In many languages, including English, the equivalents of the incorporated verbs with a causative prefix are best described as adverbs rather than verbs in a serial or incorporated construction. But it would be uneconomical to posit a separate class of adverbs and a second adverb-creating function of *fa-* to describe words such as *famumut* 'make small' in (4.27) in Nalik because such words appear in the same positions as other words which are clearly verbs.

Moreover, by adding the causative prefix, a verb usually becomes transitive. Thus in (4.15) the causative verb *faruing* 'second' is followed by a direct object *naan* 'him/her'. This contrasts with the following sentence which is semantically similar

but which has no causative verb. Here there are two arguments in addition to the subject, *uru shok* 'two injections' and *sina* 'his/her/its'. The last element *sina* has an overtly possessive form, which can mark possessive or an indirect object grammatical relation (see 9.1.5 Possessive marker *si(n)*). As there is no noun which *sina* could logically possess, it must be an indirect object:

- (4.30) *Di* *lis* *uru* *shok* *sina*.
 1:3NSG give two injection of:3SG
 'They gave him two shots.'

If the causative *faruing* were an adverb and not a verb, *naan* in (4.15) would be an argument of the head verb *lis* as *sina* is in ((4.30). The Stratal Uniqueness Law would require that it, too, be an indirect object producing **Di lis a shok faruing sina*. Thus elements with a *fa-* prefix following verbs must be analyzed as verbs in Nalik.

4.1.2.3 Comparison and superlative. There are several ways to form the comparative. To form comparatives, older men with high traditional status often use one of the first two constructions shown in Figures 4.3 (Comparative constructions). These two constructions involve a serial construction with either an adjectival verb followed by the comparative verb *paam̄u* or the comparative verb *vu* followed by an adjectival verb. In either case the second verb in this serial construction has the transitive suffix *-ing*, so that the noun phrase being used as a point of comparison is a direct object.

Traditional (formal)					
<i>NP_i</i>	subject marker		adjectival verb	<i>paamuing</i>	<i>NP_j</i>
Traditional (informal)					
<i>NP_i</i>	subject marker	<i>vu</i>	adjectival verb-ing		<i>NP_j</i>
Innovative					
<i>NP_i</i>	subject marker	<i>moa</i>	adjectival verb	<i>pa(n)</i>	<i>NP_j</i>

Figure 4.3 Comparative constructions

The more formal way is with *paamuing*, e.g.,

- (4.31) *A* *vaal* *zunum* *ka* *vaaxor* *paamu-ing*
 ART house of:yousG 3 new COM-TR
- a* *vaal* *zurago*.
 ART house of:I
- 'Your house is newer than my house.'

Usually the article and head noun of the second noun phrase are omitted, so that a more colloquial version of the sentence above would be:

- (4.32) *A* *vaal* *zunum* *ka* *vaaxor* *paamu-ing*
 ART house of:yousG 3 new COM-TR
- surago*.
 of:I
- 'Your house is newer than mine.'

Another less formal alternate is to form a serial verb consisting of the comparative verb *vu* followed by an serial adjectival verb with the transitivizing

suffix *-ing*, as shown in the second construction of Figure 4.3 (Comparative constructions). An example of this construction is:

- (4.33) *Ali ka vu brav-ing Jon.*
 A. 3 COM tall-TR J.
 'Ali is taller than John.'

Today most persons replace the comparative verb *vu* with the Tok Pisin / English loan *moa* as shown in the third construction in Figure 4.3 (Comparative constructions). With *moa*, instead of the transitivizing suffix *-ing*, the nonterm marker *pan* is used, e.g.,

- (4.34) *Ali ka moa brav pan Jon.*
 A. 3 COM tall NTM J.
 'Ali is taller than John.'

In contemporary Nalik this form is used by nearly all persons except some older men with a strong traditional role in society. Even older men who are not clan orators tend to use *moa* rather than *vu*. The motivation for this innovation appears to be the result of a conspiracy between grammatical influences from both Tok Pisin and English being brought into Nalik along with the loan *moa*. Whereas in the traditional Nalik constructions the noun phrase which is the measure of comparison has a direct object grammatical relation, in both Tok Pisin and English it has an oblique grammatical relation marked by *long* and *than*, respectively. The innovative Nalik construction is a calque of the Tok Pisin equivalent with the oblique preposition *long*:

- (4.35) *Ali i moa bikpela long Jon.*
 A. SM COM tall OBL J.
 `Ali is taller than John.'

The English equivalent of this construction uses *more* and *than*. English *than* not only reinforces the Nalik oblique grammatical relation of the noun phrase which is the measure of comparison, but also influences both the choice of the oblique marker *pan* rather than the oblique marker *ku(n)*, which is also available in Nalik, and the unusual form of *pan* which is used in comparative constructions. Elsewhere *pa(n)* is like other Nalik prepositions ending in *-n*, deleting the final *-n* when the following word begins with a consonant. But in comparative constructions *pan* always has a final *-n*, even when the following word begins with a consonant, such as *Jon* in the example above. With this final *-n*, Nalik *pan* resembles and even rhymes with its English equivalent *than*.

There is no separate superlative form in Nalik. The superlative can be expressed by an intensifier, such as *marazaat* `very':

- (4.36) *A vaal zunum ka vaaxor marazaat.*
 ART house of:youSG 3 new very
 `Your house is very new. / Your house is the newest.'

The superlative can also be expressed by using the same pattern as for the comparison, e.g.,

- (4.37) *A vaal zunum ka lapuk paamu-ing*
 ART house of:youSG 3 big COM-TR

a mun vaal.
 ART NSG house
 `Your house is the biggest of the houses.'

4.2 Dual and paucal suffixes

Where the other Lavongai-Nalik languages of northern New Ireland use suffixes to indicate the person and number of the direct object Beaumont (1988:47 and f.c.:14), Nalik uses postverbal suffixes to indicate the dual and paucal (three or four) number of the subject. These dual and paucal markers appear in the second postverbal position and are the same suffixes used with personal pronouns, i.e., *-(y)a* 'dual' and *-(t)al* 'paucal' (see Chapter 8 Personal pronouns and Figure 8.1 Personal pronouns). There is some redundancy when personal pronouns are present because if dual or paucal number is marked, it must be marked in the verbal complex as well as on any personal pronoun subject that is present. Thus the three sentences below would be ungrammatical if the dual or paucal suffix were only affixed to pronominal subject or the verb and not both:

- (4.38) *Naandi-a uru rate di varop-a.*
 they-DU two man 1:3NSG fight-DU
 'Those two, the two men, are fighting.'
- (4.39) *Naandi-tal orol rate di varop-tal.*
 they-PAU three man 1:3NSG fight-PAU
 'The three men are fighting.'
- (4.40) *Naandi-yal orolavat di do-dor-al*
 they-PAU four 1:3NSG RED-talk-PAU
wan a matmaalabuk sunum.
 NTM ART problem of:2SG
 'The four of them are talking about your problem.'

Marking dual or paucal number grammatically is not obligatory. This can be seen in the following two sentences which have subjects that are semantically quite

obviously dual or paucal, respectively, but which are grammatical even though no dual or paucal suffix is used:

- (4.41) *Uru nalik di i nangan pan a*
 two boy 1:3NSG DUR laugh NTM ART
sedo surago.
 shadow of:I
 'The two boys were laughing at my shadow.'

- (4.42) *A mun fu-ravin orolavaat angkare*
 ART NSG NSG-woman four these
di do-dor wan a rong sunum.
 1:3NSG RED-talk NTM ART wrong of:2SG
 'These four women are gossiping about your shortcomings.'

Speakers of all generations and degrees of observance of customary ties accept and produce sentences with *-a* and *-(t)al*. Similarly, speakers of all ages and backgrounds were recorded producing sentences with dual or paucal subjects without using these suffixes. The use of the dual marker *-a*, however, is much more prevalent than the use of the paucal suffix *-(t)al*. In a survey of forty-four Nalik-speakers of all ages, for example, roughly half used the dual marker when translating English or Tok Pisin sentences with dual subjects. In contrast to this, only two used the paucal marker when translating sentences with subjects of three or four persons. Both who did were, interestingly, leaders in the community who are often called upon to speak in public, one an older clan leader and the other a leader of women's activities. They are therefore accustomed to using a formal register, often in situations where others would use a less formal register. The results of this survey correlate with my informal observation that these suffixes, especially the paucal marker, tend to be used only

in careful or formal speech or when the speaker wishes to place particularly strong emphasis on the number of the subject.

When the verb is followed by an incorporated noun phrase (see 4.1.1 Direct object incorporation) or another verb in a serial construction (see 4.1.2 Serial verbs), the dual or paucal suffix is attached to these last constituents in the verb complex. Thus, the dual marker is suffixed to the incorporated noun phrase *ti* 'tea' in the first of the following two sentences and in the second sentence to the serial verb *izi* 'stay' in the serial construction *vizik izi* 'go and stay':

- (4.43) *Di imin ti-ya.*
 1:3NSG drink tea-DU
 'The two of them are drinking tea.'

- (4.44) *Di vizik izi-ya.*
 1:3NSG go stay-DU
 'The two of them went and settled down (there).'

4.3 Transitivity suffixes *-ing* and *-im*

In addition to a dual or paucal suffix, a verb which is normally intransitive may have the transitivity suffix *-ing*. As discussed in 2.2 (Transitive verbs), and shown in Figure 2.2 (Examples of transitive and intransitive verb pairs), while some Nalik verbs, such as *imin* 'drink', are identical whether they are transitive or intransitive or differentiate intransitivity and transitivity by different lexical forms, such as *piaat* 'say' and *faze* 'tell', many are differentiated by the use of the transitivity suffix *-ing*, such as *rexas(ing)* 'know'. Most transitive loans from Tok Pisin and

English, such as *katim* 'cut' and *havim* 'have' use *-im*, which is the Tok Pisin equivalent of *-ing*.

The stratum which determines whether *-ing* is required is the final, not initial, stratum. The following sentence, for example, is monostratal with a direct object, so *-ing* is required:

	SU			P		DO	MONO- STRATAL
(4.45)	<i>A</i>	<i>rate</i>	<i>angkanaan</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>rexas-ing</i>	<i>ni</i>	
	ART	man	those	1:3NSG	know-TR	I	
	`Those men know me.'						

In a Nalik passive sentence, when an initial direct object is promoted to a final subject, the initial subject is demoted to a nonterm subject-chômeur marked by the nonterm marker *pa(n)* (see 12.1 Passive). Where this occurs, there is no final direct object. Because the final stratum is intransitive and the transitive marker marks the transitivity of the final stratum, there is no *-ing* suffix. This can be seen in the following sentence in which the initial stratum is the same as in the preceding example above, but which has undergone passivization, so that the verb in the final stratum is no longer transitive and does not require a transitivity *-ing* suffix:

	DO	P		SU			INITIAL STRATUM
	SU	P		SU-chô			FINAL STRATUM
(4.46)	<i>Ga</i>	<i>rexas</i>	<i>pan</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>rate</i>	<i>angkanaan</i>	
	1SG	know	NTM	ART	man	those	
	`I am known by those men.'						

If it were the initial stratum which determined the presence or absence of *-ing*, a sentence such as the preceding example would require *-ing*. Such a sentence is, however, ungrammatical:

- (4.47) **Ga rexas-ing pan a rate angkanaan.*
 1SG know-TR NTM ART man those
 'I am known by those men.'

The transitive marker comes after any incorporated direct object. This can be seen in the examples illustrating comparative constructions in 4.1.2.3 (Comparison and superlative). It also comes after a serial verb. This can be seen in the following sentence in which the causative adjectival verb *pamumut* precedes the *-ing* suffix.

- (4.48) *Ga rexas pa-mumut-ing naan.*
 1SG know CAU-small-TR (s)he
 'I know him a little.'

An arbitrary spelling convention has been adopted to attach the *-ing* suffix to final elements of a phrase as one word. This was probably approved by Naliks as much because of the influence of spelling in English, where another completely unrelated *-ing* affix is not written as a separate word, as because of phonological or grammatical characteristics of Nalik itself.

4.4 Completive marker *faanong*

In the final position after the verb and optionally in addition to an incorporated direct object, suffixes, and the *ang* focus marker, the verbal complex may have the particle *faanong*. This particle marks completive aspect and may be related to Ross' Proto Lavongai-Nalik reconstruction **vo* 'perfective' (quoted in

Beaumont f.c.:21), although that reconstruction, as its modern descendants in Tigak and Kara, is a preverbal rather than postverbal particle.

Nalik *faanong* may be used with verbs with no overt tense, e.g.,

- (4.49) *Ga raa vaanong ma ga i zuf.*
 1SG arise CML and 1SG DUR wash
 'I get up and I have a bath.'

As the sentence above shows, this particle may be used with the durative marker *i*. It may also be used with the past tense marker *tabung* or the future tense marker *na*, as in the following two sentences, respectively:

- (4.50) *Ga tabung faangan faanong.*
 1SG ANT eat CML
 'I've already eaten.'

- (4.51) *Ga na wut faanong ma mur ga na*
 1SG FUT come CML and then 1SG FUT
vaan si Lundeng.
 go of L.
 'I'll have come here (first) and then I'll go to Lundeng's.'

As these examples indicate, *faanong* ordinarily comes directly after the verb. However, there is an optional movement rule which can move the completive marker out of the verbal complex to a position directly after an unincorporated direct object. This can be seen in the following two equivalent sentences. In the first, *faanong* immediately follows the verb, whereas in the second, *faanong* has moved out of the verbal complex and follows the direct object *a viu* 'a dog':

(4.52) *Ga vul vaanong a viu.*
 1SG buy CML ART dog

(4.53) *Ga vul a viu vaanong.*
 1SG buy ART dog CML
 'I bought a dog.'

4.5 Conclusion: Postverbal elements

After the head verb stem, the verb complex may optionally contain several elements which appear in a fixed order. Both direct objects and serial verbs can become elements of the verbal complex, coming directly after the verb. As they now head an arc which terminates in a phrase, rather than a clause, they lose the particle which is the badge of their independent grammatical relation in the sentence, i.e., the article or subject marker, respectively.

A serial verb construction is used to express comparison. As a result of influence from Tok Pisin and English, there is variation between constructions used by older traditional men and those used by other Nalik speakers to express comparisons.

In the second position after the verb stem, a suffix marking dual or paucal number in the subject may be used. If a pronominal subject is also present, these dual or paucal suffixes must appear on both the pronominal subject and the verb stem.

In the third position after the verb stem, the transitive suffix *-ing* (or, with loans from Tok Pisin and English, *-im*) is used. This must be present when the head verb is subcategorized to use the transitive suffix and the final stratum is transitive.

The focus marker *ang* may appear in the fourth position after the head verb stem. This marker is discussed in 10.3 (Focus marker (*y*)*ang*).

The final element in the verbal complex is the completive marker *faanong*. This completive marker may be moved out of the verbal complex to the end of the sentence. This marker appears to have cognates in some other Lavongai-Nalik languages, but in those languages the apparent cognates are preverbal, not postverbal as in Nalik.

Chapter 5

Nouns

The structure of the noun phrase in Nalik is interesting because in several important aspects there is variation between different subgroups in the society. This variation appears to be the result of the influence of dominant Tok Pisin. Noun phrases in Nalik consist of a head which may be a noun, pronoun, or a clause. Pronouns are discussed in chapter eight (Personal pronouns), while clauses with the same grammatical relations as noun phrases are discussed in 10.2.1 (Conjunctions and clauses). The head of a noun phrase may be preceded and followed by certain modifiers, which are discussed in the next two chapters.

The head of most noun phrases is a noun. Nouns in Nalik can be defined as elements having two characteristics.

The first is that a nouns are preceded by an article unless the article has been deleted as a result of a rule such as direct object incorporation (see 4.1.1 Direct object incorporation), the use of a dual marker (see 6.2.1 Dual markers *u*), or the use of a personal name which is subcategorized not to permit the use of an article (see 5.2.2 Personal and geographic names). Some elements classified in this chapter as uncountable nouns do not permit a preceding article; these are considered nouns because they have the same function and are found in the same position as other elements which are considered nouns because they are preceded by an article.

The second characteristic of Nalik nouns is that they can be elements outside the verbal complex which are coreferential with a subject marker. Although

pronouns can also be independent subjects (see 8. Personal pronouns), they are not preceded by an article. In the following sentence *kakao* 'cocoa' can be identified as a noun because it is coreferential with the subject marker *ka* and it is preceded by the article *a*.

- (5.1) *A kakao arit ka lapuk faanong.*
 ART cocoa here 3 big CML
 'The cocoa here is already big.'

Nouns in Nalik can be uncountable or countable. As independent subjects, some uncountable nouns must always be coreferential with a plural subject marker, while others must always be coreferential with a singular subject marker. An important subgroup of the latter is the indefinite nouns.

Most nouns are countable. Among countable nouns, two important subgroups are verbal nouns and personal names, which have grammatical properties not shared by other countable nouns.

5.1 Uncountable nouns

Uncountable nouns cannot be modified by numerals or grammatical markers of number, such as dual, paucal, or nonsingular markers. Nevertheless, they do have a fixed grammatical number, either singular or plural. This is determined by the subject marker which must agree with them in person and number when they are independent subjects.

5.1.1. Plural uncountable nouns. The group of uncountable nouns which are always considered plural is small. These nouns do not require a nonsingular

marker, but can be recognized as plural by the plural subject marker which they require when they are the independent subject of a sentence. An example of this is *mala* 'a crowd of people', which in the following sentence is preceded by the article *a*, but no nonsingular marker, and yet which has the nonsingular subject marker *di*:

- (5.2) *A* *mala xa* *vit* *di* *rexas-ing* ...
 ART crowd 3 NEG 3NSG know-TR
 'The masses don't know ...'

5.1.2 Singular uncountable nouns. Most uncountable nouns are singular. They cannot be modified by a numeral or a grammatical marker of number in the noun phrase. As independent subjects they are coreferential with the third person subject marker *ka*. This group includes most foods, both indigenous, such as *vudu* 'banana', and introduced, such as *nudel* 'noodles'; neither would be grammatical if preceded by the plural marker *mun*. Fruit is usually uncountable even in a nonfood context, e.g., *kakao* 'cocoa' in (5.3) and (5.4) 'I'll harvest cocoa'. As direct objects, these nouns are usually incorporated into the verbal complex and therefore are not preceded by an article (see 4.1.1 Direct object incorporation). Indeed, sentences with a singular uncountable direct object which has not been incorporated are considered awkward, although grammatical, by most speakers, as the lack of incorporation implies that only one piece is under consideration. Thus the first of the following sentences, in which the direct object *kakao* 'cocoa' is incorporated into the preceding verbal complex, is more common than the second, in which it is not. The second implies that only one piece of fruit is being harvested.

- (5.3) *Ga* *na* *mamaaus* *kakao*.
 1SG FUT harvest cocoa
 'I'll harvest cocoa.'

- (5.4) *Ga na mamaaus a kakao.*
 1SG FUT harvest ART cocoa
 'I'll harvest the cocoa.'

The following sentence, with the nonsingular marker *mun*, is ungrammatical since, as in English, cocoa is an uncountable substance that cannot be made plural:

- (5.5) **Ga na mamaaus a mun kakao.*
 1SG FUT harvest ART NSG cocoa
 'I'll harvest cocoas.'

Another group of uncountable nouns is nouns expressing temporality. These include the traditional and English names of the days of the week, the months, and the seasons. None of these was recorded with the nonsingular marker *mun* or with the nonspecific article *a*, but they can be used with *la*, i.e., with the nonspecific article *a* preceded by the locative-temporal marker *l-* (see 9.1.2 Locative and temporal marker *l-*). The use of *la* is not obligatory. For example, the following two sentences are identical except that in the first the temporal noun *marias* 'dry season' is not preceded by *la*, whereas in the second it is. Both are grammatical and have the same meaning, but the second construction, with *la*, is more common:

- (5.6) *Ga na rain lava nu marias.*
 1SG FUT see later youSG dry.season
- (5.7) *Ga na rain lava nu l-a marias.*
 1SG FUT see later youSG LOC-ART dry.season
 'I'll see you later, in the dry season.'

In other languages the equivalents of these temporal nouns are often described as adverbs. In Nalik the ability to be preceded by the locative-temporal marker *la* differentiates these temporal nouns from adverbs. The use of *la* immediately

preceding adverbs such as *lak* 'first' and *mur* 'then' is ungrammatical. Thus the following sentence is ungrammatical, but can be made grammatical if the two occurrences of *la* are omitted:

- (5.8) **Gu* *na* *vangan* *L-a* *lak* *ma*
 2SG FUT eat LOC-ART first and

 L-a *mur* *lawa* *gu* *na* *vaan.*
 LOC-ART then afterwards 2SG FUT go
 'First you eat and then afterwards you'll be off.'

5.1.2.1. Indefinite nouns. There are several uncountable nouns in Nalik to describe unspecified persons or objects of an unspecified number. The two most common are *nun* 'something' and *zaak* 'someone'. These are similar in function to English indefinite pronouns, but they must be analyzed as a class of nouns rather than pronouns because they are generally preceded by an article, e.g.,

- (5.9) *Ga* *na* *lis* *sin* *a* *zaak.*
 1SG FUT give of ART someone
 'I'll give it to someone.'

Indefinite nouns cannot be preceded by nonsingular markers. Often, however, *nun* and *zaak* are preceded by *a za* 'what', which can be analyzed as the article *a* and *za* 'something', e.g.,

- (5.10) *a* *za* *nun* *ka* *paa*
 ART something NSG 3 down
 'something down there'

- (5.11) *a nun las sin a za zaak*
 ART NSG lime of ART something someone
 'someone's (special) type of lime (i.e., for use with betelnut)'

Like other nouns, the indefinite nouns may be preceded by the specific article *ta* as well as the specific article *a*, e.g.,

- (5.12) *ta zaak si naande*
 SPC someone of they
 'a certain person of theirs (i.e., of their clan)'

There are also two other nouns which have similar indefinite meanings, but which use articles in a different way than *nun* and *zaak*. These are *labat* 'some male' and *saan* 'some female'. Both act like ordinary countable nouns in that they may be preceded by the paucal marker *uba(n)*, as in the following sentences. But neither was recorded preceded by the plural marker *mun* or the dual marker *u*.

- (5.13) *uba saan*
 PAU some.female
 'some three to four females'

- (5.14) *uba labat*
 PAU some.male
 'some three to four males'

These two words differ in that while *labat* 'some male' is normally preceded by a nonspecific article, and thus behaves like the two indefinite nouns just mentioned, *saan* meaning 'some female' is not preceded by a nonspecific article. This difference can be seen in the following two sentences:

(5.15) *A* *labat* *ka* *piaat.*
 ART some.male 3 speak
 some man spoke'

(5.16) *Saan* *ka* *mat.*
 some.female 3 die
 'Some woman died.'

When *saan* is preceded by the nonspecific article *a*, the meaning changes to 'thing', as in the following example:

(5.17) *a* *zaan* *lapuk*
 ART thing big
 'a big thing'

It should be noted that there is some variation in the Nalik community in the use of *saan* 'some female'. For many speakers who do not hold traditional titles, *saan* can refer to males as well as females. But for those with strong traditional ties and status, such as *maimai* (clan orators), it is used only to refer to females.

5.2 Countable nouns

Countable nouns, which may appear with the article *a* and either with or without a nonsingular marker, can be further subdivided into inalienable and alienable nouns, depending on which of two possessive pronoun systems can be used with the noun. This is discussed in 7.4 (Demonstratives and possessives) below. As will be seen, this distinction is disappearing in many speakers' speech.

The group of alienable nouns can be further divided into two groups. The majority form the plural in a regular fashion, using the nonsingular marker *mun*, e.g.,

a vaal 'house' / *a mun faal* 'houses' and *a biskit* 'biscuit' / *a mun biskit* 'biscuits'.

Among these is a set of verbal nouns derived from verbs.

A minority, all describing humans, have irregular plural forms. Several require the irregular plural marker *fu* instead of *mun*, e.g., *a nalik* 'boy' / *a fu nalik* 'boys', *a kulau* 'youth' / *a fu xulau* 'youth', *a fnalik* 'girl' / *a fu fnalik* 'girls', and *a ravin* 'woman' / *a fu ravin* 'women'. In the Southern, Laefu, and West Coast dialects *fu* is usually replaced by *u* which in the Northern dialect is the dual marker (see 6.3.2 Dual markers). These dialects have plural forms such as *u ravin* 'the women' and *u laxalik* 'the boys',

When formally asked, most older, and many middle aged or young Naliks report that it is ungrammatical to use the ordinary nonsingular marker *mun* in conjunction with *fu*. But in conversation this is actually a common usage. This is reflected in a survey of forty-four persons who had to make quick decisions about the grammaticality of certain expressions. Of the forty-four persons asked, only one judged *a mun fu fnalik* 'the girls' ungrammatical, while none objected to *a mun fu ravin* 'the women'. In addition, several younger and middle-aged speakers judged the use of *fu* with *kulau* 'youth' ungrammatical, whether with or without a preceding plural marker *mun* (i.e., *a (mun) fu xulau*). It is probable that these data reflect a tendency towards regularization in plural formation and the weakening of the nouns requiring *fu* as a separate class. However, it should be pointed out that since *fu* was not recorded preceding a noun that was singular (e.g., **a fu ravin azaxei* 'the one woman'), and speakers still always interpret a noun preceded by *fu* as plural, this particle has not, yet at least, become completely assimilated into the human nouns it precedes.

In addition to the group of irregular nouns which form a plural with *(f)u*, there are two nouns describing humans which have completely idiosyncratic plural forms. One is *rate* 'man', whose plural form *tete* shows a regular phonological alternation between intervocalic [r] and [t], but also an irregular vowel shift in the first syllable so that the first vowel is the same as the second.

The second idiosyncratic plural is *piraana* 'big man'. Among older speakers at least, the use of the regular plural marker *mun* with this noun is judged ungrammatical. Instead, the use of *a vaanga* 'a group' with *a piraana* as a modifying noun phrase is preferred:

- (5.18) *a* *vaanga* *a* *piraana*
 ART group ART big.man
 'the important men'

As will be seen in 7.1 (Modifying noun phrases) below, the use of the article before both *vaanga* 'group' and *piraana* 'big man' indicates that *vaanga* is a noun rather than a plural marker like *mun* and *fu*. No other nouns were recorded using *vaanga* to mark nonsingular number.

5.2.1 Verbal nouns. A number of nouns are derived from or are identical with verbs. Some verbs can become nouns through the addition of the *-ing* nominalizing suffix. Others do not require a suffix. These verbal nouns can be preceded by preverbal particles, but in all other respects act as other countable nouns.

5.2.1.1 *-ing* nominalizer. The use of an *-ing* suffix as a transitive marker was discussed in 4.3 (Transitive suffixes *-ing* and *-im*) above. Another apparently unrelated *-ing* suffix nominalizes a verb to become a countable noun and therefore

preceded by the article *a* and, where appropriate, the plural marker *mun*. This can be seen in the following examples, in which the verbs *famozes* 'to work' and *riri* 'to dance' have been nominalized through *-ing* and *famozesing* made plural by being immediately preceded by *mun*:

- (5.19) *a* *mun* *famozes-ing* *pan* *a*
 ART NSG work-NOM NTM ART
- malanggan* *kana*
 memorial.ceremony this
 'all the work for this memorial ceremony'

- (5.20) *A* *riri-ing* *ka* *balis* *doxo.*
 ART dance-NOM 3 become good
 'The dancing's getting good.'

Because the two suffixes *-ing* are homonymous but express two different functions, there can sometimes be a conflict of meaning limiting the productivity of these suffixes. Generally, if an intransitive verb could logically be made transitive and also be used as a noun, *-ing* is used as a nominalizer, but the transitive verb is identical in form to the intransitive verb, rather than requiring a transitivizing *-ing*. This avoids a word ending in two *-ing*'s when an intransitive verb is both transitivized and nominalized. An example of this is *rangan* 'to sing', used intransitively in the following sentence:

- (5.21) *Ka* *rangan* *doxo.*
 3 sing good
 'She sings well.'

In the following sentence, where there is a direct object, *rangan* is unchanged:

- (5.22) *Nang ka rangan a nalik.*
 mother 3 sing ART child
 'Mother's singing to the child.'

To use a transitivizing *-ing* would be ungrammatical e.g.,

- (5.23) **Nang ka rangan-ing a nalik*
 mother 3 sing-TR ART child

This is because *-ing* is used to form the noun 'song' from the verb, as in the following sentence:

- (5.24) *Nang ka rangan a rangan-ing*
 mother 3 sing ART sing-NOM

sin a xulmu.
 of ART ancestor
 'Mother's singing a traditional song.'

When *-ing* is used to nominalize a verbal complex which contains an incorporated direct object, the *-ing* suffix comes at the end of the entire verbal complex, i.e., after the incorporated direct object. This can be seen in the following sentence, in which the direct object *danim* 'water' has been incorporated into the verbal complex headed by *sarak* 'fetch'. This verbal complex has then been nominalized to become the complement of the prepositional phrase starting with the locative and purposive preposition *kun*. The *-ing* suffix comes after the incorporated direct object *danim*:

- (5.25) *Madi pe paan l-a danim kun a*
 1EX NEG go LOC-ART water LOC ART
sarak danim-ing.
 fetch water-NOM
 'We can't go to the river to get water.'

5.2.1.2 Nouns identical with verbs. In the examples above, the presence of the nominalizing suffix *-ing* indicates that the noun is derived from the verb. With some other pairs of nouns and verbs, the verb and noun are identical in form. Examples of these are *maimai* '(to be a) clan orator' and *ngong* '(to be) an insane person' in the following pairs of sentences. In the first sentence of each pair, these words are preceded by the article *a*, indicating that they are nouns, while in the second sentence of each pair they are preceded by the subject marker *ka*, indicating that they are verbs:

- (5.26) *Naan a maimai.*
 he ART clan.orator
 'He's a clan orator.'
- (5.27) *Naan ka maimai vaanong.*
 he 3 clan.orator CML
 'He's already become a clan orator.'
- (5.28) *A ngong ka wut.*
 ART insane 3 come
 'An insane person's coming.'
- (5.29) *A rate ka ngong.*
 ART man 3 insane
 'The man's crazy.'

5.2.1.3. Verbal particles with verbal nouns. Verbal nouns, whether identical in form with verbs or derived from verbs using the nominalizing suffix *-ing*, differ from other nouns in that they may be preceded or followed by the same elements that verbs are. The position of an incorporated direct object has already been shown in (5.25) above. The use of preverbal particles with verbal nouns can be seen in the following example in which the verb which has been nominalized is preceded by a habitual particle and a reciprocal marker:

- (5.30) *a-t* *fara-maxos-ing*
 ART-HAB REC-marry-NOM
 `a wedding'
 (i.e., literally, the process of becoming married to each other)

As discussed in 3.4 (Reciprocal particles) above, the usual position of the durative marker is after the reciprocal marker. But interestingly, in this verbal noun, the usual order of the reciprocal marker *fara* and the durative marker *-t* is reversed.

Verbal nouns derived from verbs with a direct object can also be followed by the focus marker *ang*, which places focus on the direct object (see 10.3 Focus marker (*y*)*ang*). This can be seen in the following example with the verbal noun *giu*, `to build', which is preceded by an article in this sentence indicating that it is a noun, `a building'. Here the focus marker *ang* is found after nominalized *giu* and *a vaal* `a house', the initial direct object of *giu* before nominalization.

- (5.31) *A* *vit* *di* *rexas-ing* *a* *giu*
 3SG NEG 1:3NSG know-TR ART make

 ang *a* *vaal*.
 FOC ART house
 `They don't know about building a house.'

5.2.2 Personal names. Most, but not all, personal names of people and geographic places cannot be preceded by the article *a*. These include many indigenous names as well as virtually all nonindigenous names introduced from overseas since contact with the West, such as *Ali*, *Maria*, and *Japan*.

The article *a* is used only with a subset of indigenous names for which its use is obligatory, such as *a Pelis* and *a Xomerang*, both of which are personal names which are ungrammatical without the article, and *a Vataling*, the name of a rocky peninsula near Madina village. This is discussed further in 6.1.1.1 (Use of nonspecific articles with personal and geographic names).

There does not seem to be a pattern in whether a name will be subcategorized to permit the use of an article or not. Both male and female names appear in both classes, as do names which have no transparent meaning to contemporary Naliks, such as *a Pelis*, and names with some connection with ordinary nouns, such as *a Xomerang*, which Nalik speakers identify as being derived from *a marang* 'a dry coconut', and *a Vataling*, which comes from *a vat a ling* 'the tongue of the rock'. Most geographic names do not use *a*. This is the case for both the names of local areas and for introduced names of areas outside of New Ireland. It is also the case for 'spiritual geographic' names, such as *liaa* 'heaven' and *malia* 'hell'.

Names which are subcategorized not to permit the use of an article appear in the same positions and with the same functions as those which do require an article. For this reason we can presume that the article has been deleted and that these names are still classified as nouns.

5.3 Conclusion: Nouns

In Nalik a noun is an element which can be preceded by an article. A noun can head a noun phrase and can be an independent subject coreferential with a subject marker in the verbal complex.

Nouns can be uncountable or countable. As subjects, some uncountable nouns are coreferential with plural subject markers, but most trigger singular subject markers. Numerals or grammatical markers of number cannot be used with uncountable nouns.

Countable nouns can be singular and plural and can be modified by numerals and markers of grammatical number. Some are derived from verbs. These sometimes retain verbal modifiers.

With a subset of personal and geographic names, the article is deleted. This subset includes nearly all introduced names as well as many indigenous names.

Chapter 6

Prenominal elements in the noun phrase

This chapter describes the elements which may precede the head of a noun phrase when the head is a noun. These elements are not present when a noun phrase is headed by a pronoun.

A noun phrase normally begins with an article. With some nouns this may be followed by a classifier. Countable nouns may also follow a nonsingular marker where appropriate, which comes between the article and the head noun. There are also two subclasses of adjectival verbs and numerals introduced from Tok Pisin modifiers which appear prenominally rather than postnominally like most of the members of their classes. These are discussed as exceptions to the general rules regarding their respective classes in 7.2.1 Prenominal adjectives and 7.3.1 Prenominal numerals.

6.1 Articles

There are three classes of articles in Nalik: nonspecific, specific, and indefinite. Of these the nonspecific articles are the most common. There is no separate personal article as in some other New Ireland-Tolai languages.

6.1.1. Nonspecific articles *a*, *na*. The most common article is the nonspecific article *a*, e.g.,

- (6.1) *a* *zaan doxo*
 ART thing good
 `a/the good thing'

Although Beaumont (f.c.:7) has discussed Lavongai-Nalik articles as being either definite or indefinite, this distinction is not applicable to *a* or the other articles in Nalik. The Nalik article *a* is used with all nouns (except some uncountable and proper nouns) simply to mark the beginning of a noun phrase, without any meaning of definiteness. Its use as a `default' grammatical marker in this way is obligatory except where another article is present or the noun is uncountable or one of the proper nouns which are subcategorized not to permit the use of an article.

The article *na* is used in place of *a* immediately after a word ending in a vowel (see examples (7.8) and (7.9)). It is also used after the negative verb *vit*, e.g.,

- (6.2) *Ka vit na zaan doxo.*
 3 NEG ART thing good
 `It's not a good thing.'

This is interesting because the third person subject marker *ka* must also be replaced by *na* immediately following *vit* (see 3.1 Subject markers). Since subject markers and articles are the basic markers identifying an element as a verbal complex or a noun phrase, the fact that both are replaced by the same word following *vit* could imply that *na* is a marker of some sort of loss of clause level dependency.

Counterevidence to this is seen in the fact that there is a subject marker *na* used to mark emphasis in environments where *vit* is not present. Further counterevidence lies in the fact that *na* is also used instead of the article *a* when the word immediately preceding ends in *-a*, as does *mara* `eye' in the following phrase:

- (6.3) *a* *mara na lok*
 ART eye ART hole
 `the mouth ('eye') of the cave'

6.1.1.1. Use of nonspecific articles with personal and geographic names.

Beaumont (f.c.:7) has stated that in Lavongai, Tigak, and Kara there is a separate system of personal articles used when referring to persons. Ross (1986: 328) has reconstructed a Proto Lavongai-Nalik personal article **na* which is one of the innovations which defines the limits of the Lavongai-Nalik network. Modern Nalik does not have any separate personal articles such as this.

While there is no separate article for personal names, there are some personal names which must be preceded by the nonspecific article. With one exception these are all indigenous names, e.g. *a Xomerang*, *a Pelis*, *a Ongga*, *a Ulagis*, *a Rabai*, and *a Xuletma*. The exception is the name of the Bahá'í prophet *a Bab*, the article being a translation of the Arabic article *el* in *el-Báb* ('the Gate'). Like *Yesu* 'Jesus', this is, however, not used as a given name locally.

6.1.2. Specific article *ta*. Ross (1988:357) has listed *ta*, a reflex of Proto West Oceanic **ta*, as an indefinite article in Nalik as well as in the other Lavongai-Nalik languages. In actual fact, Nalik *ta* is used instead of nonspecific *a* to specify one specific person or item. Thus in the first of the following two sentences the speaker does not necessarily specify one particular person who is being paid, whereas in the second the use of *ta* indicates the speaker is speaking about one specific man:

- (6.4) *Ga na vul a rate kun a*
 1SG FUT buy ART man for ART

vamozes-ing surugu.

work-NOM of:I

'I will pay a/the man for working for me.'

- (6.5) *Ga na vul ta rate kun a*
 1SG FUT buy SPC man for ART

vamozes-ing surugu.

work-NOM of:I

'I will pay one specific man for working for me.'

This specific article is different from a definite article in that it is only used for special emphasis. Ordinarily the nonspecific article *a* can be used even if a particular individual is meant; for this reason *a* may be translated as 'a' or 'the' in a sentence such as (6.4). *Ta* is closer in meaning to 'one' in English than to either of the English articles.

When *ta* is repeated and used in conjunction with the plural marker *mun*, *ta ta* means 'each', e.g.,

- (6.6) *Di va-los a mun ta ta wok-ing*
 1IN CAU-follow ART NSG SPC SPC work-NOM

ka varas pan a malagan.

3 much NTM ART memorial.ceremony

'We are obliged to carry out each of the many tasks
 in a memorial ceremony.'

This usage is similar to the use of *wan wan* 'one one' in Tok Pisin, which also means 'each', i.e., *wan wan wok* 'each task'. It is possible that this use of *ta ta* is a

calque of the Tok Pisin expression, but if so it is an old calque since even the oldest and most traditional speakers, such as the clan leader who said the sentence immediately above, use it.

6.1.2.1. Use of possessive with *ta*. The specific article is interesting in that the inalienable possessive suffixes may be used with it. Ordinarily, these suffixes are only used with inalienable nouns, such as terms for family members and body parts (see 7.4.2. Inalienable possessives). When the specific article and an inalienable possessive suffix are used together, the meaning is 'one specific item for X'. For example, when the first person singular inalienable suffix *-ku* is used with *ta*, the meaning is 'one specific item for me', as in the following sentence:

- (6.7) *Gu na zuruk ta-ku mit.*
 1SG FUT fetch SPC-my frozen.meat
 'Get me that one special type of frozen meat (i.e., at the store).'

6.1.2.2. Plural specific article *tao*. In the West Coast dialect, and possibly also Laefu dialect, there is a plural form of the specific article, *tao*, e.g.,

- (6.8) *tao vang*
 SPC:NSG meat
 'a lot of pieces of that kind of meat'

In the West Coast dialect the use of *ta* instead of *tao* in the sentence above would change the meaning to 'one piece of that meat'.

6.2 Classifiers

Several classifiers are used in Nalik. These appear directly after the article and show that the head noun is the collective name of a group of individuals. Some are comparable to English expressions such as a crowd, bunch, or swarm, in that they are only used with specific nouns. Examples of these are *vi* 'crowd', *rixing* 'bunch', and *simbial* 'swarm', e.g.,

(6.9) *a* *vi* *fu-nalik*
 ART crowd NSG-boy
 `a crowd of boys'

(6.10) *a* *rixing fudu*
 ART bunch banana
 `a bunch of bananas'

(6.11) *a* *simbial* *langot*
 ART swarm hornet
 `a swarm of hornets'

Several classifiers have been borrowed from Tok Pisin and English. One of these is *bak* 'bag', e.g.,

(6.12) *a* *bak* *suga*
 ART bag sugar
 `a bag of sugar'

Other classifiers are general in meaning and not linked to a specific semantic class. For example, a group sharing the same characteristics can also be thought of as a collective unity in the same way as a swarm or bunch, so that *wat* 'kind' or its modern Tok Pisin loan *kain* are also classifiers:

(6.13) *a wat malagan*
 ART kind traditional.carving
 `that kind of malagan carving'

(6.14) *a kain fangan-ing*
 ART kind eat-NOM
 `that kind of food'

Another general classifier is *za*, which means `one out of many' and is roughly equivalent to English *some*, e.g.,

(6.15) *A za Sande bane ga wut lis tasin*
 ART some Sunday just 1SG come give put

a za vi.
 ART some goods
 `One Sunday or another I came bringing some stuff.'

6.3 Nonsingular markers

All countable nouns in Nalik can be marked for nonsingular number. Singular nouns are preceded by only an article. Nonsingular nouns which are not followed by a numeral are usually preceded by a nonsingular marker. Normally this is a general nonsingular marker. It is possible, however, to use a specifically dual or paucal marker.

6.3.1 General nonsingular markers. There are four forms of the nonsingular marker: (*f*)*u*, *mu*, *mun*, and *nun*. As mentioned above in 5.2 (Countable nouns), certain alienable countable nouns take the irregular nonsingular marker *fu* (Northern East Coast dialect) or *u* (Southern East Coast, Laefu, and West Coast dialects). All regular countable nouns take the nonsingular marker *mun*, e.g.,

- (6.16) *a* *mun* *faal*
 ART NSG house
 `the houses'

The final *-n* can be omitted in rapid speech, so that in the same conversation, the plural of *piu* (*viu*) `dog' was recorded with both *mun* and *mu*:

- (6.17) *a* *mun* *piu*
 ART NSG dog
 `the dogs'

- (6.18) *a* *mu* *viu*
 ART NSG dog
 `the dogs'

When preceding plural nouns the general classifier *za* (see 6.2 Classifiers) is followed by *nun*. *Nun* has already been described as an indefinite noun meaning `something' (see 5.1.2.1 Indefinite nouns). When used as a head noun, *nun* only refers to nonhumans; its counterpart *zaak* is used to refer to humans. But when placed between *za* and a plural head noun, *nun* can be used with human as well as nonhuman nouns, e.g.,

- (6.19) *a* *za* *nun* *kulau*
 ART some NSG youth
 `some youths'

- (6.20) *a* *za* *nun* *danim*
 ART some NSG water
 `some water'

Because of this and because no other plural marker is used with *a za nun*, there appear to be two homophonous *nun*, one an indefinite noun, the other a form of the

nonsingular marker. As a nonsingular marker, *nun* is probably the result of phonological assimilation of the initial noncoronal /m/ of *mun* to the coronal /z/ of preceding *za*.

Although it is usual for a form of the nonsingular marker to be present whenever a head noun is nonsingular, this is not obligatory. In the following sentence, for example, *rate* 'man' is not marked with a nonsingular marker, but it is an overt subject coreferential with the nonsingular subject marker *di*:

- (6.21) *A* *rate* *angkanaan* *di* *rexas-ing* *ni*.
 ART man that 1:3NSG know-TR I
 'Those men know me.'

6.3.2. Dual markers. Duality can be specified by the dual marker *u* in place of the general nonsingular marker. This dual marker may be used without a preceding article, e.g.,

- (6.22) *u* *yen*
 DU fish
 'the two fish'

- (6.23) *u* *ravin*
 DU woman
 'the two women'

In the Northern East Coast dialect at least, this dual marker may also be used with an article, e.g.,

- (6.24) *a* *u* *yen*
 ART DU fish
 'the two fish'

This dual marker seems to be a shortened form of a full form *uru*. Thus the following is a variant of (6.23):

- (6.25) *uru* *ravin*
 DU woman
 `the two women'

In the Northern East Coast dialect this full form is homonymous with the numeral *uru*, so that it appears to be a preposed numeral. But in the Southern East Coast dialect the numeral has the form *urua*, while the full form of the dual marker is *uru*. This distinction in the Southern East Coast dialect indicates that the homophony in the Northern East Coast dialect is simply coincidental and that prenominal *uru* is not a preposed numeral.

6.3.2.1. Variation in use of the dual marker. The preceding discussion of the dual marker is valid for the Northern East Coast dialect, but not for the Southern East Coast and possibly Western and Laefu, dialects. This is because of the Southern East Coast dialect use of *u* as both a dual marker and the countable alienable noun irregular nonsingular marker (see 5.2 Countable nouns); in the Northern East Coast dialect the irregular nonsingular marker is *fu*. Thus, (6.23) *u ravin* is ambiguous in the Southern East Coast dialect depending on whether *u* is interpreted as a dual marker ('the two women') or a general nonsingular marker ('the women'). In the Northern East Coast dialect this phrase can only mean 'the two women', while 'the women' is *fu ravin*.

This ambiguity does not extend to countable nouns which use the regular plural marker, so that (6.22) *u yen* 'the two fish' is also acceptable in the Southern East Coast dialect. Probably because of this ambiguity of *u* in some contexts, the use

of the dual marker is not as common in the Southern East Coast dialect, so that a more common way to expression duality is either to use the full form of the dual form, *uru* as in (6.25), or the article and the postnominal numeral *urua* 'two', as in the following example:

(6.26) *a* *yen* *urua*
 ART fish two
 `the two fish'

Unlike the other dialects, the Southern East Coast dialect does not permit the article to be used with the dual marker, so that Northern East Coast dialect (6.24) *a u yen* 'the two fish' is not grammatical for most Southern East Coast dialect speakers. It is likely that using an article with the dual marker is also a relatively recent innovation in the Northern East Coast dialect. This is shown by the responses given when forty-five persons from Madina village in the Northern East Coast dialect area were asked to translate a sentence containing the phrase 'the two boys' into Nalik. Twenty-nine used the dual marker *uru* without a preceding article while six used the article followed by the head noun, which was followed by the numeral *uru*, i.e.,

(6.27) *a* *nalik* *uru*
 ART boy two
 `the two boys'

There was no pattern in the speakers who used these forms; they included speakers of all ages, both men and women, and both those with and those without strong traditional ties. Only ten speakers used an article and *uru* preceding the head noun (i.e., as a dual marker instead of a numeral):

- (6.28) *a* *uru* *nalik*
 ART DU boy
 `the two boys'

All these speakers were under thirty years of age, and most of them teenagers or children. This indicates that this is a relatively recent innovation. All of these speakers have been educated to at least grade six in English and it is possible that this innovation is a result of the influence of English and Tok Pisin word order (with a reinterpretation of *uru* as an English-type prenominal numeral rather than as a dual marker), thus allowing the article *a* to be followed by a numeral which in turn is followed by the head noun. Of course, it may also be a result of a language-internal broadening of the use of the Nalik article *a*, permitting its use in all situations, not only when there is no dual marker.

Among younger speakers in the Northern East Coast dialect there is also a tendency not to use the short form of the dual marker *u* which is usually used by older speakers. Of the same forty-five speakers from Madina who were interviewed, ten judged the phrase *u ravin* `two women' ungrammatical. While not all were among the same ten who used the innovative `article + dual marker + head noun' pattern discussed above, all were, once again, under thirty years of age. In fact, only two were older than twenty, and one of them a woman from Madina who has emigrated to Australia and therefore rarely uses Nalik in everyday life. If duality as a grammatical concept is being lost and the dual marker is being reinterpreted as a prenominal numeral by younger speakers, this would be expected, as speakers would then prefer to use the longer form *uru* which is identical in form to the numeral.

6.3.3 Paucal marker *uban*. When referring to three or four items, the paucal marker *uban* can be used before the head noun. Usually the article is deleted before the paucal marker, e.g.,

- (6.29) *Uban kulau di roxin a mun nur.*
 PAU youth 3NSG have ART NSG coconut
 'The three or four youths have the coconuts.'

But when the noun phrase is part of a prepositional phrase, the paucal marker is preceded by the article *a*, e.g.,

- (6.30) *Ka vaan Rabaul feraxei wan*
 3 go R. with NTM

a uban nana zarago
 ART PAU mother of:I
 'He went to Rabaul with my four maternal aunts.'

Numbers may be used with the paucal marker only when the head noun is nonhuman. Thus the first of the following examples is grammatical because the head noun *vaal* 'house' is nonhuman, whereas the second is ungrammatical because the head noun *kulau* 'youth' is human:

- (6.31) *a uban faal orol*
 ART PAU house three
 'the three houses'

- (6.32) **a uban kulau orol*
 ART PAU youth three
 'the three youths'

The use of the paucal marker instead of the general plural marker *mun* is optional and its use seems to be waning among younger speakers. For example, when forty-five speakers of all ages were asked to translate two sentences containing the phrases 'my three aunties' and 'the four women' into Nalik, only three older speakers, all community leaders, and four middle aged speakers, the youngest of whom was in his thirties, used the paucal marker in at least one of the sentences. All other speakers used a numeral only. Using specific numerals instead of the more general paucal marker may be due to the influence of English and Tok Pisin, neither of which has a general term covering both 'three' and 'four'.

6.4 Nominal prefixes

In addition to the verbal prefixes discussed in the previous section which can be affixed to verbal nouns, there are three prefixes which can be affixed to nonverbal nouns, *ba*, *di*, and *divi*.

Ba- has a vocative function, indicating audience, as in the following examples:

(6.33) *piraana*
 'big.man'

(6.34) *Ba-piraana!*
 audience-big.man
 'Ladies and gentlemen!'

(6.35) *saan*
 'someone'

- (6.36) *ba-zaan*
audience-someone
'you few people'

Di- is a nominal prefix which acts as an intensifier:

- (6.37) *a mura*
ART snake
'a snake'
- (6.38) *a di-mura*
ART INT-snake
'a serpent'
- (6.39) *a Di-piraan*
ART INT-big.man
'the Lord'

With plural nouns *di-* is prefixed to the classifier *vi-* 'crowd' to indicate a large quantity. With *divi* the plural marker *mun* is omitted, e.g.,

- (6.40) *a vaal*
ART house
'a house'
- (6.41) *a di-vi vaal*
ART INT-crowd house
'quite a number of houses'
- (6.42) *a vangan-ing*
ART eat-NOM
'the food'

- (6.43) *a* *di-vi* *vangan-ing*
 ART INT-NSG eat-NOM
 `a veritable feast'

6.5 Conclusion: Prenominal elements

A noun phrase headed by a noun normally begins with an article, usually the nonspecific article *a*. This may be followed by a specific or general classifier or a nonsingular marker denoting dual, paucal, or general nonsingular number. There is some intergenerational variation in the use of these markers. Either the head noun or classifier can be prefixed with a prefix having the meaning `audience' or `large'.

Chapter 7

Postnominal elements in the noun phrase

A head noun can be followed by a number of different types of optional modifiers. These include (in order of appearance after the head noun) a modifying noun phrase or inalienable possessive suffix, incorporated adjectival verbs (with or without modifying intensifiers), a numeral, a demonstrative or alienable possessive, or a modifying clause as shown in Figure 7.1 (Order of postnominal elements). None of these is obligatory. Indeed, many noun phrases have no postnominal elements, while others have all or some of these elements (with one exception mentioned below in 7.4. Demonstratives and possessives).

head noun	modifying noun phrase or inalien- able posses- sive	modify- ing adjec- tival verb	numeral or alienable possessive	demon- strative clause	modify- ing
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Figure 7.1 Order of postnominal elements

7.1 Modifying noun phrases

Just as a serial verb modifies the head verb of a verbal complex (see 4.1.2 Serial verbs), a noun phrase can also become part of another noun phrase and modify the head noun. Unlike a serial verb or a direct object incorporated into a verb (see 4.1.1 Direct object incorporation) a noun phrase incorporated into another noun phrase does not necessarily lose its initial grammatical marker, its article.

The postnominal modifying noun phrase may express inalienable possession, where the possessor is a noun rather than a pronoun (see example (7.9) and 9.1.5 Possessive marker *si(n)*). But usually the modifying noun phrase is a whole item, while the head noun is a part of this whole, e.g.,

(7.1) *a* *xaak* *a* *tebol*
 ART leg ART table
 `the leg of a table'

(7.2) *a* *waan* *a* *vaal*
 ART leaf ART house
 `the wall' (i.e., `the leaf of the house')

The modifying noun may also be the material out of which the head noun is composed, e.g.,

(7.3) *a* *vaal* *a* *brik*
 ART house ART brick
 `the brick house'

(7.4) *a* *tebol* *a* *yai*
 ART table ART tree
 `the wooden table'

The modifying noun phrase may also explain the purpose of the head noun, as in the following example,

(7.5) *a* *vaal* *a* *gis*
 ART house ART sickness
 `the hospital'

- (7.6) *a* *vaal* *a* *kuk*
 ART house ART cooking
 'the kitchen' (usually a separate building in New Ireland)

Measurements are usually expressed by Tok Pisin or English loan expressions. But they may also be rendered by modifying noun phrases with an article, e.g.,

- (7.7) *a* *yarus* *a* *braav-ing* *i* *pan* *a* *orol*
 ART rope ART long-NOM DUR NTM ART three
 'a rope three units (i.e., meters) long'

As already explained in 6.1.1 (Nonspecific articles *a*, *na*), when the head noun ends in a vowel, the article *a* becomes *na*, e.g.,

- (7.8) *a* *mara* *na* *xava*
 ART eye ART net
 'the eye of a net (i.e., where the cords are knotted)'

- (7.9) *a* *langa* *na* *Tivian*
 ART ear ART T.
 'Tivian's ear'

Like a modifying adjectival verb (see 7.2 Modifying adjectival verb), a modifying noun phrase appears before any demonstrative or possessive which may be present. Thus the following two sentences, with the demonstrative *angkare* 'this', or the possessive *surago* 'my', after the modifying noun phrase are grammatical:

- (7.10) *a* *vaal* *a* *kuk* *angkare*
 ART house ART cooking this
 'this kitchen'

- (7.11) *a vaal a kuk surago*
 ART house ART cooking of:I
 'my kitchen'

If both a modifying noun phrase and a modifying adjectival verb are present in the same noun phrase, the modifying noun phrase precedes the modifying adjectival verb and is, in fact, the only constituent which may, e.g.,

- (7.12) *a vaal a kuk vaaxor*
 ART house ART cooking new
 'the new kitchen'

The following sentences are all ungrammatical with the modifying noun phrase after the other postnominal modifiers:

- (7.13) **a vaal a angkare kuk*
 ART house ART this cooking
 'this kitchen'

- (7.14) **a vaal surago a kuk*
 ART house of:I ART cooking
 'my kitchen'

- (7.15) **a vaal vaaxor a kuk*
 ART house new ART cooking
 'the new kitchen'

Any other modifiers after a modifying noun are interpreted as modifying the head, not the modifying noun. Thus in (7.16) *angkare* 'this' means 'this house (for cooking)'. It cannot mean 'a house for this type of cooking', with *angkare* 'this' referring to the modifying noun phrase *a kuk*. For this reason, although a modifying noun phrase may contain a prenominal article, it cannot contain any postnominal

modifiers. Such postnominal modifiers would be interpreted as modifying the head noun, not the modifying noun.

- (7.16) *a vaal a kuk angkare*
 ART house ART cooking this
 `this cooking house (kitchen)'
 *`a house for this kind of cooking'

It should be pointed out that a postnominal modifying noun phrase is not the same as an appositive, which is simply a coreferential rewording of the head noun. For example, in the following sentence *maimai* `clan orator' and *Kawok* (a man's name) is simply refer to the same person:

- (7.17) *Kawok, a maimai, naan kare*
 K. ART clan.orator (s)he INT

ka na wut.
 3 FUT come
 `Kawok, the clan orator, will be coming.'

7.2 Modifying adjectival verbs

As has already been shown, the incorporation of a direct object into the preceding verb (see 4.1.1 Direct object incorporation) has the result of tying the direct object closer to the verb. In a similar way, an adjectival verb can be more closely tied to a preceding noun, i.e., have a final modifying grammatical relation at the phrase level, rather than a predicate grammatical relation at the clause level. As with direct object incorporation, this is accompanied by the deletion of the initial particle identifying the independent grammatical identity of the word. With direct object incorporation this is the article which identifies the direct object as a noun,

while with a modifying adjectival verb it is the subject marker, which identifies the word being incorporated as a verb.

This process can be seen in the following sentences. The first two sentences are complete sentences with the adjectival verb *rofkof* '(be) white' and the third person singular subject marker *ka / xa*. The sentence has an overt subject *a rate* 'the man', which agrees with the subject marker. The second sentence has no overt subject.

(7.18) *A rate xa rofkof.*
 ART man 3 white
 'The man is white.'

(7.19) *Ka rofkof.*
 3 white
 'He's white.'

If the subject marker of such a sentence agrees with a noun phrase in a preceding sentence (in the next example the direct object *a rate* 'the man'), the two sentences can be juxtaposed and conjoined as one sentence:

(7.20) *Ga raain a rate, xa rofkof.*
 1SG see ART man 3 white
 'I see a man who is white.'

If the subject marker preceding an adjectival verb is deleted, the conjoined sentence which contains it loses its separate clause level identity and the adjectival verb becomes a modifier in the noun phrase of the other sentence. This is the case in the following sentence, in which the subject marker *ka / xa* of the verb *rofkof* is deleted:

- (7.21) *Ga raain a rate rofkof.*
 1SG see ART man white
 'I see a white man.'

In the preceding example the head noun is a direct object. This process is, however, not dependent on the grammatical relation of the head noun. This can be seen in the following examples where the adjectival verb *ka vaaxor* 'it is new' modifies the subject noun phrase *a kaar* 'the car' in the second sentence:

- (7.22) *Ka vaaxor.*
 3 new
 'It's new.'

- (7.23) *A kaar vaaxor ka na wut tanin.*
 ART car new 3 FUT come today
 'The new car is coming today.'

Because the adjectival verb is tied closely to the head noun, creating in effect a new compound noun, no demonstratives (such as *angkare* 'this'), numerals (such as *orol* 'three'), or possessive pronouns (such as *sina* 'his/her/its') appear between them, as the ungrammaticality of the following sentences shows:

- (7.24) **Gu rain a rate angkare rofkof?*
 2SG see ART man this white
 'Do you see this white man?'

- (7.25) **Gu rain a rate orol rofkof?*
 2SG see ART man three white
 'Do you see the three white men?'

- (7.26) **Gu rain a rate sina rofkof?*
 2SG see ART man of:(s)he white
 `Do you see her white man?'

These sentences become grammatical when the demonstrative, numeral, or possessive pronoun appears after the modifying adjectival verb:

- (7.27) *Gu rain a rate rofkof angkare?*
 2SG see ART man white this
 `You see this white man?'

- (7.28) *Gu rain a rate rofkof orol?*
 2SG see ART man white three
 `You see three white men?'

- (7.29) *Gu rain a rate rofkof sina?*
 2SG see ART man white of:(s)he
 `You see her white man?'

Only a modifying noun phrase can appear before an modifying adjectival verb. This indicates that a modifying noun phrase is tied to the head noun even more strongly than a modifying adjectival verb. Examples are given above in 7.1 (Modifying noun phrases).

When a modifying adjectival verb is modified by an intensifier, the intensifier also becomes part of the noun phrase as the following pair of examples (the first without and the second with adjectival incorporation) containing the intensifier *marazaat* `very' demonstrates:

- (7.30) *A nur ka doxo marazaat.*
 ART coconut 3 good very
 `The coconut is very good.'

- (7.31) *Ga zaxot a nur doxo marazaat.*
 1SG want ART coconut good very
 'I want a very good coconut.'

With some adjectival verbs there is a difference in meaning depending on whether the verb heads an arc terminating in a phrase or whether it is left as an independent clause juxtaposed with another clause. One such adjectival verb is *faras* '(to be) many'. As an modifying adjectival verb, *faras* has a negative connotation, i.e., that there are many today, but there will not always be many:

- (7.32) *Ga raain a mun yen faras*
 1SG see ART NSG fish many

l-a ras.
 LOC-ART sea
 'I saw many fish (but maybe tomorrow there won't be many).'

When it is part of an independent clause, *faras* has a positive connotation, i.e., that there are many now and there will always be many:

- (7.33) *Ga raain a mun yen ka*
 1SG see ART NSG fish 3

varas l-a ras.
 many LOC-ART sea
 'I saw fish that were plentiful (and there will still be many tomorrow).'

Probably because of this positive connotation, the phrase *ka varas* 'it is plentiful' is a customary way for a clan orator (*maimai*) to end a *malagan* (end of mourning) ceremony.

Another adjectival verb with different meanings depending on whether it heads an arc terminating in a phrase or a clause is *lapuk* '(to be) big'. As a modifying adjectival verb, *lapuk* means 'big', e.g.,

- (7.34) *A nalik lapuk.*
 ART boy big
 `a big boy'

When it heads an arc terminating in an independent clause and refers to humans, *lapuk* means 'adult', e.g.,

- (7.35) *A nalik ka lapuk (faanong)*
 ART boy 3 big CML
 `The boy has grown up.'

Not all verbs are able to be head arcs terminating in a phrase, i.e., to be modifying adjectival verbs. For example, it is possible to say:

- (7.36) *Ka i zi.*
 3 DUR sit
 `He's sitting down.'

It is also possible to conjoin this to another sentence, e.g.,

- (7.37) *Gu rain a rate xa i zi?*
 2SG see ART man 3 DUR sit
 `You see the man who's sitting?'

But it is ungrammatical to delete the subject marker *xa* so that the conjoined verb *izi* 'sit' heads an arc terminating in a phrase, modifying the noun phrase *a rate* 'the man':

- (7.38) **Gu rain a rate i-zi?*
 2SG see ART man DUR-sit
 `You see the sitting man?'

It is this ability to modify a noun by heading an arc terminating in a clause that sets the adjectival verbs apart as a separate class of verbs (see 2.2.3 Adjectival verbs).

7.2.1 Prenominal adjectives. With the analysis given thus far, all `adjectives' have been described as being able to head arcs terminating in a clause, i.e. to be independent verbs, or to head arcs terminating in a noun phrase, i.e. to modify nouns. For this reason it has been possible to describe these as a subset of verbs rather than as a separate grammatical category. With the borrowing of adjectives from Tok Pisin and, to a lesser extent from English, however, a class of true adjectives has begun to develop. Thus as these lexical items are borrowed into Nalik, a new grammatical category has also been borrowed.

Although speakers of all ages use loan adjectives from Tok Pisin and English, they are more common in the speech of younger speakers. This is undoubtedly because the indigenous Nalik lexicons of younger speakers are usually more restricted than those of older speakers.

As in Tok Pisin and English, these loan adjectives are placed before the head noun and, as in English, after the article (Tok Pisin has no article). Examples of this are *les* (Tok Pisin `lazy, disinclined') and *wanwan* (Tok Pisin `each') in the following sentences:

- (7.39) *Naan a les Tate.*
 (s)he ART lazy man
 `He's a lazy man.'

- (7.40) *a mun wanwan fu-nalik*
 ART NSG each NSG-girl
 'each girl'

Some of these loans may be used as verbs. As the following sentence shows, *les* 'lazy' is an example of those which may:

- (7.41) *Ka na les bulai.*
 3 FUT lazy always
 'He'll always be lazy.'

But unlike indigenous adjectival verbs, some loan adjectives cannot be used as independent verbs. An example of these is *wanwan* 'each':

- (7.42) **Ka na wanwan.*
 3 FUT each
 'He'll be each.'

This indicates that at least some of these pronominal loan adjectives must be regarded as a new, separate grammatical category, rather than as a subset of verbs.

7.3 Numerals

Demonstratives are normally the last element in a noun phrase (see 7.4 Demonstratives and possessives). But as demonstratives are not used with numerals, where numerals are used, they often mark the end of a noun phrase, as *orol* 'three' does in the following phrase:

- (7.43) *a yen orol*
 ART fish three
 'the three fish'

Where appropriate, the numeral can be preceded by an intensifier, such as *be* 'only' in the following phrase:

(7.44) *a* *rate* *be* *azaxei*
 ART man only one
 'only one man'

Lean (1985:29-30) gives a survey of the Nalik counting system. As he explains, the Nalik counting system has elements of both a base ten and a base five system. Figure 7.2 (Numerals from one to five) lists the numerals used to count items up to five.

1	<i>azaxei</i>	
2	<i>uru</i>	(<i>urua</i> in the Southern East Coast and West Coast dialects)
3	<i>orol</i>	
4	<i>orolavaat</i>	(<i>urulavaat</i> for some speakers)
5	<i>kavitmit</i>	(<i>oplima</i> in the Southern East Coast dialect)

Figure 7.2 Numerals from one to five

The Southern East Coast word for 'five' is a reflex of Proto Oceanic **lima* 'five, hand'. A reflex of Proto Oceanic **lima* was also used in the abstract numerical system used for mathematics (see Figure 7.7 Abstract numerals below). The Northern East Coast equivalent *kavitmit* is not a reflex of the Proto Oceanic word for hand, but it is still related to the Nalik word for 'hand', *mit*. It can be analyzed as:

(7.45) *Ka* *vit* *mit.*
 3 NEG hand
 'No hand.'

This reflects the New Ireland way of counting on one's hand. To begin counting, the hand is open with the thumb and all fingers extended. For each number, an appropriate number of fingers is lowered, beginning with the small finger. Thus to indicate 'one' the small finger is lowered, while to indicate 'five' the hand is closed, i.e., there is 'no hand'.

The terms used to count six to nine items are based on *ka-vizik* 'it goes down' as an equivalent of 'five', plus a number from one to four. Again, this reflects the New Ireland way of counting on one's hand, as these numbers are five plus one to four additional fingers being lowered. These numerals are listed in Figure 7.3 (Numbers from six to nine).

6	<i>ka-vizik-saxei</i>	(it goes down-one)
7	<i>ka-vizik-uru(a)</i>	(it goes down-two)
8	<i>ka-vizik-tal</i>	(it goes down-paucal)
9	<i>ka-vizik-faat</i>	(it goes down-four)

Figure 7.3 Numbers from six to nine

'Ten' is *sanaflu*. Larger units of ten are formed using the pattern: (*ka-*)*sanaflu* '(it is) ten' + *va(ra)* 'reciprocal particle' + a numeral from two to nine. This is shown in Figure 7.4 (Numbers in tens from ten to ninety).

One hundred is *ka-zanaflu vara zuai* 'ten squared'. This is multiplied by appropriate numbers for higher units of hundreds, as in example (7.46).

10	<i>sanaflu</i>	
20	<i>sanaflu vara uru(a)</i>	(10 x 2)
30	<i>sanaflu vara orol</i>	(10 x 3)
40	<i>(ka-)sanaflu vara lavaat</i> <i>(dizanaflu vara lavaat for some speakers)</i>	(10 x 4)
50	<i>kazanaflu va vitmit</i>	(10 x 5)
60	<i>kazanaflu va viziksaxei</i>	(10 x (5+1))
70	<i>kazanaflu va vizikuru</i>	(10 x (5+2))
80	<i>kazanaflu va viziktal</i>	(10 x (5+3))
90	<i>kazanaflu va vizikfaat</i>	(10 x (5+4))

Figure 7.4 Numbers in tens from ten to ninety

(7.46) *ka-zanaflu* *vara* *zuai* *uru*
 3-ten REC squared two
 `two hundred'

With this system the higher numbers needed for modern life can be quite long, e.g.,

(7.47) *ka-zanaflu* *vara* *zuai* *ma* *ka-zanaflu*
 3-ten REC squared and 3-ten

va *ru* *ma* *zaxei* *xa* *lok* *uru*
 REC two and one 3 present two
 `two hundred twenty-one'

The cumbersomeness of such a system in a modern society is evident. This, along with universal primary mathematics education in English among younger Naliks, is undoubtedly a factor in the disuse of the indigenous counting system today. Speakers of all ages usually use the Tok Pisin / English counting system, and, among

the younger generation, very few have even a passive knowledge of numerals over ten. Indeed, many children know only the first three indigenous numerals.

When traditional numerals are used, a classifier (see 6.2 Classifiers) may optionally be used between the article and the head noun. For example, the classifier *vi* 'crowd' is used with a numeral in the following example:

(7.48) *a* *vi* *yen* *orolavaat*
 ART crowd fish four
 `the four fish'

The nonsingular marker *mun* may also be used when numerals are present, e.g.,

(7.49) *a* *mun* *yen* *orolavaat*
 ART NSG fish four
 `the four fish'

Alternatively, both a classifier and a nonsingular marker may be omitted, e.g.,

(7.50) *a* *yen* *orolavaat*
 ART fish four
 `the four fish'

Traditionally Nalik had expressions for fractions as well as whole numbers, but today fractions are invariably expressed by the English expressions learned in primary school and only older speakers know the indigenous terms. 'One half' was traditionally expressed by *ta korovang* or *a gbal*. Other fractions were expressed using a phrase with *a vang* 'a part' followed by an appropriate number, as shown in Figure 7.5 (Fractions).

<i>ta korovang</i> or <i>a gbal</i>	`one half'
<i>a vang kital</i>	`one-third'
<i>a vang talavaat</i>	`one fourth'
<i>a vang pitmit</i>	`one fifth'
<i>a vang piziksaxa</i>	`one sixth'
<i>a vang pizikuru</i>	`one seventh'
<i>a vang piziktul</i>	`one eighth'
<i>a vang pizikfaat</i>	`one ninth'
<i>a vang singafllu</i>	`one tenth'

Figure 7.5 Fractions

These terms were used prenominaly. The fraction acted as a head noun with the item being counted acting as a modifying noun phrase as in the following sentence. This follows the pattern of the modifying noun phrase being the whole of which the head noun is a part (see 7.1 Modifying noun phrase).

- (7.51) *Ga saxot ta korovang biskit lak.*
 1SG like SPC half biscuit first
 'I'd like half a biscuit (= cookie) first.'

Oral history relates that all the counting systems mentioned so far were relatively late innovations originating in Fissoa, which gradually spread to other Nalik villages as groups from Fissoa pushed out or submerged the original inhabitants of Fatmilak and Bol. Clan elders relate that the 'true' Nalik numbers were the numbers listed in Figure 7.6 ('Original' Nalik numerals), which originally came from Laefu village.

1	<i>hihep</i>	6	<i>dipiran</i>
2	<i>kimbo</i>	7	<i>wira</i>
3	<i>yaangi</i>	8	<i>kalangga</i>
4	<i>kapkap</i>	9	<i>ikula</i>
5	<i>pakaraat</i>	10	<i>lavaatazaar</i>

Figure 7.6 'Original' Nalik numerals

Clan elders today relate that there were no numbers in this system for numbers above ten. This system differs in several respects from the system described above which is said to have followed it. Most striking is the fact that the numbers above five are not compounds based on five, e.g. 'five and one' for 'six'. This strictly base ten system is not only in contrast to the Nalik system in general use at the time of European contact, but also to the counting systems of the other Lavongai-Nalik languages (see Lean 1985 and Fast 1990:10-12), which have bimorphemic numbers based on five from six to nine and decimal based compounds after ten. This suggests these so-called 'original' Nalik numerals may have been derived from a language outside the Lavongai-Nalik network, such as an earlier non-Austronesian language.

It is also interesting that *hihep* 'one' has a marked falling intonation on the first syllable and rising intonation on the last syllable, while *lavaatazaar* 'ten' also requires a rising intonation on the last syllable. These are the only Nalik words which require specific intonation patterns separate from the intonation of the sentence as a whole. This may reflect a borrowing from or an imitation of a tonal language in the past. Although tone is not common in New Ireland languages, the Barok language and some dialects of Kara and Patpatar have been reported to be tonal (Lithgow and Claassen 1968:9-12). This indicates either that there may have been a tendency for tone to develop in New Ireland languages under certain circumstances, or that these languages were in contact with a tonal language in the past.

It is worth noting that some of these 'original' numbers are also nouns with a spiritual significance in modern Nalik. For example, *kapkap* 'four' is also the name of a *malagan* carving used today as a symbol of learning on the Madina High School logo, just as *dipiran* 'six' is also 'the Lord' (*di* 'great' + *piran* 'big man'). This suggests that rather than having been in general use, these numbers may have been part of a special register for religious or ceremonial purposes. At this late stage, however, this hypothesis must remain only speculation, as it has been decades since this system was in active use. Today even many clan leaders and orators do not know these numbers and their very existence is unknown to the average person; when clan orators decided to teach them to me as part of this study, even middle-age persons listening to the conversation said they had not known about this counting system before.

The terms discussed so far are, or were, used in counting individual items. A somewhat different system existed traditionally for pure mathematics, i.e., counting in the abstract, as shown in Figure 7.7 (Abstract numerals). Today the traditional way of showing abstract numbers visually is still used, holding the appropriate number of fingers down, beginning with the thumb. But today the terms used are loans and the actual indigenous Nalik terms are known only by a small number of older men well versed in traditional lore. As with the counting numerals, the numbers from seven to nine are joined numbers using a base plus two (*urua*), three (*tal*), or four (*faat*). No living Naliks could be found who had memory of abstract numbers in this system above ten.

1	<i>saxe</i>	6	<i>isaxa</i>
2	<i>marua</i>	7	<i>sigurua</i>
3	<i>mangtal</i>	8	<i>singtal</i>
4	<i>mangfaat</i>	9	<i>singfaat</i>
5	<i>malima</i>	10	<i>sangafllu</i>

Figure 7.7 Abstract numerals

In addition to the formal terms discussed so far, which are no longer used, or even known, by most Naliks, there are several colloquial numerical expressions which are still in common use today. One example is *falazing* 'ten kina'. In colonial times five pounds was usually given to indigenous workers in a wrapper of one hundred shilling coins. From this the word for 'wrapper' *falazing* became a slang expression for five pounds. This is still used to refer to units of ten kina, the post-independence decimal currency equivalent of five pounds¹, e.g.,

(7.52) *a* *falaz-ing* *uru*
 ART wrap-NOM two
 'twenty kina (i.e., two wrappers)'

7.3.1. Prenominal numerals. Today the English / Tok Pisin counting system is used in almost all situations. In contrast to the indigenous postnominal numerals, these loan numerals are usually placed before the head noun, either before the article, as in the first of the following two examples below or, as in English, with the article omitted, as in the second:

¹ From World War I until Independence in 1975 Papua New Guinea used Australian currency. Until 1966 this was the old British system of one pound composed of twenty shillings, each of which was composed of twelve pence. In 1966 Australia adopted a decimal currency system with a dollar composed of one hundred cents. One dollar was valued at half a pound (ten shillings). At Independence Papua New Guinea created its own currency, with a kina, initially at par with the Australian dollar, composed of one hundred toea. In Tok Pisin and many vernaculars ten toea is still often referred to as one shilling.

(7.53) *faiv a vaat mayal*
 five ART stone tiny
 `five tiny stones'

(7.54) *feraxei-ing tripela anti zaraga*
 with-TR three aunt of:I
 `with my three aunts'

A number of speakers, both old and young, also place the indigenous numerals before the head noun, as in the following two sentences. and sometimes without a preceding article, as in the first of the following two sentences. Speakers who do so also tend to use innovative forms, such as the transitive suffix *-ing* instead of the nonterm marker *pa(n)* after the preposition *feraxei* (see 9.1.4 Comitative marker *feraxei*), a form of the first person singular inalienable possessive *surago* with a term for a blood relative instead of an alienable possessive suffix (see 7.4.4 Variation in the use of possessives), a lowering of back vowels to /a/ in the pronunciation of possessives (e.g., *saraga* for *surago*), and the use of loan words from Tok Pisin and English for kinship terms (e.g., *anti* `aunt'). The fact that using indigenous numerals preminally is linked to using these innovative forms indicates that using indigenous numerals preminally is also innovative.

(7.55) *feraxei-ing orol nimam sarago*
 with-TR three aunt of:I
 `with my three aunts'

(7.56) *feraxei wan a orol nana zurago*
 with NTM ART three mother of:I
 `with my three maternal aunts'

7.4 Demonstratives and possessives

The last element which a Nalik noun phrase may contain is either a demonstrative or an alienable possessive. As in many Oceanic languages, Nalik has traditionally differentiated between inalienable and alienable possession, each using a different set of possessives. Inalienable possessives are suffixes on the noun and these, unlike alienable possessives, precede all other postnominal modifiers. Beaumont (1976a:390-91) has claimed that in the New Ireland-Tolai languages as a whole, alienable nouns are divided into two classes, edible and inedible, on the basis of different uses of the inalienable possessive. There is no evidence that such a distinction has been retained in modern Nalik.

7.4.1 Demonstratives. Neither demonstratives nor possessives are obligatory, so that a noun phrase can end with any of the preceding types of post-modifying elements instead of a demonstrative or possessive. However, if a postnominal numeral is present, only an alienable possessive, not a demonstrative, may follow. Thus the use of *surago* 'my' after the numeral *orol* 'three' is grammatical in the following sentence:

- (7.57) *Ga rain a yen orol surago.*
 1SG see ART fish three of:I
 'I see my three fish.'

But the use of the demonstrative *angkare* 'this' instead of the possessive *surago* 'my' makes the sentence ungrammatical:

- (7.58) **Ga rain a yen orol angkare.*
 1SG see ART fish three this
 'I see these three fish.'

The most common Nalik demonstrative is *angkare* 'this'. It is tempting to analyze *angkare* as the focus marker *ang* plus the third person subject marker *ka* plus a verb *re*, and it is not improbable that this may represent the etymology of *angkare*. But this demonstrative differs from the focus marker in that, as in the following example, it may modify subjects as well as direct objects. Moreover, literate native speakers invariably write *angkare* as one word, even those who otherwise join the focus marker *ang* to the previous word or who write it as a separate word. Nevertheless, *ang-* can be omitted from *angkare*, so that with no change in meaning, the example below is grammatical with either *angkare* or *kare*:

- (7.59) A rate (ang)kare ka na mas wut.
 ART man this 3 FUT must come
 'This man must be coming.'

Another variant is for the initial vowel and following nasal to metathesize as *nakare*², as in (7.60).

- (7.60) A rate nakare ka na mas wut.
 ART man this 3 FUT must come
 'This man must be coming.'

A second demonstrative expresses distance away from the speaker, *angkanaan* 'that', e.g.,

- (7.61) a susu angkanaan
 ART milk that
 'that milk'

² As this metathesis shows, the /n/ in *angkare* may be an assimilation of /n/ to the following /k/. It also suggests that the *ang* of *angkare* is really *an* and not the focus marker at all.

Like *angkare*, *angkanaan* can appear without an initial *ang*, as in the following equivalent of the sentence above:

- (7.62) *a* *susu* *kanaan*
 ART milk that
 `that milk'

Similarly, the two initial phonemes can metathesize with no change of meaning, e.g.,

- (7.63) *a* *susu* *nakanaan*
 ART milk that
 `that milk'

7.4.2 Inalienable possessives. The speech of older speakers indicates that, as is the norm in Oceanic languages, Nalik traditionally differentiated between inalienable and alienable possession. Inalienable possessive forms were reserved for items which could not be removed from the owner, such as body parts, blood relations, and customary land. Alienable possessive forms were used for all other items. Beaumont (f.c.:16) reports that this use of special possessive forms for body parts and kinship terms is common to all the Lavongai-Nalik languages, but he makes no mention of inalienable forms being used for the customary possession of land. In modern Nalik many speakers no longer use the special inalienable forms. Undoubtedly this is due to the dominating influence of Tok Pisin and English, neither of which makes a distinction between inalienable and alienable possession.

The inalienable possessives are suffixes to the noun being possessed. The suffixes are listed in Figure 7.8 (Inalienable possessive suffixes). The dual and paucal forms are very rarely used in ordinary speech and both marked dual and paucal forms of the first and third person inalienable possessives, marked with a dash

in Figure 7.8, could not be elicited even in formal interviews with traditional clan orators. Although presumably there were once separate dual and paucal forms for all persons, today speakers who use the inalienable possessives use the plural forms for two to four items as well as for five or more.

	singular	dual	paucal	general nonsingular
first person	<i>-nagu, -nugu</i> <i>-go, gu</i>	-	-	<i>-maam</i> exclusive <i>-di</i> inclusive
second person	<i>-num</i>	<i>-numa</i>	<i>-numtal</i>	<i>-nim</i>
third person	<i>-na</i>	-	-	<i>-naande,</i> <i>-naandi,</i> <i>-naanda</i>

Figure 7.8 Inalienable possessive suffixes

Both the first person singular and third person plural forms have variant forms. The longer first person singular forms *-nagu* and *-nugu* are used interchangeably, with *nugu* being more common in careful or formal speech. The short forms *-gu* and *-go* are common contractions of these. The third person plural forms *-naande* and *-naandi* are geographic variants, while *-naanda* is a form favored by many youths. This is part of a general trend by many younger speakers to lower and back all vowels in pronouns and possessives to *a*.

Examples of sentences with inalienable possessives include:

(7.64) *Uru nalik di nangan-a wan*
 DU child 3NSG laugh-DU NTM
a latlagai-num.
 ART shadow-yoursG
 'The two children are laughing at your shadow.'

(7.65) *Dama-maam l-a liaa,*
 father-ourEX LOC-ART heaven
adu a iza-num ka lapuk.
 that ART name-yoursG 3 big
 'Our father in heaven, hallowed be Your name.'

(7.66) *A langa-go ka burus.*
 ART ear-my 3 hurt
 'My ear hurts.'

The inalienable possessives can be affixed to the specific article *ta* to form a word with the meaning 'one specific item for X'. This usage has already been discussed in 6.1.2.1 (Use of possessive with *ta*).

7.4.3 Alienable possessives. Unlike the inalienable possessives, the alienable possessives are separate words which, as already explained, may fall in the same noun phrase final slot as the demonstratives. Separate alienable possessive forms exist only in the singular. These are listed in Figure 7.9 (Singular possessives).

first person	<i>surago</i> (Northern East Coast dialect) <i>surugu</i> (Southern East Coast and West Coast dialects) <i>saraga</i> (used by many youth of all dialects)
second person	<i>sunum</i> <i>sanam</i> (used by many youth of all dialects)
third person	<i>sina</i>

Figure 7.9. Singular possessives

As shown below, the nonsingular alienable possessives are all prepositional phrases with the possessive preposition *si(n)* and a head which is identical to the corresponding inalienable possessive suffix. Although the singular alienable possessive pronouns cannot be used with *si*, they do all begin with *s-* and, in the Northern East Coast dialect, a high vowel, and they all end with the inalienable possessive suffix (see 7.4.2 Inalienable possessives). This indicates that they may have had their origin as contractions of *si(n)* and an inalienable possessive. In fact, the third person singular *sina* even begins with a fossilized possessive preposition *si(n)*. The first and second person singular alienable possessives end with the same syllable as the inalienable possessives, so a parallel origin of *surago* 'of:I' would be *si-nago* and of *sunum* 'your (singular)', *si-num*. For this reason, in examples these are glossed as portmanteaux morphemes combining the meanings 'of' and a nonplural pronoun object e.g., *sunum* 'of:youSG'. Examples of sentences with these possessives include:

- (7.67) *Ka zaxot a buk surugo.*
 3 like ART book of:I
 'He wants my book.'

- (7.68) *A vaal zunum ka lapuk.*
 ART house of:yousG 3 big
 'Your house is big.'
- (7.69) *Ga na langar a dor-ing sina.*
 I FUT listen ART speak-TR of:(s)he
 'I'll listen to his speech.'

In the nonsingular, the possessive preposition *si(n)* 'of' is used as a prefix with the appropriate pronoun, as shown in Figure 7.10 (Nonsingular alienable possessives). The nonsingular alienable possessives are identical in form to the inalienable possessives, except that the inalienable possessives are not prefaced by the possessive preposition *si(n)*, e.g., third person nonsingular inalienable possessive *naande*, and alienable equivalent *si naande* (see also Figure 7.8 Inalienable possessive suffixes).

	dual	paucal	general nonsingular
first person	<i>sin-di-ya</i> <i>si maam-a</i>	<i>sin-di-yal</i> <i>si maam-tal</i>	<i>sin-di</i> inclusive <i>si maam</i> exclusive
second person	<i>si nim-a</i>	<i>si nim-tal</i>	<i>si nim</i>
third person	<i>si naandi-ya</i>	<i>si naandi-yal</i>	<i>si naande</i> <i>si naanda</i>

Figure 7.10 Nonsingular alienable possessives

The prenasalization of the initial stop consonant of the first person nonsingular inclusive pronouns, a common phenomenon in Nalik, makes most Nalik writers join the preposition and pronoun as one word, i.e., *sindi* and not *sin di*. The other alienable possessive prepositional phrases, i.e., those beginning with non-stops, are written as two separate words. Undoubtedly, these writing patterns reflect an

underlying linguistic difference, but at this stage it is not certain whether this is a morphosyntactic or phonological difference. The following are examples of sentences with nonsingular alienable possessive prepositional phrases:

(7.70) *Gu vagun pizin a mun*
 youSG forgive throw ART NSG

milung-ing si maam.
 sin-NOM of 1EX
 `Forgive our sins.'

(7.71) *Gu raain a kaar vaaxor*
 youSG see ART car new

sin-di-a, adu?
 of-1EX-DU TAG
 `You see our new car, don't you?'

(7.72) *Naan a baaxot si naande.*
 it ART money of 3NSG
 `It's their money.'

Where the referent of a third person possessive is ambiguous because it might or might not refer to the subject of the sentence, the modifier *nanga* `yet' may be used after the possessive to express `one's own', showing that the referent of the pronoun possessive is the subject, e.g.,

(7.73) *Ka vul a vangan-ing sin a nalik*
 3 buy ART eat-NOM of ART boy

sina nanga.
 of:(s)he yet
 `He's buying food for his (own) boy.'

This is the same position that *nanga* has as a reflexive marker with pronominal direct objects (see 8.1 Pronominal postmodifiers).

7.4.4. Variation in the use of possessives. Today there is a continuum in the use of inalienable and alienable possessives. At one end of the continuum are the most conservative speakers, generally older and more traditionally oriented, who make the greatest use of inalienable forms. At the other end are the least conservative speakers, generally younger and less traditionally minded, who use inalienable forms seldom. It is rare for any two speakers to agree completely on the use or nonuse of inalienable possessives with all words, especially those which do not occur often, and many speakers use both conservative and innovative forms interchangeably with one or more words.

Among the most conservative speakers, the inalienable forms are used for body parts, as in the following examples:

(7.74) *a* *mit-nagu*
 ART hand-my
 `my hand'

(7.75) *a* *ngas-num*
 ART mouth-yoursG
 `your mouth'

Some of the `body parts' are not physical parts, but are nonphysical `parts' of a person which cannot be removed, e.g., one's soul, voice, name, and characteristics:

(7.76) *a* *varak-nagu*
 ART soul-my
 `my soul'

- (7.77) *a* *nounau-naande*
 ART shape-their
 `their shape' (also `their interest in something')
- (7.78) *a* *iza-gu*
 ART name-my
 `my name'
- (7.79) *a* *ling-nim*
 ART voice-yourNSG
 `your voice'
- (7.80) *a* *malmalabuk-naande*
 ART custom-their
 `their customs/characteristics'

By extension, the inalienable possessives can also be used for the generic word for details or integral component parts, e.g.,

- (7.81) *a* *mitmizingar-na*
 ART detail-his/her/its
 `its details/component parts'

As do the speakers of most Oceanic languages, these conservative speakers use the inalienable forms for kinship, e.g.,

- (7.82) *ta* *moro-gu*
 SPC maternal.relative-my
 `a certain maternal relative of mine'

- (7.83) *Tivian i damana-na*³
 T. DUR father-his/her/its
 `Tivian's father'

The name of the Deity can also be treated as a kinship term, e.g.,

- (7.84) *a Nakmai-num*
 ART God-yoursG
 `your God'

- (7.85) *a Piran-num*
 ART big.man-yoursG
 `your Lord'

In Nalik custom, as in Melanesia generally, land which is one's customary home cannot be alienated except under the most extreme conditions. Hence the inalienable possessives are used by conservative speakers for customary land ownership, e.g.,

- (7.86) *a kia-num*
 ART customary.land-yoursG
 `your permanent home'

In addition to being used with nouns, the inalienable possessives can be used with the specific article *ta* to form possessive pronouns, as has been described in 6.1.2.1 (Use of possessive with *ta*), e.g.,

- (7.87) *ta-gu*
 SPC-my
 `mine'

³ The double *-na* in *damanana* may be an instance of double possessive marking, as `father' is normally *dama*.

- (7.88) *ta-na*
 SPC-his/her/its
 `his/hers/its'

At the other end of the continuum from these conservative speakers are speakers who rarely use inalienable possessives. Although there are probably not yet speakers who never use inalienable possessives, for most of the categories discussed above, there are speakers who use alienable rather than inalienable possessives. For example, younger speakers were recorded using alienable forms with the following physical and spiritual body parts and kinship terms:

- (7.89) *a mit sina*
 ART hand of:(s)he
 `his hand'

- (7.90) *a varak sarago*
 ART soul of:I
 `my soul'

- (7.91) *a iza zaragu*
 ART name of:I
 `my name'

In addition to using alienable possessives with body parts, many innovative speakers use alienable possessives with kinship terms, for example:

- (7.92) *ta nalik saraga*
 SPC boy of:I
 `a certain boy of mine'

- (7.93) *a* *yaya* *zi* *naande*
 ART grandparent/child of they
 `their grandparent/child'

The only kinship term with which no speaker could be recorded using alienable forms was *tau* `clans(wo)man'.

The variation among children attending Madina Community School in the use of possessives with *iza* `name' is particularly interesting. Madina Community School is a primary school attended by children from both Madina village in the Northern East Coast dialect area and Luapul village, an east coast outpost of the West Coast dialect. While Nalik-speaking children from Luapul all use the inalienable possessive with *iza* `name', as in (7.78) above, Nalik-speaking children from Madina village (but only some of their adult relatives) invariably use the alienable form, as in (7.91). Since it can be presumed that the general drift is in the direction of abandoning inalienable possessives in favor of alienable possessives, and not the reverse, this indicates that the center of at least this innovation is in the Northern East Coast, not the West Coast, dialect area.

It should be pointed out that in certain contexts, more conservative speakers can use an alienable possessive for a body part. But this signals a change in meaning from using an inalienable possessive, indicating that the body part is not one's own. For example, if a conservative speaker were to use an alienable possessive with *mit* `hand', as in (7.89), the hand would not be the speaker's. Instead, it would usually be a crab or lobster hand or the ends of a loaf of bread (its `hands'). Less conservative speakers are not able to make this distinction so succinctly.

The loss of markedness for inalienable possession seems to spread item by item through an individual's lexicon, rather than being lost completely all at once as a grammatical category. In the following sentence, for example, one speaker was recorded using the inalienable possessive with the kinship term *moro* 'maternal relative', but not with the kinship term *nalik* 'boy, son'.

- (7.94) *Masingkarei* *ga* *saxot* *ga* *na* *bur* *ta*
 but 1SG like 1SG FUT consecrate SPC
- moro-gu* *o* *ta* *nalik* *surago...*
 maternal.relative-my or SPC boy of:I
 'But if I want to consecrate a certain maternal kinsman or a
 certain son of mine...'

Moro is a less common word in everyday use than *nalik*, so this variation suggests the use of inalienable possessives is more likely to be retained with less commonly used words in the lexicon. Additional evidence for this hypothesis can be seen by comparing the use of inalienable possessives with maternal and paternal kinship terms. New Ireland is a matrilineal society where one's clan consists of one's maternal rather than paternal kin. Thus maternal kinship relationships are more commonly discussed in everyday speech than paternal kinship terms. The use of alienable possessives instead of inalienable possessives occurs more frequently with members of the mother's lineage than with members of the father's lineage. When thirty-four people of all ages were asked to translate a Tok Pisin or English sentence containing the phrase 'my aunts', only two used inalienable possessives. In contrast, of twenty-seven people of all ages asked to translate a sentence containing the phrase 'his close male friend or clansman', thirteen used inalienable possessives. Most who

chose to use alienable possessives used a Tok Pisin or English loan word to translate 'friend' and loan words never take inalienable possessives.

For many speakers the entry for the alienable possession of at least kinship terms is undoubtedly with Tok Pisin / English loans, which are commonly used today for even the closest family relations, such as *mama*, *papa*, and *sista*. Indeed, this can often cause confusion, especially in the use of *mama*, since this is the indigenous word meaning 'daddy' and also an English/Tok Pisin loan meaning 'mother'. Similarly, the English/Tok Pisin loan *anti* does not differentiate between maternal and paternal aunts, an important distinction made by the two indigenous equivalents.

Even the most traditional speakers use alienable possessives with these loans. For example, one of the most erudite traditional clan orators, who is well known for the 'purity' of his speech, was recorded using an alienable possessive with a Tok Pisin loan kinship term *lain* 'clan', but an inalienable possessive with the next word, *tau*, its indigenous equivalent:

- (7.95) *Nis, a lain sarago, tau-nago?*
 who ART clan of:I clansman-my
 'Who, my clan, my clansmen?'

To illustrate the variation in the use of alienable and inalienable possessives, forty-five persons of all ages were asked to translate into Nalik sentences containing four nouns with which older speakers had been recorded using inalienable possessives. The results are shown in Figure 7.11 (Choice of alienable or inalienable possessives), which illustrates how many in each age group chose either an alienable or inalienable possessive. The numbers do not add up to forty-five in each case because many speakers avoided a specific possessive in all or some sentences by

using an article instead. This probably reflects the insecurity which many speakers feel regarding the possessives.

These data show that generally the use of inalienable possessives increases with the age of the speakers. In part this is because of the increased use of loan words among younger speakers, which, as noted above, take only alienable possessives. Among all except the elderly, females tend to be more likely than males to use inalienable possessives. Therefore the center of innovation away from using inalienable possessives is among younger and male speakers.

cue	number using inalienable
1. 'shadow'	1 fC, 0 mC 5 fY, 2 mY 6 fM, 5 mM 5 fO, 5 mO
2. 'soul'	0 fC, 0 mC 2 fY, 1 mY 5 fM, 2 mM 3 fO, 3 mO
3. 'aunt'	0 fC, 1 mC 0 fY, 0 mY 0 fM, 0 mM 1 fO, 0 mO
4. 'friend / clansman'	1 fC, 0 mC 1 fY, 1 mY 3 fM, 1 mM 2 fO, 4 mO
TOTAL INTERVIEWED:	4 fC, 4 mC 5 fY, 8 mY 7 fM, 5 mM 6 fO, 6 mO
f = female C = child (6-13) M = middle-aged (26-50)	m = male Y = youth (14-25) O = Old (51+)

Figure 7.11 Use of inalienable possessives

Two interesting facts regarding this variation are not reflected in these data. The first is that among the youth in the sample were several from Madina now normally living in Rabaul or Australia where they use Tok Pisin and English much more than Nalik. These tended to use inalienable possessives much more than the village youth. This indicates that the dominance of Tok Pisin or English is of itself perhaps a condition for, but not the sole cause of, the disappearance of inalienable possessives. Indeed, it indicates that an urban education and isolation in the Nalik 'diaspora' may even reinforce conservative patterns, at least in formal interview situations.

The second is that the conservative children and youth using inalienable forms, both those in Nalik villages and those living away from New Ireland, tend to come from 'noble' families, i.e., leading families that have a reputation for producing clan orators (*maimai*). Similarly, the one elderly man using alienable possessives for 'soul' and 'male friend' was not a clan orator. This indicates that, as one would expect, close ties to traditional culture are reflected in conservative language use.

The same forty-five persons were also asked about the grammaticality of nouns used alternatively with alienable and inalienable possessives. The number of speakers objecting to either the alienable or inalienable possessive with each of these nouns is shown in Figure 7.12 (Grammaticality of possessive forms). The ambiguity of these data is striking. Where there are few or no objections by any speakers to a particular form, this is always in regards to a form which one would expect to be an alienable form. Moreover, there are many more objections to inalienable than to alienable forms. Since these inalienable forms jarred native speakers more, this indicates that the alienable forms are less marked than the inalienable forms.

Term	objections to:			
	alienable possessives		inalienable possessives	
Traditionally inalienable terms:				
1. <i>xak</i> 'leg'	1 fC	2 mC	2 fC	
			2 fY	1 fY
	2 fM	3 mM	1 fM	
		1 mO		
2. <i>Nakmai</i> 'God'	1 fC			1 fC
1 fY			2 fY	2 mY
	1 fM	1 mM	4 fM	2 mM
		1 mO		
3. <i>naang</i> 'mother'		1 mC	4 fC	4 mC
	1 fY	2 mY	4 fY	4 mY
	2 fM	2 mM	6 fM	2 mM
		1 mO	1 fO	
4. <i>vur</i> 'hair'	none		3 fC	4 mC
			2 fY	5 mY
			3 fM	4 mM
			1 fO	1 mO
5. <i>iza</i> 'name'	1 fC	2 mC	3 fC	1 mC
		1 mY	2 fY	4 mY
		1 mM	5 fM	3 mM
	1 fO			
Traditionally alienable terms:				
1. <i>vaal</i> 'house'	none		2 fC	2 mC
				1 mO
2. <i>kaar</i> 'car'	1 fC		2 fC	4 mC
			4 fY	6 mY
			7 fM	5 mM
			3 fO	4 mO
3. <i>maas</i> 'vehicle'		2 mC	5 fC	1 mC
			5 fY	6 mY
	1 fM		3 fM	6 mM
			1 fO	3 mO
TOTAL INTERVIEWED:				
4 fC, 4 mC		f = female	m = male	
5 fY, 8 mY		C = child (6-13)	Y = youth (14-25)	
7 fM, 5 mM		M = middle-aged (26-50)	O = Old (51+)	
6 fO, 6 mO				

Figure 7.12 Grammaticality of possessive forms

But what is more striking is that so few of the forty-five speakers objected to either form. Even with *kaar* 'car', a loan word which never appears with the inalienable possessive in anyone's speech, ten speakers accepted the use of an inalienable possessive by the interviewer. This indicates an awareness at some level of the fact that there is so much variation with possessives that the use of a form which is not the same as one's own is not necessarily ungrammatical, and is to be accepted. Indeed, while being interviewed, several elderly speakers made statements such as 'I would not say it in that way, but that's the way young people speak, so we'll let it go'. This acquiescence to the linguistic behavior of younger speakers may explain the low number of objections to any possessive form among elderly speakers in the survey.

It is not clear if this reluctance to criticize another person's speech is because of the strong cultural pressure among New Irelanders not to embarrass others, or whether it is a reflection of speakers' loss of confidence in their ability to make decisions about grammaticality when the language is undergoing so much change. In either case, this has important methodological implications for linguistic research among Nalik people since statements by native speakers of Nalik about the grammaticality of particular structures are not necessarily accurate, especially statements agreeing to the grammaticality of a particular structure. For this reason, even more than in many other language communities, relying on observation and the production of speech is much more reliable than formal questioning and elicitation.

7.5 Modifying clause

In addition to being modified by phrases and individual words, a head noun may be modified by a clause following immediately after it. When present, this is the

last element in a noun phrase. An example of a modifying clause can be seen in the following sentence. Here the head noun *lus* 'law' is modified by the clause *di vamaal sin a xulmu* 'we inherited from our ancestors':

- (7.96) *Naan a lus di va-maal*
 (s)he/it ART law 1:3NSG CAU-lie
- sin a xulmu.*
 of ART ancestor
- 'It is a law which we have inherited from our ancestors.'

Usually equi-deletion deletes a noun phrase in the modifying clause which is coreferential with a noun phrase in the matrix clause. In the example above, the direct object of the verb *vamaal* 'inherit' in the modifying clause is *lus* 'law', which has already been mentioned in the matrix clause, and is therefore deleted by equi-deletion.

7.6 Conclusion: Postnominal elements

In a noun phrase there are several elements which can follow a head noun. None of these is obligatory, but when present they must appear in a set order.

The first element is an inalienable possessive suffix or modifying noun phrase. The next element is a modifying adjectival verb, which loses its initial subject marker as it loses its independent clause level grammatical relation. In the next position a numeral may be present. Some speakers place some adjectives and numerals before the head noun. This appears to be the result of influence from dominant Tok Pisin and English.

A demonstrative or an alienable possessive may fill the next position, although demonstratives cannot be used in the same noun phrase as a numeral. Traditionally, Nalik has distinguished between the inalienable possession of body parts, blood relatives, and customary land, and the alienable possession of other items. But today, probably due in part to the influence of Tok Pisin and English, which do not have this distinction, many speakers are beginning not to distinguish between alienable and inalienable possession and use alienable possessives for nouns referring to body parts, relatives, and customary land.

A modifying clause, if present, is the last element in a noun phrase. Usually this modifying clause contains an element coreferential to the head noun. The coreferential element in the modifying clause is usually deleted.

Chapter 8

Personal pronouns

The discussion in the previous three chapters has centered on noun phrases headed by nouns. Noun phrases may also be headed by pronouns. This chapter discusses independent personal pronouns (which Beaumont has also called 'disjunctive pronouns'(Beaumont f.c.:11) and 'independent pronouns' (Beaumont 1988b:35)) and their modifiers. Possessive pronouns have already been analyzed in the preceding section, and subject markers (so-called 'bound pronouns') have been analyzed as verb constituents marking subject agreement in the verb complex in 3.1 (Subject markers). The words which in some languages are indefinite pronouns must be classified as nouns in Nalik and have already been discussed above in 5.1.2.1 (Indefinite nouns). Figure 8.1 (Personal pronouns) lists the Nalik personal pronouns.

person	singular	nonsingular
first	<i>ni</i>	<i>di</i> (inclusive) <i>maam</i> (exclusive)
second	<i>nu</i>	<i>nim</i>
third	<i>naan</i>	<i>na(a)nde, na(a)ndi, na(a)nda</i>

Figure 8.1 Personal pronouns

As Figure 8.1 shows, there is variation in the pronunciation of the third person nonsingular pronoun. In rapid speech *naande* often becomes *nande*. The first two variants for the third person nonsingular, *naande* and *naandi* are geographic variants

(Northern East Coast and Southern East Coast dialects, respectively), while the third, *naanda*, is used by many younger speakers from all areas.

The nonsingular forms in all three persons may be used for situations which are dual or paucal and, in fact, the dual and paucal forms, discussed below, are usually only used in set phrases or when the speaker wishes to stress that only two, three, or four persons or items are being spoken about. When dual or paucal number is made explicit through the use of appropriate suffixes, they are affixed to the nonsingular first or third person pronouns, but to either the singular or nonsingular second person pronoun (see 8.1 Pronominal postmodifiers).

Personal pronouns can be defined as elements which may fulfill the same functions as noun phrases with a head noun and an initial article. This is illustrated by the substitution of *naan* '(s)he' for the noun phrase *a ravin* 'a woman' in the sentences below. For example, like noun phrases, a pronoun can be an overt subject coreferential with a subject marker. This is the case with the noun phrase *a ravin* 'the woman' and the pronoun *naan* '(s)he/it', which are coreferential with the third person subject marker *ka* in the following two sentences:

(8.1) *A* *ravin* *ka* *na* *wut.*
 ART woman 3 FUT come
 'The woman will come.'

(8.2) *Naan* *ka* *na* *wut.*
 (s)he 3 FUT come
 'She will come.'

They may also be used as direct objects in the same way as noun phrases. Thus in the first of the following two sentences, the noun phrase *a ravin* 'a woman' is the direct object, while in the second, this noun phrase is replaced by the pronoun *naan*:

(8.3) *A rate ka zaxot a ravin.*
 ART man 3 want ART woman
 'The man wants a woman.'

(8.4) *A rate ka zaxot naan.*
 ART man 3 want (s)he
 'The man wants her.'

Like noun phrases, pronouns may also be used together with prepositions to mark oblique relations, as the use of *a ravin* and *naan* in the following two sentences shows:

(8.5) *Di do-dor pan a ravin.*
 3NSG RED-speak NTM ART woman
 'They're talking about the woman.'

(8.6) *Di do-dor pa naan.*
 3NSG RED-speak NTM (s)he
 'They're talking about her.'

However, as discussed below in 9.1.5 (Possessive marker *si(n)*), unlike noun phrases, the nonsingular personal pronouns may not be used together with the preposition *si* 'of' to mark indirect objects. Instead the alienable possessives are used.

With nuclear term (i.e., subject and direct object) relations the pronoun or noun may be omitted if the referent is understood from context. Thus in a certain

context, the following sentence, which has a subject marker but no overt subject, is as grammatical as either of its equivalent 'full' sentences (8.1) or (8.2):

- (8.7) *Ka na wut.*
 3 FUT come
 'She will come.'

Similarly, the following sentence, which has no overt direct object is, in a certain context, a grammatical equivalent of either (8.3) or (8.4), which do have an overt direct object. Thus Nalik differs from the other Lavongai-Nalik languages which, as Beaumont (f.c.:14-15) has described, require a direct object pronoun whether there is an overt nominal direct object or not.

- (8.8) *A rate ka zaxot.*
 ART man 3 want
 'The man wants (a woman).'

There is an interesting variation in the use of the third person singular pronoun *naan* which is related to this omission of pronominal direct objects. One prominent older clan orator, Michael a Xomerang (p.c.), claimed that the use of *naan* is restricted to humans. Thus, for him, the use of *naan* in the following sentence means that Anita must be receiving a child, probably in adoption:

- (8.9) *Ga lis naan sin Anita.*
 1SG give (s)he of A.
 'I'm giving him to Anita.'

For this speaker, if Anita is receiving an object or an animal, the direct object must be either stated as a noun phrase headed by a noun or remain unspecified as in the following sentence:

- (8.10) *Ga lis sin Anita.*
 1SG give of A.
 'I'm giving it to Anita.'

This clan orator claimed that for younger speakers, this differentiation does not exist, so that for youngsters both of the two sentences above could refer to Anita receiving either a child, an object, or an animal. This was confirmed by my observations to some extent, although the use of *naan* to refer to nonhumans was not only restricted to younger speakers. For example, when forty-five persons of different ages were asked to judge the grammaticality of the following two sentences using *naan*, the first referring to a human and second to a dog, the results were interesting. The sentences were:

- (8.11) *Naan a nalik. Ga lis naan sin Anita.*
 (s)he ART boy 1SG give (s)he of A.
 'He's a boy. I'm giving him to Anita.'

- (8.12) *Naan a viu. Ga lis naan sin Anita.*
 (s)he ART dog 1SG give (s)he of A.
 'It's a dog. I'm giving him to Anita.'

According to a Xomerang's observation, younger speakers should have judged both sentences grammatical, while their elders would have judged the second sentence ungrammatical because the referent of *naan* is nonhuman *viu* 'dog'. In fact, three of the eight children, five of the thirteen youth, and two of the twelve middle-aged speakers, but none of the twelve older speakers interviewed objected to the second but not the first sentence. Thus, although roughly one quarter of the speakers objected to the use of *naan* to refer to animal, but not a human, these were more likely to be younger than older speakers. Significantly, six speakers (one child, three

youth, one middle-aged, and one elderly speaker) rejected both sentences as ungrammatical with *naan*. This indicates an element of hypercorrection and linguistic insecurity regarding *naan*, so that the limitation of this pronoun to humans is likely to be more of a prescriptive rule that younger as well as older speakers usually know and can use in a formal interview situation, even if they do not necessarily follow it in ordinary conversation.

In contrast to subject and direct object grammatical relations, nonnuclear term relations, such as the oblique noun phrase (*pan*) *a ravin* in (8.5) or (*pa*) *naan* in (8.6) are expressed by prepositional phrases. The noun phrases heading these noun phrases cannot be deleted to leave a preposition with no head. Thus the following sentence, in which this oblique noun phrase has been deleted from the prepositional phrase, was judged ungrammatical by native speakers:

- (8.13) **Di* *dodor* *pa*.
 3NSG RED-speak NTM
 'They're speaking about (her).'

8.1 Pronominal postmodifiers

Personal pronouns cannot be used with any of the pronominal or postnominal modifiers used with nouns. But there are two sets of postmodifiers which can be used with pronouns. One is the set of postmodifiers expressing emphasis. These groups of modifiers function in a way that is very similar to their Tok Pisin equivalents. The other postmodifiers are optional suffixes expressing dual and paucal number. Adjectival verbs can also modify personal pronouns but in a slightly different way than they do noun phrases headed by nouns.

There is a continuum of (at least) three degrees of emphasis in a Nalik sentence that does not have an overt nominal subject. A complete lack of emphasis is indicated by no overt subject, e.g.,

- (8.14) *Ga na do-dor.*
 1SG FUT RED-talk
 'I'll talk.'

To emphasize the subject more, an overt pronominal subject may be added, e.g.,

- (8.15) *Ni ga na do-dor.*
 I 1SG FUT RED-talk
 'It is I who will speak.'

The strongest form of emphasis is to use an overt pronominal subject together with one of the postpronominal intensifiers. The most common is *nanga* 'yet', which corresponds to Tok Pisin *yet*. Like Tok Pisin *yet*, it can be used for emphasis, e.g.,

- (8.16) *Ni nanga ga piat. (Nalik)*
 I yet 1SG say

Mi yet mi tok. (Tok Pisin)
 I yet I say
 'I'm the one speaking!'

Like Tok Pisin *yet*, *nanga* can also be used as an adverb meaning 'yet' or 'still' which modifies the verb rather than a pronoun, e.g.,

- (8.17) *Ga zangseng nanga naan.* (Nalik)
 1SG search yet (s)he
- Mi painim em yet.* (Tok Pisin)
 I search (s)he yet.
 'I'm still looking for him.'

A third function which *nanga* shares with *yet* is to mark reflexives, as in the following pair of sentences¹:

- (8.18a) *Ni nanga ga zop ni.* (Nalik)
 I yet 1SG hit I
- (8.18b) *Mi yet mi paitim mi.* (Tok Pisin)
 I yet I hit I
 'I hit myself.'

Where the reflexive nature of the action is understood from the context of the sentence, the use of *nanga* is optional in Nalik, as the following sentence shows:

- (8.19) *Ni ga xot ni.*
 I 1SG hang I
 'I (would) hang myself.'

Another postnominal intensifier is *be*. The use of *be* is similar to that of Tok Pisin *tasol* 'only', i.e., to mean both 'only' and to express emphasis, as in the following pair of sentences:

¹ These sentences would appear to violate the relational grammar principle that an antecedent must have a higher grammatical relation than the reflexive (Johnson 1977). However, in some sentences the reflexives are occasionally placed after the direct object (i.e., Nalik *Jon xa zop naan nanga* 'John hit himself' and Tok Pisin *Mi paitim mi yet* 'I hit myself'), so that the antecedents (subjects) of the reflexives (direct objects) have a higher grammatical relation. If these sentences are taken as the unmarked forms, no universal grammatical relation principle is violated. With this analysis the position of the direct object reflexives Nalik *nanga* and Tok Pisin *yet* in (8.18) after the subject can be explained as the result of a movement rule.

(8.20a) *Naan be ka gaat a mun*
 (s)he only 3 have ART NSG

baaxot si maam! (Nalik)
 money of weEX

(8.20b) *Em tasol i gat ol*
 (s)he only SM have PL

mani bilong mipela! (Tok Pisin)
 money of weEX
 `He's the one who has our money!'

Both Nalik *be* and Tok Pisin *tasol* can appear after a head noun. In noun phrases headed by a noun which is modified by a numeral, *be* differs from *tasol* in that it can immediately follow a numeral, e.g.,

(8.21a) *Ga roxin a buk azaxei be. (Nalik)*
 1SG have ART book one only

(8.21b) *Mi gat wanpela buk tasol. (Tok Pisin)*
 I have one book only
 `I have only one book.'

This difference can be attributed to the fact that numerals in Tok Pisin precede the head noun, whereas in Nalik they generally follow (see 7.3 Numerals).

Another pronominal modifier is *zing* `alone, by one's self'. It has a Tok Pisin parallel in *wanpela* `one', e.g.,

(8.22a) *Ga vala-t famozes be ni zing.* (Nalik)
 1SG IM-DUR work only I alone

(8.22b) *Mi stat long wok, mi wanpela.* (Tok Pisin)
 I start NTM work I one
 'I've been starting off the work all by myself.'

For added emphasis *zing* is often modified by *be* following it immediately. Again there is a parallel with Tok Pisin, as *wanpela* is often immediately followed and modified by *tasol*, the equivalent of Nalik *be*, e.g.,

(8.23a) *Ga na wok-ing, ni zing be!* (Nalik)
 1SG FUT work-TR I alone only

(8.23b) *Mi bai wok-im, mi wanpela tasol!* (TP)
 I FUT work-TR I one alone
 'I'll do it all alone!'

A different group of pronominal postmodifiers is the dual and paucal suffixes. While it is obligatory to mark a pronominal noun phrase as either singular or nonsingular, it is not obligatory to specify whether a nonsingular noun phrase is dual, paucal or more than four; a nonsingular pronoun may be any number except singular. Specifically dual or paucal pronouns are usually used only when the dual or paucal rather than general nonsingular number needs to be emphasized.

Duality is expressed by the suffix *-a*, while paucal number (three or four) is expressed by the suffix *-(mt)al*. These suffixes are used with the nonsingular first and third person pronouns (e.g., *dia* 'the two of us' and *na(n)dial* 'the three or four of them'), but with either the singular or nonsingular second person pronoun (e.g., either *numa* or *nima* 'the two of you'). No pattern could be discerned in the variation between the different second person dual and paucal forms. The fact that the dual

and paucal forms are so rarely used is perhaps an explanation for the two forms, even in the speech of individual speakers. When a dual or paucal suffix is used with a nonverbal element of a sentence, an identical suffix must also be used with the verb. This redundancy has been discussed in 4.2 (Dual and paucal suffixes).

Although these suffixes are generally rare in everyday speech, there is one common use of the dual suffix. This is to mean 'together with one other person', e.g.,

- (8.24) *Cassandra, gu vaan-a num-a Jalaal.*
 C. 2SG go-DU you-DU J.
 'Cassandra, you go together with Jalál.'

This usage is reflected in the local dialect of Tok Pisin, which uses the dual in a similar way, as in the following sentence. In the varieties of Tok Pisin spoken elsewhere in the country a more English-like construction using *wantaim*, the Tok Pisin equivalent of 'with', is used.

- (8.25) *Cassandra, yu-tu-pela Jalal i go.*
 C. you-DU-NSG J. SM go
 'Cassandra, you go together with Jalál.'

The use of adjectival verbs to modify nouns was discussed in 7.2 (Adjectival verbs). Adjectival verbs can also modify a pronoun. This is the case in the following example in which the adjectival verb *vaaxor* 'new' modifies the pronoun *ni* 'I'. As when an adjectival verb modifies a noun, when an adjectival verb modifies a pronoun, the adjectival verb loses its initial subject marker. In the example below this is first person singular *ga*.

- (8.26) *Ni vaaxor.*
 I new
 'I'm new (here).'

Because an adjectival verb loses its independent verbal character when the subject marker is deleted, sentences such as the preceding example are, in effect, verbless sentences (see 11.2 Verbless sentences). Such sentences have the same meaning as equivalent sentences in which the adjectival verb has a clause level grammatical relation. In such sentences the pronoun acts as an overt subject coreferential with the subject marker, e.g.,

- (8.27) *Ni ga vaaxor.*
 I 1SG new
 'I'm new (here).'

Verbless sentences are the only sentences in which the adjectival verbs can modify pronouns. Unlike nouns, pronouns which are in sentences which have a verbal complex cannot be modified by an adjectival verb. This can be seen in the ungrammaticality of the following sentences which all have a verbal complex and in which the pronoun *ni* 'I' is an overt subject, direct object, and complement of a prepositional phrase, respectively:

- (8.28) **Ni vaaxor ga na wul a mun saan*
 I new 1SG FUT buy ART NSG thing

l-a stoa.
 LOC-ART store
 'I (being) new will buy some things at the store.'

- (8.29) **Ka vit di na rexas-ing ni vaaxor*
 3 NEG 1:3NSG FUT know-TR I new
 'They won't know me (being) new.'
- (8.30) **Ka na giu a tebol pa ni vaaxor*
 3 FUT build ART table NTM I new
 'He will build a table for me (being) new.'

8.2 Conclusion: Personal pronouns

Like subject markers, personal pronouns in Nalik provide information about person and number, but unlike subject markers they appear outside the verbal complex and in the same positions as noun phrases headed by nouns. There is some variation in the use of the third person singular pronoun *naan*, which for some speakers can refer only to humans, but for other speakers can refer to both humans and nonhumans.

Personal pronouns may be followed by postmodifiers which express either emphasis or dual and paucal number. The use of some of these pronominal postmodifiers closely resembles that of their Tok Pisin equivalents. Personal pronominal subjects in verbless sentences can also be modified by an adjectival verb.

Chapter 9

Prepositional phrases

Prepositions in Nalik normally appear only in a prepositional phrase. Prepositional phrases are used to express all sentence level grammatical relations except those which Perlmutter and Postal (1983b:86) call nuclear term R-signs, i.e., subject and direct object. Thus prepositional phrases express indirect object, oblique, and chômeur grammatical relations.

The construction of prepositional phrases in Nalik is shown in Figure 9.1 (Elements of a prepositional phrase). A prepositional phrase in Nalik consists of a preposition followed by a complement, normally either a nominal or pronominal noun phrase (as in (9.1) and (9.6), respectively), but occasionally a sentence, as in (9.22). A preposition may be immediately preceded by the durative marker *i*. In the speech of at least some Nalik-speakers the preposition *feraxei* can be followed by the transitive suffix *-ing*.

(optional)	preposition	(optional)	complement
durative marker <i>i</i>	<i>pa(n)</i> , <i>ku(n)</i> , <i>l-</i> , <i>feraxei</i> , <i>si(n)</i>	transitive suffix <i>-ing</i>	pronoun noun phrase clause

Figure 9.1 Elements of a prepositional phrase

An exception to this pattern is when the complement of a prepositional phrase is fronted; under certain circumstances a preposition can be stranded at the end of a

sentence when its nominal complement is fronted and removed from the prepositional phrase. This is discussed in 11.1.1 (Fronting).

9.1 Prepositions

Five prepositions were recorded in Nalik: the general nonterm markers *pa(n)* and *ku(n)*, the locative marker *l-*, the comitative marker *feraxei*, and the possessive and indirect object marker *si(n)*. Prepositions in Nalik are a closed set of elements which share some characteristics with verbs. Like verbs they may be preceded by aspect markers and followed, in the speech of some speakers, by the transitive suffix *-ing*. But unlike verbs, they cannot be preceded by a subject or tense marker.

Prepositions must have a complement, which has a non-nuclear term grammatical relation in the sentence (i.e., is not a subject or a direct object). Normally this complement immediately follows the preposition, but under certain circumstances it may be fronted from its original position in the prepositional phrase to a position immediately before the verbal complex.

9.1.1 Nonterm marker *pa(n)*. The most common preposition is *pa(n)*, which has cognates in the Tigak and Kara instrumental marker *pana* (Beaumont n.d.: 19). This word has two forms in Nalik, *pa* when the following word begins with a consonant, and *pan* when the next word begins with a vowel.

Nalik *pa(n)* is used for a wide range of nonterm relations. Nonterm relations are those except subject, direct object, and indirect object, so that such common grammatical relations as oblique and chômeur relations are expressed with *pa(n)*. It should be noted, however, that while all noun phrases marked by *pa(n)* are nonterm

grammatical relations, not all nonterm grammatical relations are marked by *pa(n)*. Oblique relations which are not marked by *pa(n)* include locative, temporal, comitative (for some speakers), and human source relations. These are discussed in detail below. In addition to being a preposition, *pa(n)* is also a component in certain conjunctions. This is discussed in 10.2. (Conjunctions) below.

Oblique relations marked by *pa(n)* include instrumental, purposive, referential, causal, and nonhuman source grammatical relations, as shown in the following examples, respectively:

- (9.1) *Ga vit a yai pan a haama.*
 1SG hit ART tree NTM ART hammer
 'I hit the tree with a hammer.' (INSTRUMENTAL)
- (9.2) *Ga yuz-im a naif pan a wok-ing.*
 1SG use-TR ART knife NTM ART work:TR
 'I used a knife to do it.' (PURPOSIVE)
- (9.3) *Ga vaze naan pan a finga-ing.*
 1SG tell (s)he NTM ART accident-NOM
 'I told them about the accident.' (REFERENTIAL)
- (9.4) *Ga gis pan a brus.*
 1SG sick NTM ART sore
 'I'm sick from the sore.' (CAUSAL)
- (9.5) *a vin pan a sipsip*
 ART skin NTM ART sheep
 'wool, sheepskin' (NONHUMAN SOURCE)

As has mentioned previously, *pa(n)* is also used to mark most *chômeur* grammatical relations, i.e., the grammatical relations of elements whose underlying

grammatical relation has been 'taken over' by another element's advancement or demotion. The constructions which result in these chômeur relations marked by *pa(n)* are discussed below in detail in chapter twelve (Advancement in simple sentences). An example of such a construction is the following sentence in which the underlying direct object *a yai* 'the tree' is advanced to be the final subject by passivization, 'taking over' the final grammatical relation of the underlying subject *ni* 'I'. The original subject *ni* 'I' then becomes a final subject chômeur marked by *pa*:

	DO	P		SU		INITIAL STRATUM
	SU	P		SU-chô		FINAL STRATUM
(9.6)	<i>A</i>	<i>yai</i>	<i>xa</i>	<i>raabak</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>ni be.</i>
	ART	tree	3	PAR:break	NTM	I only
	`The tree was felled by me alone.'					

There is one very common noun in which a fossilized *pa(n)* appears to have fused with what probably was once the head noun. This is *panaraan* 'morning', which could conceivably be analyzed as:

(9.7)	<i>pan</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>raan</i>
	NTM	ART	day
	`relating to the day'.		

Such an analysis was thought to be implausible to Nalik speakers. Moreover, as the following example shows, it is possible to precede *panaraan* (acting as a noun phrase) with the locative-temporal preposition *l-*:

(9.8)	<i>l-a</i>	<i>panaraan</i>
	LOC-ART	morning
	`in the morning'	

There are no other examples of *pa(n)* following the locative-temporal preposition *l-*, so whatever its origin, *panaraan* in contemporary Nalik must be regarded a monomorphemic noun. Quite possibly the fusing of a fossilized *pa(n)* to *raan* occurred because of the frequent use of *panaraan* as a shortened form of a morning greeting, *panaraan doxo* 'good morning'.

Although *pa(n)* by itself is not normally used to express a goal grammatical relation, in the Laefu dialect the preposition *kaaz* can be used to express a goal, e.g.,

- (9.9) *apaa Kavieng kaaz a stoa.*
 down K. GOAL ART store
 'to the store in Kavieng'

In that dialect this preposition can also be used in conjunction with *pa(n)*, as in the following sentence:

- (9.10) *pan kaaz a bina zina*
 NTM GOAL ART home of:(s)he/it
 'to his home'

It is not clear if the presence or omission of *pa(n)* in this Laefu construction represents a difference in meaning or only in style.

9.1.2 Locative and temporal marker *l-*. General location and temporality are expressed by the preposition *l-* and, less commonly, *ku(n)*. The preposition *l-* is affixed to the article *a* to form *la*. An example of the general locative use of *la* is in the phrase:

- (9.11) *l-a* *vaal*
 LOC-ART house
 `in / at / near the house'

<i>maskan</i>	interior
<i>mur</i>	following (also used as a conjunction)
<i>par</i>	side (Northern East Coast dialect)
<i>paaran</i>	side (Southern East Coast dialect)
<i>rut</i>	intermingling
<i>vanou</i>	through (recorded only in the West Coast dialect)
<i>valo</i>	through
<i>waan</i>	beneath (This is possibly a nominal use of <i>pa(n)</i> with the /p/ - /w/ alternation mentioned in 1.5 (Phonology and orthography) above, and possibly the source of <i>lawaanas</i> `Good evening', i.e., 'in the time when the sun is going down')
<i>xor</i>	top (with <i>la</i> also contracted to <i>laaur</i>)

Figure 9.2 Directional or locative nouns used with *la*

Because *la* has such a general meaning, its use can often be ambiguous or vague. To make a statement more precise, one of the nouns of direction or location listed in Figure 9.2 (Directional or locative nouns used with *la*), such as *xor* `top' or *maskan* `inside', is often used. This can be in a double noun construction in which the head of the noun phrase is the noun of direction and the place in question is a postnominal modifying noun phrase (see 7.1 Modifying noun phrase), e.g.,

- (9.12) *l-a* *maskan* *a* *vaal*
 LOC-ART inside ART house
 `in the house'

Another possibility is to have a series of two prepositional phrases with *l-*, in which the complement of the first prepositional phrase is a noun of direction which is modified by the second prepositional phrase consisting of *la* and a complement which is the place in question, e.g.,

- (9.13) *l-a* *xor* *l-a* *vaal*
 LOC-ART top LOC-ART house
 `on top of the house'

The choice of which form to use is dependent on the subcategorization of the directional noun being used. *Maskan*, for example, is subcategorized to use a postnominal modifying noun phrase construction, while *xor* is subcategorized to use a modifying prepositional phrase construction. Neither was recorded using the opposite construction.

An example of the general temporal use of *la* is in the phrase:

- (9.14) *l-a* *panaraan*
 LOC-ART morning
 `in the morning'

As the following two examples illustrate, as well as with indigenous expressions, *la* is used with temporal expressions introduced from English and Tok Pisin:

- (9.15) *l-a* *sikis* *oklok*
 LOC-ART six o'clock
 `at six o'clock'
- (9.16) *l-a* *naintin-fifti-seven*
 LOC-ART nineteen-fifty-seven
 `in 1957'

Nalik *la* is undoubtedly a reflex of Proto New Ireland **la/*lo*, which Ross (1988: 286-87) has listed as one of the morphosyntactic innovations setting the New Ireland-Tolai languages apart from other Oceanic languages. Ross described **la* as being derived from the Proto Oceanic inalienable noun **lalo-* 'inside'. He claimed that in Proto New Ireland it became one of a group of prepositions which were followed directly by a noun, with no preceding article. While Ross' explanation may be true historically, in contemporary Nalik this is not an economical explanation. To account for this historical development, it would be necessary to set up a separate class of prepositions whose nominal complements may not have an article. In modern Nalik, however, this class would be a set of only one, *la*. A more economical explanation for contemporary Nalik is that **la* has been reinterpreted as a preposition *l-* and the nonspecific article *a*, which coalesce for phonological reasons. Such an explanation does not require the classification of Nalik prepositions into two classes, the majority which do, and the one which does not, permit the head noun to be preceded by an article.

Further evidence for this article-like analysis of *la* can be seen in the locative use of geographic names. As explained in 6.1.1.1 (Use of nonspecific articles with personal and geographic names) articles are not used with many geographic names. In a like fashion, *la* is also not used with these geographic names. This indicates that the *-a* in *la* is the nonspecific article *a*. When this *a* is deleted, the *l-* is also deleted, presumably for phonological reasons. This can be seen in the following two examples. In the first, the locative noun is *Panafau*, the name of a hamlet near Madina village. Since it is a geographic name with which the article must be deleted, it is not preceded by either an article or *la*. This contrasts with the second example, which is identical to the first except that instead of *Panafau*, the locative noun is the

common noun *bina* 'home'. Because it is a common, and not geographic, noun, it is preceded by *la*:

(9.17) *Darius ka i zi Panafau.*
 D. 3 DUR sit P.
 'Darius is staying at Panafau.'

(9.18) *Darius ka i zi l-a bina.*
 D. 3 DUR sit LOC-ART home
 'Darius is staying at home.'

There are several words used to describe a physical area in Nalik which appear to begin with a fossilized locative marker *la-*, for example *lauran* 'sea'. The fossilized nature of the initial *la-* in these words can be seen in the fact that they can now be preceded by a productive locative marker and article *la*, as with *lauran* 'sea' in the following sentence:

(9.19) *Madi vaan i l-a lauran.*
 weEX go DUR LOC-ART sea
 'We went towards the sea.'

There are also a number of nouns used to express temporality which begin with *la-* and are difficult to analyze. These include *lamaf* 'tomorrow', *laraf* 'yesterday', *laraaf* 'afternoon', *labung* 'tonight/the evening', and *laraan* 'day before yesterday'. There is evidence to indicate that Nalik speakers do not analyze these as two separate words, *la* + noun. Most noticeable is the fact that, although new literates in Nalik always write *la* as a separate word, e.g., *la Trinde* 'on Tuesday' and *la vaal* 'in the house', they invariably write these temporal expressions as single words. No doubt this is reinforced by the high frequency of the words, especially *laraaf* and

labung which are greetings ('Good afternoon' and 'Good evening', respectively). Moreover, if the initial *la-* in these words is the preposition *l-* and the article *a*, the rest of the expression must be a separate noun. But there is no noun **maf* or **raf* corresponding to *lamaf* 'tomorrow' and *laraf* 'yesterday'. There is *raan* 'day', which corresponds to *laraan* 'the day before yesterday'. But if *laraan* is a prepositional phrase, the meaning should be 'in the daytime', not 'the day before yesterday'. Because these expressions act in the same way as other temporal nouns which do not have an obligatory initial *la-*, such as *panaraan* '(Good) morning', and *mitanamu* 'a long time ago', they must be regarded as single temporal nouns, rather than as prepositional phrases.

9.1.3 Purposive, locative and benefactive marker *ku(n)*. The preposition *ku(n)* can be used to express purposive, locative, and benefactive grammatical relations. An example of the use of *ku(n)* to express the purpose of an action can be seen in the following sentence:

- (9.20) *Di* *xumur kun* *a* *raan* *masing* *Balane*
 3NSG gossip LOC ART day equivalent B.

 ka *na* *maat.*
 3 FUT die
 'They're chatting about the day when Balane was
 going to die.'

As a locative marker, *ku(n)* is used much less frequently than *l-*. Otherwise, its use is much the same as *l-*, except that it is not conjoined to an article and it was not recorded in conjunction with the double noun constructions. As with *pa(n)*, there is an *-n* added when the following word begins with a vowel. An example of the general locative use of *ku(n)* is:

- (9.21) *A maani ka lif kun a yai.*
 ART bird 3 fly LOC ART tree
 'A bird is flying through/amidst the trees.'

Ku(n) can be used to describe metaphoric, as well as physical location, as is shown in the following line from a translation of the introductory sura of the Qu'rán:

- (9.22) *a lan ka vit ku naande*
 ART path 3 NEG LOC-ART they

di vei xo-xor Nu
 3NSG anger RED:top youSG
 'not the path of those who have incurred Your wrath'

It is possible that the directional verb *akula* 'up above', used to talk about either the mountainous interior of New Ireland or islands or foreign countries away from the island (see 4.1.2.1 Directional serial verbs), is related to the two general locative prepositions which appear to be in it, *ku* and *la*, i.e.,

- (9.23) *a ku l-a*
 ART LOC LOC-ART

The interior of New Ireland and, to a much greater extent, locations off-island have an unknown and vague connotation to many Nalik speakers and the use of two nonspecific prepositions expresses this idea well. Moreover, the double use of *ku(n)* and *l-* together can be found in other contexts, such as in the following more forceful equivalent of (9.19):

- (9.24) *Madi vaan i ku l-a lauran.*
 weEX go DUR LOC LOC-ART sea
 'We went down towards the sea.'

It should be noted, however, that new literates in Nalik inevitably write *akula* as one word. Thus, while perhaps an accurate description of the etymology of *akula*, this analysis probably does not reflect the morphological boundaries made by Nalik speakers today.

Usually *ku(n)* expresses a temporal or locative grammatical relation and for this reason it is glossed with LOC (locative) in this study. However, as the following sentence shows, it can also represent a benefactive grammatical relation:

- (9.25) *Nana xa vama^{kas} ku ni.*
 mother 3 cook LOC I
 'Mother is cooking for me.'

In some languages, it can be difficult to differentiate between a benefactive and an indirect object grammatical relation. In Nalik this distinction is made by the choice of *ku(n)* or *si(n)*. An indirect object is marked by *si(n)* 'of', not *ku(n)*, and can undergo promotion to a surface direct object relation by deleting the preposition which marks it as a nonterm grammatical relation (see 12.3 Indirect-object-to-direct-object advancement). This contrasts with a benefactive such as *ni* in (9.25), which cannot be promoted to become a surface direct object by deleting the preposition *ku*.

As has been mentioned elsewhere, many younger speakers of the Northern East Coast dialect have made significant shifts in the pronunciation of the vowels of certain words, such as prepositions. This is also true of *ku(n)*, at least as a benefactive marker, which was recorded as *ko*, sometimes by speakers who used *ku* for other grammatical relations, e.g.,

- (9.26) *ma lis si nanda xo ni.*
 and give of they LOC I
 'and give them (to him) as a favor for me.'

This results in homophony with the emphatic marker *ko*. Interestingly, speakers who pronounced *ku(n)* as *ko/xo* also tended to use *feraxei* in a nontraditional way (see 9.1.4 Comitative marker *feraxei*).

In the Southern East Coast dialect there is an expression which may be related to the benefactive use of *ku(n)*, *xaaku* 'for me', e.g.,

- (9.27) *Fu-nalik di rot a yen*
 DU-boy 3NSG catch ART fish

urua a xaaku.
 two ART for:me
 'The two kids caught two fish for me.'

Because it ends in *-ku* and has a benefactive meaning, one explanation for this word is that it represents a fossilization of an earlier benefactive expression and *ku(n)*. Another possibility is that the first syllable, *xaa-*, is a variant of *ku*, and the final syllable, *-ku*, is a variant the first person singular inalienable suffix *-gu*. Because Nalik does not have postpositions, this latter hypothesis seems more likely. But if so, one would expect other expressions with *xaa-* and the other inalienable suffixes, e.g., second person singular *-num* to form **xaanum*. Such a paradigm does not exist, however.

9.1.4 Comitative marker *feraxei*. *Feraxei* is interesting both because of the great amount of variation between different groups of speakers in its use and because for most speakers it is a 'serial' preposition, which must be immediately followed by

the general nonterm marker *pa(n)* (or, more commonly, its phonological variant *wa(n)*).

For most speakers comitativity is expressed by *feraxei wan*, e.g.,

- (9.28) *A* *rate* *xa* *do-dor* *feraxei*
 ART man 3 RED:speak with

 wan *a* *ravin.*
 NTM ART woman
 `The man is chatting with a woman.'

When *feraxei wa(n)* immediately follows a noun phrase, rather than the verb as in the preceding example, the expression can mean 'including' as in the following example:

- (9.29) *naande* *vagdul feraxei* *wan* *Ayisha.*
 they all with NTM A.
 `all of them including Ayisha'

An extension of this is that when used with the third person dual pronoun, this construction can acquire a reciprocal meaning, e.g.,

- (9.30) *Di* *do-dor* *feraxei* *wan* *di-na.*
 3NSG RED-speak with NTM 3NSG-DU
 `The two of them are chatting with each other.'

Several types of variation were recorded in the use of *feraxei*. The first was recorded by older men with traditional status in the Laefu dialect area, who reported that in the past *taum* rather than *feraxei* had been used. Today, with the forced relocation of Laefu villages during World War II, together with increased travel and

the prestige of the Northern East Coast dialect since then, this has been replaced by *feraxei*. Like *feraxei*, *taum* was immediately followed by *pa(n)*, e.g.,

- (9.31) *Gu waan taum pan a Elias.*
 1SG go with NTM ART E.
 'I'm going with Elias.'

Within the Northern East Coast dialect area itself, several innovations were also recorded, all involving the use of *feraxei* without the nonterm marker *pa(n)*. This parallels the use of its English and Tok Pisin equivalents *with* and *wantaim*, which are not followed by a second preposition. This usage was most noticeable in the speech of children and teenagers, as well as adults who were not clan leaders. The following example is typical. It is by a woman in her twenties married to a non-Nalik speaker and whose household normally uses English. It is interesting that she also shortens *feraxei* to *vexei*, which many other younger persons also do. When an older man heard a tape with this sentence, he 'corrected' *vexei* to *veraxei pa*.

- (9.32) *Ga zi-zir vexei naande.*
 1SG RED-sit with they
 'I'm sitting down with them.'

Several teenagers made an even more drastic innovation by using the verbal transitive suffix *-ing* with a shortened form of the preposition, *fara-ing*. They also used *naanda* rather than *naande* for the third person nonsingular pronoun, following a trend among many younger Naliks (see Figure 8.1 Personal pronouns). As with the previous example, older and more traditionally oriented speakers judged these variants to be ungrammatical:

- (9.33) *naanda* *vaagdul* *fara-ing* *Elias.*
 they all with:TR E.
 `all of them including Elias

Only one older man was recorded not using *pa(n)* with *feraxei*. This was a man who had a rather high modern status in the community as a businessman man active in religious activities, but who did not have an especially high traditional status. In translating sentences from English, he said:

- (9.34) *naande* *vagdul feraxei* *a* *Elias*
 they all with ART E.
 `all of them including Elias'

Later, in the same translation session, he used the more conventional phrase `*feraxei wan*'. Because of his age, it would appear that he represents a group of nontraditional persons who initiated this innovation.

These innovations seem to reflect a feeling that for many speakers, the use of *pa(n)* with *feraxei* is at least old fashioned, and possibly ungrammatical. This is undoubtedly due to the influence of Tok Pisin *wantaim* and English *with*, neither of which is followed by an oblique marker, such as Tok Pisin *long*. The lack of agreement about the `correct' form of the innovation may reflect insecurity about the grammatical relation which the noun phrase following *feraxei* should have once the oblique marker has been discarded. The second innovation, with a transitive marker identifying it as a direct object may be the result of interpreting Tok Pisin *wantaim* as a stem ending in *-a*, *wanta*, so that it resembles Nalik *fara*, as in example (9.33). The final *-im* of *wantaim* is then analyzed as the Tok Pisin transitive suffix *-im*, the equivalent of Nalik *-ing*. Such an interpretation would result in a clearly marked

direct object grammatical relation of a noun phrase following both Tok Pisin *wantaim* and Nalik *fara(-ing) / feraxei*.

9.1.5 Possessive marker *si(n)*. As in neighboring Kara (Peekel 1915:162), the preposition *si(n)* 'of' is used to mark possession. It is also used to express indirect object (again as in Kara), benefactive and source grammatical relations. Because its most common use is to express possession, it has been expedient to gloss expressions with *si(n)* by 'of' in this work, irrespective of the actual grammatical relation being expressed. Like *ku(n)* and *pa(n)*, a final *-n* is added to *si* when the next word begins with a vowel.

The most common use of *si(n)* is to mark the possessor of an alienable noun, as in the following sentence in which the woman Elti is the possessor:

- (9.35) *a* *yai* *sin* *Elti*.
 ART tree of E.
 'Elti's tree'

When *si(n)* is used to express possession, the head noun it modifies can be omitted if it is understood from context. For example, in the following sentence the head noun 'house' is omitted from the noun phrase 'our house':

- (9.36) *Ka* *na* *wut* *milaif* *si* *maam*.
 3 FUT come sleep of weEX
 'He's coming and sleeping at our house.'

Si(n) differs from other prepositions in that it cannot have a nonplural possessive pronoun as its complement. A nonplural alienable possessive pronoun must be used instead. Thus (9.35) with *si(n)* and a nominal complement, is

grammatical, as is (9.38) with the third person singular alienable possessive, while (9.37) with *si(n)* and a pronominal complement, is not:

(9.37) **a yai si naan*
 ART tree of (s)he
 `her tree'

(9.38) *a yai sina*
 ART tree of:(s)he/it
 `her tree'

As explained in 7.4 (Demonstratives and possessives), traditional speakers differentiate between alienable and inalienable possession when possessive pronouns are used. In (9.35) above, the possessum is a tree, not a body part or blood relative, so it is alienable. Here *si(n)* is used with a noun possessor.

Where the possessum is inalienable, such as a body part, traditional speakers use a postnominal modifying noun phrase instead of a prepositional phrase with *si(n)*. This can be used for human possessors, as in the first of the following examples, or animal possessors, as in the second:

(9.39) *a vur a nalik*
 ART hair ART boy
 `the boy's hair'

(9.40) *a xalamon a damau*
 ART pearl ART oyster
 `an oyster's pearl'

In 7.4.4 (Variation in the use of possessives) the disuse of marked inalienable possessive forms involving possessive pronouns by many nontraditional Naliks, such

as younger speakers, was discussed. This variation could not be observed when the possessor was a noun, as in the examples above, rather than a pronoun. Even those speakers who rarely make an alienable / inalienable distinction with possessive pronouns, do usually use a modifying noun phrase construction such as in (9.39) and (9.40) rather than a prepositional phrase with *si(n)* for inalienable possession. In one interesting case, a young speaker began a phrase using an alienable possessive pronoun for a body part (hair), then corrected himself and clarified the sentence by using a nominal possessive. In this case he used the marked inalienable modifying noun phrase construction, not the alienable *si(n)* possessive, even though with a possessive pronoun he had used an unmarked alienable form:

- (9.41) *a* *vur* *zina,* *a* *nalik*
 ART hair of:(s)he/it ART boy
 `his hair, the boy's'

It is not difficult to understand why the erosion of marked inalienable possessive forms should begin with the possessive pronouns rather than possessive noun phrase constructions. The possessive pronouns are not only marked, but also involve the use of special morphemes which are only used for inalienable possession. The use of a modifying noun phrase for inalienable possession, on the other hand, is marked, but involves a form which has many other uses beyond inalienable possession. In particular, it is used for defining one part of a large class (see 7.1 Modifying noun phrases). It is more difficult to lose a grammatical category when the constructions used to express it are also used for other, more common, purposes.

9.1.5.1. Use of *si(n)* to mark indirect objects. As mentioned above, prepositional phrases are not used to express subject and direct object grammatical

relations, which are expressed through word order alone (see 11.1 Unmarked word order in simple sentences). Unlike these nuclear term grammatical relations, indirect objects are expressed with a prepositional phrase beginning with *si(n)*, e.g., the indirect object *a ravin* 'the woman' in the following sentence:

- (9.42) *Ga lis a baxot sin a ravin.*
 1SG give ART money of ART woman
 'I gave the money to the woman.'

Because both possessive and indirect object grammatical relations are expressed with *si(n)*, there can be some ambiguity. For example, the *si(n)* prepositional phrase in the sentence above would normally be interpreted as an indirect object. But if it were in answer to a question about whether a man's money had been given, it could be interpreted as expressing possession, so that the sentence would mean 'I gave the woman's money'. Normally context eliminates this ambiguity, but not always.

Where the direct object is understood from context, an indirect object can be used without a direct object. Thus the following equivalent of (9.42), in which the direct object of the sentence has been omitted, is grammatical:

- (9.43) *Ga lis sin a ravin.*
 1SG give of ART woman
 'I gave it to the woman.'

There are several verbs which are subcategorized to accept only an indirect object and not a direct object. Semantically, these all deal with speaking: *piat* 'say', *fingai* 'tell a story about', *yare* 'ask', and *dodor* 'talk', e.g.,

- (9.44) *Ni ga yare zina.*
 I 1SG ask of:(s)he/it
 'I'm the one asking him.'

With *yare* this usage can be explained by positing an underlying understood and omitted direct object 'this question', so that the sentence above means 'I'm the one asking him this question'. But this does not explain why *faze* 'tell', which must be included in the same semantic class as the verbs above, is subcategorized to accept only a subject and direct, not indirect, object, e.g.,

- (9.45) *Ma ga vaze nu bane.*
 and 1SG tell you only
 'And I'm only telling you.'

Under certain circumstances indirect objects can be fronted or advanced to be direct objects in the surface strata. This is discussed in 11.1.1 (Fronting) and 12.3 (Indirect-object-to-direct-object advancement), respectively.

9.1.5.2. Other uses of *si(n)*: benefactive and source. Normally benefactive grammatical relations are expressed with *ku(n)*, as described in 9.1.3 (Locative, temporal and benefactive marker *ku(n)*). Another option is to use *si(n)*. This is particularly common when overt indirect objects, which are also marked by an alienable possessive, are present. This is the case in the following sentence in which the indirect object is *surago* 'to me' and the benefactive *Tom* (a man's name):

- (9.46) *Ka na lis a rais sarago si Tom.*
 3 FUT give ART rice my of T.
 'He'll give me the rice for Tom.'

In such sentences the indirect object and benefactive grammatical relations are both marked with possessives, here the inalienable possessive pronoun *sarago* and the preposition *si(n)*, respectively. They are differentiated by word order, with the indirect object preceding the benefactive. As already mentioned in 9.1.3 (Purposive, locative, and benefactive marker *ku(n)*), the indirect object can also be distinguished from a benefactive by the fact that an indirect object can undergo promotion to a surface direct object relation, whereas a benefactive cannot (see 12.3 (Indirect-object-to-direct-object advancement)).

In 9.1.1 (Nonterm marker *pa(n)*), the use of *pa(n)* to express source grammatical relations is discussed. The example given there (9.5) is a nonhuman source, 'the skin from the sheep'. Where the source is human (such as the man *Kalep* in the following sentence), *si(n)* is used instead of *pa(n)*, e.g.,

- (9.47) *Ga langar-ing a dor-ing,*
 1SG hear-TR ART talk-TR

ka wutsin Kalep.
 3 come from K.
 'I heard the talk that started with Kalep.'

9.2 Durative marker *i(n)* with prepositional phrases

As described in 3.7 (Durative markers) above, *i* is a durative marker for intransitive verbs. This preverbal particle is also used with prepositions to emphasize the durative nature of the grammatical relation expressed by the preposition. The durative nature of *i* with a preposition can be seen in the following two examples.

The first describes an area used only and continuously for cooking, while the second describes a store operated daily at and by a school:

(9.48) *l-a* *pop* *i* *pan* *a* *kuk-ing*
 LOC-ART area DUR NTM ART cook-NOM
 `in the cooking area'

(9.49) *akula* *l-a* *stoa* *i* *l-a* *skul*
 above LOC-ART store DUR LOC-ART school
 `up at the school store'

This durative marker was also recorded directly preceding a noun, as in:

(9.50) *a* *stoa* *i* *Madina*
 ART store DUR M.
 `a store in Madina village'

It would appear at first that this is an example of *i* modifying a noun. But this usage only occurs with geographic names. Since most geographic names cannot be preceded by articles (see 6.1.1.1 (Use of specific articles with personal and geographic names) or the locative preposition *l-* (see 9.1.2 Locative and temporal marker *l-*), this can be explained as a durative *i* modifying the locative preposition *la* which must be deleted when the prepositional complement is a geographic name.

As with prepositions which end in a vowel, *i* adds a final *-n*, becoming *in*, when immediately preceding a geographic name beginning with a vowel, such as *Amerika*, e.g., *in Amerika* `(usually) in America'. Unlike the prepositions, this *-n* variant may also be used with geographic complements which do not begin with a vowel. This is particularly common when the geographic name is of an unknown or foreign place, e.g.,

- (9.51) *a bina in Gris*
 art home DUR G.
 'a Grecian village'

Undoubtedly, the influence of English *in* has helped strengthen, if not cause, this usage. But an older informant well versed in traditional knowledge and also a retired English-medium school teacher was adamant that this was a traditional construction originating from before the time when English education was widespread in the Nalik area.

As would be expected, durative *i* can be used with general temporal expressions of time, such as *i la panaraan* 'in the morning, every morning', but not usually with a specific temporal expression. This is shown in the following two sentences with specific temporal expressions. The first is ungrammatical because of the use of *i* together with a specific temporal expression while the second, without *i*, is grammatical:

- (9.52) **i l-a marias l-a xor*
 DUR LOC-ART year LOC-ART top
- (9.53) *l-a marias l-a xor*
 LOC-ART year LOC-ART top
 'next year'

Often with the preposition *l-*, *i* becomes *ing*, e.g., *ing la panaraan* as an alternative for *i la panaraan* 'in the mornings'. No difference in meaning could be ascertained between the two, and most temporal expressions could take either form. A few, however, such as *laraaf* 'afternoon' can only be used with *i*, and not with *ing*. It appears therefore that *ing* is a stylistic variant of *i*, for which some, but not all, temporal nouns are subcategorized. It is interesting, however, that only temporal

expressions were recorded with *ing*, so that one function of *ing* may be to emphasize the temporal, rather than locative, grammatical relation of the preposition *l-*.

Although it is convenient to analyze pre-prepositional *i* in modern Nalik as the durative marker, it is probable that it may actually be a reflex of the Proto Oceanic locative preposition **(q)i*. Ross (1988:287) cites the use of *i* immediately preceding *la* in Lihir (as in Lihir *i la liom* 'in the house') as an example of the Proto Oceanic locative *i* being used in conjunction with the Proto New Ireland innovative locative **la*. This construction is the same as in Nalik, e.g., (9.49) *i la skul* 'at the school'. It is possible that in Nalik at least, this preposition was reanalyzed as a durative marker, rather than a prepositional alternative to **la*, and its use spread to verbs as well as prepositions. It is also possible that the durative marker preceding verbs developed independently and that the preverbal *i* and the pre-prepositional *i* coalesced in meaning.

9.3 Clausal prepositional complements

As was mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, a preposition must normally have a complement, which may be deleted under certain conditions, as discussed above in relation to example (9.36). Usually this is a noun phrase, but following the preposition *pa(n)* it can also be a clause, as in the following two sentences. In the first, the complement of the preposition *pan* is the clause *a yaas ka si* 'the sun sets', while in the second the complement of the preposition *pan* is the clause *a vin'go ka lagaaf* 'my skin is hot':

- (9.54) *Di wut masing a waai*
 3NSG came same.as ART northwest

pan a yaas ka si.
 NTM ART sun 3 sit
 'They came from the northwest heading towards the
 setting sun (i.e., due west).'

- (9.55) *Ga gis pan a vin'-go ka lagaaf.*
 1SG sick NTM ART skin-my 3 hot
 'I'm sick with a fever.'

The preposition *ku(n)* may not have a clause as a final complement. Instead, the verb is nominalized. This construction is discussed in 12.2 (Nominalized clauses in prepositional phrases). An exception to this nominalizing of the verb is with the phrase *kun a ze* 'because' (literally 'locative marker + what thing'). This can be seen in the following sentence in which the subject of the clause following *kun a ze*, *ga* 'I' remains a subject at the final stratum:

- (9.56) *Ga vangon kun a ze ga lagai.*
 1SG eat LOC ART what 1SG hungry
 'I'm eating because I'm hungry,'

This construction can be explained by regarding *a ze* as a noun, possibly *a ze* 'article + what-thing', which is the complement of the prepositional phrase with the clause *ga lagai* 'I am hungry' as its postnominal modifying clause (see 7.1 Modifying clause).

A similar construction also meaning 'because' is the combination of *pa(n)* with the complement *vuna* 'cause' (sometimes reduplicated as *vuvuna*), as in the following example. Again, the clause after *vuna* is a clause modifying the head noun *vuna*:

- (9.57) *pan a vuna a mun fu-nalik*
 NTM ART cause ART NSG NSG-child
di na vasik mur
 3NSG FUT close then
 'because all the children will follow in our footsteps'

The preposition *pa(n)* before *vuna* may be deleted, as in the following sentence:

- (9.58) *Ga na sif a marang*
 1SG FUT cut ART dry.coconut
kun a bare a vuna ka vit
 NTM ART pig ART cause 3 NEG
ga relas a bare laraf.
 1SG give:PAR ART pig yesterday
 'I'll cut some dry coconut for the pig because I didn't give it
 any yesterday.'

This appears to be the only situation where a preposition can be deleted so that a noun phrase is a final oblique by itself.

9.4 Conclusion: Prepositional phrases

Prepositions are used to mark the grammatical relation of constituents of a sentence which are not the subject, direct object, or verb. Nalik has five prepositions. The preposition *pa(n)* is a general nonterm marker. The locative and temporal marker *l-* fuses with the following article *a* to form *la*. This preposition is used with nouns of location such as 'interior' and 'top' when a description of a specific location is required. This *la* is often fossilized in nouns describing locations. The preposition *ku(n)* is used to mark purposive, locative, and benefactive grammatical relations. The

preposition *feraxei* is followed by the general nonterm marker *pa(n)* in the speech of most Naliks, but some persons affix a transitive suffix to it instead. The preposition *si(n)* is used to express possessive, indirect object, and occasionally benefactive grammatical relations.

A prepositional phrase in Nalik must contain one of these five prepositions and a complement, which can be a pronoun, a noun phrase headed by a noun, or a clause. A preposition may be preceded by the durative marker *i* and, in the speech of some speakers, followed by a transitive suffix.

Chapter 10

Other sentence elements

In the discussion so far of the verbal complex, noun phrase, and prepositional phrase in Nalik, the classes of words discussed have the potential to form part of one of these phrases and, indeed, are not usually, if at all, found isolated in ordinary speech. This section discusses adverbs, conjunctions, and the focus marker, which differ from the classes of words discussed previously in that they do not usually form phrases.

10.1 Adverbs

In Nalik adverbs appear outside a noun phrase or verbal complex, usually in a sentence-initial or sentence-final position. In Nalik many of the words which can be analyzed as adverbs in other languages are easily analyzed as negative markers (see 3.5 Negation) and pronominal modifiers (see 8.1 Pronominal postmodifiers). This section describes only those elements which appear independently, i.e. intensifiers and non-nominal temporal expressions. Their position in a simple sentence is described in 11.1 (Unmarked word order in simple sentences).

As mentioned in 9.1.2 (Locative and temporal marker *l-*) and 9.1.3 (Temporal, locative and benefactive marker *ku(n)*), many temporal expressions follow the prepositions *l-* or *ku(n)* and behave in the same way as other nominal complements of prepositional phrases. Temporal expressions which appear independently can be

considered adverbs, such as *faasilik* 'near, soon' and *lak* 'first' in the following two sentences. These are listed in Figure 10.1 (Temporal adverbs).

- (10.1) *Faasilik* *gu* *na* *rexas* *pan* *a*
 near 2SG FUT know NTM ART

ling *a* *bina*.
 language ART home
 'Soon you will know the vernacular.'

- (10.2) *Ga* *na* *vangan* *lak* *a* *vura*.
 1SG FUT eat first ART chicken
 'I'll eat the chicken first.'

As has already been mentioned in 9.1.2 (Locative and temporal marker *l-*), many of these adverbs begin with the locative-article contraction *la*, although in modern Nalik the initial *la* cannot be separated and interpreted as an individual morpheme. Similarly, a few of these adverbs can also be verbs. For example, with no subject marker to mark it as a verb *faasilik* has a temporal meaning 'soon', as in (10.1). But when it is immediately preceded by a subject marker and any other particles which may only precede a verb, it has the locative meaning 'near', e.g.,

- (10.3) *A* *vaal* *sunum* *ka* *vaasilik*, *adu?*
 ART house of:yousG 3 near TAG
 'Your house is nearby, isn't it?'

<i>boxo</i>	soon
<i>bulai</i>	always
<i>bungru</i>	day after tomorrow (probably from <i>bung</i> 'evening' + (<i>u</i>) <i>ru</i> 'two')
<i>labat</i>	soon
<i>lak</i>	first
<i>lamaf</i>	tomorrow
<i>laraf</i>	yesterday
<i>laran</i>	day before yesterday
<i>lava</i>	later
<i>(naan)lavara</i>	at last
<i>mitanamu</i>	a long time ago
<i>mur</i>	later
<i>murana</i>	much later
<i>nare</i>	now
<i>namb(e)re</i>	now
<i>nanga</i>	yet
<i>paamu</i>	before
<i>sik</i>	immediately
<i>faasilik</i>	soon (probably from causal <i>faa</i> + <i>si(li)k</i> 'immediately')

Figure 10.1 Temporal adverbs

Similarly, in the West Coast dialect *lak* 'first' can be preceded by the third person singular subject marker *ka*, so that in that dialect *lak* is a verb. This is not possible in the Northern East Coast dialect. These examples suggest that the class of adverbs may be a catch-all category in Nalik for words which have lost or have

fossilized the particles which identify them as nouns (locative-article contraction *la*) or verbs (the subject markers).

Several pronominal modifiers were discussed in 8.1 (Pronominal postmodifiers). Of these *nanga* 'yet' and *be* 'only' can modify a verbal complex as well as a pronoun, e.g.,

(10.4) *Ga zangas nanga.*
 1SG walk yet
 'I'm still walking.'

(10.5) *Ga zangas be.*
 1SG walk only
 'I'm just walking.'

Three other adverbs marking intensity are *mase* 'really', *marazaat* 'very much', and *ko*, a general emphasis marker. *Mase* and *marazaat* may appear alone or together with *marazaat* coming first, e.g.,

(10.6) *Ga zaxot mase.*
 1SG want really
 'I really want to.'

(10.7) *Ga zaxot marazaat.*
 1SG want very.much
 'I want to very much.'

(10.8) *Ga zaxot marazaat mase.*
 1SG want very.much really
 'I really want to very much.'

The emphasis marker *ko* usually appears in a sentence-final position, e.g.,

- (10.9) *Ka na va-xoas a ravin ko.*
 3 FUT CAU-carry ART woman EMP
 'He'll have the woman brought along!'

Two other adverbs are *z/saait* 'also', as in (10.10) and (10.18) and *yaak* 'maybe' as in (10.23).

10.2 Conjunctions

When two contiguous elements within a clause are independent of each other but share the same grammatical relation, they may be conjoined with the conjunction *ma* 'and' or *o* 'or' as are the direct objects *vanganing* 'food' and *ti* 'tea' in the following two sentences:

- (10.10) *Ka lis a vangan-ing ma*
 3 give ART eat-NOM and
a ti zaait.
 ART tea also
 'He's giving some food and tea, also.'

- (10.11) *Gu zaxot a vangan-ing o*
 2NPL want ART eat-NOM or
a ti lak?
 ART tea first
 'Would you like some food or tea first?'

There are a number of ways in which clauses can be joined in Nalik. The use of juxtaposition and serial verbs is discussed in 4.1.2 (Serial verbs). The use of a clause to modify a nominal head of a noun phrase is discussed in 7.5 (Modifying clause) and the use of a clausal complement with the prepositions *pa(n)* and *ku(n)* is

discussed in 9.3 (Clausal prepositional complements). In addition to these strategies, Nalik has a number of conjunctions which can conjoin clauses which are 'equal', i.e., when one clause does not modify the other.

The most common are *ma* 'and' and *o* 'or', which have already been discussed as conjunctions within a clause. They may also conjoin clauses, e.g.,

- (10.12) *Ga zibung panaraan ma ka*
 1SG wait morning and 3
ruas nambre.
 go.until now
 'I've been waiting all morning till now.'

Two others are *tamon*, also shortened to *mon*, 'if' and *singsaxei* 'but' (also recorded as *sasaxei* with younger speakers), e.g.,

- (10.13) *Tamon gu na bagbak,*
 if 2SG FUT shave
xa doxo mase.
 3 good really
 'If you shave, it will be really good.'

- (10.14) *Ga roxin a kaar singsaxei*
 1SG have ART car but
nu xa vit.
 youSG 3 NEG
 'I have a car, but you don't.'

A subordinate clause may have the same grammatical relation as a noun phrase although it cannot be preceded or followed by modifiers. Except when the

verb is unaccusative (e.g., the *faraxas* 'can'), such a clause is prefaced by *adu* 'that', e.g.,

- (10.15) *Lucy ka piat adu gu gis.*
 L. 3 say that 2SG sick
 'Lucy said that you are sick.'

Adu is also used in the phrase *adu zare* 'because'. *Zare* is probably *sa* 'why' + *re* 'intensifier'. This phrase was only recorded preceding a noun phrase, not a complete clause, e.g.,

- (10.16) *Ma nandi snak adu za-re*
 and 3NSG tear that why-INT

a rak-taak-ing, a?
 ART RED-bad-NOM TAG
 'And they tear because of poor workmanship, don't they?'

The combination *masing adu* 'same' + 'that' introduces indirect quotes, e.g.,

- (10.17) *Ka yare saraga masing adu ga*
 3 ask my same that 1SG

na wut saait.
 FUT come also
 'He asked me if I would go, too.'

Direct quotes use juxtaposition only, with no conjunction, as in:

- (10.18) *Ka yare saraga, 'Gu na wut saait?'*
 3 ask my 2SG FUT come also
 'He asked me, "Will you go, too?"'

Adu can also be used after the preposition *pa(n)*. In such a case, the clause introduced by *adu* is the complement of the prepositional phrase, e.g.,

- (10.19) *Di vagit maam pan adu di na zuruk.*
 3NSG lie weEX NTM that 3NSG FUT return
 'They're lying to us in saying they will return.'

In addition to these indigenous conjunctions, there are several which have been borrowed from Tok Pisin and English. The most common is *sapos* 'if' (from English *suppose* via Tok Pisin *sapos*). All but a very few older conservative clan orators use it. In fact, it is so widespread that some teenagers were surprised when an older man told them that was not a 'real' Nalik word. *Sapos* is used in much the same way as indigenous *tamon*, e.g.,

- (10.20) *Sapos ka na wut, ka vit*
 if 3 FUT come 3 NEG

na doxo, adu?
 FUT good TAG
 'If she comes it won't be good, will it?'

Two other Tok Pisin / English loans which have been adapted to Nalik phonology and are in wide use by speakers of all ages and status are *orait* 'all right' and *oxei* 'okay', e.g.,

- (10.21) *Orait, ka masing di moxos.*
 all.right 3 same 3NSG marry
 'All right, it was as if they were married.'

- (10.22) *Oxei, ga na stori.*
 okay 1SG FUT story
 'Okay, I'll tell a story.'

These three loan conjunctives are in common use by middle-aged and older speakers with little or no knowledge of English, so they must have come into Nalik from Tok Pisin, rather than directly from English. Among younger speakers their use has undoubtedly been encouraged by the fact that they are nearly identical in meaning and form in both Tok Pisin and English.

Two other loan conjunctions were recorded, but only among younger educated women who use English as a home language with their non-Nalik spouses, *so* 'so' and *sins* 'since'. Both of these are used in English only and not Tok Pisin. At this stage it is not clear whether sentences such as the following will become widespread among Nalik speakers as a whole:

- (10.23) *So yaak thri yias pan a niu stoa.*
 so maybe three years NTM ART new store
 'So maybe (we've been) at the store three years.'

- (10.24) *Sins madi wut l-a bina,*
 since weEX come LOC-ART home
 'Since we came to our ancestral village.'

Interestingly, the English conjunction *until*, which is not in general use throughout the country, but which is used in the Tok Pisin of many younger Naliks (and possibly other New Irelanders, as well), to mean 'unless', was not recorded in the Nalik sentences spoken by these persons.

10.3 Focus marker (y)ang. The marking of focus is common to most if not all Austronesian languages (see Starosta, Pawley and Reid 1981). In Nalik the particle *ang* (*yang* at the beginning of a sentence or after a word ending in *-a*) is an optional marker of focus away from the subject, and usually, although not always, towards the direct object.

It is pronounced *an* in the Laefu dialect and appears to be cognate with the Kara participle *an* described by Schlie and Schlie (1988:26-28). In addition to taking focus away from the subject, Kara *an* has an additional role in passivization. Kara *an* has become lexicalized so that in the Kara lexicon a number of verbs are differentiated by the presence or absence of the suffix *an*. Nalik *ang* does not seem to have these passivization or lexicalized properties.

In Nalik the element which receives focus follows *ang*. The most common function of *ang* in Nalik is to focus the direct object at the expense of the subject. To do this *ang* is found in the verbal complex after the verb and any incorporated direct object or serial verb present and before the completive marker *faanong* (if present). In that position its use is not normally obligatory, so that both the following sentences are grammatical. But native speakers report that of the following two sentences, the first with *ang* makes a 'stronger' statement. This is consistent with an analysis of *ang* as a marker focusing attention away from the subject and towards the direct object.

- (10.25) *Di yot ang a marang.*
 1:3NSG pick FOC ART dry.coconut
 'They're picking the dry coconuts.'

- (10.26) *Di yot a marang.*
 1:3NSG pick ART dry.coconut
 'They're picking dry coconuts.'

One very common use of *ang* after a verb to place focus on the direct object following it, is with the verb *masing* 'it is like / that is to say', e.g.,

- (10.27) *Di piaat mas-ing ang*
 1:3NSG say same-TR FOC

a lo, mas-ing ang a lus.
 ART law same-TR FOC ART commandment
 'We call it a *lo* (in Tok Pisin), that is to say, a commandment.'

In the examples above, the direct objects which receive focus are nouns. As the following sentence (from a song composed at the turn of the century) with the direct object *ni* 'I' shows, the direct object following *ang* can also be a pronoun:

- (10.28) *U, de-ravin, u zi va-ragul*
 oh great-woman oh stay CAU-content

ang ni.
 FOC I
 'Sexy woman, stay and satisfy me.'

In one environment, the use of *ang* in the verbal complex to place focus on the direct object is obligatory. This is in clauses which are the objects of the purposive, locative, and benefactive preposition *ku(n)* with the meaning 'in order to' and nonterm preposition *pa(n)* with the meaning 'for'. When there is no overt subject of the verb in these clauses and they have not been nominalized by the nominalizing suffix *-ing* (see 9.3 Clausal prepositional complements), *ang* must follow the verb.

Thus the first of the following sentences is grammatical, while its equivalent without *ang* is not:

(10.29) *Ga wut kun a vaanong*
 1SG come LOC ART finish

ang a vaal.
 FOC ART house

(10.30) **Ga wut kun a vaanong a vaal.*
 1SG come LOC ART finish ART house

'I'm coming in order to finish the house.'

In these sentences the initial subject of the non-matrix verb has been deleted because it is coreferential with the matrix subject and the verb has become nominalized through the addition of the article *a*. The function of *ang* focusing emphasis away from the subject towards the initial direct object is easy to see, since the subject is not even present and the initial direct object is the only nominal in the clause; the use of *ang* together with the deletion of the subject focuses the listener's attention on the direct object.

Where the subject is present in a clause which is a prepositional object, the use of *ang* is possible but not obligatory. This can be seen in the grammaticality of the following two sentences, which are the equivalents of the two sentences above, but with an overt subject in both the matrix and non-matrix clauses:

- (10.31) *Ga wut kun a ga na vaanong*
 1SG come LOC ART 1SG FUT finish
ang a vaal.
 FOC ART house

- (10.32) *Ga wut kun a ga na vaanong*
 1SG come LOC ART 1SG FUT finish
a vaal.
 ART house
 'I'm coming so I can finish the house.'

Where *ang* is present in such sentences the actual direct object noun phrase can be deleted if it is understood in context, as in the following sentence. The presence of *ang* places emphasis on it even in its absence.

- (10.33) *Ma xa izi be wan a rangon ang.*
 and 3 easy only NTM ART sing FOC
 'And it's easy to sing (the song we're talking about).'

As in Kara (Schlie and Schlie 1988:27), it is not possible to use *ang* with an incorporated direct object. This is consistent with the analysis of the function of *ang* in a verbal complex as a marker focusing attention away from the subject and towards the direct object. Since direct object incorporation draws attention away from the direct object and toward the verb, it would be counterproductive to use *ang* to focus attention back towards it again. This is shown by the grammaticality of *ang* in the first of the two following sentences in which the direct object has not been incorporated, and the ungrammaticality of the second sentence, which has both *ang* and direct object incorporation:

(10.34) *Tua gu imin ang a danim raksat.*
 NEG:IMP 2NPL drink FOC ART water bad
 'Don't drink the polluted water.'

(10.35) **Tua gu imin ang danim raksat.*
 NEG:IMP 2NPL drink FOC water bad
 'Don't drink polluted water.'

Often the direct object which *ang* emphasizes is coreferential with the subject, so that by placing focus on the direct object, *ang* expresses reflexivity. In the following sentence, for example, the addition of *ang* changes *naxaam* 'think' to 'remind oneself':

(10.36) *Ga naxaam ang ni.*
 1SG think FOC I
 'I am reminded of something/someone.'

Although the most common use of *ang* is to place focus on a direct object, it can also be used with the interrogative *faa* (see 11.4.2.1 WH-interrogatives) or with noun phrases having two other grammatical relations. The first is that of a postnominal modifying noun phrase (see 7.1 Modifying noun phrase) of those verbal nouns which are transitive and which have the same form both as a verb and a noun (see 5.2.1.2 Nouns identical with verbs).

Giu 'build' is an example of such a verb. As a verb preceded by a subject reference particle, *giu* is transitive and can therefore be followed by a direct object, such as *a vaal* 'a house'. This direct object could in turn receive focus by being preceded by *ang*: *giu ang a vaal* 'building a house'. In the following sentence, this is exactly what has occurred. But in the following sentence *giu* is then nominalized, being preceded by the article *a*, marking it as a noun, not a verb:

- (10.37) A *vit* *di* *rexas-ing* *a* *giu*
 3SG NEG 1:3NSG know-TR ART build
- ang* *a* *vaal.*
 FOC ART house
- 'They don't know anything about building a house.'

A noun phrase following the head noun is a modifying noun phrase (see 7.1 Modifying noun phrases). This sentence shows that, at least with verbal nouns, *ang* can act to focus emphasis away from the head and towards the element which immediately follows *ang*, i.e., the modifying noun phrase, just as it focuses emphasis away from the subject and towards the direct object when it immediately follows a verb. The similarity between the two constructions 'verb + *ang* + direct object' and 'verbal head noun + *ang* + modifying noun phrase' suggests a strong similarity in the direct object and modifying noun phrase grammatical relations. That is, a direct object modifies a verb in a way that is similar to the way a modifying noun phrase modifies a head noun, at least when the head noun is a verbal noun.

Although *ang* is normally used to place focus on a direct object, it can also be used to place emphasis on an adverb. In this it differs from Kara *an*, which must have an overt direct object (Schlie and Schlie 1988:26). Just as when *ang* places focus on direct objects, when *ang* places focus on an adverb, it precedes the focussed word. With this function, *ang* appears outside the verbal complex however, and usually after the direct object. This may be near the end of a sentence as in the following sentence where the emphasis marker *ko* in sentence-final position receives focus:

- (10.38) *Ka na va-xoas a ravin*
 3 FUT CAU-carry ART woman
ang ko.
 FOC EMP
 'He will just have the woman carried away!'

Usually as the allomorph *yang*, *ang* can also be found at the beginning of a sentence, as in the following sentence where it places focus on the adverb *nanga* 'just':

- (10.39) *Yang nanga l-a raan Mista.*
 FOC just LOC-ART time Mister
Hancock ka wut
 H. 3 come
 'It was just at the time when Mr. Hancock came.'

When *ang* precedes, and therefore places focus on, the adverb *namb(e)re* 'now', the meaning 'until' is produced, e.g.,

- (10.40) *A vara-mara yang nambre di*
 ART INC-eye FOC now weIN
di-t falos.
 1:3NSG-DUR follow
 'From the beginning of time (literally, "inception of the eye") until now we have been following (these laws).'

Another way of expressing the same meaning is to use the conjunction *ma* immediately following *nambre* instead of (y)*ang*, e.g., *a varamara ma nambre* 'from the beginning of time until now', but this expression is somewhat weaker than its equivalent with *ang*. Both of these expressions are usually found near the beginning of the sentence before the subject, as in the example above.

Ang cannot also appear between a subject reference particle and a verb, so that the following sentence is ungrammatical:

- (10.41) **Di ang do-dor nanga.*
 1:3NSG FOC RED-speak yet
 `They're just talking.'

Since *ang* places focus on the constituent which follows it, in the preceding sentence the verb, the ungrammaticality of the sentence indicates that *ang* cannot be used to place focus on a verb.

Similarly, the following sentence, in which *ang* is the sentence final element, is ungrammatical because there is no element following *ang* to receive focus. This indicates that *ang* must be used as a marker of focus on a specific element.¹

- (10.42) **Di do-dor nanga ang.*
 1:3NSG RED-speak yet FOC
 `They're just talking.'

If emphasis is to be placed on the entire sentence, *ko* can be used at the end of the sentence, as in (10.38). Alternately, since *ang* places emphasis on the element which follows it, *ang* can be placed at the beginning of the sentence so that the focus marker places focus on the entire sentence within the discourse. In this position it is prefaced by *a* to become *ayang* with the meaning `yes'. This is the most common use of the focus marker. The following two short dialogues demonstrate this usage:

¹ Example (10.33) also has *ang* in a sentence final position, but it is grammatical. The difference between (10.33) and (10.42) is that in (10.33) the verb is transitive and the direct object is understood from context and therefore deleted. In (10.42) the verb is intransitive and there is no deleted direct object which can be understood to follow *ang*.

(10.43)

A: *Ma gu saa, gu na bul a zaan?*
 and 2SG how 2SG FUT buy ART thing
 'And what about you, are you going to buy anything?'

B. *Ayang, ga zaxot a zaan.*
 FOC 1SG like ART thing
 'Yes, I'd like something.'

(10.44)

A: *Panaraan doxo!*
 morning good
 'Good morning.'

B: *Ayang, panaraan doxo!*
 FOC morning good
 'Good morning to you, too!'

10.4 Conclusion: Other sentence elements

Nalik has several types of elements which act independently in a sentence and which are not necessarily included in phrases. These are adverbs, conjunctions, and the focus marker (*y*)*ang*.

Adverbs in Nalik are either expressions of intensity or temporal expressions which modify the verbal complex. Many of the other elements which would be analyzed as adverbs in other languages can be more efficiently analyzed as verbs or prepositional phrases. Many, but not all, temporal adverbs begin with a fossilized *la*, a fusion of the locative preposition *l-* and the article *a*. Some adverbs are identical to

or similar in form to verbs with related meanings. Two adverbs of intensity can modify pronouns as well as verbal complexes.

Conjunctions join contiguous elements with the same grammatical relation. They can also be used to join clauses. Some conjunctions have been borrowed from Tok Pisin and English.

The focus marker *(y)ang* is used to place focus on the constituent which immediately follows it. Usually this is the direct object, so that using *(y)ang* is an alternative to passivization. At the beginning of a sentence *(y)ang* either means 'yes' or acts as a discourse marker, placing focus on the entire sentence in a discourse. The use of *(y)ang* is optional except in clauses which are the complement of the preposition *ku(n)* with the meaning 'in order to', in which case the use of *(y)ang* is obligatory.

Chapter 11

Simple sentences

The discussion up to this point has described the characteristics of the different word classes in Nalik and how they join to form phrases. This chapter will discuss the construction of simple sentences from these phrases.

11.1 Unmarked word order in simple sentences

Word order is an important marker of grammatical relations in Nalik and is, therefore, relatively fixed. As Capell (1971:242-43) showed some time ago, the basic unmarked word order of New Ireland-Tolai languages is SVO, and Nalik is no exception. Word order is particularly important in specifying what Perlmutter and Postal (1983b:86) call nuclear term R-signs, i.e., subjects and direct objects. In contrast to other grammatical relations, these grammatical relations are identified in Nalik solely on the basis of word order, rather than by prepositional morphemes.

Except for verbless sentences (see 11.2 Verbless sentences), all sentences have a verb complex as their core. As described in 3.1 (Subject markers), a verb complex begins with a subject marker. The subject may be further reiterated and specified with a noun phrase, headed by either a pronoun or a noun, but this is not required. This optional specified subject precedes the verbal complex. Thus in the following sentence with a third person singular subject marker *ka* and two third person singular noun phrases, the subject *a nalik* 'the boy' is marked by its position immediately before the verbal complex *ka lis*:

- (11.1) *A nalik ka lis a baxot*
 ART boy 3 give ART money
- sin a das-na.*
 of ART brother-his/her/its
- 'The boy is giving/sending the money to his brother.'

In a comparison of the three Lavongai-Nalik languages for which he has detailed information (Lavongai, Tigak, and Kara), Beaumont (1988:47-48 and f.c.:14) has described direct object particles within the verbal complex, which are obligatory in Tigak and Kara even in the presence of nominal direct objects. These do not exist in Nalik, so, except when a nominal direct object is incorporated into the verbal complex (see 4.1.1 Direct object incorporation), the only expression of a direct object grammatical relation is outside and immediately following the verbal complex. If present, a direct object and/or an indirect object normally immediately follow the verbal complex. These can be differentiated from each other by the fact that an indirect object ordinarily is the complement of preposition *si(n)*, as already described in 9.1.5.1 (Use of *si(n)* to mark indirect objects). Thus, in the sentence above, the noun phrase *a baxot* 'the money' can be identified as the direct object rather than the subject because it immediately follows the verbal complex *ka lis* 'he is sending/giving' and as the direct object rather than the indirect object because it is not preceded by a preposition.

As with a subject, specific information about the direct or indirect object is not required for a sentence to be grammatical; example (11.1) would be a grammatical sentence if the specified subject and objects were all omitted, leaving only *ka lis* '(s)he is giving/sending'. Similarly, any one of these term relations (i.e., subject, direct object, or indirect object) may be specified to the exclusion of the other

two. For example, the following sentence is grammatical, even though the indirect object *sin a dasna* 'to his brother' is overtly specified, but neither the subject or direct object is:

- (11.2) *Ka lis sin a das-na.*
 3 give of ART brother-his/her/its
 'He's giving/sending (it) to his brother.'

Like indirect objects, the oblique grammatical relations are all expressed with prepositional phrases. These normally come at the end of a sentence after a direct and/or an indirect object, if either or both is present. For example, in the following sentence the temporal expression *la fomait la xor* 'next payday' follows the direct and indirect objects *a baxot* 'the money' and *a dasna* 'his brother', respectively:

- (11.3) *A nalik ka na lis a baxot*
 ART boy 3 FUT give ART money

sin a das-na l-a
 of ART brother-his/her/its LOC-ART

fomait l-a xor.
 payday LOC-ART above
 'The boy will give some money to his brother next payday.'

The possessives can be used to mark benefactive and source as well as possessive and indirect object grammatical relations. The word order rule which stipulates that objects precede oblique grammatical relations disambiguates sentences which have two prepositional phrases with possessives, one marking an indirect object and one an oblique relation. An example of such a sentence is (9.46), repeated below. This sentence has two possessive noun phrases which in the absence of this

word order rule could be potential indirect objects, *sarago* 'my' and *si Tom* 'of Tom'. But because *sarago* precedes *si Tom*, *sarago* is the indirect object, while *si Tom* has a benefactive grammatical relation.

- (9.46) *Ka na lis a rais sarago si Tom.*
 3 FUT give ART rice my of T.
 'He'll give me the rice for Tom.'

The order of different oblique relations relative to each other does not seem to be fixed, but generally, those marked by prepositional phrases beginning with *la* precede those marked by *pa(n)*, as in the following sentence:

- (11.4) *Ka na vizik l-a maskan*
 3 FUT descend LOC-ART inside

a laman pan a brut.
 ART ocean NTM ART depth
 'He'll dive into the depths of the ocean.'

The unmarked position for adverbs is sentence-final, as with *nanga* 'yet' in (10.4), repeated below:

- (10.4) *Ga zangas nanga.*
 1SG walk yet
 'I'm still walking.'

The position of the focus marker (*y*)*ang* is important to its function and has already been described above in 10.3 (Focus marker (*y*)*ang*). It places focus on the element that follows it and may appear before an adverb or a direct object as well as at the beginning of a sentence.

^ (SU)	verbal complex	^ (DO) (IO)	(OBL) (^ ADV)
ADV=	adverb		
DO=	direct object		
IO=	indirect object		
OBL=	oblique(s)		
SU=	overt subject		
^ =	positions where the focus marker may optionally appear (only one focus marker per sentence is possible)		

Figure 11.1 Unmarked word order in simple sentences

To summarize, subject to the rules and exceptions discussed in the next sections of this chapter, the unmarked word order of a simple sentence in Nalik is that shown in Figure 11.1 (Unmarked word order in simple sentences). The core and only obligatory element of a sentence is a verbal complex. This may be preceded by a noun phrase which specifies the subject and which is coreferential to the subject marker in the verbal complex. The verbal complex may be followed by a direct and/or an indirect object, in that unmarked order. These, in turn may be followed by one or more oblique expressions. Adverbs normally appear at the end of the sentence. The focus marker (*y)ang* appears immediately before the element which receives focus, either the direct object, an adverb, or the entire sentence.

11.1.1 Fronting. The previous section described the unmarked position of elements in a Nalik sentence. Under certain conditions direct objects, prepositional phrases, complements of prepositional phrases, and adverbs may be fronted from their usual positions.

A direct object may be moved from its normal position after the verbal complex to the beginning of the sentence, as has happened with the direct object *a buk* in the following sentence:

- (11.5) *A buk nana xa zarok sin Ali.*
 ART book mother 3 receive of A.
 `The book, mother got (it) from Ali.'

Because younger speakers no longer have access to a passive construction to emphasize the direct object (see 12.1 Passive), fronting or using the focus marker (*y*)*ang* are the only strategies still open to them to do this. The sentence above was, in fact, a translation by a teenager of an English passive sentence.

After fronting, the original position of the direct object can optionally be echoed by an appropriate pronoun. In the following sentence, for example, the direct object *a moni*, has been fronted from its original position after the verbal complex *ga kot* `I'm counting'. The original position is marked by the third person singular pronoun *naan*.

- (11.6) *A moni ga kot naan.*
 ART money 1SG count (s)he/it
 `The money, I'm counting it.'

This sentence would be equally grammatical if *naan* were not present and the original position of the fronted direct object not overtly marked.

If both are present, an indirect object normally follows a direct object, as the indirect object *sin a dasna* `of/to his brother' does the direct object *a baxot* `the money' in (11.1). It is also possible, but much less common, for an indirect object to be fronted to precede a direct object, as in the following sentence, where the indirect object *surugo* `to me' precedes the direct object *a ratauwoking* `the custom':

- (11.7) *A mun yaya di viv-ing*
 ART NSG grandparent 1:3NSG relate-TR
- surugo a ra-tau-wok-ing*
 of:I ART RED-clansman-work-NOM
- wan a feiv ang a bina.*
 NTM ART cremate FOC ART home
- ‘The old folks told me about [the customary practice] of
 cremation in our village.’

It is also possible to front a prepositional phrase. In the following sentence, for example, the possessive prepositional phrase *sin a sazaak* ‘of someone’ has been fronted from its original sentence-final position:

- (11.8) *Sin a sa-zaak ka wut fa-tak*
 of ART RED-someone 3 come CAU-straight
- l-a pop saxei.*
 LOC-ART side one
- ‘It came straight from someone’s place.’

It is more common, however, to front only the complement of a preposition, leaving the preposition stranded at the end of a sentence. While this is especially common in question formation (see 11.4.2 WH-questions), the following sentence shows that it is also possible with non-interrogatives. In the following sentence the noun phrase *a doxo’ing sarago* ‘my goodness’ is fronted from its original sentence-final position as the complement of the nonterm preposition *pa(n)*:

- (11.9) *A* *doxo'-ing* *sarago,* *naan*
 ART good-NOM of:I (s)he/it
- na* *walak pa-na.*
 3SG grow NTM-3SG
- 'It will grow through my goodness (i.e., loving kindness)'

With statements this preposition stranding was only recorded with the preposition *pa(n)*, but with questions it was also recorded with the locative and benefactive preposition *ku(n)* and the possessive and indirect object preposition *si(n)*. When stranded at the end of a sentence, a preposition always takes the third person singular inalienable suffix *-na*. Thus *pa(n)* becomes *pana* (as in the preceding example), *ku(n)* becomes *kuna*, and *si(n)* becomes *sina*. Thus the original position of the fronted complement of the prepositional phrase is marked by the third person inalienable possessive suffix.

As discussed above, the unmarked position for adverbs is sentence-final (see Figure 11.1 Unmarked word order in simple sentences). They may be fronted to a sentence-initial position or, less commonly, to a position between the verbal complex and direct object. Examples of these are *faasilik* 'near, soon' and *lak* 'first' in (10.1) and (10.2), respectively, which are repeated below:

- (10.1) *Faasilik* *gu* *na* *rexas* *pan* *a*
 near 2SG FUT know NTM ART
- ling* *a* *bina.*
 language ART home
- 'Soon you will know the vernacular.'

- (10.2) *Ga na vangan lak a vura.*
 1SG FUT eat first ART chicken
 'I'll eat the chicken first.'

Either of these sentences would be grammatical with the adverb *faasilik* or *lak* at the end of the sentence. Fronting serves to place focus on the adverb. Adverbs may not appear within a verbal complex, so that the position of *lak* 'first' between the future marker *na* and the verb *vangan* 'eat' makes the following sentence ungrammatical:

- (11.10) **Ga na lak vangan a vura.*
 1SG FUT first eat ART chicken
 'I'll first eat the chicken.'

When specific temporal adverbs, such as *lamaf* 'tomorrow' and *laraf* 'yesterday' are fronted to a position between the verbal complex and a direct object, they must be mirrored in both the sentence-initial and post-verbal complex positions. This can be seen in the following three sentences. The first has unmarked word order with the temporal adverb *laraf* 'yesterday' in a sentence-final position. The second is grammatical because the adverb has been fronted to a position between the verbal complex *ka vaze* 'she said' and the direct object *ni* 'I', and is also mirrored in the sentence-initial position. The third sentence is ungrammatical because *laraf* has been fronted to a position between the verbal complex and the direct object, but is not mirrored in a sentence-initial position.

- (11.11) *Lucy ka vaze ni laraf.*
 L. 3 tell I yesterday
 'Lucy told me yesterday'

(11.12) *Laraf Lucy ka vaze laraf ni.*
 yesterday L. 3 tell yesterday I
 'Yesterday Lucy told me.'

(11.13) **Lucy ka vaze laraf ni.*
 L. 3 tell yesterday I
 'Lucy told yesterday me.'

Temporal adverbs may not be fronted to a position inside the verbal complex, either with or without sentence-initial mirroring. Thus the following sentence is ungrammatical because *laraf* has been fronted to a position inside the verbal complex between the subject marker *ka* and the verb *vaze*:

(11.14) **Laraf Lucy ka laraf vaze ni.*
 yesterday L. 3 yesterday tell I
 'Lucy yesterday told me.'

11.1.2 Clefting. In a cleft sentence *i na* is inserted between an overt nominal subject and the subject marker. This is identical in form to the ligature (*i*)*na* used between attributive adjectives and nouns in Kuanua and Patpatar (Beaumont f.c.:11). In Nalik *na* is a third person subject marker (see 3.1 Subject markers), while *i* is possibly the durative marker *i* (see 3.7 Durative markers), so that this is the only instance of a preverbal element modifying a subject marker. As the following sentence with a third person plural subject *a zanun ubina* 'some people' shows, third person singular *na* is used even when the overt subject is not singular:

- (11.15) A *zanun ubina, i na, di*
 ART some people DUR 3SG 1:3NSG
- tabung put.*
 ANT come
- 'It was a number of people who came.'

This cleft construction is relatively rare. A more common strategy is to use juxtaposition of two clauses in which the last element of the first clause is coreferential with the subject marker of the second. An example of this is the following sentence, in which the clause *naan Lundeng* 'it is Lundeng' is juxtaposed with *ka wut* 'he is coming', with *naan* and *ka* both being coreferential with *Lundeng*:

- (11.16) *Naan Lundeng ka wut.*
 (s)he L. 3 come
- 'It's Lundeng who's coming.'

11.2 Verbless sentences

Up to this point, a verbal complex has been described as being obligatory in all Nalik sentences. An exception to this is the equative sentence construction.

Except where the optional past tense locative copula *vinai* is used, equative clauses in Nalik do not have a verbal complex (see 2.2.1 Copula). This is shown in the verbless sentences below. In the first, a nominal subject (*a iza sin a nalik* 'the name of the son'), and in the second a pronominal subject (*ni* 'I') are identified with coreferential noun phrase complement (the proper names Jalál and Effendi, respectively):

(11.17) *A iza sin a nalik tete Jalaal.*
 ART name of ART boy male J.
 'The son's name is Jalál'

(11.18) *Ni Effendi.*
 I E.
 'I'm Effendi.'

This verbless construction may also be used for narratives in the past, so that in an appropriate context reflecting the fact that Papua New Guinean school children often change their 'school name', (11.17) could also mean 'the son's name was Jalál'. Alternatively, if the subject is linked with a locative complement, the past locative copula *vinai* may be used (see 2.2.1 Copula).

As has already been discussed, some verbs are identical in form with nouns (see 5.2.1.2 Nouns identical with verbs). With such pairs, speakers can choose between a verbless equative sentence or a sentence with a verbal complex. Although the noun-verb pairs are identical in form, the resulting sentences often have subtle differences in meaning as one or the other of the constructions develops an idiomatic meaning. One example is *rate*. Usually *rate* is a noun meaning 'man', as in the following verbless sentence:

(11.19) *Naan a rate.*
 (s)he ART man
 'He's a man.'

This word can also be a verb. When used as a verb, its meaning is 'born a male'. As a verb, *rate* is usually used only to announce the gender of a baby at birth, as in the following sentence:

- (11.20) *Naan ka rate!*
 (s)he 3 man
 'A boy has been born!'

11.3 Imperatives and exhortatives

Although Nalik has imperative and exhortative forms, speakers of all ages report that both are too direct and that, as in English and Tok Pisin, a more polite way to express a command or exhortation is to use a question. The most common polite form is to use a question with *faraxas* 'may, can' or its Tok Pisin loan equivalent *naaf* (see 2.1.1 Modals), e.g.,

- (11.21) *Ka-t faraxas, gu na i zi?*
 3-DUR can 2NPL FUT DUR sit
 'Could you please sit down?'

Another strategy for making an imperative more polite is to begin the request with the conjunction *adu* 'that', as in the following sentence. English-speaking Naliks often translate this as 'please'. The use of this construction is less common among younger speakers than it is among middle-aged and older speakers.

- (11.22) *Adu gu na lis a baaxot sina.*
 that 2NPL FUT give ART money of:(s)he
 'Please give him the money.'

Exhortatives are usually formed by using the first person inclusive subject marker *di* (which is also the third person nonsingular subject marker) and, in nearly all exhortatives, the future marker *na*, e.g.,

- (11.23) *Di na vaan!*
 1:3NSG FUT go
 'Let's go!'

In rare cases, however, when the speaker urgently requires immediate action, the future marker *na* may be omitted in an exhortative. An example of this is (3.29).

A somewhat more polite exhortative form uses a serial verb construction in which the first verb is *mainung* and the second the action under consideration, as in the following sentence. *Mainung*, originally meant 'strong request', but has become the common word for 'pray', particularly among Christians. In discussing prayer, Bahá'ís also use *vaarof*, which was a precontact traditional religious term, but they do not use *vaarof* instead of *mainung* in this polite exhortative construction.

- (11.24) *Di na mainung ling.*
 1:3NSG FUT pray cut
 'Let's cut it.'

Beaumont (f.c.:22) has stated that in Tigak, Kara, and Lavongai, the imperative is formed using 'the unmarked form' of the verb. This is often the same in Nalik, i.e., the unmarked present tense form of the verb can be used with no special morphological change. Thus, in a sentence such as the following, only context distinguishes an imperative from a declarative sentence:

- (11.25) *Gu wut!*
 2NPL come
 'You come!'

Grammatically unmarked imperatives such as these may have the same tense and aspect markers as declarative sentences. For example, in the first of the following

sentences, the verb is preceded by the durative marker *i*, while in the second, the verb is preceded by the future marker *na*:

(11.26) *Gu i zi!*
 2NPL DUR sit
 'You sit down!'

(11.27) *Nambre gu na wut!*
 now 2NPL FUT come
 'Now, you shall come!'

In the examples above the subject has been marked for nonplural number, but not specified for dual or paucal number. It is possible, but not obligatory, to use the dual or paucal suffixes with this type of imperative, e.g.,

(11.28) *Gu i zi-ral!*
 2NPL DUR sit-PAU
 'You three, sit down!'

With many verbs the use of the subject marker in an interrogative is optional. Thus the following sentence, with the subject marker *gu* deleted, is a grammatical equivalent of (11.26):

(11.29) *I zi!*
 DUR sit
 'Sit down!'

The deletion of the subject marker is not limited to sentences such as this which consist of a verbal complex only. In the following sentence, for example, the verbal complex is followed by a locative prepositional phrase, and the subject marker has been deleted:

- (11.30) *Si wan a iban.*
 sit NTM ART bed
 'Sit on the bed.'

This deletion of the subject marker is possible with most, but not all, verbs. An imperative with the verb *wul* 'buy', for example, is grammatical if the subject marker is present, as in the first of the following two sentences, but ungrammatical if it is deleted, as in the second:

- (11.31) *Gu na wul a mit.*
 2NPL FUT buy ART frozen.meat
 'You buy the frozen meat.'

- (11.32) **Wul a mit.*
 buy ART frozen.meat
 'Buy the frozen meat.'

Two optional imperative markers may be added to strengthen an imperative. The first is *laos* 'go on'. The classification of this word is problematic. It is used at the beginning of an imperative so it is like other verbs which permit subject marker deletion. But unlike other verbs it is never used with a subject marker or other preverbal or postverbal modifiers. Moreover, it is not used in nonimperative constructions. English-speaking Naliks translate it as 'go on', but in view of its limited usage as an optional imperative marker, it is glossed below as IMP 'imperative'.

When *laos* is used, the subject marker may not be deleted from the verbal complex of the main verb. This is the case even with verbs which otherwise permit subject marker deletion in imperatives. The verb *si*, for example, permits subject

marker deletion, as in (11.29) and (11.30) above. But the following sentence, where *si* is preceded by *laos*, is ungrammatical because the subject marker has been deleted:

- (11.33) **Laos i zi!*
 IMP DUR sit
 `Go on, sit down!'

This sentence is grammatical when a subject marker is included in the verbal complex, e.g.,

- (11.34) *Laos gu i zi!*
 IMP 2NPL DUR sit
 `Go on, you sit down!'

The other optional imperative marker is *kaf*, which appears immediately after the verb, e.g.,

- (11.35) *Tain kaf!*
 look IMP
 `Take a good look at it!'

This word was not recorded in nonimperative constructions, but only with imperatives such as (11.35) which contain only a verb, and no subject marker, preverbal modifiers, or prepositional phrases. Its use strengthens the imperative force of the sentence, which explains its use in the idiom:

- (11.36) *Fatong kaf!*
 take.care IMP
 `Look out, danger!'

Prohibitions are formed with the negative imperative marker *tua*. Like *laos*, *tua* precedes the verbal complex. Also as with *laos*, the verbal complex must include the subject marker, even if the verb is subcategorized to permit subject marker deletion in other imperative constructions. An example of a prohibition with *tua* is:

- (11.37) *Tua* *gu* *vagit* *ni!*
 NEG:IMP 2NPL deceive I
 `Don't you lie to me!'

Imperative sentences can also be negated with the negative particle *pe(n)* / *we(n)* (see 3.5 Negative particle (*pe(n)*)), as in the following sentence:

- (11.38) *Gu* *na* *we* *paan.*
 2NPL FUT NEG go
 `You'll not be going!'

Such sentences can only be distinguished as imperatives rather than statements by context, not by grammatical structure. For this reason they are thought of as not being as forceful as negative imperatives with *tua*.

11.4 Interrogatives

This section deals with question formation and the differences between the syntax of questions and statements. The individual Nalik interrogatives can be classified under several word classes (e.g., nouns, adverbs, or prepositional phrases). Discussing them separately in different chapters above would mask their common function, so they are described as a group in this section.

11.4.1 Yes-no questions. Yes-no questions have the same form as statements, but usually have a rising intonation. Statements have a falling intonation so that only rising intonation distinguishes the following sentence as a question:

- (11.39) *Gu saxot saait a susu?*
 2NPL like also ART milk
 'Would you like milk, too?'

11.4.1.1 Tag questions. Tag questions can be formed by placing the tag marker *adu* or, more commonly, *te* (and its phonological variant *re*), at the end of the sentence, e.g.,

- (11.40) *Naan a bas i l-a skol, adu?*
 (s)he ART bus DUR LOC-ART school TAG
 'That's the bus from the school, isn't it?'

- (11.41) *Naan a bas sin a Wali, re?*
 (s)he ART bus of ART W. TAG
 'That's Wally's bus, isn't it?'

Another tag marker that is often used is *a*, e.g.,

- (11.42) *Ka na valaxe, a?*
 3 FUT inherit TAG
 'It will be passed onto the next generation, won't it?'

This is the same as the Tok Pisin tag marker *a*, which in the New Guinea Islands region competes with *laka*. As speakers of all ages and levels of traditional orientation use all three tag markers, it is not clear if Nalik *a* has been borrowed from Tok Pisin, or if it is an independent development.

11.4.1.2 Answering negative questions. There is variation in answering negative questions such as the following:

- (11.43) *Ka vit gu roxin a bas?*
 3 NEG 2NPL have ART bus
 'Don't you have a bus?'

A minority of speakers answer in an English fashion, using 'no' with a negative verb and 'yes' with a positive verb, e.g.,

- (11.44) *Ka vit. Ka vit ga roxin a bas.*
 3 NEG 3 NEG 1SG have ART bus
 'No, I don't have a bus.'

- (11.45) *Ayang, ga roxin a bas.*
 yes 1SG have ART bus
 'Yes, I have a bus.'

But the majority of speakers answer negative questions in a Tok Pisin fashion, using 'yes' with a negative verb and 'no' with a positive verb, e.g.,

- (11.46) *Ayang, ka vit ga roxin a bas.*
 yes 3 NEG 1SG have ART bus
 'Yes, I don't have a bus.'

- (11.47) *Ka vit. Ga roxin a bas.*
 3 NEG 1SG have ART bus
 'No, I have a bus.'

The factor affecting which form is used, is exposure to and command of English. Although both forms are used by speakers of all age groups, only those with a good command of English use the English-type answers. The link of these forms

with formal English-medium education is also shown in the comment of an older speaker who uses English-type answers to negative questions. This speaker, a retired English-medium primary school teacher, was asked why he used these forms while another man of the same age group and social standing used the Tok Pisin-type answers. He answered that the other man was 'only a fisherman'. Using English-type answers is therefore a relatively recent innovation which acts as a badge of having received a Western education.

11.4.2 WH-questions. Nalik WH-interrogatives are discussed in 11.4.2.1 (WH-interrogatives). They may fill the position of a noun, an adverb, or a prepositional phrase, as *nis* 'who', *lasang* 'when', and *kun a ze* 'why' do, respectively, in the following three examples:

(11.48) *Nis ka wut?*
 who 3 come
 'Who's coming?'

(11.49) *Ka na wut lasang?*
 3 FUT come when
 'When will he come?'

(11.50) *Ka roxin a mowaa kun a ze?*
 3 have ART mower LOC ART what
 'Why does he have the mower?'

Interrogatives are used together with, and do not replace, verbs. In a verbless sentence, therefore, the interrogative cannot be used as a verb preceded by a subject marker, as the ungrammaticality of the following sentence shows:

- (11.51) **Tamun ka faa?*
 T. 3 where
 `Where is Tamun?'

Instead, the interrogative is used as a complement and no subject marker is present, e.g.,

- (11.52) *Tamun faa?*
 T. where
 `Where is Tamun?'

As the examples above show, interrogatives usually fill the position of the element which is unknown. But from this position they may also be fronted. In the first of the following sentences, for example, the interrogative prepositional phrase *kun a za re* `why' appears in its unmarked position after the verbal complex. In the second sentence this interrogative is fronted to the beginning of the sentence:

- (11.53) *Di va-wut-ling kun a za re?*
 1:3NSG CAU-COME-TR LOC ART what TAG
 `Why did they bring it (here)?'1

- (11.54) *Kun a za re di va-wut-ling?*
 LOC ART what TAG 1:3NSG CAU-COME-TR
 `Why did they bring it here?'

From the preceding example it would appear that with fronting, an element is fronted to the beginning of the sentence. But if there is an overt subject, such as *nu* `youSG' in the following sentence, the interrogative (here the noun phrase *a ze zis* `whose things') is not fronted to a position before it. This shows that fronting moves the interrogative to a position immediately before the verbal complex, which may or may not be the beginning of the sentence.

- (11.55) *Nu a ze zis gu vinau?*
 youSG ART what whose 2NPL steal
 'Whose things did you steal?'

Although, as the examples above show, the movement of WH-interrogatives to the left is possible, movement to the right is not. The following four sentences show this. In the first, the interrogative *nis* 'who' is in the position of an initial indirect object which has been advanced to a final direct object (see 12.3 Indirect-object-to-direct-object advancement). In the second sentence *nis* has been fronted to a position before the second person nonsingular subject marker *gu*. In the third sentence *nis* has been moved to the end of the sentence, making the sentence ungrammatical. The ungrammaticality of this sentence is not caused by the sentence-final position of *nis*, as the fourth sentence, in which *nis* occupies the sentence-final position normally held by a direct object, is grammatical. This indicates that the ungrammaticality of the third sentence is caused by right movement rather than the actual sentence-final position of the interrogative:

- (11.56) *Gu na relas nis pan a yen?*
 2NPL FUT PAR:give who NTM ART fish
 'You'll give whom the fish?'
- (11.57) *Nis gu na relas pan a yen?*
 who 2NPL FUT PAR:give NTM ART fish
 'Who'll you give the fish to?'
- (11.58) **Gu na relas pan a yen nis?*
 2NPL FUT PAR:give NTM ART fish who
 'You'll give the fish whom?'

- (11.59) *Gu na raain nis?*
 2NPL FUT see who
 'You'll see whom?'

When an interrogative is a prepositional phrase, the complement of the prepositional phrase may be fronted, stranding the preposition in the same way as any other preposition (see 11.1.1 Fronting). In the following sentence, for example, *a ze* 'what' is the complement of the locative preposition *kun*, forming 'why'. The complement *a ze* is fronted to a position before the verbal complex, stranding the preposition at the end of the sentence. As explained in 11.1.1 (Fronting), the original position of the fronted constituent is marked on the stranded preposition with the third person inalienable possessive suffix *-na*.

- (11.60) *A ze gu tok a yai ku-na?*
 ART what 2NPL hit ART tree LOC-his/her/its
 'Why are you hitting the tree?'

The echoing of the original position of a fronted noun phrase by a possessive was discussed in 11.1.1 (Fronting). This is very common with interrogatives, where the same element appears in both the original and fronted positions. This is seen in the following sentence, which is the equivalent of the question above with the echoing of the fronted element *a ze*:

- (11.61) *A ze gu tok a yai*
 ART what 2NPL hit ART tree

kun a ze?
 LOC ART what
 'Why are you hitting the tree?'

Although tags are usually used with yes-no questions, the tag *te/re* may be used with WH-questions to give emphasis, as in the following sentence:

- (11.62) *A mun piu i faa, re?*
 art NSG dog DUR where TAG
 `Just where are the dogs then?'

When used with WH-questions, the tag *te/re* may be placed before the interrogative instead of at the end of the sentence, e.g.,

- (11.63) *Na i kuk te wan a ze?*
 3SG DUR cook TAG NTM ART what
 `Just how did she cook then?'

11.4.2.1 WH-interrogatives. As mentioned above, Nalik interrogatives may be in the positions of nouns, adverbs, and prepositional phrases, and may have the same grammatical relations that those elements do. These interrogatives are listed in Figure 11.2 (WH-interrogatives) and will be discussed briefly in this sub-section.

A number of interrogatives are based on *a ze* `what'. There is no noun *ze* which appears without an initial *a* or which appears with modifiers between the article *a* and *ze*. But together *a* and *ze* function like a noun phrase comprising the article *a* and a head noun *ze*. This differs from the conjunction *adu* `that', for example, which also begins with *a-*, but which does not appear in environments where a noun phrase could also be used. Therefore, although literate Naliks generally prefer to write *a ze* as one word, in this study it has been written as two.

<i>a ze</i>	`what'
<i>a ze + modifying NP</i>	`which'
<i>a ze + tag + modifying NP</i>	`which'
<i>a zaa xo + saait</i> `also'	`why' (rhetorical)
<i>kun a ze</i>	`why'
<i>pan a ze</i>	`with what' `how', `why'
<i>pan ko ze</i>	`why'
<i>faa</i>	`where'
<i>ang faa</i>	`which'
<i>lasang</i>	`when'
<i>nis</i>	`who'
<i>zis</i>	`whose'
<i>sa(a)</i>	`how'
<i>usfa</i>	`how many, how much'

Figure 11.2 WH-interrogatives

Alone, *a ze* can mean `what'. It is often used in a subject position, as in the first of the following sentences, or in a direct object position, as in the second:

(11.64) *A ze xa na wut?*
 ART what 3 FUT come
 `What's coming?'

(11.65) *Gu zaxot a ze?*
 2NPL want ART what
 `What do you want?'

This interrogative can also be followed by the emphatic marker *ko / xo, a zaa xo*. In this construction *ze* is pronounced *zaa* and the sentence always includes the conjunction *z/saait* `also'. Together they are used to mark a rhetorical question which requires no answer, e.g.,

- (11.66) A *zaa xo di do-dor zait pan*
 ART what EMP 1:3NSG RED-talk also NTM

a vanga xa mal l-a bala-di?
 ART food 3 remain LOC-ART mouth-ourIN
 `So why are we talking with our mouths full of food?'

A *ze* can be followed by a modifying noun phrase (see 7.1 Modifying noun phrase), such as *rate* 'man' in the following sentence. In this construction the article *a* is deleted in the modifying noun phrase and *a ze* has the meaning 'which'.

- (11.67) A *ze rate xa na wut?*
 ART what man 3 FUT come
 `Which man is coming?'

In this construction *a ze* is often followed by the tag *re* (see 11.4.1 Yes-no questions). The tag does not change the meaning of the interrogative. The article *a* of the modifying noun phrase is still deleted, as in the following sentence:

- (11.68) *Gu raain a ze re maani?*
 2NPL see ART what TAG bird
 `Which bird do you see?'

With the word *ravat* 'type' a construction with a series of modifying noun phrases can be formed with the meaning 'what type of X'. The head noun in the noun phrase is *ze*, which is modified by *ravat*, which in turn is modified by a noun. The article *a* is deleted from all the modifying noun phrases in a noun phrase which is headed by *ze*, even if the modifying noun phrase does not modify *ze* directly. For example, in the following sentence, the article is deleted from *bare* 'pig', a noun phrase which modifies *ravat* 'type', which in turn modifies *ze*:

- (11.69) *Naan a ze ravat bare?*
 (s)he ART what type pig
 'That's what type of pig?'

A *ze* is also used as the complement of a preposition. As the complement of the preposition *ku(n)*, it means 'why', e.g.,

- (11.70) *Gu ramin falagot ni kun a ze?*
 2NPL look strong I LOC ART what
 'Why are you staring at me?'

A *ze* can be the complement of the preposition *pa(n)*, with the meaning 'with what' or 'how', as in the following sentence:

- (11.71) *Gu tok a yai pan a ze?*
 2NPL hit ART tree NTM ART what
 'What did you hit the tree with?'

If this prepositional phrase is fronted, the meaning is changed to 'why', e.g.,

- (11.72) *Pan a ze gu tok a yai?*
 NTM ART what 2NPL hit ART tree
 'Why did you hit the tree?'

This is the same meaning that results from fronting only the complement, leaving *pana* stranded in its original position, e.g.,

- (11.73) *A ze gu tok a yai pa-na?*
 ART what 2NPL hit ART tree NTM-his/her/its
 'Why did you hit the tree?'

As the complement of the preposition *pa(n)*, *ze* may be immediately preceded by the emphatic marker *ko*. In this case the article *a* is deleted, and the prepositional phrase which is formed *pan ko ze* means 'why', e.g.,

- (11.74) *Ka zo wu-wut wan ko ze?*
 3 turn RED-come NTM EMP what
 'Why did it get here all twisted around?'

Another interrogative is *faa* 'where':

- (11.75) *Gu wut faa?*
 2NPL come where
 'Where are you coming from' (a common greeting)

For added emphasis *faa* becomes *faavei*, e.g.,

- (11.76) *E, ma a masis faa-vei?*
 hey and ART matches where-EMP
 'Hey, where (the hell) are the matches?'

The interrogative *faa* appears to be the only interrogative which can be modified by preverbal modifiers. It may be preceded by the intransitive durative marker *i*, as in (11.62). *Faa* can also be prefaced by the focus marker *ang* (see 10.3 Focus marker (y)*ang*). This is the only recorded use of the focus marker with an interrogative. Together, *ang faa* means 'which', as in the following verbless sentence:

- (11.77) *Tamun ang faa?*
 T. FOC where
 'Which Tamun?'

The interrogative *faa* is also used in cleft constructions with the ligature *i na* (see 11.1.2 Clefting), with the meaning 'from where', e.g.,

- (11.78) *A kaar i na faa ka naan?*
 ART car DUR 3SG where 3 (s)he
 'Where's the car from?'

The interrogative *faa* is used in the formation of several idioms. One of these is the bilingual Kara - Nalik idiom given in example (1.1). Others are:

- (11.79) *Ma zaan na faa?*
 and thing 3 where
 'What's up?'

- (11.80) *Ka doxo vaa?*
 3 good where
 'What will be the outcome?'

Another interrogative is *lasang* 'when', used in example (11.49). The initial *la-* may be a fossilized locative preposition *l-* and article *a*, such as was described for a number of temporal nouns in 9.1.2 (Locative and temporal marker *l-*). As with many of those nouns, the part of the word without *la-*, **-sang*, was not recorded as a separate word.

The interrogative *ma'ing* is used immediately before a noun phrase with the meaning 'which', e.g.,

- (11.81) *Ma'ing a buk? Ma'ing a rate?*
 which ART book which ART man
 'Which book? Which man?'

The interrogative *nis* 'who' has already been used in examples above, such as (11.56). By itself, as in (11.56), *nis* has no number, but it can be used together with either appropriate subject markers or appropriate pronouns (or both) to have singular or nonsingular number, as in the following two sentences, respectively:

- (11.82) *Nis naan ka balis?*
 who (s)he 3 appear
 'Who is the one coming?'

- (11.83) *Nis naande di balis?*
 who they 1:3NSG appear
 'Who are the ones coming?'

Nis may be the complement of the preposition *pa(n)*, which must have an inalienable third person singular possessive suffix *-na*. *Pana nis* has the meaning 'by means of whom', e.g.,

- (11.84) *Pa-na nis ka plim?*
 NTM-his/her/its who 3 roll
 'Who's causing it to roll?'

New Ireland societies have a strong taboo against mentioning the name of one's in-laws. As in Tok Pisin and Papua New Guinean English, the interrogative for 'who' is used in statements to avoid taboo names. It is also used when the speaker cannot remember someone's name. An example of this non-interrogative use of *nis* is:

- (11.85) *Nu-mtal nis gu na wok-pok*
 you-PAU who 2NPL FUT RED-work
a ling a bina a rit.
 ART language ART home ART here
 'The three of you and what's-his-name will be working on
 our native language here.'

Nis may also be the complement of the preposition *si(n)* 'of', e.g.,

- (11.86) *A nalik si nis ka naan?*
 ART boy of who 3 (s)he
 'Whose boy is he?'

It is more common, however, to use the contraction *zis* 'whose', as in (11.55) above. Neither *zis* nor *si nis* may be fronted, as the ungrammaticality of the following sentences shows:

- (11.87) **Zis gu vinau a yen?*
 whose 2NPL steal ART fish
 'Whose fish did you steal?'
- (11.88) **Si nis gu lis a yen?*
 of who 2NPL give ART fish
 'Whose fish did you give?'
 (or 'To whom did you give a fish?')

However it is possible to front the head noun which *zis* modifies, leaving *zis* stranded in its original position. An example of this is the following sentence in which *zis* modifies the fronted head noun *a raksaat*¹ 'the fault':

¹ This word was also recorded as *raksat*.

- (11.89) *A raksaat ka i zi zis?*
 ART wrong 3 DUR sit whose
 'Whose fault would it be?'

Another interrogative is *sa(a)* 'how', which fills an adverbial position and may be either sentence-final or fronted before the verbal complex, as in the following two sentences, respectively:

- (11.90) *E, nu saa?*
 hey youSG how
 'Hey, how are you?'

- (11.91) *Ma sa gu vurigmisai?*
 and how 2NPL dry
 'How is it that you're dry?'

'How many' and 'how much' are expressed with *usfa*, which precedes the head noun. When used with a specific noun phrase, the article *a* is deleted, but *usfa* becomes *asfa*, probably reflecting an analysis of *a* 'article' + *-sfa* 'how much', e.g.,

- (11.92) *A-sfa suga gu soxot?*
 ART-how.much sugar 2NPL want
 'How much sugar would you like?'

When not used with a specific noun phrase, *usfa* is immediately followed by *vaagdul* 'all, whole', and does not change to *asfa*, e.g.,

- (11.93) *Usfa vaagdul naande ubina*
 how.much all they people

di balis?
 1:3NSG appear
 'How many people are coming now?'

11.5 Conclusion: Simple sentences

Word order is relatively fixed in Nalik and is important in determining the grammatical relation of the constituent elements of a sentence. Verbless sentences are used to form equative sentences. Except for these verbless sentences, all sentences must contain a verbal complex.

A verbal complex begins with a subject marker. A verbal complex may be preceded by an overt pronominal or nominal subject coreferential with the subject marker. It may be followed by a direct object, indirect object, oblique relations, and / or an adverb (in that unmarked order). A focus marker may be used at the beginning of the sentence, before the direct object, or before the adverb.

Fronting is used as a strategy to place focus on a sentence constituent. A direct object or preposition may be fronted to a position immediately before the subject. The complement of a sentence final prepositional phrase may also be fronted to that position, leaving the preposition stranded at the end of the sentence. An indirect object may be fronted to a position immediately before the direct object, but this is rare. Some adverbs may be fronted either to a sentence-initial position or to a position between the verbal complex and the direct object.

A cleft construction is possible using the phrase *i`durative' na`third person subject marker'*. This construction is rarely used, however, and a more common strategy is to juxtapose two clauses in which the last element of the first sentence is coreferential with the subject of the second.

Imperative sentences can have the same structure as other sentences. They may also be marked by the deletion of the subject marker or the use of imperative

particles, including a negative imperative marker. Exhortatives are formed using the first person inclusive subject marker and, usually, the future marker.

Yes-no questions can have the same structure as other sentences or they can end with a tag particle. There is variation in the answering of negative questions, with some speakers using an innovation based on English. Nalik has a number of WH-interrogatives which can have the same grammatical relation (and therefore the same position in the sentence) as the element they replace. Some WH-interrogatives can be fronted to a position immediately before the subject marker.

Chapter 12

Advancement and demotion in simple sentences

Previous chapters have discussed the composition and structure of phrases and their use in the formation of unmarked simple sentences. This chapter will discuss changes in Nalik sentence structure caused by changes in the final grammatical relations of certain sentence constituents. These changes result in related pairs of sentences with the same meaning, but different grammatical structures.

12.1 Passive

The only people using passive constructions are older men with strong ties to traditional culture, usually *maimai* (clan orators). Even among them passives are rarely used, so rarely, in fact, that many younger speakers seem never to be exposed to them.

The formation of passives resembles that of English. When a sentence undergoes passivization, the initial direct object becomes the final subject, while the initial subject becomes a *chômeur*, moving to the end of the sentence and marked by the nonterm preposition *pa(n)*. The verb takes a participial form. The following two sentences illustrate this. The first is active with the subject *a vaat* 'the stone' and the direct object *a laplap* 'the sarong':

- (12.1) *A vaat ka taar a laplap.*
 ART stone 3 tear ART sarong
 'The stone is tearing the sarong.'

The second sentence is the passive equivalent of the first. With passivization the initial direct object *a laplap* 'the sarong' moves to the sentence initial subject position, the initial verb *taar* takes the participial form *raamataar*, while the initial subject moves in the sentence-final position as the complement of a prepositional phrase beginning with the nonterm marker *pa(n)*:

- (12.2) *A laplap ka raamataar pan a vaat.*
 ART sarong 3 PAR:tear NTM ART stone
 'The sarong is being torn by the stone.'

This passive construction may be nominalized, as in the following sentence in which *gu lis* 'you give' has undergone passivization and subsequent nominalization, becoming *a telasing sunum* 'your kindness':

- (12.3) *Ka doxo marazat pan a*
 3 good much NTM ART

 telas-ing sunum.
 PAR:give-NOM of:yousg
 'Thank you very much for your kindness.'
 (literally, that which was given by you)

Serial verbs which have a direct object may also be made passive. In the following sentence, for example, *a vaal* 'the house' is the direct object of the serial verb *wut buak* 'break into':

- (12.4) *A mun kulau di wut buak a vaal.*
 ART NSG youth 1:3NSG come break ART house
 'The youths broke into the house.'

The following sentence is the passive equivalent of this sentence. The initial direct object, *a vaal* 'the house', is the final subject, while the initial subject, *a mun kulau* 'the youths', has a final subject-chômeur grammatical relation marked by the nonterm marker *pa(n)*. The transitive verb in the serial construction, *buak* 'break', changes to a participial form *rabuk*:

- (12.5) *A vaal xa wut rabuk*
 ART house 3 come PAR:break
- pan a mun kulau.*
 NTM ART NSG youth
- 'The house was broken into by the youths.'

None of these passive constructions was recorded in the speech of women or younger or middle-aged men. Indeed, some younger men judged sentences such as the two above ungrammatical when spoken by me, a foreigner. This was done even by speakers who are familiar with the passive construction in English. Instead, younger speakers use direct object fronting to place focus on direct objects. Thus, to emphasize the direct object *a laplap* 'the sarong' in (12.1) a younger speaker produced the following sentence with the direct object fronted and no change in the verb:

- (12.6) *A laplap a vaat ka taar.*
 art sarong art stone 3 tear
- 'The sarong, the stone is tearing.'

The motivation for the loss of passive constructions appears to come from both Tok Pisin and, somewhat surprisingly, Papua New Guinean English. Tok Pisin does not have a passive construction and direct object fronting is a strategy used by many Tok Pisin speakers to emphasize the direct object. Although the English

passive construction is very similar to that of Nalik and primary education in English has been universal in New Ireland for over a generation, this English construction is still not accessible to most Nalik speakers. It is usually not taught until high school, which less than half of all Nalik children are able to attend, and even there it is usually taught by Papua New Guinean teachers who themselves rarely use it. The relatively few Nalik speakers who have a sufficient command of English to be able to understand and use English passives with ease tend to be members of the national elite under forty years of age who live in urban areas outside of New Ireland. Because of their isolation from other Nalik speakers and their subsequent linguistic insecurity regarding Nalik, they have little influence on the use of Nalik in its homeland.

12.2 Nominalized clauses in prepositional phrases

As discussed in 9.1.3 (Purposive, locative, and benefactive marker *ku(n)*), the preposition *ku(n)* may not normally have a clause as a final complement. Instead, the verb is nominalized, using the nominalizing suffix *-ing* in cases where the verb is subcategorized for its use (see 5.2.1.1 Nominalizer *-ing* suffix). However, where the verb of the clause is not subcategorized to permit the nominalizing suffix *-ing*, the focus marker *ang* follows the verb and the subject of the subordinate clause may be deleted through Equi-deletion (see 10.3 Focus marker (*y*)*ang*).

When the nominalizing suffix *-ing* is used, in the final stratum the initial subject of the verb is becomes a possessive. This can be seen in the following sentence, where the verbal complex *ga-t langar* 'I-DUR listen' is the complement of the preposition *ku(n)* and has been nominalized with the nominalizing suffix *-ing*. The

original subject *ga* 'I' is then marked as possessive by the use of the indirect object / possessive form *surugo*, resulting in *at langaring surugo* 'my listening (pleasure)':

- (12.7) *Ga na vul ta redio kun*
 1SG FUT buy SPC radio NTM

a-t langar-ing surago.
 ART-DUR listen-NOM of:I
 'I'll buy a certain kind of radio for my listening pleasure.'

Here the subject of the matrix clause is the same as the initial subject of the nominalized complement of the preposition. But this need not be the case, as the following sentence shows. In this sentence the verbal complex *ga vangan* 'I eat' is nominalized as 'my eating' and the initial subject of this nominalized verb 'I' is not the same as that of the matrix clause, *a ravin* 'the woman'.

- (12.8) *A ravin ka vaaf a skon kun*
 ART woman 3 cook ART scone LOC

a vangan-ing zurugu.
 ART eat-NOM of:I
 'The woman's cooking the scones for me to eat.'

An exception to these rules with the nominalizing of the verb is when the phrase *kun a ze* 'because' (literally 'nonterm marker + what thing') is used. As discussed in 9.1.3 (Purposive, locative, and benefactive marker *ku(n)*), in sentences with *kun a ze*, the verb is not nominalized and the initial subject keeps its subject grammatical relation.

12.3 Indirect-object-to-direct-object advancement

As mentioned in 2.3.1 (Verbs permitting an initial indirect object), some transitive verbs are subcategorized to permit the advancement of an initial indirect object to a final direct object. With indirect-object-to-direct-object advancement, as the initial indirect object is advanced to a direct object, the initial direct object becomes a chômeur marked by the nonterm marker *pa(n)*. This is, of course, not the case with verbs such as *yare* 'ask', which have an initial indirect object but no initial direct object (see 2.3.1 Verbs permitting an initial indirect object and 9.1.5.1 Use of *si(n)* to mark indirect objects).

Some verbs do not require a marked participial form with this construction. For example, in (12.9) the direct object is *a buk* and the indirect object is *Anita*, marked by the possessive / indirect object marker *si(n)* 'of'. This sentence represents the initial stratum of the second sentence, in which the initial indirect object *Anita* has advanced to the final direct object position directly following the verb, while the initial direct object *a buk* 'the book' has become a direct object chômeur marked by the nonterm preposition *pa(n)*. The verb *vataangan* 'explain' does not change as a result of indirect-object-to-direct-object advancement.

(12.9) *Ga vataangan a buk sin Anita.*
 1SG explain ART book of A.
 'I'm explaining the book to Anita.'

(12.10) *Ga vataangan Anita pan a buk.*
 1SG explain A. NTM ART book
 'I'm explaining the book to Anita.'

A few verbs do require a participial form when there is indirect-object-to-direct-object advancement. One of these is *lis* 'give' which has the participle *relas*, as in the following two related sentences. In the first, the direct object is *a mun saan* 'the things', while the indirect object, 'to me' is marked by the possessive form *surago* 'my'. In the second, the indirect object has advanced to the direct object position directly following the verb, while as a final chômeur the initial direct object has become the complement of the nonterm preposition *pa(n)*.

(12.11) *Gu lis a mun saan surago.*
 2NPL give ART NSG thing of:I
 'You're giving the things to me.'

(12.12) *Gu relas ni pan a mun saan.*
 2NPL PAR:give I NTM ART NSG thing
 'You're giving me the things.'

Although all speakers accept this construction as grammatical, generally it is used only by older and traditional speakers. For those speakers who do use it, a common use is with imperatives. In the first of the following sentences, for example, the direct object is *a nur* 'a coconut' and the indirect object *Tamun* (a man's name) is marked by the possessive / indirect object preposition *si(n)*. In the second, the initial indirect object *Tamun* has advanced to the direct object position immediately following the participle *telas*, while the initial direct object is marked as a chômeur by the nonterm preposition *pa(n)*:

(12.13) *Lis a nur si Tamun.*
 give ART coconut of T.
 'Give a coconut to Tamun.'

- (12.14) *Telas Tamun pan a nur.*
 PAR:give T. NTM ART coconut
 'Give Tamun a coconut.'

In a sentence in which indirect-object-to-direct-object advancement has occurred, the final direct object *chômeur* (i.e., the initial direct object) may be deleted if it is understood by context. This is the case in the following sentence taken from a dialogue about feeding the family pig. In it the initial indirect object *a bare* 'the pig' has advanced to the final direct object position, while the initial direct object (and final direct object *chômeur*) 'food' has been deleted:

- (12.15) *Ka vit ga relas a bare.*
 3 NEG 1SG PAR:give ART pig
 'I didn't give the pig (any food).'

Both the initial direct object and the initial indirect object may be deleted after indirect-object-to-direct-object advancement if they are understood from context. In such sentences the only indication of indirect-object-to-direct-object advancement is the participial form of the verb. The following sentence is an example of such a sentence. It is taken from an explanation of traditional shark calling in which the speaker has just explained the method of cutting shark meat and distributing it ceremonally at the door of the homes of relatives and elderly persons in the village. In this sentence the verb *lis* 'give' is in the participial form *telas* and has undergone nominalization to become *telasing*. The initial direct object, 'shark meat', and the initial indirect object 'to the relatives and elderly persons' are both understood from context and have both been deleted.

- (12.16) *Di ftuk kun a telas-ing*
 1:3NSG slice LOC ART PAR:give-TR
- l-a mara na mun faal zek-sexei.*
 LOC-ART eye ART NSG house RED-one
- 'They slice (it) for distribution at the door (lit. the eye)
 of each house.'

The result of indirect-object-to-direct-object advancement is to make the indirect object more prominent by placing it closer to the front of the sentence and by advancing it to a higher position in the hierarchy of grammatical relations. Deleting the advanced indirect object would therefore seem to be counterproductive at first. However, if the final direct object (i.e., advanced indirect object) is understood from context, as in the example above, the participial form of the verb still gives it prominence, even if it has been deleted.

This is different from the interesting variation found only among young speakers of an English type of construction with the indirect object preceding the direct object, with neither marked by a prepositional phrase. The following sentence is a usual ditransitive sentence, with the direct object *a buk* immediately following the verbal complex and immediately preceding the indirect object *nana zina* 'his/her mother', which is marked by the preposition *si(n)*:

- (12.17) *Ali xa las a buk si nana zina.*
 A. 3 give ART book of mother of:(s)he
 'Ali gave a book to his mother.'

The teenager who said the previous sentence gave the following sentence as an alternative and grammatical equivalent. In it the verbal complex is immediately followed by the indirect object *nana* 'mother' which immediately precedes the direct

object *a buk*. As in possible in English and some varieties of Tok Pisin, neither the indirect object nor the direct object *chômeur* is marked by a preposition, but both can only be identified by real-world experience (one normally gives a book to a mother and not the reverse). In English and Tok Pisin, initial indirect objects are marked by prepositions, but word order alone identifies instances of indirect-object-to-direct-object advancement. In those languages an advanced indirect object precedes a direct object *chômeur*, e.g., 'Ali gave his mother a book' which is derived from initial 'Ali gave a book to his mother'. As the following sentence indicates, this English and Tok Pisin word order distinction is being introduced into Nalik:

- (12.18) *Ali xa las nana a buk.*
 A. 3 give mother ART book
 'Ali gave mother a book.'

This construction was recorded only among young speakers. All had been educated in English, so the impetus for this variation is likely to be both English and Tok Pisin. In the examples above it is noteworthy that two other innovations used only by younger and nontraditional speakers are also present. One is the pronunciation of 'give' as *las*, rather than either unmarked *lis* or participial *relas*. This may be a convergence of the two. The other is the use of the alienable possessive *zina* rather than an inalienable possessive with the kinship term *nana* 'mother' (see 7.4.4. Variation in the use of alienable and inalienable possessives).

Even among those younger speakers who use this innovation, not all ditransitive verbs can be followed by an indirect object which is not preceded by possessive *si(n)*. For example, the same speaker who judged the two examples above grammatical, judged the following sentence ungrammatical:

- (12.19) *A *rate xa wul ni a mas.*
 ART man 3 buy I ART car
 `The man is buying me a car.'

The structure of this sentence is the same as that of (12.10). The indirect object *ni* `I' is not marked by a possessive and immediately precedes the direct object *a mas* `a car'. The sentence was judged ungrammatical because the combination *wul* and *ni* `buy' and `I' appeared to smack of slavery. This explanation indicates that with the verb *wul* `buy', the first of a series of noun phrases could not be processed as an indirect object, indicating in turn that this innovation has not yet spread to all items in this speaker's lexicon.

An alternate strategy to indirect-object-to-direct-object advancement is to front the indirect object to a position immediately before the direct object and mark the indirect object using the inalienable possessive with the specific article, as described in 6.1.2.1 (Use of possessive with *ta*). The indirect object is normally marked by the preposition *si(n)* `of' or an alienable pronoun. The use of an inalienable possessive with the specific article *ta* is therefore a continuation of the use of possessives to mark indirect objects and not a type of advancement. An example of this construction is example (6.7), repeated below, where the indirect object *taku* `to me' precedes the direct object *mit*:

- (6.7) *Gu na zuruk ta-ku mit.*
 1SG FUT fetch SPC-my frozen.meat
 `Get me that one special type of frozen meat (i.e., at the store).'

12.4 Oblique-to-object advancement

Some verbs are subcategorized to permit oblique-to-direct-object or oblique-to-indirect-object advancement. This oblique-to-object advancement is a strategy used by speakers of all ages. The following pair of sentences illustrates oblique-to-direct-object advancement. The first sentence represents the initial stratum of the second sentence. The first sentence is intransitive. The noun phrase *a biskit* 'the biscuit' is the complement of the nonterm preposition *pa(n)* and must therefore be oblique. In the second sentence, the preposition *pa(n)* has been deleted and *a biskit* directly follows the verb, which has a transitive *-ing* suffix. This suffix and the lack of the nonterm preposition *pa(n)* indicate that *a biskit* now has a direct object grammatical relation.

(12.20) *Ga rambai pan a biskit.*
 1SG tired.of NTM ART biscuit
 'I'm tired of biscuits (= cookies).'

(12.21) *Ga rambai-ing a biskit.*
 1SG tired.of-TR ART biscuit
 'I'm tired of biscuits (= cookies).'

An alternate analysis would be that the second sentence corresponds to the initial stratum of the first. If this were so, the direct object of (12.21), *a biskit*, is a direct object that is demoted to a nonterm grammatical relation, i.e., to either a *chômeur* or an oblique, in (12.20). This pair of sentences would therefore parallel sentences which have undergone indirect-object-to-direct-object advancement, with the initial direct object demoted to a *chômeur* marked by the nonterm preposition *pa(n)*. There is, however, no constituent advancing to be a final direct object to 'bump' the initial direct object to a direct object *chômeur* relation, as the initial

indirect object does with the sentences described in 12.3 (Indirect-object-to-direct-object advancement). This is a requirement of the Motivated Chômeage Law (Perlmutter and Postal 1983b:99), so the nonterm marked by *pa(n)* in the first sentence cannot be a chômeur. Similarly, if the complement of the preposition *pa(n)* is an oblique, it must be an oblique in the initial stratum, rather than the result of a term relation such as a direct object which has been demoted. This is because the demotion of a term relation to an oblique is a violation of the Oblique Law (Perlmutter and Postal 1983b:90). Therefore the second sentence cannot represent the initial stratum of the first. Instead, the reverse must be true.

At least one verb, *raangon* 'sing', is subcategorized to permit oblique-to-indirect-object advancement. This advancement is the same as that just described for oblique-to-direct-object advancement, except that when the initial oblique advances, it is marked as an indirect object with an alienable possessive form, either the preposition *si(n)* or an appropriate alienable possessive. The following pair of sentences illustrates this. In the first sentence, which represents the initial stratum of the second, *ni* 'I' is the complement of the oblique preposition *pa(n)*, and therefore oblique. In the second it has advanced to have an indirect object grammatical relation, so *pa(n)* is replaced by the possessive form which is also used for indirect objects (see 9.1.5.1 Use of *si(n)* to mark indirect objects).

(12.22) *Naang ka raangan pa ni.*
 mum 3 sing NTM I
 'Mum sings to me.'

(12.23) *Naang ka raangan surago.*
 mum 3 sing of:I
 'Mum sings to me.'

12.5 Conclusion: Advancement in simple sentences

Certain sentence constituents can change their initial grammatical relation by reevaluation to a final grammatical relation which is higher or lower in the grammatical relation hierarchy postulated in a relational grammar framework (from highest to lowest: subject, direct object, indirect object, oblique) . Four such constructions were recorded in Nalik. There is considerable variation in the use of these advancement strategies, with younger and less traditionally oriented speakers using them less than older and more traditionally oriented Naliks.

In a passive sentence the initial direct object becomes the final subject while the initial subject is moved to the end of the sentence as the complement of the nonterm preposition *pa(n)* and the verb is changed to a participial form. Most younger speakers have no knowledge of the passive construction.

Under certain circumstances when the purposive, locative, and benefactive preposition *ku(n)* has a clausal complement, the verb of the sentence is nominalized and the initial subject becomes a final possessive grammatical relation.

Under certain circumstances an initial indirect object is advanced to become a final direct object. In the speech of most speakers, when this occurs, the initial direct object moves to the end of the sentence as the complement of the nonterm preposition *pa(n)* and a participial verb form is sometimes used. In the speech of some younger speakers, the initial direct object is moved to the end of the sentence, but is not marked by a preposition.

With some verbs an initial oblique can advance to become a final direct object or indirect object. These verbs do not have an initial direct object or indirect object. This is the only advancement construction in common use by speakers of all ages.

Chapter 13

Conclusion

The purpose of this study has been to describe the morphology and syntax of Nalik, thus providing the first detailed analysis of the language. While no language has a grammar so simple that it can be completely described in a study as short as this, it has been possible to give a broad overview of the different parts of speech and the phrases they form, as well as of the structure of simple sentences.

The first chapter mentioned the dialects (or possibly separate language(s)) spoken along the Nalik-Kara border, which were not included in this study, as well as the four geographic dialects of Nalik proper. Nalik speakers distinguish these four core dialects on the basis of relatively minor lexical and phonological differences. There are some minor grammatical differences between the core dialects, such as in the form of the dual marker described in 6.3.2.1 (Variation in use of dual markers), but no significant grammatical differences could be identified between these different core dialect areas. Dialectal differences are being levelled out in the speech of many younger speakers.

At the same time that geographic variations are disappearing in Nalik, there are marked grammatical differences between the speech of different subgroups of Nalik speakers. Similar variation in other languages, particularly when it is intergenerational, has been regarded as a symptom of language death by some linguists (see, for example, Dorian 1989). At various stages in the preceding chapters, the reader's attention has been drawn to manifestations of this variation. As

Thurston (1987) has shown for the languages of northern West New Britain, understanding this type of variation is important to understanding the dynamics of the grammar of the languages of Melanesia. In this concluding chapter these instances of variation will therefore be brought together and the common social conditions which determine them will be identified. In addition, some areas for future research involving Nalik will be discussed.

13.1 Review of grammatical variation

Figures 13.1, 13.2, 13.3, and 13.4 show the types of variation which have been discussed. For each grammatical category listed there is a continuum of variation between the speech of conservative speakers and that of innovative speakers. The extremes of this continuum are identified together with the subgroups which tend to be most conservative and most innovative.

Figure 13.1 (Variation in verbal complexes) shows the types of variation found in the verbal complex which were discussed in chapters three and four. The first two deal with negation. As explained in 2.2.2 (Existential verbs), only older women were recorded using subject markers other than third person singular *ka* with the negative existential verb *vit*. Other speakers used only *ka* with *vit*. The motivation for this innovation is not clear.

As shown in 3.5 (Negative particle *pe(n)*), most speakers require the future marker to be used with the negative marker. Only older traditionally oriented men permit negation without a future marker. This represents a reinterpretation of the future marker as an irrealis marker by most speakers. This is not motivated by a similar construction in Tok Pisin or English.

Type of construction	Conservative speakers	Innovative speakers	Motivation for innovation
Negation			
i) use of subject markers with negative verb <i>vit</i>	Older women: All subject markers used	Most speakers: Only third person singular <i>ka</i> used	Not clear
ii) future marker with negative	Older traditional men: Optional	Most speakers: Obligatory	Reinterpretation of future as irrealis
Durative markers			
	Most speakers: <i>i</i> intransitive <i>-t</i> transitive	Young and middle-aged men: <i>i</i> 'strong' <i>-t</i> 'weak'	Tok Pisin, loss of marked feature
Comparatives			
	Older traditional men: direct object construction	Most speakers: oblique construction	English, Tok Pisin

Figure 13.1 Variation in verbal complexes

The third type of variation in the verbal complex is with durative markers. This was discussed in (3.7 Durative markers). While most women and older men use the durative marker *i* with intransitive verbs and the durative marker *-t* with transitive verbs, young and middle-age speakers, especially men, show a marked preference to drop this marked distinction and use both *i* and *-t* with both intransitive and transitive verbs. Of the two, *i* is used more often and is said to be 'stronger' than *-t*. One influence for this innovation appears to be Tok Pisin, which uses the same durative

Type of construction	Conservative speakers	Innovative speakers	Motivation for innovation
Nonsingular markers	Older traditional men:	Most speakers:	Partial loss of marked feature
regular and irregular markers	Only one present	Both present together	
Dual markers	Most speakers:	Northern dialect teens and children:	English, loss of marked feature
article used with dual markers	None	Present	
Numerals	Most speakers:	Minority, not of one subgroup:	English, Tok Pisin
position of indigenous numerals	Postnominal	Prenominal, article sometimes deleted	
Possession	Most speakers:	Younger, Northern dialect, usually male:	English, Tok Pisin, loss of marked feature
alienable and inalienable possessives	Separate forms used	Alienable possessives used with all nouns	
Personal pronouns	Older clan orators and younger speakers:	Most speakers:	English, Tok Pisin, loss of marked feature
Third person singular pronoun	Used only for humans	Used for humans and nonhumans	

Figure 13.2 Variation in the noun phrase

form to mark intransitive and transitive verbs, and which has a preverbal particle *i*, although with a different function.

The fourth type of variation is with comparatives. As shown in 4.1.2.3 (Comparison and superlative), older traditionally oriented male speakers use one of two serial verb constructions, in which one of the verbs is an adjectival verb and the second verb has the transitive suffix *-ing*. Other speakers also use a serial verb construction, but with the English / Tok Pisin loan *moa* as the first verb and an adjectival verb as the second verb. This is followed by the nonterm marker *pa(n)*, so that the noun phrase to which a comparison is being made is an oblique, rather than a direct object. The motivations for this innovation are English and Tok Pisin constructions which use the oblique markers *than* and *long* after *more* and *moa*, respectively. Although *more* is not a verb in English, in Tok Pisin *moa* appears in the verb position directly after the subject marker *i* (which does not change for person or number as its Nalik equivalents do).

Figure 13.2 (Variation in the noun phrase) lists the five areas where variation in the noun phrase was discussed in chapters five through eight. The first is in the use of irregular nonsingular markers. As described in 5.2 (Countable nouns), a number of human nouns require the irregular nonsingular marker *fu-* (or *u* in some dialects). While older traditionally oriented men use this instead of the regular nonsingular marker *mun* and most speakers will say that *mun* cannot be used with *fu-*, most other speakers do actually use the two together. This represents the beginning of the loss of a marked irregularity.

Variation also exists with the use of dual markers. As explained in 6.3.2.1 (Variation in use of dual markers), dual number can be marked with a dual marker

preceding the head noun. While most speakers do not use an article when a dual marker is present, Northern East Coast teenagers and children do use the two together. This represents the loss of a marked exception to the general rule requiring initial articles, probably due at least in part to the influence of English.

Perhaps related to the variation in the use of the prenominal dual marker *uru* is the variation in the position of numerals, discussed in 7.3.1 (Prenominal numerals). All speakers today use Tok Pisin / English loan numerals most or all of the time, and place these loan numerals before the head noun. Most speakers who use indigenous numerals place them after the head noun, but a minority place them before the head noun, as in Tok Pisin and English. When doing so, some younger speakers also delete the initial article.

One of the most striking aspects of variation is in the use of possessives, discussed in 7.4.4 (Variation in the use of possessives). While all speakers retain the Oceanic differentiation between alienable and inalienable possession when the possessor is a noun phrase (see 7.1 Modifying noun phrase), many do not when the possessor is pronominal. Speakers who do not make this distinction with pronominal possessors tend to be young and male and / or from the Northern East Coast dialect area. Their innovation shows the influence of Tok Pisin and English and the loss of a marked grammatical category.

As described in chapter eight, there is considerable intergenerational variation in the pronunciation of a number of personal pronouns. There is also variation in the use of the third person singular pronoun *naan*. For some speakers this cannot be used for nonhumans. These include many younger speakers and some older (male) clan orators. Using *naan* to refer to nonhumans would reflect English and Tok Pisin use.

Type of construction	Conservative speakers	Innovative speakers	Motivation for innovation
Preposition <i>feraxei</i> 'with'	Most speakers:	Teenagers and children	Tok Pisin, English
followed by nonterm preposition <i>pan</i>	<i>pan</i> obligatory	not followed	English, Tok Pisin
used with a transitive suffix	not possible	used by some	Tok Pisin
Passive	Older, traditional men	Most speakers:	Loss of marked feature, Tok Pisin, PNG English
	Use passive	No passive	
Indirect objects	Older speakers:	Younger speakers:	
indirect-object-to-direct-object advancement with <i>chômeur</i> marked	Common	Rare or absent	Loss of marked feature
indirect-object-to-direct-object advancement with <i>chômeur</i> unmarked	Not possible	Used by some speakers	English, Tok Pisin

Figure 13.3 Variation involving grammatical relations

It is not clear why some very young speakers use the same conservative form as older clan orators, unless it is the result of conscious prescriptive language correction. This is particularly puzzling because this is the only type of variation

where very young and very old speakers group together in opposition to young adult and middle-age speakers.

Three types of variation have been discussed which involve differing assignment of final grammatical relations. These are shown in Figure 13.3 (Variation involving grammatical relations).

The first is with the preposition *feraxei* 'with'. As discussed in 9.1.4 (Comitative marker *feraxei*), for most speakers this preposition must be followed by the nonterm marker *pan*. But many teenagers and children use *feraxei* without the nonterm marker, following the construction used with English *with* or Tok Pisin *wantaim*. Several also use the transitive suffix *-ing*, so that the complement of the prepositional phrase has a direct object grammatical relation. This may be the result of the Tok Pisin equivalent *wantaim* being interpreted as a verbal stem *wanta-* and the transitive suffix *-im*, and that the transitive use of Nalik *feraxei'ing* / *feraing* is a calque of this analysis of Tok Pisin.

As discussed in 12.1 (Passive), only older traditionally oriented men have command of a passive construction. Many other speakers not only do not use it, but do not even recognize it as grammatical. This loss of a marked feature is influenced by the lack of a passive construction in Tok Pisin and in the level of English in general use in Papua New Guinea.

As with direct-object-to-subject advancement (passivization), there is variation with indirect-object-to-direct-object advancement, discussed in 12.3 (Indirect-object-to-direct-object advancement). Generally, indirect object advancement, with its accompanying participial form of the verb and the marking of

the direct object *chômeur* by the nonterm marker *pa(n)*, is much more common in the speech of older speakers than younger speakers. An exception to this is indirect-object-to-direct-object advancement in which there is a change in word order, but no marking of the direct object *chômeur* by the nonterm marker *pa(n)*. This construction, a calque of English and Tok Pisin constructions, is only used by young speakers with a knowledge of basic English.

Type of construction	Conservative speakers	Innovative speakers	Motivation for innovation
Interrogatives	Most speakers:	Some highly educated speakers:	English
answering negative questions	As in Tok Pisin	As in English	

Figure 13.4 Variation with negative questions

Another type of variation is the answering of negative questions, discussed in 11.4.2.2 (Answering negative questions) and shown in Figure 12.4 (Variation with negative questions). While at least some persons with a good command of English use 'yes' and 'no' in an English fashion when answering negative questions, most use them in a Tok Pisin fashion, e.g., 'Yes, I have no bananas.' This probably represents a conscious modelling of English patterns.

To summarize, there appear to be three factors which motivate the innovations which result in grammatical variation. These are the influence of Tok Pisin, the influence of Papua New Guinean English, and the tendency to lose marked grammatical features. Many of the innovations, and therefore much of the subsequent variation, are the result of two or even all three of these unrelated factors working

simultaneously. Of the types of variation found, only the reinterpretation of the future marker as an irrealis marker cannot be explained by one or more of these three factors.

In general, innovative constructions tend to be used most by speakers who are male, young, and / or not traditionally oriented. Where it has been possible to isolate an innovative pattern to one geographic dialect, it has been the Northern East Coast dialect. Thus the center of innovation in Nalik is nontraditional Northern East Coast boys and young men. The most conservative speakers are older traditional men. It may seem curious that males are at both ends of the innovation continuum. This can be explained by the roles that young and old men play in the society. Both are separated to some extent from the society as a whole. It has been the norm for Nalik teenage men to leave their family home to live in a 'bachelors' house'. This continues to be the general practice, although today for many, the equivalent of a 'bachelors' house' is an all-male boarding school dormitory. This gives them ample opportunities for linguistic innovation with little interference from others.

Older men, especially clan orators, are also isolated linguistically to some extent from the rest of Nalik society by their collective and individual roles as leaders of the community. Both on public ceremonial occasions and in their private consultations together, they have a greater need to use formal registers than other members of the society. As these formal registers use conservative or even archaic forms, these older male speakers are conscious of constructions which are not used by other speakers. Since even many of their male peers of the same age often do not use these formal constructions, these conservative speech patterns act as a badge of their status in the society.

13.2 Areas for further study

This conclusion began with the statement that this study cannot purport to be complete description of the Nalik language, and there are many areas where further research is needed. Data from the dialects spoken along the Nalik-Kara border, for example, were purposely excluded from this study, and further research is needed to determine whether these dialects are a separate language (or languages) or deviant dialects of Nalik. Similarly, more detailed analyses of the relationship between Nalik and the other Lavongai-Nalik languages and between Nalik and neighboring non-Austronesian Kuot are necessary for our understanding of the overall linguistic environment of north-central New Ireland.

Among the areas where further analysis within the core Nalik dialects themselves is warranted is the description of syntax above the level of simple sentences, such as the formation and use of relative clauses. Another is variation; while this study has examined grammatical variation between different groups in Nalik society in more depth than is the norm in descriptive work of previously undescribed languages, for the most part only very broad descriptions of the subgroups using each variant have been given. A possibility for further fruitful research would be a more statistically based analysis of variation within an entire village, giving information about the subgroups using each variant.

Moving beyond morphology and syntax, another area which has been only briefly described in this study has been Nalik phonology. In particular, the conditions determining the alternation between voiceless stops and voiced fricatives (described in Chapter 1) are not yet clearly understood.

Even more pressing than the need for an examination of the phonology is a description of the Nalik lexicon and semantic categories, which were also only briefly discussed in the introduction to this study. Much of the specialized lexicon used by older speakers is not being passed on to younger speakers. Therefore, waiting even only one or two decades to begin lexicographic work in Nalik would mean the irretrievable loss of much knowledge now available to us from what some Nalik youth call 'our walking dictionaries'. While information from traditionally educated women and men is still readily available, fruitful interdisciplinary studies with other disciplines, such as ethnobiology and other specialities developed with the aid of cultural anthropology, can be conducted in conjunction with lexicographic research.

Scholarship in areas such as these can enable the Nalik people to understand their place both in their own society and in their historical and contemporary relationships with the broader world community. It can also enable persons outside of the Nalik community to share in the wisdom which has been passed down from the ancestors of today's Naliks. If this study of Nalik grammar has also contributed in some way to these goals, then its purpose has been achieved.

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