

4

The noun phrase

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I describe the structure of the Nese noun phrase (NP). Section 4.2 delineates the order of the noun phrase constituents. Section 4.3 discusses the functions of noun phrases and §4.4 identifies the words that can function as heads of noun phrases. Section 4.5 centres on the elements that may modify the noun phrase head, with a discussion of the discourse role of pronouns presented in §4.6. Lastly, §4.7 is a description of nominalisation.

4.2 Order of noun phrase constituents

A noun phrase in Nese may contain a head noun by itself or a head noun with modifying elements, as shown in Figure 4.1.

The head noun may be modified by nouns (including locational nouns), bound personal pronouns, numerals, demonstratives, nominalised verbs, possessive markers (relational classifiers), stative intransitive verbs (adjectival verbs), general modifiers and relative clauses.

NP head		Modifiers												
Noun subclasses		Noun	Bound personal pronouns	Numeral	Number	Demonstrative	Nominalised verb	Possessive	Intransitive stative verb	Relative clause	Locational nouns	General modifiers		
Common nouns													Common noun	Proper noun (place name)
	Bound	✗	✓	✗	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓		
	Free	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	✗	✓		
	Locational	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓		
Proper nouns		✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓		
Kinship terms		✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✗	✓	✓	✗	✓		
Independent pronouns		✗	✗	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓		

Figure 4.1: NP heads and modifiers

There are restrictions on the types of modifiers that may co-occur with a head noun depending on the type of noun functioning as the head noun as well as its semantic properties. The extent to which modifiers may co-occur with one another is largely determined by the semantic properties of the head noun they are modifying as well as those of the modifiers. As illustrated in Figure 4.2, the only obligatory element is the head noun, with most of the modifiers, being optional elements, occurring in the slots after the head noun. The only modifying element that may occur before the head noun is the quantifier *jelengi* ‘all’.

Even though modifiers are optional by nature, there are some relationships that manifest strict ordering patterns. Specific cases are the position of numerals in between possessive classifiers and demonstratives, demonstratives having a tendency to occur after stative intransitive verbs

or demonstratives and nominalised verbs occurring immediately after the head noun. In general, there is a strong preference for relative clauses or general modifiers to occupy phrase final position.

(quantifier) **HEAD...**
 (noun) (nominalised verb) (stative intransitive verb) (bound personal pronoun)
 (possessive relational classifier) (numeral) (quantifier) (demonstrative)
 (general modifier) (relative clause)

Figure 4.2: Constituents of a noun phrase

As shown in Figure 4.2, a noun phrase may simply consist of a head noun only. This is illustrated in (4.1).

- 4.1 *Ne-bet* ***nalok.***
 1SG:REAL-make laplap
 ‘I made laplap.’
 (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:25:16.000-00:25:17.000 natural text)

A head noun may be a common noun as shown in (4.1) or it may be an independent pronoun as illustrated by (4.2).

- 4.2 ***Khar*** *ro-khro* *ev'an.*
 3PL 3PL:REAL-stay DIR
 ‘They stayed there.’
 (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:12:01.000-00:12:03.000 natural text)

A head noun may be modified by another noun. This is illustrated in (4.3) where the head noun *nuak* ‘boat’ is modified by another common noun *natan* ‘land/ground’ indicating what type of boat it is.

- 4.3 *Ale* *ne-les* *te* ***nuak*** ***natan*** *Ø-ti-vala...*
 CONJ 1SG:REAL-see SUB boat land 3SG:REAL-ASP-run
 ‘Then I saw that the land boat (truck) went...’
 (2012_01_19 naanhy01001 00:32:17.000-00:32:20.000 natural text)

Independent pronouns, however, that are head nouns cannot be modified by another noun.

A head noun may also be modified by a bound personal pronoun. This is illustrated in (4.4), which shows the 3SG bound personal pronoun modifying a head noun expressed by a common noun.

- 4.4 *Takharr* *sed-en* *khai* *Ø-yas*.
 whiteman PERS.PRON-3SG 3SG 3SG:REAL-go
 ‘The whiteman went by himself.’
 (Fieldnotes, elicitation)

A pronoun functioning as the head noun may also be modified by a bound personal pronoun, as illustrated in (4.5).

- 4.5 *Khai sed-en* *buro* *khai s-be-num-te* *nanalokh*.
 3SG PERS.PRON-3SG GENMOD 3SG IRR-NEGI-drink-NEG2 kava
 ‘It is only he himself who does not drink kava.’
 (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:51:14.000-00:51:18.000 natural text)

A head noun may also be modified by the demonstrative *nge*, as illustrated in (4.6).

- 4.6 *Na-ma*, *no-kuk-u* *rrun* *norrulnasasakh* *nge*.
 1SG:REAL-come-eat 1SG:REAL-cook- DEM rice DEM
 3SGOBJ
 ‘I came, I cooked it with that rice.’
 (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:01:12.000-00:01:16.000 natural text)

Although the demonstrative *nge* may modify a common noun functioning as the head of a noun phrase, it cannot modify a pronoun functioning as the head of a noun phrase. This contrasts with the demonstrative *khe*, which may modify both common nouns and pronouns (cf. §3.11 examples (3.66) and (3.67)).

Relational classifiers that are used to express indirect possessive relationships may also modify noun heads as shown in (4.7).

- 4.7 *Ø-se-woj* *nalok* *rr-ak* *nge*.
 3SG-IRR-eat laplap CLED-1SG:POSS DEM
 ‘S/he will eat this/that bread of mine.’
 (Fieldnotes, elicitation)

When they co-occur with a demonstrative, they precede the demonstrative. An independent pronoun functioning as a head noun cannot be modified by a relational classifier.

A head noun may be modified by a possessive relational classifier, a numeral and the demonstrative *nge*. This is illustrated in (4.8).

- 4.8 *Ø-se-woj* *nalok* *rr-ak* *ru* *nge*.
 3SG-IRR-eat laplap CLED-1SG:POSS two DEM
 ‘S/he will eat these two laplap of mine.’
 (Fieldnotes, elicitation)

As shown in (4.8), in addition to possessive relational classifiers and demonstratives functioning as modifiers, numerals may also function as modifiers of noun heads. When numerals occur in conjunction with possessive relational classifiers and demonstratives, they can only occupy the slot in between these two other modifiers, as illustrated in (4.8).

A head noun may be modified by a possessive relational classifier, a numeral, demonstrative and the general modifier *buro* ‘only’. Example (4.9) illustrates that when occurring in conjunction with the other modifiers, *buro* occupies phrase final position.

- 4.9 *Ø-se-woj* *nalok* *r-ak* *rru* *nge* *buro*.
 3SG-IRR-eat laplap CLED-3SG:POSS two DEM GENMOD
 ‘S/he will eat these two laplap of mine only.’
 (Fieldnotes, elicitation)

Similarly, a head noun may be modified by a quantifier such as *sobonon* 'some', which occupies the slot after the head noun as shown in (4.10).

- 4.10 *Khar re-ve* 'nemere **sobonon** rengen *nuak*
 3PL 3PL:REAL-say people some LOC boat
 'They said

natan *khe.*
 land DEM
 there are some people in that land boat (truck).'
 (2014_01_19 naanh01001 00:32:34.000-00:32:39.000 natura

Relative clauses introduced by the subordinator *te* may also modify a head noun as shown in (4.11).

- 4.11 Ø-se-woj [nebetnakhav [te ri-bat-e benanev.]]
 3SG-IRR-eat bread SUB 3PL:REAL-make 3SGOBJ yesterday
 ‘S/he will eat the bread that they made yesterday.’
 (Fieldnotes, elicitation)

In (4.11), the relative clause gives information about the date on which the head noun ‘bread’ was baked. Example (4.12) illustrates the position in which a relative clause may occur in conjunction with an intransitive stative verb and a demonstrative when they function as modifiers of a head noun.

- 4.12 Ø-se-woj [nebetnakhav velvele khe [te ri-bat-e
 3SG-IRR-eat bread small DEM SUB 3PL:REAL-make-3SGOBJ
 ‘S/he will eat this/that small bread that they made
benanev.]]
 yesterday
 yesterday.’
 (Fieldnotes, elicitation)

- 4.13 Ø-se-woj [nebetnakhav velvele r-ak rru nge
 3SG-IRR-eat bread small CLED-1SG:POSS two DEM
 ‘S/he will just eat those two small breads of mine
buro te ri-bat-e benanev.]
 GENMOD SUB 3PL:REAL-make-3SGOBJ yesterday
 which they made yesterday.’
 (Fieldnotes, elicitation)

The elicited maximally long noun phrase in (4.13) contains most of the modifiers indicated in Table 4.1. In relation to the ordering of the modifiers, there are certain generalisations that must hold. Firstly, numerals cannot precede possessive relational classifiers. Furthermore, possessive relational classifiers cannot precede intransitive stative verbs. Lastly, there is a strong preference for demonstratives, general modifiers such as *buro* and relative clauses to occupy phrase final position, if occurring in conjunction with the other modifiers.

4.3 Functions of noun phrases

Noun phrases have different intra- and extra-clausal syntactic functions. A noun phrase may function as:

- a subject argument of a verbal clause
- a subject argument of a non-verbal clause

- an object argument of a verbal clause
- a complement of a true preposition or a verbal preposition
- a locative adjunct
- a predicate of a non-verbal clause.

When a noun phrase occurs as a subject argument of a verb clause, it occupies a preverbal position. This is illustrated in (4.14) and (4.15), where a noun and a pronoun respectively may function as the subject of a clause.

- 4.14 **Tawu** Ø-*ti-natur* *latas*.
 coneshell 3SG:REAL-ASP-sleep sea-LOC
 ‘The coneshell slept in the sea.’
 (2012_05_16 obanhy01004 00:00:07.000-00:00:09.000 natural text)

- 4.15 **Kanan** *bir-khro* *iekhe* *buro*.
 1 PLEXCL 1 PLEXCL:REAL-stay DEM:LOC GENMOD
 ‘We stayed here only.’
 (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:00:17.000-00:00:19.000 natural text)

A noun phrase may also be a subject argument of a non-verbal clause, as illustrated in (4.16).

- 4.16 **Khai** *iekhe*.
 3SG DEM:LOC
 ‘It’s here.’
 (2012_06_12 obaksi01001 00:07:18.000-00:07:20.000 natural text)

In (4.17), an independent pronoun modified by the demonstrative *khe* is functioning as a subject argument of the non-verbal clause.

- 4.17 **Khai** *khe* *norojian*.
 3SG DEM sick
 ‘This one is a sickness.’
 (Fieldnotes, elicitation)

A noun phrase may function as an object argument in a verbal clause, as illustrated in (4.18).

- 4.18 *khai Ø-se-woj nebetnakhav nge wor.*
 3SG 3SG-IRR-eat bread DEM still
 ‘She’s still going to eat that bread.’
 (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:02:25.000-00:02:27.000 natural text)

Object arguments are not merely restricted to full lexical noun phrases as pronouns may also function as object arguments. This is illustrated in (4.19).

- 4.19 *Nakhab’ Ø-ti-sul kanan.*
 fire 3SG-REAL-ASP-burn 1 PLEXCL
 ‘The fire burnt us.’
 (2014_02_18 elaksi01002 00:02:39.000-00:02:40.000 natural text)

As noted in §3.4, Nese does not have the 1PL EXCL and 2PL object suffixes, employing their corresponding independent pronouns instead.

A noun phrase may also function as an object of a true preposition, as illustrated in (4.20).

- 4.20 *Kirr-ma kirr-sev nua iekhe buro*
 2PL-REAL-come 2PL-REAL-collect water DEM:LOC GENMOD
 ‘You (PL) come and collect the water
 rengen tank.
 LOC tank
 in the tank here.’
 (2012_03_01 oblboro01001 00:00:59.000-00:01:03.000 natural text)

In (4.20), the noun *tank* ‘tank’ is functioning as the object of the true preposition *rengen* ‘in’. True prepositions do not take independent pronouns as objects. Similarly, a noun phrase may function as an object of a verbal preposition, as shown in (4.21).

- 4.21 *J-be-vervis-te khin nelekhterr khe.*
 1SG-IRR-NEG1-reveal-NEG2 PREP1 woman dem
 ‘I did not reveal (it) to that woman.’
 (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:09:49.000-00:09:51.000 natural text)

Apart from full noun phrases functioning as object arguments as in (4.21), pronominal suffixes may also function as object arguments of verbal prepositions, as shown in (4.22).

- 4.22 *Rri-si-jnejne* *khin-i* *khe*.
 1PLINCL-IRR-to fish PREP1-3OBJ DEM
 ‘We will go fishing in it.’
 (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:09:49.000-00:28:28.000 natural text)

Lastly, noun phrases with a locational head noun (cf. §3.2.3) may function as adjuncts, as shown in (4.23).

- 4.23 *Benanev* *no-khro* *buro* *laine*.
 yesterday 1SG:REAL-stay GENMOD house:LOC
 ‘Yesterday I just stayed at home.’
 (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:00:03.000-00:00:05.000 natural text)

Heads of noun phrases composed of locative noun phrases may only occupy a post-verbal adjunct position.

4.4 Words and bound pro-indexes functioning as heads of noun phrases

Nese allows free common nouns, bound common nouns, proper nouns, locational nouns and pronouns to function as heads of noun phrases. In (4.24), a free common noun is functioning as the head of the subject noun phrase.

- 4.24 *Nial* *Ø-ti-terrtterr*.
 sun 3SG:REAL-ASP-be.strong
 ‘The sun was strong.’
 (2012_08_27 00:05:44.000-00:05:45.000 natural text)

Bound common nouns may also function as heads of noun phrases, as shown in (4.25).

- 4.25 *Ne-yat* *rengen* *nev’enu-ak*.
 1SG:REAL-sit LOC place-1SG:POSS
 ‘I sit in my place.’
 (2012_05_16 obanhy01001 00:00:14.000-00:00:17.000 natural text)

A proper noun indicating the name of a person may also function as the head of a noun phrase, as shown in (4.26).

- 4.26 *Yvon khai Ø-rong-o sikha neten te*
Yvonne 3SG 3SG:REAL-want-3SGOBJ NEG PURP2 SUB
‘As for Yvonne, she does not want to because
re-ve khai Ø-se-woj nebetnakhav nge wor.
3PL:REAL-say 3SG 3SG-IRR-eat bread DEM just
they said she’s going to just eat this bread.’
(2014_01_19 naanhv01001 00:02:23.000-00:02:27.000 natural text)

Similarly, a proper noun indicating the name of a place may function as the head of a noun phrase, as shown in (4.27).

- 4.27 ...*Mista Norman Wiles Ø-ma Ø-lol Matanvat.*
...Mr Norman Wiles 3SG:REAL-come 3SG:REAL-live Matanvat
‘Mr Norman Wiles came and lived in Matanvat.’
(2012_03_01 obloro01001 00:00:25.000-00:00:27.000 natural text)

Kinship nouns may also function as head nouns. This is illustrated in (4.28).

- 4.28 *Jokh-ok Ø-se-ma.*
uncle-1SG:POSS 3SG-IRR-come
‘My uncle is going to come.’
(Fieldnotes, elicitation)

Locational nouns may also be heads of noun phrases; however, this is possible only when they function as clausal adjuncts, as shown in (4.29).

- 4.29 *Tawu Ø-ti-natur latas.*
cone shell 3SG:REAL-ASP-sleep sea:LOC
‘The cone shell slept in the sea.’
(2012_05_16 obanhv01004 00:00:07.000-00:00:08.000 natural text)

Independent pronouns may also function as heads of noun phrases, functioning as subject of a verbal clause (4.30) or as object of verbal clauses in cases where object suffixes are not used (4.31).

- 4.30 ***Khina** ne-likhakh lanus khe.*
 1SG 1SG:REAL-return bush:LOC DEM
 ‘I have just returned from the bush.’
 (2012_05_16 onbanhy01001 00:07:36.000-00:07:38.000 natural text)
- 4.31 ***Kho-ba-tere**v **kanan.***
 2SG:REAL-POT-wait 1PLEXCL
 ‘You will await us.’
 (2012_05_16 obanhy01003 00:02:34.000-00:02:36.000 natural text)

The example given in (4.31) has the 1PL EXCL independent pronoun as the head of the noun phrase functioning as the object of clause. As highlighted in Table 3.14 (§3.4), while Nese employs independent pronouns functioning as objects in the 1PL EXCL and 2PL forms, it uses bound pro-indexes to express object arguments in other proforms. This raises the question of whether these other bound pro-indexes ought to be considered as heads of noun phrases and, in effect, arguments in a clause, like the 1PL EXCL and 2PL independent forms.

The issue of whether or not a bound pronominal form is an argument has been the subject of some debate. Jelinek (1984, p. 44) postulates that these forms are arguments and asserts that when they co-occur with independent pronouns, the pronoun is an adjunct. In contrast, Bresnan and Mchombo (1987, p. 741) argue that bound forms ought to be viewed as agreement markers. Haspelmath (2013, p. 3) does not see the usefulness of viewing these bound forms as either ‘agreement markers’ or ‘bound pronouns’ and suggests that they should rather be analysed as argument indexes.

The discussion in §4.4 demonstrates that free common nouns, bound common nouns, proper nouns and kinship terms may function as heads of noun phrases. In the absence of a lexical noun phrase object, Nese permits the indexing of the bound pronominal on the verb. Given that an object lexical noun phrase cannot co-occur with a pro-index, it may be tempting to view the latter as the object argument in the clause. However, unlike noun heads that can be modified by a range of elements such as intransitive stative verbs, numerals, demonstratives, relative clauses and general modifiers, modification of object pro-indexes is restricted to the demonstrative *khe* as shown in example (4.22), repeated here as (4.32).

- 4.32 *Rri-si-jnejne* *khin-i* *kbe*.
 1PLINCL-IRR-to fish PREP1-3OBJ DEM
 ‘We will really go fishing in it.’
 (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:28:26.000-00:28:28.000 natural text)

Therefore, they cannot be considered as heads of noun phrases or as genuine arguments, but rather as argument indexes in line with Haspelmath’s (2013) definition.

Quantifiers may also function as heads of noun phrases. Out of the three quantifiers in Nese *sobonon* ‘some’, *jelekh* ‘every’ and *jelengi* ‘all’, *sobonon* and *jelengi* are the only ones that can function as heads of noun phrases, along with their nominal modifying function. In (4.33), the quantifier *sobonon* is the head of the noun phrase functioning as the object argument of the clause. Its ability to function also as the head of a noun phrase in subject position was illustrated in Chapter 3, example (3.40), where *sobonon* is the head of a noun phrase functioning as a topicalised subject argument. Therefore, it can function as both subject or object argument in a clause.

- 4.33 *Ne-kron* *sobonon* *min* *vingote* *ji-n* *Stewart*.
 1SG:REAL-give some PREP2 in law CLGEN-3SG:POSS Stewart
 ‘I gave some to my in-law who is Stewart’s wife.’
 (2012_05_16 obanhy01003 00:03:16.000-00:03:26.000 natural text)

The quantifier *jelengi* ‘all’, on the other hand, can only form the head of a noun phrase functioning as an object argument, as shown in (4.34). The element can also function as a nominal modifier, as illustrated in §4.5.

- 4.34 *No-kuk* *jelengi*, *Ø-naskhe...*
 1PLSG:REAL-cook all
 ‘I cooked all of it, it is cooked...’
 (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:01:17.000-00:01:18.000 natural text)

Numerals may also function as heads of noun phrases. As illustrated in (4.35), the numeral *line* ‘five’ is functioning as the head of a noun phrase in a non-verbal equational clause. The numeral *sakhal* ‘one’ forms the head of the noun phrase, which is functioning as a subject argument of the second verbal clause.

- 4.35 *Kanan line, sakhal Ø-nas.*
 1PLEXCL five one 3SG:REAL-die

‘There’s five of us, one died.’

(2012_05_22 obcero01001 00:00:11.000-00:00:14.000 natural text)

Nominalised verbs may also be heads of noun phrases. Example (4.36) shows a nominalised verb functioning as the head of a noun phrase that is in topic position.

- 4.36 *Letang! vis-vis-ian khai Ø-ti-rov.*
 Sister! REDUP-squeeze milk-NOM 3SG 3SG:REAL-ASP-finish

‘Sister! The squeezing of the milk is over.’

(2012_06_12 obaksi01001 00:10:36.000-00:10:38.000 natural text)

The corresponding verb stem of the nominalised verb in (4.36) is *vis*-‘squeeze milk’ and the whole verb stem is reduplicated. Another illustration of a nominalised verb is given in (4.37) where *novojokhian* ‘gathering/feast’ is the head of the noun phrase functioning as the complement in a prepositional phrase, which is a locative adjunct. The nominalised verb is derived from the verb *vojokh* ‘to get/gather together’. In contrast with example (4.36), the verb stem in example (4.37) is not reduplicated.

- 4.37 *Nekrre rri-si-v'an rengen no-vojokh-ian.*
 1PLINCL 1PL-IRR-go LOC ART-gather-NOM

‘We will go to the gathering.’

(Fieldnotes, elicitation)

Further discussion of the nominalisation process is in §4.7.

4.5 Modification of the head

Heads of noun phrases may be modified by nouns (§4.5.1), bound personal pronouns (§4.5.2), intransitive stative verbs (§4.5.3), numbers (§4.5.4), quantifiers (§4.5.5), numerals (§4.5.6), demonstratives (§4.5.7), possessive constructions (§4.5.8), relative clauses (§4.5.9) and general modifiers (§4.5.10). As observed in §3.16, some elements may function both as heads of noun phrases and as nominal modifiers. The expression of number in a noun phrase is discussed in (§4.5.4)

4.5.1 Nominal modifiers

Nominal modifiers in Nese are common nouns, proper nouns, locational nouns and nominalised verbs, generally occupying the slot after the noun they are modifying. When a proper noun modifies a common noun as in (4.38), the modifying proper noun indicates the place from which the common head noun originates.

- 4.38 *Ne-les* *tev'et* *Neneluam.*
 1SG:REAL-see woman Neneluam
 'I saw a woman from Neneluam.'
 (Fieldnotes, elicitation)

A similar effect is seen when a common noun is modified by locational noun, as shown in (4.39).

- 4.39 *Nekrre* *kele* *rri-v'an* *rru-num,* *netenge,* *naleb',*
 1PLINCL again 1PL:REAL-go 1PL:REAL-drink thingummy pool
 'Again we went and drank, that thingummy, pool,

nua *lanus* *khe.*
 water bush:LOC DEM
 the water from the bush.'
 (Fieldnotes, natural text)

A common noun may be modified by another common noun, as shown in (4.40). In this example, the modifying common noun indicates the specific type of the preceding common noun.

- 4.40 *Ne-jil-e* *Ø-v'an* *rengen* *nokhobrok* *norrian.*
 1SG:REAL-serve-3SGOBJ 3SG:REAL-go LOC plate food
 'I served it on the food plate.'
 (2012_05_16 obanhy01001 00:01:17.000-00:01:11.500 natural text)

As is the case with the preceding examples, when a common noun is modified by a nominalised verb, the latter occurs in the slot after the common noun. This is illustrated in (4.41), where the modifying nominalised verb *nenesian* 'death' modifies the common noun *tenge* 'thing'. In this case, the nominalised verb denotes a state.

- 4.41 *Tenge kher khe, tenge nenesian jelek.*
 Thing PL DEM thing death all
 ‘These things, they are all deadly things.’
 (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 01:07:36.000-01:07:39.000 natural text)

A modifying nominalised verb can also give further information about the age of the referent. This is illustrated in (4.42) where the nominalised verb *nemerjian* ‘old’ indicates the maturity of the noun *tav’at* ‘woman’.

- 4.42 *Tav’at nemerjian sakhal khar rrun nokhod-ne*
 Woman old one 3PL CONJ grandchild-3SG:POSS
 ‘An old woman with her grandchild
ro-khro.
 3PL:REAL-stay
 stayed.’
 (2012_05_16 obanhy01005 00:00:22.000-00:00:26.000 natural text)

4.5.2 Bound personal pronouns

Nouns may be modified by bound personal pronouns, which are formed with the directly possessed roots *sed-* and *ned-*, both having the meaning ‘by oneself’. These two different stems showing homogenous inflectional paradigms of bound personal pronouns are presented in Table 4.2. In both columns, the bound personal pronoun root indicates a personal relationship while the bound suffix expresses the person and number of the co-referential head noun. Generally, bound personal forms occur in the slot after the nouns they are modifying. Noun heads that may be modified by bound personal pronouns are restricted to proper nouns, common nouns and pronouns.

Table 4.2: Bound personal pronouns

	<i>sed-</i>	<i>ned-</i>
1SG	<i>sed-okh</i>	<i>ned-okh</i>
2SG	<i>sod-om</i>	<i>ned-om</i>
3SG	<i>sed-en</i>	<i>ned-en</i>
1PL INCL	<i>sed-err</i>	<i>ned-err</i>
1PL EXCL	<i>sed-enan</i>	<i>ned-enan</i>
2PL	<i>sed-ani</i>	<i>ned-ani</i>
3PL	<i>sed-err</i>	<i>ned-err</i>

The two bound personal pronoun paradigms exhibit the following similarities. To begin with, they both have identical suffixes for each of the different persons and numbers that are affixed to the two different personal roots *sed-* and *ned-*. Similarly, both have a somewhat uniform phonological shape for the personal roots for all persons and numbers, with the exception of the 1SG and 2SG forms, which differ from the other persons and numbers in each paradigm.

More specifically, the *sed-* based personal pronoun form for the 2SG person differs from the other persons and numbers in that paradigm. These suffixes are somewhat akin to those employed in direct and indirect possession in Table 3.15 (§3.4). The current data suggests that both the bound personal pronouns may be used interchangeably and there are no criteria that exclude employing one from the other. This is illustrated in (4.43) and (4.44), where the 3SG bound personal forms from the two sets may be used interchangeably with no difference in meaning.

- 4.43 *Khunokh* ***sod-om*** *kho-se-v'an?*
 2SG PERS.PRON-2SG 2SG-IRR-go?
 'You're going to go by yourself.'
 (Fieldnotes, elicitation)

- 4.44 *Khunokh* ***ned-om*** *kho-se-v'an?*
 2SG PERS.PRON-2SG 2SG-IRR-go?
 'You're going to go by yourself.'
 (Fieldnotes, elicitation)

However, further data may prove that perhaps there was once a distinction in usage between the two paradigms that may be based on the types of verbs used. The current data also shows some disparity as the examples obtained contain bound personal pronouns that modify heads of noun phrases in preverbal position. Therefore, it is not clear whether bound personal pronouns can also modify heads of noun phrases that occur post-verbally as object arguments or whether the use of corresponding independent pronouns is sufficient.

Bound personal pronouns may modify heads of noun phrases composed of a single common noun. This is illustrated in (4.45).

- 4.45 *Takharr* ***sed-en*** *Ø-yas.*
 whiteman PERS.PRON-3SG 3SG:REAL-depart
 ‘The white man went by himself.’
 (Fieldnotes, elicitation)

Similarly, a bound personal pronoun may modify coordinated pronouns functioning as preverbal subject arguments. This is illustrated in (4.46) where the bound personal pronoun root *sed-* indicates a relationship in which the co-referential noun phrase is composed of two coordinated proper nouns in preverbal position. The suffix that is affixed to the bound personal pronoun base co-references both proper noun phrases in (4.46).

- 4.46 *Lana* *rrun* *Aklyn* ***sed-err*** *risi-yas.*
 Lana CONJ Aklyn PERS.PRON-3PL 3PL:IRR-depart
 ‘Lana and Aklyn will go by themselves.’
 (Fieldnotes, elicitation)

A bound personal pronoun may also modify a pronoun functioning as a subject argument in preverbal position. This is illustrated in (4.47).

- 4.47 *Kani* ***sed-ani*** *kirr-se-v'an?*
 2PL PERS.PRON-2PL 2PL-IRR-go
 ‘Will you people go by yourselves.’
 (Fieldnotes, elicitation)

4.5.3 Intransitive stative verb modifiers

Intransitive stative verbs may function as attributive modifiers of the head noun. When an intransitive stative verb is the head of a predicate, it takes the subject cross-index, as in (4.48); however, when it occurs as a modifier of a head NP, it does not take the subject cross-index (4.49).

- 4.48 *Rru* ***Ø-se-velvele.***
 two 3SG-IRR-be.small
 ‘Two will be small.’
 (2012_81_27 obnesp01001 00:06:42.000-00:06:10.000 natural text)

- 4.49 *Nuak velvele khe, rri-si-takh-e*
 boat small DEM 1PLINCL-IRR-take-3SGOBJ
 ‘That small boat, we’re going to take it
rri-si-yas khin-i.
 1PLINCL-IRR-depart PREP1-3SGOBJ
 and use it to depart.’
 (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:18:31.000-00:18:34.000 natural text)

Intransitive stative verbs with an attributive function may modify common nouns and kinship nouns functioning as heads of noun phrases. Example (4.50) illustrates the intransitive stative verb *velvele* ‘small’ modifying the head of the noun phrase composed of a common noun.

- 4.50 *Nause khai Ø-se-use lemje neten naror*
 rain 3SG 3SG-IRR-to.rain a.lot PURP2 dark cloud
 ‘It will rain because of the
velvele sakhal.
 small one
 one small cloud.’
 (2012_05_16 obanhy01003 00:03:34.000-00:03:38.000 natural text)

When the intransitive stative verb *velvele* modifies a 3SG nominal subject, it may be difficult to distinguish whether the intransitive stative verb is the head of a predicate (given that the 3SG realis subject cross-index is not overt) or whether it is functioning as a modifier. However, this may be resolved by testing whether a numeral modifier can occur after the stative intransitive verb. If the construction allows a numeral to occur after an intransitive stative verb, such as in (4.50), the intransitive stative verb is functioning attributively.

When the intransitive stative verb *sat* ‘bad’ modifies a common noun functioning as the head of a noun phrase, it is adding further information about the head noun in terms of its quality, as illustrated in (4.51).

- 4.51 *Khina **nemerre** sat.*
 1SG man bad.
 ‘I am a bad person.’

(2014_04_26 obmach01001 00:00:50.000-00:00:54.000 natural text)

An intransitive stative verb such as *os* ‘different’ may also be used to provide contrast, as illustrated in (4.52).

- 4.52 *Ale **neren** os Ø-ma, ale bir-v’an*
 CONJ time different 3SG:REAL-come CONJ 1PLEXCL:REAL-go
 ‘Then at a different time, we go

bir-wak-e.

1PL:REAL-plant-3SGOBJ

and plant.’

(2012_06_19 obfaha01003 00:04:26.000-00:04:29.000 natural text)

Example (4.53) shows that an intransitive stative verb may also modify kinship nouns functioning as the head noun of a noun phrase in an attributive manner.

- 4.53 *Dev’e **lab’lab** Ø-ti-v’an maro.*
 mother big 3SG:REAL-ASP-go up
 ‘The big (older) aunty went up.’

(Fieldnotes, elicitation)

4.5.4 Number

Nese does not productively encode number on the head noun through morphological means. There are only two nouns that show some kind of morphological plural marking. The first is the noun *jiblahk* ‘child’, which takes the prefix *te-* to form the plural *tejiblahk* ‘children’. The second is the noun *nemerte* ‘man’ where the /t/ in the final syllable is deleted to form the plural *nemere* ‘men’. Otherwise, for other common nouns the most common way in which Nese expresses plurality is through the use of the plural marker *kher* (cf. §2.5.2.4), which occurs after the noun in the noun phrase. This is illustrated in (4.54). There are no examples in the data showing *kher* occurring relative to the other modifiers except in between a common noun and the demonstrative *khe*.

- 4.54 *No-rong-o* *sikha* *min* *norrian* ***kher***
 1SG:REAL-like-3SGOBJ NEG PREP2 food PL
 ‘I am sick of these
khe.
 DEM
 foods.’
 (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:00:32.000-00:00:34.000 natural text)

As will be seen in §4.6, Nese employs independent pronouns for emphatic purposes and this is illustrated in example (4.112) in §4.6 where *khar* is employed for this purpose. This suggests that *kher* in (4.54) may also be used to emphasise the lexical noun phrase *norrian* in addition to indicating its plurality.

In the absence of the plural morpheme *kher* and where number is not marked in the NP, the determination of whether a lexical noun phrase subject is plural or not is based on the subject cross-index on the verb. For example, the subject noun *nani* ‘coconuts’ (4.55) is clearly singular given that the cross-index on the verb is 3SG singular. However, with lexical noun phrase objects, where number is not encoded within the object noun phrase, the object noun phrase may be interpreted as either singular or plural, as shown in (4.56) and (4.57).

- 4.55 ***Nani*** *s-ak* *Ø-se-ninin*.
 Coconut CLGEN-1SG:POSS 3SG-IRR-be.wet
 ‘My coconut will be wet.’
 (2014_01_19 obanhy01003 00:00:58.000-00:01:01.000 natural text)

- 4.56 *Ne-tekh* ***nani***.
 1SG:REAL-take coconut
 ‘I took the coconut/coconuts.’
 (Fieldnotes, elicitation)

- 4.57 *Khai* *Ø-les* ***nanankho***.
 3SG 3SG:real-see bird
 ‘She saw the bird/birds.’
 (Fieldnotes, elicitation)

Plurality and singularity are encoded by the subject cross-indexes and object pro-indexes. For example, when the subject cross-index encodes a plural number as shown in (4.58), the preceding co-referential lexical noun phrase is treated as a plural noun phrase. However, when there is no overt subject cross-index, a case that is applicable only to the non-overt 3SG subject cross-index that the preceding lexical noun phrase to which it is co-referential is treated as a singular noun phrase. This is illustrated in (4.59).

- 4.58 *Nobukhas* ***ri-v'an***.
 pig 3PL:REAL-go
 'The pigs went.'
 (Fieldnotes, elicitation)

- 4.59 *Nobukhas* ***Ø-v'an*** *laute*.
 pig 3SG:REAL-go garden:LOC
 'The pig went to the garden.'
 (Fieldnotes, elicitation)

4.5.5 Quantifiers

The quantifiers *sobonon* 'some', *jelekh* 'every' and *jelengi* 'all' may modify heads of noun phrases. In (4.60), the quantifier *sobonon* occurs after the head noun *nakha* 'wood' and the intransitive stative verb modifier *velvele* 'small'.

- 4.60 *Je-tei* ***nakha*** *velvele* ***sobonon***, *je-vita-i*
 1SG:IRR-cut wood small some 1SG:IRR-put-3SGOBJ
 'I will cut some small pieces of wood and I will put it

 rengen *nem-ak*.
 LOC house-1SG:POSS
 in my house.'
 (2012_08_27 obnesp01001 00:01:08:000-00:01:13.000 natural text)

The quantifier *jelekh* 'every' may modify heads of noun phrases that are common nouns. It may modify a singular common noun, as shown in (4.61), and it may also modify a plural head noun, as shown in (4.62).

- 4.61 *Ne-ver tenge jelekhh di.*
1SG:REAL-say thing every already
‘I have said everything.’
(2012_07_12 obaksi01001 00:25:42.000-00:25:49.000 natural text)
- 4.62 *Nuak khe, nemere jelekhh re-ve ‘nuak*
boat DEM people every 3PL:REAL-say boat
‘That boat, all the people say that “that boat
- sakhal khe, khai Ø-vala belek plen.*
one DEM 3SG 3SG:REAL-RUN like plane
it runs like the plane”.’
(2014_01_19 naanhy01001 01:06:24.000-01:06:30.000 natural text)

Nese exhibits an interesting situation where the quantifier *jelekhh* may combine with the quantifier *rov* ‘to finish, end’ to modify the 1PL inclusive, 3PL pronouns and plural common nouns. Example (4.63) shows *rov jelekhh* modifying the 1PL inclusive pronoun in which case the 1PL inclusive pronoun is emphasised as ‘every single one of us’ while this emphasis is not present when *rov* is not present, as shown in (4.64).

- 4.63 *Khai Ø-be-ve nale ba-tokh, nekrre rrov¹*
3SG 3SG:REAL-POT-say language POT-exist 1PLINCL fully
‘She said that the language will stay, every single
- jelekhh rri-be-rej-rej min-i.*
every 1PLINCL:REAL-POT-REDUP-speak PREP-3SGOBJ
one of us will speak it.’
(2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:07:16.000-00:07:20.000 natural text)

1 It is only in these cases that *rov* serves as a modifier of a head noun; elsewhere, it functions as an intransitive verb and a completive marker modifying the head of a VP (cf. §5.5.8).

- 4.64 *Seve kho-tuturr min tenge jelek, kho-tei*
 COND 2SG:REAL-to.prepare PREP2 thing every 2SG:REAL-cut
 ‘If you prepare everything, you cut
- norroyat nekrre jelek rri-ma rri-yat*
 pandanus leaves 1PLEXCL every 1PLEXCL:REAL- 1PLEXCL:REAL-sit
 come
 the palm leaves all of us come and sit
- rri-si-tentan-i.*
 1PLEXCL-IRR-remove veins-3SGOBJ
 and we’ll remove its veins.’
 (2012_07_12 obaksi01001 00:12:20.000-00:12:27.000 natural text)

Lastly, the quantifier *jelengi* ‘all’ may modify heads of noun phrases that are expressed by means of lexical noun phrases as well as object pro-indexes. This is illustrated in (4.65) and (4.66) respectively.

- 4.65 *Mary khai Ø-woj jelengi kumala ale Ø-tun novusbuak*
 Mary all laplap all kumala CONJ 3SG:REAL-roast taro
 ‘Mary ate all the kumala (sweet potato) and roasted the taro.’
 (2012_08_08 elanhy01005 00:01:08.000-00:01:12.000 elicitation)
- 4.66 *Kanan bir-khro iekhe laine v’an v’an*
 1PLEXCL 1PLEXCL:REAL-stay DEM LOC:HOUSE go go
 ‘We just stayed here at home for a while
- ale ne-bet nebetnakhav sakhal, no-kuk-u jelengi.*
 CONJ 1SG:REAL-make bread one 1SG:REAL-cook-3SGOBJ all
 then I made a bread and cooked it all.’
 (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:00:23.000-00:00:25.000 natural text)

Jelengi differs from *jelek* in that it may precede the noun it is modifying, as shown in (4.65). In example (4.65), *jelengi* is functioning as the head of a noun phrase forming a compound noun with *nalok*. In (4.66), *jelengi* is modifying a singular object pro-index but the head noun being modified does not undergo any increase in numerical value. In this example, *jelengi* is used to mean all the different parts of that single bread were thoroughly cooked.

4.67 *Ne-sob* *na* *te-jiblakh*, ***namalakel*** *sangav'il*.
 1SG:REAL-relate story HESIT PL-child young men ten
 'I will tell a story about children, about ten young men.'
 (2012_05_16 obanhv01005 00:00:04.000-00:00:09.000 natural text)

4.68 *Kanan til bir-se-v'an rengen plantesen nani*
 1PLEXCL three 1PLEXCL-IRR-go LOC plantation coconut
 'The three of us will go to the coconut plantation.'
 (2012_06_22 elrojo01003 00:02:50.000-00:02:57.000 elicitation)

4.5.7 Demonstratives

The demonstrative *khe* modifies nominal heads that are common nouns, proper nouns, independent pronouns or the interrogative *nese*, which itself is a member of the class of nouns. Example (4.69) shows *khe* modifying a nominal head, which is a common noun, having anaphoric reference, in that it refers to a bread that has already been mentioned in previous clauses.

<i>nebetnakhav</i>	<i>khe</i>	<i>buro.</i>
bread	DEM	GENMOD

this bread only”.

(2014_01_19 naanhv01001 00:00:37.000-00:00:41.000 natural text)

Example (4.70) shows modification of a proper noun by *khe* in which the demonstrative has an emphatic function, bringing into focus the head noun it is modifying.

- 4.70 *Ale* **Gregory** *khe*, *khai* *re-ve* *natas*
 CONJ Gregory DEM 3SG 3PL:REAL-say sea
 ‘And that Gregory, he said that the sea
- s-be-tamat-te* *kanan* *bir-si-yas* *khe*.
 IRR-NEG1-peace-NEG2 1PLEXCL 1PLEXCL-IRR-depart DEM
 is not calm, we are leaving.’
 (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:18:14.000-00:18:20.000 natural text)

Pronouns functioning as heads of noun phrases may be modified by the demonstrative *khe* as illustrated in (4.71).

- 4.71 *Kava*, *ri-vitei* *maro*. ***Khai*** *khe*, *khina*
 Iron sheet 3PL:REAL-put up 3SG DEM 1SG
 ‘The iron sheets, they put it up. That one, I’ve
- ne-vitei* *norojal* *buro*.
 1SG:REAL-put coconut leaves GENMOD
 just put coconut leaves.’
 (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:47:31.000-00:47:37.000 natural text)

In a similar manner as in (4.70), demonstrative *khe* also has an emphatic function in (4.71), bringing into focus the 3SG pronoun it is modifying.

The interrogative *nese* ‘what’, which is a member of the class of nouns, may occupy subject position in a non-verbal clause in conjunction with the demonstrative *khe* occurring in the predicate slot as shown in (4.72).

- 4.72 *Nese* ***khe?***
 What DEM
 ‘What is this?’
 (2012_08_27 nsesp01002 00:03:39.000-00:03:44.000 natural text)

The demonstrative also has the meaning ‘here’ and ‘there’ when it is used to make spatial reference. This is illustrated in (4.73), where the speaker is referring to two different adjacent locations using *khe*.

- 4.73 *Khai Ø-ti-tokh kbe, sobonon Ø-ti-tokh kbe.*
 3SG 3SG:REAL-ASP-stay DEM some 3SG:REAL-ASP-stay DEM
 ‘It stayed here, some stayed there.’
 (2012_07_12 obaksi01001 00:06:12.000-00:06:27.000 natural text)

In (4.73), both instances of *kbe* are functioning as locative adverbial demonstratives akin to *iekhe* and *iekhetan*, a fact that further gives weight to the assumption that the latter two locative adverbial demonstratives are derived from *kbe*.

The demonstrative *nge*, on the other hand, can only modify heads of noun phrases that are common nouns. This is illustrated in (4.74).

- 4.74 *Ale ro-kol nua nge, nua nokhobu nge*
 CONJ 3PL:REAL-carry water DEM water bamboo DEM
 ‘Then they carried that water, that water in the bamboo

ro-mul v’an.
 3PL:REAL-return home DIR
 and they returned home.’
 (2012_01_18 obrolo01001 00:02:15.000-00:02:19.000 natural text)

In (4.74), the noun head being modified *nua* ‘water’ was already mentioned previously in the discourse and demonstrative *nge* is used to refer to that water, therefore, *nge* is used for anaphoric reference.

It may also be used for emphasis as shown in (4.75), where the temporal common noun *bensev* ‘five days ago’ is in a clause initial topic position with *nge* occupying the following slot and functioning as a modifier, adding more emphasis to the temporal noun.

- 4.75 *Bensev nge khar re-v’an.*
 Five days ago DEM 3PL 3PL:REAL-go
 ‘Five days ago they went.’
 (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:30:17.000-00:30:18.000 natural text)

Demonstrative *nge* differs from *khe* in that *khe* can modify NP heads that are common nouns, proper nouns and independent pronouns, while *nge* can only modify heads of noun phrases that are common nouns. Furthermore, *khe* also has a locative function; a function that is not performed by *nge*. Thus *nge* cannot be used to express a position proximal or distal to the speaker.

As mentioned in §3.11, *iekhe* and *iekhetan* are locative adverbial demonstratives in that they express spatial distance. *Iekhetan* is derived from *iekhe* and the preposition *atan* ‘down’. *Iekhe* indicates a location that is near to or visible to the speaker, while *iekhetan* expresses a location that is simultaneously within the speaker’s proximity and is at a downward direction. These two demonstratives may be accompanied by gestures.

Iekhe may modify a common noun functioning as the head noun. This is illustrated in (4.76). When the local adverbial demonstrative *iekhe* modifies a noun head, it specifies the location of the head noun. The same applies to *iekhetan*, as shown in (4.77), in which there is the added meaning of a downward direction.

- 4.76 *Navara-k iekhe, khai Ø-khuskhus belek khe.*
 Hand-1SG:POSS DEM:LOC 3SG 3SG:REAL-move like DEM
 ‘My hand, here, it moves like this.’
 (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:39:09.000-00:39:12.000 natural text)

In (4.76), *iekhe* is not only modifying a common noun that is the head noun, but the common noun is also a directly possessed noun. The locative adverbial demonstrative *iekhetan* ‘down here’ may modify heads of noun phrases that are common nouns and pronouns. These are shown in (4.77) and (4.78) respectively.

- 4.77 *Kavra, nemere iekhetan rri-kot kavra.*
 Copra people DEM 3PL:REAL-make copra
 ‘As for copra, people down here they make copra.’
 (2014_02_18 naaksi01001 00:10:45.000-00:10:47.000 natural text)

- 4.78 *Sobonon, khar ri-bet nalok vorrvorr khe*
 some 3PL 3PL:REAL-make laplap sosor DEM
 ‘Some people, when making the sosor laplap,
ri-vnas-i buro, netenge, norob’e deve
 3PL:REAL-leave open-3SGOBJ GENMOD thingummy bay leaves CONJ
 they just leave it open, um, that thing, the bay leaves or the cabbage
nokhmok ale nedikh norrian Ø-v’an, be nekrre
 cabbage CONJ meat food 3SG:REAL-go CONJ 1PLINCL
 then in goes the meat, but as for us
iekbetan ri-si-viteikhor-o.
 DEM 3PL-IRR-block-3SGOBJ
 down here, we will have it blocked.’
 (Fieldnotes, natural text)

4.5.8 Possessive constructions

The expression of possession in Nese is a complex issue. Nese exhibits both direct and indirect patterns of possession, patterns that are characteristic of Oceanic languages (Lichtenberk, 1985). Direct possession is marked by a possessor suffixed directly on the possessum head noun, whereas indirect possession is exhibited via relational classifiers postposed after the possessum head noun. The category of indirectly possessed nouns is further divided into three different types of possessive relationships. Nese makes a distinction between possession of items for drinking, those for eating, and possession of other non-edible and non-drinkable items. In addition to these relational classifiers, Nese employs the associative *nan* to express a possessive relationship in which the possessor is generic or non-specific.

4.5.8.1 Directly possessed nouns

The formal division between direct and indirect possession roughly corresponds to the semantic distinction between alienable and inalienable possession. Generally, nouns that are inalienably possessed in Nese are body parts, kinship terms and nouns, denoting locations that are central to the traditional way of life, such as house and garden. Table 4.3 gives a list of some inalienable nouns.

Table 4.3: Inalienably possessed nouns

Body parts			
<i>lal-</i>	‘heart’	<i>nabat-</i>	‘head’
<i>navar-</i>	‘hand’	<i>nakhab-</i>	‘wing’
<i>nam’at-</i>	‘eye’	<i>nakh-</i>	‘face’
<i>nokus-</i>	‘nose’	<i>nalaso-</i>	‘testicles’
<i>nojung-</i>	‘mouth’	<i>nanak-</i>	‘thigh’
<i>naba-</i>	‘knee’	<i>nejin-</i>	‘bone’
Kin terms			
<i>natas-</i>	youngest	<i>tavai-</i>	‘friend, brother’
<i>nosokos-</i>	female sibling	<i>tua-</i>	‘older same-sex sibling’
<i>nanat-</i>	‘child’	<i>takh-</i>	‘brother-in-law’
<i>nokhod-</i>	‘grandchild’	<i>tas-</i>	‘younger same-sex sibling’
<i>nau-</i>	‘spouse’		
Locations			
<i>nev’enu-</i>	‘place’	<i>nul-</i>	‘hole’
<i>nem-</i>	‘house’		
<i>neut-</i>	‘garden’		
<i>lakhmal-</i>	‘nakamal’		
<i>ton-</i>	‘ground’		
Products of humans and animals			
<i>ral-</i>	‘voice’	<i>nanngas</i>	‘urine’
<i>navarvar-</i>	‘promise’	<i>nele-</i>	‘language’
<i>naj-</i>	‘excrement’	<i>nere-</i>	‘blood’
<i>lulu-</i>	‘vomit’	<i>nesuv-</i>	‘breath’

In discussing direct possession, Crowley (2006c) makes a distinction between distant alienable possession and close inalienable possession, with the former marked by one possessive suffix paradigm and the latter involving two different paradigms, each with unpredictable irregularities. Takau (2016), on the other hand, does not make this distinction and only gives one paradigm of possessive suffixes for directly possessed nouns. However, re-examination of the data shows that there appear to be three paradigms of possessive suffixes relating to direct possession, as mentioned in §3.4. These three paradigms are outlined in Table 4.4, where some suffixes related to certain pronominal categories are missing.

Table 4.4: Possessive suffixes in direct possession

Person/number	Direct possession		
	Type 1 (-aC)	Type 2 (-oC)	Type 3 (-uC)
1SG	-ak	-ok	-uk
2SG	-am	-om	-me
3SG	-an	-on	-ne
1PL INCL	-arr		
1PL EXCL			-inan
1PL TRIAL	-arr nekrre til		
2PL INCL	-am'i/ani		
2PL EXCL	-am'iru/-eniru		
2PL TRIAL	-am kani til		
3PL	-ar		-rre

I have chosen to use the labels *-aC*, *-oC* and *-uC*, for want of better terms, since they correspond to the forms for the 1SG, 2SG and 3SG forms for the different possessive paradigms. Table 4.5 shows examples of these possessive forms with the full paradigm given just for Type 1 (*-aC*) suffixes, while data for some pronominal categories in the Type 2 (*-oC*) and Type 3 (*-uC*) suffixes are missing.

Table 4.5: Examples of direct possession

	Type 1 (-aC) possession	Type 2 (-oC)	Type 3 (-uC)
1SG	<i>nanat-ak</i> 'my eye'	<i>ral-ok</i> 'my voice'	<i>nokhod-uk</i> 'my grandchild'
2SG	<i>nanat-am</i> 'your eye'	<i>ral-om</i> 'your voice'	<i>nokhod-me</i> 'your grandchild'
3SG	<i>nanat-an</i> 'his/her eye'	<i>ral-on</i> 'his/her voice'	<i>nokhod-ne</i> 'his/her grandchild'
1PL INCL	<i>nanat-ar</i> 'our eyes'		<i>nokhod-inan</i> 'our grandchild'
1PL EXCL	<i>nanat-anan</i> 'our eyes'		
1PL TRIAL (INCL)	<i>nanat-arr nekrre til</i> 'our (trial) eyes'		
2PL INCL	<i>nanat-am'i/ nenet-eni</i> 'your eyes'		
2PL EXCL	<i>nanat-am'iru / nenet-eniru</i> 'your (dual) eyes'		
2PL TRIAL (EXCL)	<i>nanat-am kani til</i> 'your (trial) eyes'		
3PL	<i>nenet-arr</i> 'their eyes'		

As mentioned in §3.2.1, nouns in the Type 2 subgroup emerge in two forms synchronically. There are those I label as ‘free roots’ in their unpossessed forms and those that are considered as bound roots in their unpossessed forms. It is not clear whether nouns based on Type 2 and Type 3 direct possessive relationships also exhibit this property. There are no clear defining criteria for membership in one possessive type given that some nouns that cannot be physically removed from a person, such as body parts like *nanat-* ‘eye’, may accept the *-aC* suffix while *nabalak-* ‘leg’ enters into the *-oC* possessive type. Kinship terms such as *jokh-* ‘uncle’ accepts the *-oC* suffix type while *mer-* ‘mother’ takes the *-ak* suffix type and *nokhod-* ‘grandchild’ accepts the *-uk* suffix type. Nouns that are physically disconnected from a person’s body, such as *natan* ‘land’, take the *-oC* possessive suffix, while *naute* ‘garden’ takes the *-aC* possessive suffix type. Given these idiosyncrasies and limited data, it is difficult to ascertain the grounds for membership within one suffix type.

Evidently, the structure of direct possessive relationships is based on possessum + possessor order whereby the possessor is affixed onto the possessum noun. The referent of the possessor suffix is already established previously in the discourse or is retrievable from context due to its high saliency. This is shown in example (4.79) where the possessed common noun, which is a body part, has the possessor indicated by the 1sg possessive suffix *-ak*, whose referent has already been established previously in the discourse.

- 4.79 *Nam’at-ak* Ø-*ti-nial*.
 eye-1SG:POSS 3SG:REAL-ASP-red
 ‘My eye was red.’
 (Fieldnotes, elicitation)

A locative common noun may also be directly possessed, as shown in (4.80). Here, the possessor is expressed via the proper noun *Bernar*, occupying the slot directly after the possessed locational noun *lemen*. As shown in §2.5.2.3.3, the /a/ vowel in the second syllable of a directly possessed noun in the third person is raised to /e/ when the possessor is expressed as a lexical noun phrase object. In this respect, example (4.80) contrasts with (4.81) where the possessor is expressed via the 3sg possessive suffix *-n* whose referent is co-referential with that of the 3sg pronoun *khai* functioning as the subject of the clause. In example (4.80), the 3sg possessive suffix is co-referential with the proper noun *Bernar*.

- 4.80 *Rri-ma, ma Senbokhas khe, nasal Ø-van*
3PL:REAL-come DIR Senbokhas DEM road 3SG:REAL-go
‘We come till we reach Senbokhas, a road’
maro, v’an lem-en Bernar.
up DIR house:LOC-3SGPOSS Bernar.
goes up, it goes to Bernard’s house.’
(2012_08_22 anhy01005 00:00:24.000-00:00:30.000 natural text)

- 4.81 *Khai Ø-khro buro lem-an.*
3SG 3SG:REAL-stay GENMOD LOC:house-3SG:POSS
‘He just stayed at his house.’
(2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:12:52.000-00:12:56.000 natural text)

A bound possessive suffix may also be directly attached to a head noun, which may be a kinship term. This is illustrated in (4.82) where the referent of the possessor, expressed via the 1SG possessive suffix, is co-referential with that of the 1SG independent pronoun *khina*.

- 4.82 *Khina na-uk Ø-ti-nas di.*
1SG husband-1SG:POSS 3SG:REAL-ASP-die already
‘As for me, my husband has died already.’
(2012_05_16 obanhy01005 00:05:30.000-00:05:32.000 natural text)

Possessive suffixes are also attached to head nouns that refer to things produced by a human. This is illustrated in (4.83), where the noun *nale* ‘language’ is directly possessed. The possessor, indicated by the 3PL possessive suffix, is co-referential with the referent of the 1PL independent pronoun, which is functioning as the subject of the clause.

4.83 *Rri-ba-rej-rej* *khin* *nale* *renran* *ma*
 3PL:REAL-POT-REDUP-speak PREP I language always DIR
 ‘We should speak the language always up till now,

khai *ba-nakis*, *be* *nekrre* *rri-s-be-rej-te*
 3SG POT-good CONJ 1PLINCL 1PLINCL-IRR-NEG I-NEG2
 that would be better, but as for us, we do not speak

nelie-rr.

language-1PL:POSS

our language.’

(Fieldnotes, natural text)

4.5.8.2 Indirectly possessed nouns

As stated at the beginning of this subsection, indirect possessive relationships are expressed by means of relational classifiers that occur post-nominally. Contrasting with direct possessive relationships where possessive suffixes are attached to the head noun, indirect possession has the possessive suffixes attaching to the relational classifiers. Indirect possessive relationships are, therefore, expressed by way of POSSESSUM + RELATIONAL CLASSIFIER + POSSESSOR. These relational classifiers indicate whether the noun being possessed is edible, drinkable or none of the two, while the possessive suffix indicates the owner(s) of the noun(s) being possessed.

Nese makes the distinction between four relational classifiers that are based on the roots, *rr-*, *m-*, *jin-* and *s-*. The latter two roots are used for possession of general items while *rr-* is used for possession of food items meant for eating and *m-* is used for liquids meant for drinking. The forms of these relational classifiers slightly contrast, albeit having similar functions, with those proposed in Takau (2016) where they appear in the forms *rra-*, *ma-* and *sa-*, while Crowley (2006c) proposes two paradigms of indirect possessive suffixes based on the roots *sa-* and *jin-*, which can be used interchangeably. The set of possessive suffixes that are attached to these roots and the relational classifiers are presented in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6: Relational classifiers

Person/ number	Relational classifier			
	General possession		Possession of liquids intended for drinking	Possession of food intended for eating
	<i>jin-</i>	<i>s-</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>rr-</i>
1SG	<i>jin-a</i>	<i>s-ak</i>	<i>m-ak</i>	<i>rr-ak</i>
2SG	<i>jin-okh</i>	<i>s-am</i>	<i>m-am</i>	<i>rr-am</i>
3SG	<i>jin-i</i>	<i>s-an</i>	<i>m-an,</i>	<i>rr-an</i>
1PL INCL	<i>jin-krre</i>	<i>s-arr</i>	<i>m-arr</i>	<i>rr-arr, rrin-krre</i>
1PL EXCL	<i>jin kanan</i>	<i>s-anan</i>	<i>m-anan</i>	<i>rr-anan</i>
2PL	<i>jin kam'i</i>	<i>s-am'i, sa-ni</i>	<i>m-ani</i>	<i>rr-am'i/ r-ani</i>
3PL	<i>jin-err</i>	<i>s-arr</i>	<i>min-err</i>	<i>rr-arr</i>

Table 4.6 shows that there is a uniform pattern running through the possessive suffix paradigms in all persons and numbers for the relational classifiers *s-*, *m-* and *rr-*, with the exception of *jin-*. The paradigm for *jin-* differs from the other three paradigms in a few respects. Firstly, the 1SG possessive suffix is *-a*, instead of *-ak*. Similarly, the 2SG possessive suffix is *-okh* rather than *-am*. In the 1PL EXCL form, *jin-* utilises the 1PL EXCL independent pronoun instead of any possessive suffixes, while the other three relational classifiers employ possessive suffixes, whose phonological shapes are identical and they resemble part of the 1PL EXCL independent pronoun *-anan* (cf. §3.4 Table 3.17).

4.5.8.2.1 Relational classifier *rr-*

The use of *rr-* to indicate possession of an item meant for eating is illustrated in (4.84).

- 4.84 Ø-*Ti-ve* *ale* *khunokh* *ma* *tekh* *nobungon*
 3SG:REAL-ASP-say CONJ 2SG come take half
 ‘She said, “Ok you come and take this left over bit
nabov rr-ak khe waj-i.
 Chinese.yam CLED-1SG:POSS DEM eat-3SGOBJ
 of my Chinese yam and eat it”.’
 (2012_05_16 obanhv01005 00:02:30.000-00:02:45.000 natural text)

In Nese, *rr-* is strictly used as a classifier associated with edible items that are meant for eating since it is possible that some food items, such as coconut, may be used for other purposes apart from eating. This is illustrated in (4.85), where the classifier for possession of general items is used to indicate possession of a food item.

- 4.85 *Nobukhas* *khai* *Ø-ti-v'an* *Ø-woj* *maniok*
 pig 3SG 3SG:REAL-ASP-go 3SG:REAL-eat manioc
 'The pig went and ate all our

s-anan.

CLGEN:1 PLEXCL:POSS

manioc.'

(2012_05_16 obanhy01003 00:05:57.000-00:06:02.000 natural text)

In (4.85), the classifier for general items that is based on the root *s-* is used instead of the classifier that is used for edible items because that particular food item is still in the garden and there is no clear indication yet whether it is meant for eating.

In terms of the syntax of this particular possessive construction, the possessum occurs in the slot before the classifier *rr-* to which the possessor, expressed in the form of an affix, is attached. The possessum and classifier combination is tightly bound, making no allowances for any intervening entity. As shown in example (4.84), the possessum may be a compound noun phrase *nobungon nabov* or it may be a single noun phrase such as *maniok* in (4.85). In (4.85), the referent of the possessor, expressed via the 1SG possessor suffix *-ak* is co-referential with that of the 3PL subject pro-index affixed to the verb *ve* in the main clause. The possessor may also be expressed via a lexical noun phrase as in *tejiblakh* in (4.86). In such cases, the 3SG possessor suffix is obligatorily attached to the possessive classifier and, interestingly, there is a mismatch with the number feature of possessor suffix and the plural noun phrase *tejiblakh*.

- 4.86 *Ne-ve* *Ø-se-v'an* *vele* *Ø-se-woj*
 3SG:REAL-say 3SG-IRR-go sadly 3SG-IRR-eat
 'I said he's sadly going to eat
- norrian* ***rr-in*** ***tejiblahk.***
 food CLED-3SG:POSS children
 the children's food.'
- (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:37:56.000-00:37:59.000 natural text)

4.5.8.2.2 Relational classifiers *s-* and *jin-*

As stated earlier in this subsection, the relational classifiers *s-* and *jin-* can be used interchangeably. This flexibility is illustrated in (4.87) where the possession of coconuts is expressed with the relational classifier *jin-*, which is the relational classifier used for possession of general items.

- 4.87 *Benanev* *bir-ma,* *bir-ma* *Lerrongrrong.*
 yesterday 1PLEXCL:REAL-come 1PLEXCL:REAL-come Lerrongrrong
 'Yesterday, we came, we came to Lerrongrrong.
- Bir-v'an* *bir-kij*
 1PLEXCL:REAL-go 1PLEXCL:REAL-remove inner part of coconut
 We went and we removed the inner flesh of
- nani* ***jin*** *Mosli.*
 coconut POSS Mosli
 the coconuts which belong to Mosli.'
- (2011_12_21 obro01003 00:00:00.000-00:00:10.000 natural text)

Even though coconut is an edible item, the relational classifier used for possession of general items is used instead in (4.87). This is because the coconuts are intended for copra and not for eating. As shown in (4.87), when a possessor is expressed as a full lexical noun phrase, the possessor suffix is not used. In (4.88), the coconuts referred to here are those in the coconut plantations that will be used for copra and the general classifier *s-* is used.

- 4.88 *Khina naleng je-kliaik kele nani s-ak*
 1SG maybe 1SG:IRR-look for again coconut CLGEN-1SG:POSS
 ‘As for me, maybe I’ll go look for my coconuts again
ev’an vila.
 there down towards the sea
 there down towards the sea.’
 (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:58:12.000-00:58:16.000 natural text)

A comparison of examples (4.87) and (4.88) clearly show that *s-* and *jin-* are used interchangeably for edible items not meant for eating, since although references were made to edible plant items in both examples, the possessive root *jin-* is used in one example while *s-* is used in the other.

The relational classifiers used for possession of general items are *jin-* and *sa-*, their forms having been presented in Table 4.6. The difference between the distributions of these two classifiers is not clear at this stage. To begin with, both classifiers may be used to express possession of inanimate items. This is illustrated in (4.89) and (4.90).

- 4.89 *Bir-v’an rengen nuak velvele jin tojan sakhal.*
 1PLEXCL:REAL-go LOC boat small POSS Atchin one
 ‘We went in a small boat belonging to a man from Atchin.’
 (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 01:03:15.000-00:03:19.000 natural text)
- 4.90 *Khar re-ve, mobael s-ak khe*
 3PL 3PL:REAL-say mobile CLGEN-1SG:POSS DEM
 ‘They said, “that mobile of mine
Ø-sat. khe
 3SG:REAL-be.bad DEM
 is really bad”.’
 (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:33:08.000-00:33:11.000 natural text)

In examples (4.89) and (4.90), both nouns are inanimate and are introduced items of foreign origin. Animacy cannot be used as a distinguishing criterion between the two relational classifiers *jin-* and *s-* since, as illustrated in (4.91) and (4.92), both can be used to express possession of animate items.

In example (4.89), the possessor is expressed as a singular lexical noun phrase *tojan sakhal* and there is no suffix attached to the relational classifier *jin-*, whose referent is co-referential with the noun phrase *tojan sakhal*. This contrasts with lexical noun phrases occurring in complement positions to other relational classifiers such as *m-*, *rr-* and *s-* where the 3SG possessive suffix obligatorily attaches to the relational classifier.

- 4.91 *Khina ne-v'an khe, j-be-les-te nobolokv'at*
 1SG 1SG:REAL-go DEM 1SG:IRR-NEG I-see-NEG2 COW
 'I went but did not see my cow
s-ak ev'an.
 CLGEN-1SG:POSS there
 there.'
 (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:06:31.000-00:06:35.000 natural text)

- 4.92 *No-kol tev'et velvele khe jin Patrik.*
 1SG:REAL-carry woman small DEM POSS Patrick.
 'I carried that little girl, who is Patrick's.'
 (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:40:16.000-00:40:20.000 natural text)

In (4.91), the possession of the animate item 'cow' is expressed by the general relational classifier *sa-*. In (4.92), the possessed item is expressed by the animate common noun phrase *tev'et* 'woman'.

Under the possessive paradigm based on the *s-* root, when a third person referent is the possessor the form *s-an* or *s-en* is used (cf. §2.5.2.3.4). When the former is used, the possessor is implied, given that it may have already occurred in an antecedent clause or is highly salient in discourse. This is shown in (4.93).

- 4.93 *Bubu s-an, nenerrnarr Ø-nas.*
 Grandfather CLGEN-3SG:POSS male 3SG:REAL-die
 'His grandfather, the male one, he died.'
 (2014_01_19 00:35:26.000-00:35:28.000 natural text)

However, when *s-en* is used, the possessor is explicitly expressed via a lexical noun phrase, which occupies the position immediately after the classifier, as shown in (4.94).

- 4.94 *Ale* *kanan* *bir-ti-lol* *iekhe,*
 CONJ 1 PLEXCL 1 PLEXCL:EXCL-ASP-stay DEM:LOC
 ‘And we stayed here,

navro, *navro* *s-en* *takharr* *Ø-ti-ma*
 war war CLGEN-3SG:POSS whiteman 3SG:REAL-ASP-come
 the war, the whiteman’s war came.’
 (2012_06_19 obfaha01001 00:00:03.000-00:00:10.000 natural text)

In (4.94), the referent of the 3SG possessive suffix *-en* is the same as that of the noun *takharr* ‘whiteman’ and it is only in this context that the possessor is required to be explicitly stated in the position after the possessive classifier.

It is highly probable that the relational classifier based on the root *s-* is a reflex of either Proto Oceanic general classifier **sa* (Ross, 1988, p. 185) or the Proto Oceanic **ta*, a morpheme that functioned as a locative and possessive preposition, although it was the only POc preposition that took possessive suffixes (Lynch et al., 2011, p. 79). Lynch et al. further argue that in present Oceanic languages, reflexes of **ta* are used either as ‘the only marker of indirect possessive classifiers, or it is used as **an alternative to the language’s possessive classifier**’ (p. 79, emphasis added). Given that in Nese items meant for eating and drinking have possessive relational classifiers to which they are assigned, the relational classifier *s-* is perhaps the alternative classifier used for possession of items that are not covered by *rr-* and *m-*. This, however, does not explain the fact that *s-* may be used interchangeably with *jin-*.

The status of *jin-* as solely a relational classifier in Nese is debatable. Firstly, as illustrated in (4.95) and (4.96), *jin-* has a preposition-like function with the meaning ‘from’ or ‘to’.

- 4.95 *Khai* *vol-i* *jin* *Severine.*
 3SG buy-3SGOBJ POSS Severine
 ‘She bought it from Severine.’
 (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:04:04.000-00:04:06.000 natural text)

- 4.96 *Ne-v'an* *v'an* ***jin*** *Pasta* *Roy*.
 1SG:REAL-go DIR POSS Pastor Roy
 'I went to Pastor Roy.'
 (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:04:34.000-00:04:35.000 natural text)

Given that *jin-* cannot be a reflex of Proto Oceanic *ta, it is probable that it originated as a verbal preposition with benefactive and dative functions (amongst other plausible functions) and these functions were later extended to include possessive relationships in Nese, in particular involving possession of general items.

The examples used thus far in relation to *jin-* are those in which the possessor is a full noun phrase and the possessed item is also a full noun phrase.

- 4.97 *Nekrre* *rru* *rri-si-v'an* *rri-si-lev* *netenge* *mandarin*
 1PLEXCL two 1PLEXCL-IRR-go 1PLEXCL-IRR-take thing mandarins
 'The two of us, we'll go and take, what's that, our
jin-krre.
 CLGEN-1PLEXCL:POSS
 mandarins.'
 (2012_07_05 naaksi01001 00:04:34.000-00:04:35.000 natural text)

In example (4.97), the possessed noun is the mandarins and the possessor is expressed by the 1PL EXCL possessor suffix, which is affixed to the relational classifier *jin-*. The reason why *rr-* is not used in this context is because the immediate purpose of collecting the mandarins is for selling rather than for eating.

4.5.8.2.3 Relational classifier *m-*

The relational classifier used for items meant for drinking is based on the root *m-*. This is illustrated in (4.98) where water meant for drinking is used in connection with the relational classifier *m-*.

- 4.98 *Ma* *num* *nua* ***m-am***.
 come drink water CLLIQ-2SG:POSS
 'Come drink your water.'
 (Fieldnotes, elicitation)

This relationship in which food items meant for eating are distinguished from food items not meant for eating is also evident in the possessive divide between liquids that are meant for drinking and those not used for drinking. If water is fetched for washing clothes, the general relational classifier *jin-* is used; however, if it is fetched for drinking the classifier *m-* is employed.

In (4.98), the referent of the 2SG possessive suffix is not present within the clause and has already been established in discourse. In (4.99), the possessor is expressed via the 3SG possessive suffix *-an* and it is co-referential with the referent of the 3SG possessive suffix *-ne* in the noun phrase *meren natne*, both of which are co-referential with the proper noun *Rodrik*, which has been established prior in discourse.

- 4.99 *Mer-en* *nat-ne* *khai* *Ø-vol* *nua* *m-an*
 mother- child- 3SG 3SG:REAL-buy water CLLIQ-3SG:POSS
 3SG:POSS 3SG:POSS
 ‘His child’s mother she bought his alcohol.’
 (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:55:41.000-00:55:44.000 natural text)

When the possessor is a lexical noun phrase, it occupies the position after the relational classifier, as shown in (4.100), and it is co-referential with the referent of the 3SG possessive suffix attached to the relational classifier.

- 4.100 *Nua* *m-in* *lekhterr* *kbe*.
 Water CLLIQ-3SG:POSS woman DEM
 ‘That woman’s water.’
 (2012_08_22 elanhy01001 00:05:01.000-00:05:07.000 elicitation)

4.5.8.3 Associative *nan*

Lastly, Nese uses the associative *nan* for possessive-like relationships in which both the possessor and possessee are lexical noun phrases. When *nan* is used, the possessee lexical noun phrase has already been mentioned in a previous clause; however, the usage of its raised variant *nen* is triggered by the presence of the possessor noun phrase occurring immediately after associative *nan*. This is illustrated in (4.101).

- 4.101 *Ru-tu-jor* *khin* *nejor* *jin-er*,
 3PLEXCL:REAL-ASP-shoot PREP I rifle CLGEN-3PL:POSS
 ‘They were shooting with their rifles,
kho-les *nies nakhab’ nan*,...
 2SG:REAL-see smoke ASSOC
 you see the smoke of the rifles...’
 (2012_06_19 obfaha01001 00:00:22.000-00:00:32.000 natural text)

In (4.101), the referent in associative *nan* is co-referential with that of the lexical noun phrase *nejor jinerr* ‘their rifles’ in the previous clause. There are only two instances in the data of *nan* occurring in this context. In this case, it is clear that the use of the associative semantically denotes a relationship of ‘ownership’, the possessor being a generic or non-specific noun phrase.

When the *nen* variant of the associative marker is used, the possessor noun phrase occurs immediately after the associative marker, as illustrated in (4.102).

- 4.102 *Ale* *bir-v'an* *maro, re-bet* *norrian* *nen*
 CONJ 1PLEXCL:REAL-go up 3PL:REAL-make food ASSOC
 ‘Then we went up and they made food for the
dakho.
 circumcision
 circumcision.’
 (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:30:56.000-00:31:00.000 natural text)

The non-specific possessor noun phrase *dakho* ‘circumcision’ modifies the referent noun phrase *norrian*, specifying the type of food being prepared. There is an additional purposive meaning that can be inferred from the associative construction in (4.102) in that the food has the purpose of being used in circumcision. This purposive denotation is perhaps more evident in (4.103), where the Bislama-borrowed noun phrase *yis* ‘yeast’ that is kept specifically for bread making has been used for making home-made brew instead.

- 4.103 *Yis nen bred khe khar ro-num-u.*
 Yeast ASSOC bread DEM 3PL 3PL:REAL-drink-3SGOBJ
 ‘That yeast for the bread, they drank it.’
 (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:51:54.000-00:51:48.000 natural text)

The form *nan* is perhaps a reflex of the Proto Oceanic morpheme *ni*, which is used to express possessive relationships where the possessor was non-specific (Lynch et al., 2011, p. 77).

The patterning of the constituents within an associative construction contrasts with that exhibited by possessive relationships expressed by the general relational classifier *jin-*, in that the lexical noun phrase preceding the relational classifier-suffix sequence is the possessed noun and the possessor occurs after the possessive relational classifier-suffix sequence (cf. example 4.92).

4.5.9 Relative clauses

Heads of noun phrases in Nese may also be modified by a relative clause introduced by the subordinator *te*. Further discussion of relative clauses is presented in §7.5.2. Common nouns are the only types of heads of noun phrases that may be modified by relative clauses. This is shown in examples (4.104) and (4.105).

- 4.104 *So tete min norrian te khai Ø-ti-tokh.*
 Thanks father PREP2 food SUB 3SG 3SG:REAL-ASP-exist
 ‘Thank you father for the food which is here.’
 (2012_06_12 obaksi01001 00:11:19.000-00:11:22.000 natural text)

- 4.105 *Rri-ti-tekh norrurr te Merika*
 3PL:REAL-ASP-take clothes SUB America
 ‘We took the clothes that the Americans

Ø-ti-vreng-i.

3SG:REAL-ASP-throw-3SGOBJ
 threw.’

(2012_06_09 obfaha01003 00:00:06.000-00:00:11.000 natural text)

4.5.10 General modifiers

The lexemes classed as general modifiers are *buro* and *wor*. As stated in §3.16, these two lexemes may function both as modifiers of the verb complex and the noun phrase. When *wor* modifies a head noun, it denotes ‘alone’ and *buro* signifies ‘only’, ‘just’ or ‘alone’. Both modifiers occupy a post-nominal position.

The general modifier *wor* may modify a proper noun functioning as the head of a noun phrase in topic position, as illustrated in (4.106).

- 4.106 *Lana wor khai Ø-se-rongvuson-i*
 Lana GENMOD 3SG 3SG-IRR-understand-3SGOBJ
 ‘Only Lana she knows it.’
 (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:07:47.000-00:07:49.000 natural text)

Wor may also modify a common noun functioning as head of a noun phrase, as shown in (4.107), where it occupies a post-nominal position and is modifying the common noun *lokvusbuak* functioning as the subject of the verbal predicate.

- 4.107 *Lokvusbuak wor Ø-nakis Ø-nakis Ø-nakis!*
 Laplap taro GENMOD 3SG:REAL-good 3SG:REAL-good 3SG:REAL-good
 ‘Laplap taro alone is good, good, good!’
 (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:22:04.000-00:22:07.000 natural text)

The general modifier *buro* may modify heads of noun phrases that are common nouns in object position, as illustrated in (4.108).

- 4.108 *Khai Ø-rong te ba-num nanalokh buru.*
 3SG 3SG:REAL-want SUB POT-drink kava GENMOD
 ‘He wants to drink kava only.’
 (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:11:23.000-00:11:26.000 natural text)

It may also modify a noun phrase composed of an independent pronoun conjoined with an object pro-index, as exemplified in (4.109), where the noun phrase in subject position is modified by *buro*.

- 4.109 *Kanan min-i buru bur-worr.*
 1PLEXCL PREP2-3SGOBJ GENMOD 1PLEXCL:REAL-eat
 ‘It was just us and him who ate.’
 (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:02:21.000-00:02:22.000 natural text)

In (4.111), the speaker uses the 2PL independent pronoun to introduce a new participant. Reference to the 2PL referent is made by way of the corresponding subject cross-indexes up to the point where another participant is introduced, expressed by the 1SG independent pronoun. The 1SG referent is then again expressed by the corresponding subject cross-indexes. In the discourse text, the 1SG independent pronoun has previously been employed; however, since it has not been a participant in the immediately previous discourse, it is imperative that the independent pronoun be used in order to establish its re-entry in the discourse. Example (4.111) also shows that when there is no need to make a contrast between the participants, the subject cross-indexes are used; however, when contrast is needed, the independent pronouns are used to establish the contrast.

In addition to these two preverbal nominal elements, a full lexical noun phrase can co-occur in conjunction with an independent pronoun and a subject cross-index as shown in *teverik* ‘men’ in (4.112).

- 4.112 *Ale **teverik khe** **khar** re-v'an re-ve ru-su-num*
 CONJ men DEM 3PL 3PL:REAL-go 3PL:REAL-say 3PL-IRR-drink
 ‘Then these men they went and they said, “we will drink
 nanalokh.
 kava
 kava”.’
 (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:01:35.000-00:01:38.000 natural text)

In (4.112), the left dislocated full noun phrase *teverik khe* ‘these men’ establishes the participant as the topic, co-occurring with both the 3PL independent pronoun, which is the subject NP, and the obligatory 3PL subject cross-index. In this context, the 3PL independent pronoun is used for emphatic purposes. Its absence would have rendered the construction less emphatic and this, therefore, implies that independent pronouns have a more prominent discourse role.

The lexical noun phrase *teverik khe* occupies a clause external position that is typically reserved for topics. It cannot be analysed as the subject because this position is also the landing spot for dislocated objects whose trace is expressed in the clause by way of an object pro-index. This is illustrated in (4.113), where the clause external *nanalokh khe* has the same referent as the clause internal 3SG object pro-index rather than the 3SG subject pronoun *khai*.

- 4.113 *Nanalokh khe khai Ø-num-u benanev.*
 Kava DEM 3SG 3SG:REAL-drink-3SGOBJ yesterday
 ‘This kava, he drank it yesterday.’
 (Fieldnotes, elicitation)

In Nese this discourse role is not restricted to reference tracking but also extends to the tracking of a meaning encoded in a particular verb in a previous clause, as is evident in (4.114). This example highlights this extended discourse function in the use of the 1SG independent pronoun.

- 4.114 [*Khina ne-najnge te Ø-ma akaev Ø-ma*
 1SG 1SG:REAL-agree SUB 3SG:REAL-come archive 3SG:REAL-come
 ‘I agree for it to come, the archive is coming
- Ø-se-tekh ral-ok.]^{a1} [Khina ne-yat khe.]^{b1}*
 3SG-IRR-take voice-1SG:POSS 1SG 1SG:REAL-stay DEM
 it’s going to take my voice (my voice will be recorded). I stay here.
- [Khina neng s-ak Annie Hymak.]^{c1} [Ne-yat*
 1SG name CLGEN-1SG:POSS Annie Hymak 1SG:REAL-sit
 My name is Annie Hymak. I stay
- rengen nev’enu-ak Senbokhas...]^{b2} [ne-najnge te*
 LOC place-1SG:POSS Senbokhas 1SG:REAL-agree SUB
 my place Senbokhas. I agree that
- Ø-se-tekh ral-ok...]^{a2}*
 3SG-IRR-take voice-1SG:POSS
 it’s going to take my voice (record my voice).’
 (2012_05_16 obanhy01001 00:00:00.000-00:00:33.500 natural text)

The construction bracketed as (a1) has both the 1SG independent pronoun and its counterpart 1SG subject cross-index and the verb in the main clause encodes the meaning of ‘agreeing’. The next intransitive clause (b1) has the intransitive verb ‘*yat*’ as the head verb meaning ‘stay’ or ‘live’ and in this clause the speaker is now talking about living in that particular location and, again, the independent pronoun and its counterpart subject cross-index co-occur. Given that Ariel (2009, p. 25) has proposed that the presence of reduced pronominal forms, such as the 1SG subject cross-

index in Nese, corresponds to a higher degree of accessibility, compared to a full pronoun, which corresponds to a lower degree of accessibility (4.114), as it is present during conversation time, the repeated use of the independent 1SG pronoun (a1), (b1) and (c1) seems overly redundant. However, it is probable that the presence of the two noun phrases *akaev* 'archive' functioning as the subject of the subordinate clause in (a1) and *ralok* 'voice', which functions as the object of *tekh* 'take', have rendered the 1SG pronominal entity less accessible, and reference to the entity has to be made by the full pronoun as well as its corresponding subject cross-index.

The presence of the intervening full noun phrases cannot, however, be used to explain the re-occurrence of the 1SG independent pronoun given that there is no intervening full noun phrase in the intransitive clause labelled (b1) and the following clause labelled as (c1). Thus an explanation of the continuous use of the 1SG independent pronoun and its corresponding subject cross-index must be sought elsewhere.

As can be seen in example (4.114), the speaker tends to use the 1SG subject cross-index singly when the verb to which the subject cross-index is attached has occurred in a previous antecedent main clause. For example, in (a2) the speaker picks up again on the issue of agreeing to be recorded and only the 1SG subject cross-index is used. Similarly, in (b2) where the place of residence is mentioned again, it is only the subject cross-index that is used. This shows that the co-occurrence of the 1SG independent pronoun and its counterpart 1SG subject cross-index signal the introduction or emphasis of new information and the retrieval or development of this information further in the discourse is signalled by the occurrence of the 1SG subject cross-index occurring without its counterpart independent pronoun. This pattern is in fact pervasive throughout the text in which example (4.114) is taken. However, there is a need for further investigation in relation to the factors that trigger the presence of independent pronouns versus full noun phrases in discourse.

I have stated in §3.2 and §3.4 that nouns and independent pronouns function as heads of noun phrases. Therefore, the common nouns co-occurring with the 3PL independent pronoun in example (4.112) are considered as topicalised elements and the independent pronoun is analysed as the subject of the clause. This implies that Nese allocates clause initial position to topicalised elements, which could be noun phrases employed for emphatic or contrastive purposes. This analysis conforms

to that of the Proto Oceanic verb complex structure of which it has been claimed that topicalised arguments or adjuncts occupy preverbal position (Lynch et al., 2011, p. 86).

4.7 Nominalisation

Nouns may be derived from verbs by means of the nominalisation suffix attached to the verb stem. Nese employs the suffix *-ian* to nominalise a verb root. Figure 4.3 shows the position that the nominalising suffix occupies in relation to a verb stem.

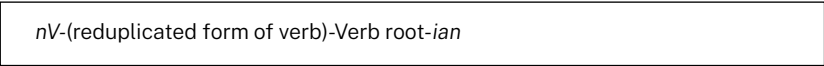


Figure 4.3: Nominalisation

All verbs require the presence of the residual Proto Oceanic common noun phrase prefix **na* and the Proto Oceanic general nominaliser **-an* (Lynch et al., 2011, pp. 70–71) in order to derive a nominalised noun phrase from a verb. Table 4.7 contains a list of some nominalised verbs.

Table 4.7: Examples of nominalised verbs

Nominalised verbs	Root verbs
<i>norojian</i> ‘sickness’	<i>roj</i> ‘to be sick’
<i>nemerjian</i> ‘old person’	<i>merje</i> ‘to grow old’
<i>nowakwakian</i> ‘the planting’	<i>wak</i> ‘to plant’
<i>neververian</i> ‘prayer’	<i>varvar</i> ‘to pray’
<i>neneturian</i> ‘the sleep’	<i>natur</i> ‘to sleep’
<i>novojokhian</i> ‘the gathering’	<i>vojokh</i> ‘to gather together’
<i>nenesian</i> ‘death’	<i>nas</i> ‘to die’
<i>nonorvoan</i> ‘life’	<i>norvo</i> ‘to live’
<i>nosobsobian</i> ‘the relating of a story’	<i>sob</i> ‘to relate a story’
<i>nosakhsakhian</i> ‘work’	<i>sakhsakh</i> ‘to work’

As shown in Table 4.7, both transitive verbs and intransitive verbs may be nominalised by the *nV*- prefix and *-ian* suffix. For example, intransitive *roj* ‘to be sick’ and transitive *wak* ‘to plant’ both employ *-ian* to derived their counterpart nominalised forms. The two transitive verbs *wak* ‘to plant’ and *sob* ‘to relate a story’ are both reduplicated. Since reduplication eliminates the object argument, it is perhaps necessary for such forms

to undergo reduplication as part of the nominalisation process. It is also evident from Table 4.7 that forms that are nominalised are susceptible to vowel raising as shown in *nenesian* ‘death’ (cf. §2.5.2.3.6).

There is evidence that the nominalised verbs may be indirectly possessed, as shown in (4.115) where the nominalised verb *norrrovokhian* ‘a play’ is indirectly possessed and occurring as a complement of the preposition *rengen* ‘in, at’.

- 4.115 *Tejiblahk* *khar* *ro-rrorrovokh* *rengen* ***norrrovokhian***
 children 3PL 3PL:REAL-play LOC play
 ‘The children were playing
s-arr *sakhal*.
 CLGEN:3PL:POSS one
 one of their games.’
 (2014_01_24 elanhy01001 00:09:04.000-00:09:09.000 natural text)

There is no evidence in the data to suggest that nominalised verbs can be directly possessed. As illustrated in (4.115), they may be the head of a noun phrase functioning as the complement of the true preposition *rengen*. Nominalised verbs may also be the heads of noun phrases functioning as the subject of an intransitive verb (4.116).

- 4.116 ***Nemerjian*** *re-nes* *jelekh*.
 Old people 3PL:REAL-die all
 ‘The old people died, all of them.’
 (2012_08_22 anhy01005 00:03:28.000-00:03:30.000 natural text)

They may be modified by demonstrative *khe* and forming a left dislocated noun phrase, such as *nemerjian khe* ‘that old man’ in (4.117), where the noun phrase is co-referential with the 3SG pronominal object functioning as the complement of the verbal preposition *min*.

- 4.117 ***Nemerjian*** *khe*, *kanan* *min-i* *bir-sukul*.
 Old person DEM 1PL:EXCL PREP2-3SGOBJ PREP2:REAL-school
 ‘That old person, us and him we went to school.’
 (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:12:14.000-00:12:19.000 natural text)

They may also function as objects of transitive verbs such as in (4.118), where not only is the noun phrase *norrian* ‘food’ the object of transitive *bat-* ‘to make’, but it can also be modified by the nominal modifier *lemje* ‘a lot’.

- 4.118 *Ri-bet* ***norrian*** *lemje*.
 3PL:EXCL-make food a.lot
 ‘They made a lot of food.’
 (2014_01_10 naanhy01001 00:15:00.000-00:15:00.000 natural text)

Moreover, they may occur in a compound noun phrase in a modifying position, ascribing some kind of quality to the noun they are modifying. This is illustrated in (4.119) where the nominalised verb *neneturian* ‘sleeping’ modifies *neren* ‘time’ resulting in ‘sleeping time’ or ‘time for sleeping’.

- 4.119 *Re-ve* ***neren*** ***neneturian*** *ale* Ø-*natur* *buro*.
 3PL:REAL-say time sleeping CONJ 3SG:REAL-sleep GENMOD
 ‘They said it’s sleeping time and so she just slept.’
 (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:13:49.000-00:13:53.000 natural text)

Lastly, nominalised verbs may participate in an associative construction in which they assume the possessor role, encoding a non-specific and generic quality. The noun phrase formed by the associative construction *tenge nen nenesian jelek* has the non-specific and generic noun *nenesian* ‘death’ modifying the noun phrase *tenge* ‘things’.

- 4.120 *Tenge* *kher* *khe* *tenge* *nen* ***nenesian*** *jelek*.
 thing 3PL DEM thing ASSOC death all
 ‘These things, they’re all things for death/dying.’
 (2014_01_19 naanhy01001 00:07:36.000-01:07:39.000 natural text)

In (4.120), the nominalised verb *nenesian* assigns the character or quality of ‘death/dying’ to the common noun *tenge* ‘thing’. There is no evidence in the data to suggest that a nominalised verb may be in the possessor role in an associative construction.

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