A Grammar of Siar,

An Oceanic Language of New Ireland Province, Papua New Guinea

Submitted by

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A thesis submitted in total fulfilment

of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Research Centre for Linguistic Typology (RCLT)

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June 2011

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Summary

This thesis is a descriptive grammar of Siar, a Western Oceanic language of New Ireland Province in Papua New Guinea. Siar is especially striking for its complex noun phrase structures and a rich and complex system of demonstratives. The Siar language has only been superficially described so far, and this thesis aims to provide more detailed analyses of the language structure. It describes the language on various levels of grammar, especially phonology, morphology and syntax. Some aspects of the grammar involve considering the language from a pragmatic point of view, and so the grammar also considers how the language is used in context. The thesis discusses aspects of the history of the language, its genetic affiliation and gives an overview of the Siar-speaking community and the geographical, social and cultural context in which the language is spoken.

Chapter 1 is an introductory chapter that discusses the sociocultural background of the Siar speakers, the geographic location and the location of Siar within the Oceanic language family, as well as the methodology used. A brief typological overview will also be provided. Chapter 2 discusses phonetics and phonology. Chapter 3 talks about the morphology of Siar. In Chapter 4, the Siar noun phrase (one of the most complex aspects of the language) is discussed. Chapter 5 is about adjectives and how they modify the noun phrase. Chapter 6 is about the verb phrase. Chapter 7 discusses the valency-changing mechanisms that can be observed in Siar. In chapter 8, the demonstrative system is investigated. Chapter 9 discusses prepositions. In chapter 10, the structure of the predicate is presented. Chapter 11 discusses verbless clauses and finally chapter 12 on interclausal relations concludes this thesis.

A draft of the Siar dictionary, an index of the collected stories as well as some interlinearized narratives will also be included with the thesis.

Statement of Authorship

Except where reference is made in the text of the thesis, this thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma.

No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgement in the main text of this thesis.

This thesis has not been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution.

The research procedures reported in this thesis were approved by the La Trobe University Human Ethics Committee (HEC # 760-08).

Friedel Martin Frowein

Acknowledgements

This thesis is a product of many circumstances and coincidences over the past 10 years. One of the unfortunate circumstances made me want to study linguistics. When I enrolled, I only knew I had a great interest in languages, but I did not know what exactly it meant and required to study language in general. So I took the plunge. Now, almost 10 years later, I find myself writing these acknowledgements for a PhD thesis in linguistics; and I am wondering how things would have turned out for me if I had not met all those people who made this possible. And I cannot think of anything that could have been more exciting than the experience I have been privileged to make and the knowledge I have been given over the past years. So I would like to use these pages to say "thank you".

I first wish to thank my great teachers at the Bergische Universität Wuppertal who introduced me to linguistics and who gave me the confidence to tackle such a difficult project. These include Stefan Engelberg, Joachim Jacobs, Natascha Müller, Elke Nowak, Gisa Rauh and Arndt Wigger, to name but a few. I am especially grateful to Natascha Müller and Arndt Wigger for recommending me to the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology (RCLT) at La Trobe University. Looking back, I also have to thank my former Turkish teacher Sevgi Braun for teaching me her beautiful language for almost three years, showing me that I need not be afraid of "exotic" languages. I would certainly have much less confidence working on an indigenous language of Papua New Guinea without this experience.

I am also very grateful to Bob Dixon and Sasha Aikhenvald who then invited me to come to RCLT and to do postgraduate studies on a scarcely described language. These studies were supported by an LTUPS scholarship from La Trobe University and an EIPRS scholarship from the Australian Government, which are both gratefully acknowledged. I had the privilege of learning many new facts about language from Bob and Sasha during the first half of my studies, and they both never failed to impress me with their linguistic knowledge.

Internal changes at RCLT then brought me together with new supervisors who accompanied me through the second half of my studies and in doing so made no less effort. Tonya Stebbins, Sheena Van Der Mark, Randy LaPolla and Anthony Jukes supported me greatly, each in their unique ways. Most of the chapters in this thesis

were written only shortly before submission, and my supervisors always made sure that I got feedback in a very short period of time. Due to my terrible time management I have failed to incorporate all of them the way they should be, which is why all the remaining mistakes of course remain my own. Tonya Stebbins, especially, sacrificed lots of time going through my work repeatedly in the very final stages (with me always adding new problems to make things more difficult for her) and making sure I had all the formalities sorted out in time.

Working at RCLT also brought me together with many other linguists working in different areas all around the world, and from them I have also learned many new aspects of language during talks as well as informal discussions. An extremely useful discussion group at RCLT was the ALIBI (Austronesian Languages in the Bismarck Islands) group, which comprised Sheena Van Der Mark, Jingyi Du, Dionysios Mertyris, Tonya Stebbins and myself. We met fortnightly over cookies, comparing specific grammatical features of "our" languages or discussing individual problems in a very informal way. Much of the discussion in that group has found its way into this thesis. With my office neighbour (and New Ireland neighbour) Jingyi Du I could always exchange ideas or discuss those "silly" questions we did not dare to ask the more experienced linguists.

There were also many other opportunities to share thoughts with other colleagues, including Rik De Busser, Paul Hastie, Birgit Hellwig, Gerd Jendraschek, Renée Lambert-Brétière, Anna Margetts, Stephen Morey, Simon Overall, Cindy Schneider, Yvonne Treis, Ian Tupper, Seino van Breugel, Roberto Zariquiey and Katarina Zombolou. Yvonne Treis was there for me when I fell sick with malaria after my return to Australia, and even past midnight, she would drive me to hospital and not return home without me. I am also grateful to her for introducing me to the Melbourne Bushwalkers, whose walks were always a lovely distraction from research. There were also plenty of funny or memorable moments, such as Henriette Daudey coming into my office and rewarding me with a package of chocolate biscuits, after one of those long nights in the office prior to submitting a PhD thesis. I would like to thank Siew-Peng Condon and Meifang Gu who always took care of administrative things and let me focus on my research, and who also made sure that I had a place to stay every time I came back to Melbourne. As directors of RCLT, Bob Dixon, Sasha Aikhenvald, Roger Wales, Randy LaPolla, Tonya Stebbins and Stephen Morey always

and my new sister Joanne for allowing me to stay in their rooms while living in Kavieng.

In the Siar area, I got support from so many people that it is impossible to list them all here. But I would like to thank in particular the Towo family in Lamassa for their love and help. Rison Towo not only told me many stories from the village but also looked after me regularly and was always there for a chat. Esty Towo always looked after me on my shopping tours to Kokopo and Rabaul, and being the boat operator he always made sure that we made it across the St George's Channel safe (and dry, if the weather allowed it). Melman, Uli, Markeles, Taibet and Charles Towo were also always there for me.

I was also lucky to live right next to Bolok village where I made many new friends. In the afternoons, after a bath in the river, the Todawe family (especially Len and Biki Todawe) and the family of Ephraim Noah would never let me pass their village without providing me some food, or without sharing the latest gossip with me. Othniel and Laimen Todawe were my best buddies in the village and always good for a chat or activities such as fishing.

I have recorded many stories from many people throughout the Siar area. In the Lamassa area, I would especially like to thank Ephraim Noah (my fable expert), Rison Towo (my history and culture expert), To Ariman, Laimen Todawe, Joyce Rison, Justin Pegi and Solomon Rison for sharing their stories. Boki Borom helped me a lot with the dictionary, and his excellent linguistic intuition is surely the reason why everyone considers him the best Siar speaker. Justin Pegi transcribed almost all stories with me and Allan Ephraim was my main consultant for the translation, and even that work was tedious, it was always me who got tired first. I also received help from Taibet Towo and Wesley Siam. Daniel Goro from Lambóm Island impressed me very much with his detailed stories about World War II (as well as his story about Kabatarai). In Malum Pirau, I recorded many stories from Kiapma Samuel, James Heri and from Petero. The best storyteller in Kampókpók was surely Chris, but Magret, Petra and many others also shared their stories with me. In Silur village, Jebson, Tonis, Makson and Stanley Tokam shared the most stories with me, and Joe told me the longest story of them all, talking for more than half an hour and thus providing me with a wealth of data and knowledge about Siar culture.

I would especially thank those people who were not afraid to sing for me. These include Daniel Goro from Lambóm (who sang in Japanese!), Gibson Pegi from Bolok, as well as Marylin, Soli Takau, Vanessa and Daphne Topin from Lamassa.

To those I have not mentioned, I have not forgotten anyone of you and you will always have a place in my heart.

Wakak kòl ón ép farnangan ap ón ép mamaris anun amat róp!

Finally, I would like to thank my father Herbert Frowein, who has been there for me all my life, and without whose permanent support I would never have made it to this point.

Für meinen Vater Herbert Friedrich Frowein,

zum Dank für Deine Liebe,
Deine Unterstützung,
und für Dein Vertrauen in mich,
zu jeder Zeit.

"Na a wòt kata an lakman ap a lóngrai ép warwar ngak i bèl ma i tòstòs. Ningan tó dèh, ép sósóból bèl ma i mórót ón tó warwar. Ap a inan ap a lóngrai ap kók kikilang laulau i wòt ta sup. A rak tik ta pukun kirai ép warwar ngak i él tarikis sòu. Ap ép warwar na él laulau róp sén, ap bèl ma ép warwar Siar mòmòl ana gau ón i da ép fanu."

"When I returned here to my village I heard that my language did not sound right. Sometimes there were lots of words from other languages. When I heard that, a bad feeling came up in me. I am expecting that my language will have changed completely some day. And when the language has changed completely it won't be the real Siar language anymore that is spoken here in our village."

Abbreviations and conventions

↻	clockwise (demonstrative)	INC	inclusive
↺	counterclockwise (demonstrative)	INCHO	inchoative (*són*)
1	first person	INDX	indexical demonstrative (*-è*)
2	second person	INJ	interjection
3	third person	INT	interrogative
ACAUS	anticausative (*ta-*)	INTENT	intentive
ADVS	adversative subord. (*sak*)	IRR	irrealis (*-l*)
ALL	allative demonstr. adverb	ITR	intransitive
ANA	anaphoric	LIG	ligature
-/+ ANIM	(in-)animate	LOC	demonstr. locative adverb
ART	article	MC	main clause
CL	possessive classifier	MULTI	multiplicative (numeral)
CO1	common 1 noun class	ORD	ordinal
CO2	common 2 noun class	PAU	paucal
COM	comitative	PERS.DEM	personal demonstrative
COMP	complementizer	PFV	perfective
CONF	confirmation request	PL	plural
CONT	container (poss. classifier)	PN	proper noun
COP	copula	POSS	possessive
-/+ COUNT	(un)countable noun	PRF	perfect
DEF	default possessive class	PRO	pronoun
DEM	demonstr. determiner / PRO	PROH	prohibitive (*góng*)
DESID	desiderative	PROP	proper noun class
DEX	existential demonstrative	PURP	purposive
DIM	diminutive	QTAG	question tag
DIR	direction	REC	reciprocal
DISTR	distributive	RED	reduplication
DU	dual	REFCT	refective
DURA	durative	REL	relational marker
EMPH	emphatic marker	REP	repetitive (*malik*)
EX	exclusive	RESTR	restrictive marker (*sa*)
FOC	event focus	SG	singular
FOOD	food (possessive classifier)	TEMP	temporarity
GOAL	goal role (preposition)	TR	transitive
HAB	habitual	TRANS	event transition (*ma*)

Table 1: Glossing abbreviations

*	ungrammatical; unattested proto-form	**PR**	predicate
(*x)	cannot be inserted	**PT**	patient
*(x)	cannot be deleted	**-/+ SPEC**	(non-)specific
AG	agent	**SUBJ**	subject
ENG	English	**SVC**	serial verb construction
HD	head	**TP**	Tok Pisin
NI	New Ireland	**VC**	verb complex
OBJ	object		

Table 2: Other abbreviations

Language data are presented in the following way:

(Example number in parentheses)

First line: Language data as transcribed from recorded speech or originally written.

Second line: Internal structure of the language data (analysis into smaller units (morphemes and clitics), optional bracketing and labelling of constituents and structures (e.g. [*ép pusi*]NP). Marking of borrowed words (e.g. *pusi*TP 'cat').

Third line: Glossing of each unit.

Fourth line: Free translation to English. These translations are designed to give a close correspondence in meaning to the original utterance. Idiomaticy is preferred for the translations because the accuracy of the translation can be inferred from the representation of the word in the fourth line.

Fifth line: Source and utterance number or sentence number. The initial letters represent the narrative. For example, **([LÓB [8])** means *"the eighth sentence in the story 'Lóbó Kapul' (Hunting wallabies)"*. A list of codes for the narratives can be found in Appendix A.

Example:

---

(7)	*Ép*	*pusi*	*adi'gau*		*ma*	*i*	*inan*	*it.*
	[ép	pusiTP]NP	[a-d-i(ng)]VP=gau		ma	i	inan	it
	ART:CO1	cat	DEX-DEM.SG-ANA=(t)here		TRANS	3.SG	go	DURA

'The cat was there now wandering around.'

(LÓB [8])

Hyphens indicate morpheme boundaries (e.g. *bala-k* 'stomach-1.SG.POSS'). Clitics and their phonological hosts are separated by equal marks (e.g. *i=an* '3.SG=go'). The only

Siar infix *<in>* is represented as if it were 'circumfixed' with the base it attaches to (e.g. *m<in>at* die-NOM-die 'death').

In the case of cliticizations, any omitted sounds or graphemes are put in round brackets in line 2, whereas they remain absent in the first line. Clitic forms are preceded or followed by an apostrophe, depending on whether the form is an enclitic or a proclitic. In the above example, the suffix *-ing* has been reduced to *-i*, and it is represented as *i'* in the first line and as *-i(ng)* in line 2.

Morphemes that have to be translated into English by more than one word are separated by periods (e.g. *parung* 'jump**.**in'). Dots within Siar words indicate syllable boundaries (e.g. *kin.ba.li* 'friend').

The articles *ép* and *a* can both mean 'the' or 'a', that is they are unspecified for definiteness. For the sake of convenience and transparency, only one of these translated articles is used instead of writing '*a / the x*' where a distinction is irrelevant. Both translations are only given when it is relevant to show the semantic ambiguity.

For the sake of simplicity, glosses and translations will not explicitly distinguish between masculine and feminine forms (e.g. *him/her*) in contexts where the sex of the referent is unclear. The masculine form will then be used as a default. Since sex is not represented grammatically in Siar, sentences may be ambiguous with regard to sex of the referent if isolated from context.

When quoting Siar data from other authors, their glossing is adapted to the system used in this thesis. If relevant, these adjustments are indicated in the text or in a footnote.

1   Introduction

1.1   The language and its environment

1.1.1   The Siar area

Siar is a language of Papua New Guinea. It is spoken in the southernmost part of New Ireland Province around Cape St George, as illustrated on the following maps:
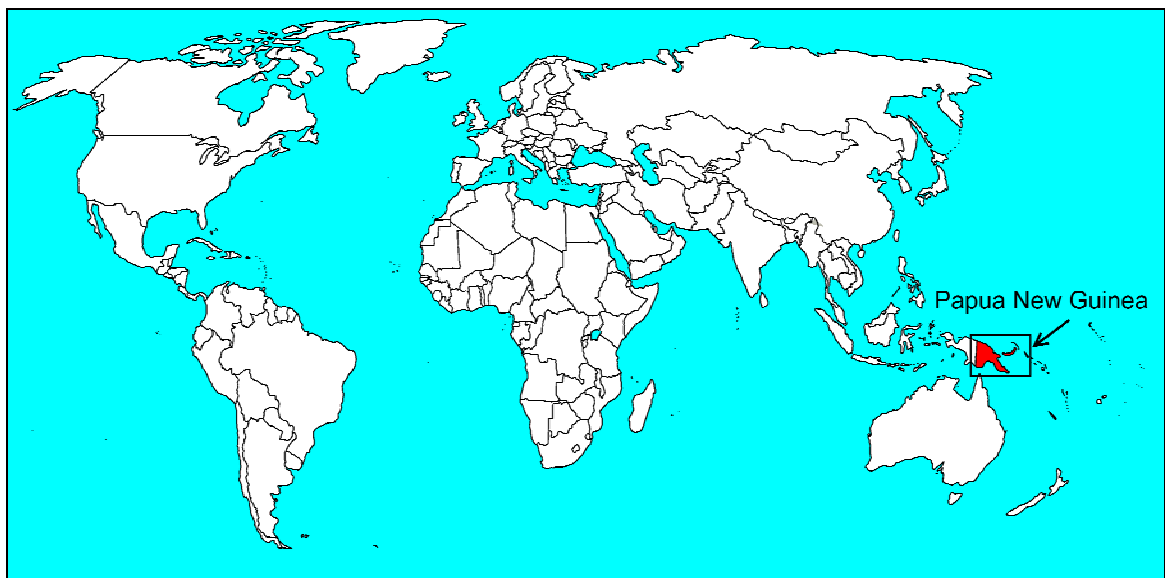
Map 1: Siar in the world
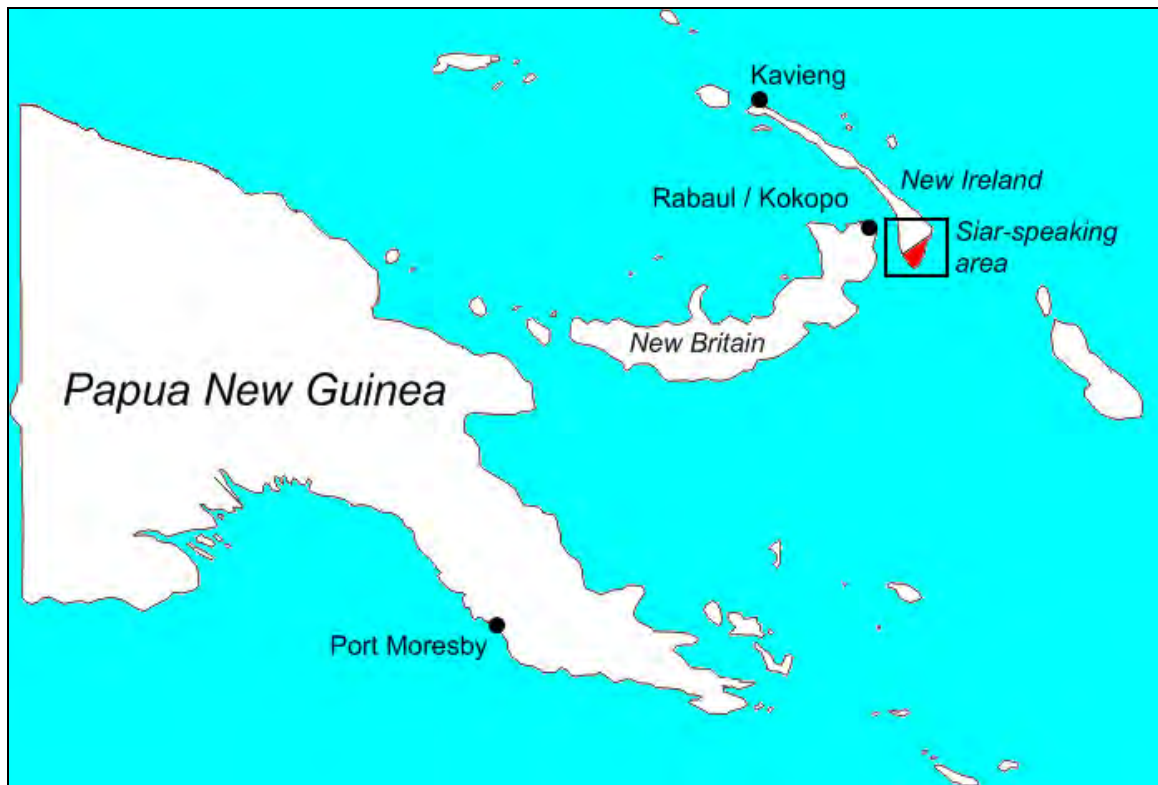
Map 2: Siar in Papua New Guinea

Map 3: The Siar-speaking area (language names in italics)

Siar is not spoken in the whole area indicated on Map 3. The interior of this area is mountainous and uninhabited, and villages are only located along the coastline or further inland but still close to the sea. The two islands in the southwest, Lamassa Island and Lambóm Island are also inhabited by Siar speakers. The northern border on the west coast is Kabóman village, in which the Kandas and Siar language boundaries meet. Reportedly, there are also a number of speakers of Ramoaaina and Lambel who live in this village. On the east coast, the Siar area stretches as far north as Rei village, in which Siar and its northern language neighbour Konomala are spoken.

1.1.2   Other languages in the area

The other languages spoken in southern New Ireland are Kandas, Lambel, Konomala, Tangga, Sursurunga and Patpatar. All of them are members the Patpatar-Tolai subgroup, which also includes the Ramoaaina language which is spoken on the Duke of York Islands to the west as well as Kuanua (Tolai) and Vinitiri (Minigir) even further west on the Gazelle Peninsula of East New Britain Province. There are 14 more languages spoken in northern and central New Ireland as well as on islands to the north and east. All languages in New Ireland are Austronesian (Oceanic) languages, the only exception being the Kuot language in the northern part of New Ireland which is a non-Austronesian language isolate.

Other languages in the area are the non-Austronesian languages of the Baining family which are spoken on the Gazelle Peninsula of East New Britain Province (Mali, Ura, Kairak, Kaket and Simbali). The Taulil language is spoken by the descendants of people who are assumed to have migrated to East New Britain from southern New Ireland (Stebbins 2009). The Sulka language is another non-Austronesian language, but its frequent contact with the Austronesian languages in the area has left its marks on it to an extent that has caused problems with its classification (Reesink 2005).

1.1.3   Genetic affiliation

The following genealogical tree for Siar is mostly based on Lynch et al. (2002), with a few minor changes on the local level as described below:

Austronesian (1258)

  Oceanic (507)

      Admiralties (31)

      Central/Eastern Oceanic (227)

      Western Oceanic linkage (237)

         North New Guinea linkage (105)

         Papuan Tip linkage (62)

         Meso-Melanesian linkage (70)

            Bali-Vitu (2)

            Willaumez linkage (4)

            New Ireland/Northwest Solomonic linkage (64)

               Tungak/Nalik family (6)

               Tabar linkage (2)

               Madak linkage (3)

               St George linkage (52)

                  Northwest Solomonic linkage

                  Patpatar-Tolai (12)

                     Patpatar

                     Sursurunga

                     Tangga (Tanga)

                     Konomala

                     Ramoaaina (Duke of York)

                     Kuanua (Tolai)

                     Bilur

                     Vinitiri (Minigir)

                     Cape St George Group

                        Kandas (Kadas)

                        Lambel (Label)

                        (*Guramalum* †)

                        Siar

Figure 1: The genealogical tree for Siar[1]

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[1] The tree is mostly based on Lynch et al. (2002). The numbers of languages were taken from Ethnologue.com (accessed on 07/06/2011).

All Austronesian languages of Papua New Guinea, including Siar, belong the Oceanic subgroup of Austronesian. The Austronesian language family stretches from Madagascar in the west to Hawai'i and the Easter Islands in the east, and it comprises about 1200 languages (with about 386 million speakers). Most Oceanic languages of New Britain, New Ireland and the Western Solomon Islands are associated with the Meso-Melanesian linkage, whereas other Oceanic languages of Papua New Guinea are associated with the Papuan Tip linkage, the North New Guinea linkage or the Admiralties Family. On a local level, Siar is a member of the Patpatar-Tolai subgroup which comprises languages of southern New Ireland Province and the Gazelle Peninsula of East New Britain (Lynch et al. 2002: 883). Siar is established as an autonomous language within that family (like Tangga, Sursurunga and Konomala), although it shares many similarities with the Kandas and Lambel languages. Siar speakers have pointed out to me that Kandas and Siar are mutually intelligible, but they insist they are separate languages. However, Lynch et al. place Label and Bilur in one subgroup, and Kandas and Ramoaaina in another. It is here tentatively proposed that Siar, Kandas and Lambel form a subgroup within the Patpatar-Tolai subgroup, which may also include the Guramalum language which is almost extinct and only spoken by a few speakers of Siar who have some passive knowledge.[2] This thesis will not present any evidence in favour of a subgroup with Siar, Kandas and Konomala (and Guramalum) though because the topic requires a more thorough and dedicated analysis that is beyond the scope of this thesis.

1.1.4 The name of the Siar language

The Siar language has been referred to in a variety of ways. Friederici (1912: 70) refers to it as *Lamassa*, which is the name of an island in the south-western part of the Siar area. This name is not a label for the language though and only signifies the area where it is spoken. This is why he also provides the alternative name *Lambom*, which is the name of the island further south, and which has also been visited frequently by explorers. Lamassa and Lambóm have always been attractive destinations for discoverers because the two areas provide excellent harbours for anchoring larger

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[2] This assumption is only based on statements by Siar speakers who have pointed out to me that the Guramalum language is very similar to Siar. It is clear that we need more comparative data in order to verify this hypothesis.

ships and have nearby fresh water sources. Graebner & Stephan (1907: 219) also refer to the language as *Lamassa* because the island was their primary base during their research in the area. Peekel (n.d.: 196) was the first to label the language itself, calling it *Siar*, although he does not discuss why he assigned this name. The name Siar is also used by Erdman (1991), Erdman & Goring (1992) and Ross (2002). Kingston makes the following note in his anthropological study of the Siar people:

```
"'Lak' [...] seems to be a relatively new term, deriving from
the indigenous word used to nominate another, in a friendly
fashion, without using their name. It probably gained the sense
of referring to the people who now live in the Lak Electorate
during the colonial period. Siar is in fact an older term for
the language and the group of people who speak it [...]
Unfortunately there are people who speak 'Siar' whose
traditions [...] would not be identified as Lak/Siar. I will in
fact use both terms largely synonymously, as do local people,
without, I hope, causing unwarranted confusion. Lak is
primarily an areal term and has become the most widely used
expression in local, administrative and anthropological
discourse. 'Siar' pre-dates and therefore is not limited by the
bureaucratic boundaries."
                                          (Kingston 1998: 70)
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The term *Lak* is also taken up by Rowe (2005), who refers to the language as *Siar-Lak*, pointing out that,

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"The language [...] is usually called Siar in the linguistic
literature [...]. However, some of the speakers reject this
name, as it refers to only one village on the east coast. The
name 'Lak' has been used to refer to the people, and is used as
a term of address between speakers of the language. Some
speakers, however, reject the name 'Lak' and prefer to refer to
the language as 'Siar' [...] The compound form 'Siar-Lak' is
therefore used in the title of this paper, although in the body
the language will simply be called 'Siar'. When speaking about
their language, the people refer to it as ep warwar anun dat,
literally 'our language'."
                                             (Rowe 2005: 1)
```

It is here proposed to refer to the language simply as *Siar*. This is done for four reasons. Firstly, the name *Siar* is also used in most previous works on Siar, as opposed to the name *Lak*. This allows for more consistency and avoids confusion when referring to the language.

Secondly, I have not met any people during my fieldtrips who would refer to their language as *Lak*, neither on the west coast nor on the east coast. It is of course plausible that some people might reject the name Siar because it only refers to one village on the east coast, but the number of these people must then be fairly low.

The third reason for naming the language Siar is that Siar village on the east coast was not always called Siar. According to the legend (as told to me by Chris from Kampókpók village in the Siar area), Siar village was originally called Siunai village. Near Siunai village there was a special nut tree that bore three different types of nuts with different colours.[3] The legend says that there was also a sea demon who would come out of the water with his children every now and then so they could dry themselves in the sun on top of that tree. The name of that demon was Siar. This means that the name of Siar village goes back to the name of that sea demon, and hence, the name of the Siar language also goes back to the name of that demon. This means that, given the whole history of the name *Siar*, the Siar language is ultimately not only named after a specific village on the east coast.

A fourth reason for not using the name *Lak* is a more practical one because there is also a Caucasian language called Lak with some 100,000 speakers.[4]

1.1.5   Dialects

Two dialects of Siar can be distinguished: west coast Siar and east coast Siar. This division is an oversimplification though because there are also some villages along the southern part of the east coast in which the west coast dialect is spoken. I have not been able to get language data from all villages, but a preliminary geographic distribution of the two dialects is shown on the following map:

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[3] In fact, the tree is still said to exist.
[4] Anonymous 2011
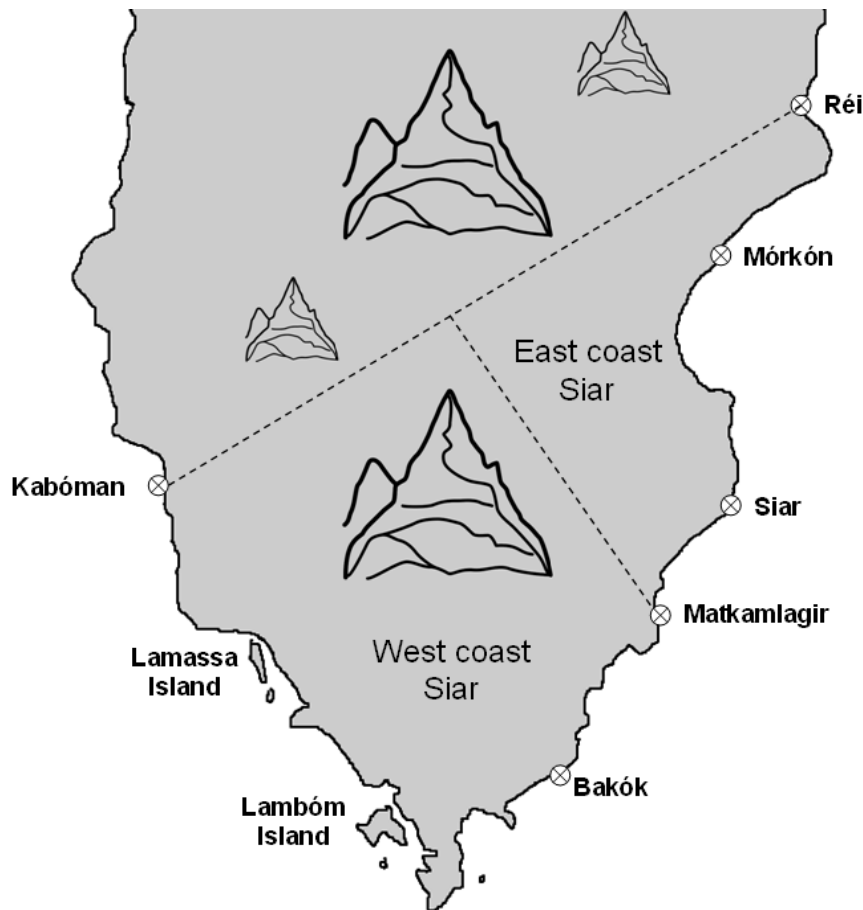
Map 4: Distribution of the two Siar dialects (rough outline only)

There is no abrupt change of dialect in Matkamlagir village but rather a turning point in a fluent transition. In addition, there is frequent contact between the villages on the east coast that has seems to have caused at least some dialect levelling, and one will often hear people use different dialects in the same village.

The main reason for the emergence of the two dialects is that there is a geographical separation between the two coasts. Since the interior of the Siar area is mountainous and difficult to travel through, travelling is only done along the coast, mostly in canoes or speedboats (dinghies). While this is fairly easy to do in a speedboat, Cape St George is challenging to paddle around in a canoe because of the strong currents. This means that there is not much traffic between the two coasts. With Cape St George as a natural border between the two coasts it makes sense to call the two dialects west coast Siar and east coast Siar.

All Siar speakers agree that the east coast dialect is the more conservative variety of Siar, and it is considered the purer language. This is in line with the

assumption that the Siar people first settled in the Siar area on the east coast which is also the centre for the east coast dialect. Siar speakers moved to the west coast fairly recently, in about the middle of the 18th century, and then slowly started occupying territories of the Lambel people who, being mountain dwellers, were traditional enemies of the Siar who prefer to live near the coast. There is some evidence that suggests that the spread of the Siar people on the west coast was made possible by an epidemic amongst the Lambel who were decimated as a consequence. Today, the Siar and the Lambel live in peaceful coexistence, as do all the other language communities in southern New Ireland.

The differences between the east and west dialects are only minor though. In terms of phonology, the only significant difference is the prenasalization of plosives on the east coast. Some examples are shown in the table below:

West Coast Siar	East Coast Siar	
kabinòh	*kambinòh*	kind of earth oven
buibui	*buimbui*	'bush'
kèpas	*kèmpas*	'take'
sédéh	*séndéh*	(unknown meaning)
gar	*ngar* [ŋaɾ]	'squeak; sing'
ragai	*rangai* [ɾaŋaj]	'be like'
kaptur	*kamsur*	'take off'

Table 3: Prenasalization of plosives in east coast Siar

The case of *kaptur/kamsur* is not just a case of prenasalization of a plosive, but it is clear that the change from /pt/ to /ms/ is still related to it. Prenasalization is a common feature of Patpatar-Tolai languages (see Peekel 1915: 13 for the case of Lambel and Van Der Mark 2007 for the case of Vinitiri) and are especially reflected in the alternations of various language names (*Kadas/Kandas, Label/Lambel, Taga / Tanga*[5] etc) when pronounced by Siar speakers.

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[5] The language has also been referred to as *Tangga*, with a velar nasal /ŋ/ and an additional velar plosive /g/.

Other word pairs that differ in their phonology or morphology are shown below.

West Coast Siar	East Coast Siar	
aslang	*ai*slang	'sign'
kónóm	*ginóm, giyóm*	'many; plenty'
angai	*y*angai	'plant sweet potato'
sélsél	*sélér*	'slippery'
arngas	*y*arngas, *f*arngas	'mountain'
*fa*kamis	*yah*kamis[6]	'midday'
(n)angan	*w*angan	'help somebody'

Table 4: Other phonological and morphological differences
between west coast and east coast Siar

Other differences between the two dialects include the use of different words for exactly the same referent (e.g. *fék* 'axe' on the west coast and *palngét* 'axe' on the east coast).

I have not observed any significant differences in the grammatical structure between the two dialects.

1.2   The Siar speakers

Life in the Siar area is generally very traditional, especially compared to language areas in the northern part of New Ireland. This is mostly because the Siar area is isolated from the northern and central part of New Ireland where more development has taken place. The Boluminski Highway which connects Kavieng in the north with Namatanai in central New Ireland only extents a little further south to the Sursurunga area.[7] There are no roads in the Siar area, and the main means of transportation are traditional outrigger canoes and fibreglass speedboats (dinghies) with outboard motors. In earlier times, Siar people also built bigger plank boats called *món* that could carry about 20 people. These boats were popular and also sold to buyers on the

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[6] literally *firesun* (*yah* 'fire', *kamis* 'sun')
[7] The Siar area was connected to the highway initially but then less and less maintained after the Germans had left.

Duke of York Islands and East New Britain.[8] *Móns* are not built anymore and there are only a handful of people who know how to build one.

The Siar area is also isolated in terms of communication. While northern and central New Ireland has mobile phone coverage, this is not available in the Siar area (although coverage reaches down as far as to the Kandas-speaking area to the north of Siar). The village I was based in had a satellite phone, but it only worked at specific spots on the beach (and if the weather was right).

The main diet for Siar speakers consists of vegetables grown in gardens, fruit, rice and fish. The main staple is cassava (manioc), but sweet potatoes and yams are also common. Coconuts grow plenty in the area, and they generate the most income for Siar speakers.[9] The flesh of the coconuts (copra) is cut out, dried and then sold to factories in East New Britain. This is very laborious work, and it is common to see young men and women carry heavy copra bags (that weigh up to 90 kilos) from the copra driers in the plantations to the beach where they are collected by copra trader ships. Cocoa has also been introduced recently because it generates more money than copra. Common fruits are pineapples, mangoes, bananas and Malay apples. Fish and other animals living in rivers and the sea are also eaten. The isolation of the Siar area makes it somewhat difficult to obtain other types of foods, but there are weekly transport services to Kokopo in East New Britain where other goods can be obtained. These services are managed and run by bigger village communities, so that there is a transport option to Kokopo available about every 1-2 days. There are also a number of private stores in Siar villages that sell goods such as rice, tin fish and meat, sweets, clothing and batteries, and which refresh their stocks on a weekly or fortnightly basis.

Siar society is matrilineal and organized in two major moieties (clans) which have a number of subclans. One is not allowed to marry within the same clan. Every person that lives in the Siar area needs to be associated with a family and therefore a certain clan, even "outsiders" such as linguists.[10] Family ties are very strong, and family and clan relationships are important in Siar society. Every child knows who is

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[8] These boats were also found on Nissan Island to the east as well as on northern Bougainville, which suggests that there were trade routes between southern New Ireland and Bougainville.

[9] The name of the Lamassa area on the west coast got its name from the fact that there are so many coconut trees (*lamas sa* 'only coconuts'). Lamassa is also that area of New Ireland that has the highest copra output.

[10] It should be noted that it is almost impossible to be an outsider in a Siar community. The incredible hospitality I have enjoyed during my fieldtrips was also noted by Graebner & Stephan (1907) and Friederici (1912).

related to whom and what clan someone is associated with. There are hardly any rivalries between clans, and members of the same clan tend to have very close ties similar to those in families in the West (which is not surprising in a matrilineal society where the clan lineage is inherited from the mother).

In terms of spirituality, the Siar people are mostly Christians. This is a result of the strong influence of mostly European missionaries starting in the late 19th century. There are various denominations represented by separate churches, including Catholic Church, Four Square, Streams of Faith and United Church. Religion is an important part of life for the majority of Siar speakers, and there are regular church services. There are also a number of people for whom religion is not important at all. The introduction of Christianity has had a significant impact on Siar culture and society. Cannibalism used to be a common practice in pre-Christian times, and it is a part of history that many Siar speakers today are not very proud of. There were even feuds amongst the Siar themselves, especially between the people from Lamassa Island and Lambóm Island. Cannibalism was punished heavily by the German administration, which also strongly contributed to the cessation of this practice. Cannibalism was a common practice amongst all the groups associated with the Tolai ethnicity (including the Siar), although it was practiced to different degrees by the different language communities. The last official case of cannibalism in the Siar area was noted by the German government in 1904.

Illustration 1: Siar women in 1904
(taken from Graebner & Stephan 1907: 103)

Illustration 2: Siar men in 1904
(taken from Graebner & Stephan 1907: 17)

Illustration 3: Siar people in 2008

There are a number of primary and secondary schools in the Siar area, and teaching is currently available up till the seventh grade, but there have also been plans to add further grades to the curriculum because upper grades are strongly underrepresented in southern New Ireland. English is taught at school, and many children and adults have a good command of the language. Teaching is done mostly in English but may also involve some Tok Pisin. One reason for this is that there are students who do not speak Siar at all. In the past, some students dropped out as early as 2nd grade (often to be able to support their families), but this has become much less common now, and the value attributed to education has increased. After school, many children stay in their villages and support their families by working in the gardens, fishing, copra processing and the like. Some students go on to high school near Kavieng in northern New Ireland. Most students do not see their families again until graduation when they return to the village. In only very few cases do students eventually take up studies at a University.

Illustration 4: Young Siar speakers

Almost all Siar speakers are bilingual in Siar and Tok Pisin. The older generation also knows some Kuanua as this was once the main language in schools run by Methodist and United Church missionaries. There are hymnbooks available in Kuanua that Boki Borom from Lamassa Island has been translating to Siar. This translation should be regarded as the most substantial work a native Siar speaker has done for the Siar language without any outside support (and it is therefore not surprising that almost everyone considers him the best Siar speaker). It is common for some older speakers to also have a command of one of the other neighbouring languages, and some Siar speakers claim to also know some Kandas, Label, Ramoaaina, Konomala or Guramalum. People from other places who marry into the Siar community are able to function socially using Tok Pisin, but the presence of Siar is fairly strong in the villages (especially compared to other languages in New Ireland), and this often means newcomers acquire at least a basic understanding of the language. There are also some noteworthy cases of people who have acquired the language and speak it fluently.

1.3   Fieldwork setting and collected data

The language data used in this thesis were gathered during four fieldtrips between 2007 and 2010. The corpus comprises about 9 hours of spoken data, one written narrative as well as some email correspondence. The 173 recordings were between 21 seconds and about 30 minutes long. Unfortunately, one tape with recordings from the

east coast was lost, but luckily, they had already been transcribed.[11] The corpus includes fictional as well as non-fictional stories, fables, reports of various events and activities, stories about the history of the Siar people, some songs (one of them sung in Japanese by a Siar speaker who witnessed the arrival of the Japanese troops in World War II) as well as casual speech. Examples are also drawn from everyday conversations which were not recorded on tape but were written down in my notebook and later checked by my consultants. Some information was also obtained by elicitation.

The recorded data were processed in the following way. First, the recordings were transcribed as accurately as possible, including self-corrections, repetitions and unusual cases of pronunciation. The second step was the translation of the data to English, and the third step then was the analysis and glossing of the data. Justin Pegi from Bólók village was my main assistant for the transcription (and he quickly learned how to operate the tape recorder so that I could focus on the writing), but I also got help from Allan Ephraim, Taibet Towo and Wesley Siam. Most of the translation was done with the help of Allan Ephraim from Bólók village, and Wesley Siam also translated and glossed one story with me. All of these consultants have shown great patience and endurance with the transcription and translation of the data.

Elicitation was done in different ways, depending on what was to be elicited. The easiest cases were those where I asked my consultants for words for fish, birds, plants, fruits and the like, writing them down in my notebook. For the elicitation of grammatical paradigms different methods had to be used depending on the paradigm.

1.4   Previous work on Siar

The Siar language has not been described in great detail to date. As noted by Beaumont (1976), the first notable work on Siar was done by D'Urville (1834) who compiled a short word list for Siar in the Lamassa area, which unfortunately I have not been able to access.[12] Graebner & Stephan (1907) mostly focus on anthropological and historical aspects of the Siar area, but they also provide words lists for Siar, Kandas, Lambel and Patpatar. Friederici (1912) focuses on the history and anthropological matters and provides words lists for Siar, Kandas, Lambel, Tangga as

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[11] This tape contained the longest recorded story, which was more than 30 minutes long but not included in the general statement made above.

[12] Beaumont mentions that the list can be found in Lanyon-Orgill (1960).

well as languages further south in Bougainville such as Nehan (Nissan) and Teop. Neuhaus did the first bible translations from German to Siar (Neuhaus 1928, 1933) and also compiled the first Siar-German dictionary (Neuhaus n.d.). I have not been able to obtain copies of his works, and it is likely that they were destroyed during World War II. Lean (1985) is a survey of numeral systems of New Ireland languages and includes a discussion of the Siar numerals. Ross (1988) discusses aspects of many Meso-Melanesian languages, including Siar. Erdman (1991) prepared an MA thesis which analyses a Siar narrative within the framework of Stratificational Grammar and provides the first glosses for Siar words. This work will not be referred to very often in this thesis because the analyses presented are based on only one narrative, and the glossing suggests that language has only been worked on in some detail. Erdman & Goring (1992) discuss the semantics of the Siar event focus prefix *k-* (which they refer to as realis prefix), arguing that it highlights backbone events in a narrative. Ross (2002) is a short sketch of Siar grammar that covers the most significant aspects of the language. Rowe (2005) is a 110 pages overview over the language and provides more detailed analyses than Erdman or Ross, and it also contains many examples. It has been extremely useful for my research and allowed me to gain some knowledge of Siar even before having been to the village. Ross (2002) and Rowe (2005) are the works that are most often referred to here.

The Siar area has been attractive to anthropologists and historians. Graebner & Stephan (1907), Friederici (1912) and Peekel (n.d.) provide insights into historical, cultural and anthropological aspects of the Siar people. Albert (1987) prepared a PhD thesis on anthropological aspects of Siar and Albert (1988) presented a subsequent paper on leadership in the Siar area. Kingston (1998) submitted a PhD thesis with an anthropological focus on the Siar, and Kingston (2003, 2005) dealt with additional aspects of Siar culture.

1.5   Typological overview of Siar

Siar is an Austronesian language belonging to the Oceanic subbranch, and as such it shows a number of features that are typical for that group. There are also a number of features that are quite unusual for an Oceanic language as well as for languages in general. This section provides an overview of the typological features of Siar and

indicates points of particular interest. These include in particular its complex noun phrase structures and its demonstrative system.

Siar has a set of 15 consonants and 7 vowels (§2.1.1, §2.1.2). The most unusual consonantal sounds in Siar are the prenasalized plosives in the east coast dialect as well as a bilabial fricative /ɸ/ which can be observed with some speakers instead of the more common fricative /f/. However, the prenasalized plosives can also be found in other languages in the area, and the same is true for the fricative /ɸ/. There are two unusual raised vowels /e̞/ and /o̞/ (represented as the graphemes <è> and <ò> respectively) which contrast with /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ (represented as the graphemes <é> and <ó>). In this analysis, there are no diphthongs in Siar but rather sequences of vowels and off-glides (§2.2.2). The general syllable structure is (C)V(C), with CV being the most frequent syllable type (§2.2). Siar phonotactics do not allow for consonants clusters within syllables (§2.3), and stress always falls on the final syllable (which is unusual for Oceanic languages since stress usually falls on the penultimate syllable).

Siar does not have rich morphology, which is not surprising for an Oceanic language. The most common process of affixation is reduplication which carries a variety of functions (§3.1.4). These include distributive number on nouns, nominalization of verbs, iterative aspect on verbs, detransitivization of transitive verbs, plural marking on some nouns and adjectival modifiers, as well as the derivation of adjectival modifiers from verbs. There are about 11 prefixes that encode features such as causation, reciprocity, anticausative and allative, as well as a set of 7 suffixes that encode possession, transitivity, ordinal number as well as other features.[13] There is also an infix <in> which can also be found in many other languages throughout the Austronesian area. However, in Siar this infix is not productive anymore. Cliticization is very common in spoken language (§3.1.3).

The noun phrase is one of the most complex, yet most fascinating areas of Siar grammar. The most noteworthy feature is a rich set of 14 articles that encode various grammatical features including number, person, countability, diminutive, animacy, human-ness and noun class, amongst others (§4.2). The most common articles are *ép* (Common 1), *a* (Common 2) and *é* (proper). There are three noun classes in Siar:

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[13] The reasons why there are "about 11" prefixes is that the status of some prefixes is currently unclear and requires further investigation.

common 1, common 2 and proper (§4.1). The common 1 class is the biggest class which functions as a default. The common 2 class contains nouns that are semantically marked in some way. Most of the entities in that group are smallish, including insects, birds, and all nouns modified by *lik* 'little'. It also contains tools, nouns referring to meteorological phenomena as well as some geographic features. The proper noun class contains proper nouns, place names and kinship terms.

The pronoun system distinguishes four numbers (singular, dual, paucal and plural) and four persons, with the first person non-singular having an exclusive/inclusive distinction. There is also an indefinite pronoun which is unmarked for all these features (§4.3). Subject markers are an obligatory part of the predicate in most cases (imperatives being one of the very few exceptions, §4.3.1). Modality affixes on subject markers encode event focus and irrealis (§6.2). While the irrealis (represented by the suffix *-l*) is a straightforward category in Siar, which mostly behaves in ways that we would expect an irrealis to behave (i.e. it occurs in future contexts, conditional clauses etc), the event focus has proven to be problematic. In all recent works on Siar the event focus *k-* has been referred to as realis, but other authors have also acknowledged that there is more to say about this prefix. The main argument against the realis analysis is the fact that it can co-occur with the irrealis, creating contexts of an immediate or certain future. This prefix *k-* is referred here to as event focus marker, whose function is to make events salient by foregrounding them, stressing the actuality of the event and by assigning it a certain prominence in the discourse.

Like many other Oceanic languages, Siar distinguishes alienably possessed nouns and inalienably possessed nouns. For each type of noun there is a different possessive construction (§4.3.3). Inalienably possessed nouns all end in open syllables, and in case of singular possessors they have one of a set of three possessive suffixes attached to them (*-k* 1.SG, *-m* 2.SG, *-n* 3.SG). For non-singular possessors, the morpheme *-n* (which has the same form as the third person singular possessive suffix) only encodes possession, and an additional free pronoun or NP needs to be introduced to represent the possessor. Inalienably possessed nouns, on the other hand, require the presence of one of a set of three possessive classifiers, to which the possessor suffix is attached. The choice of the possessive classifier depends on which function the NP referent has in the context. The three possessive classes are default nouns (classifier

anu-), food-related nouns (classifier *nga-*)[14] and container nouns (classifier *ngasi-*). Generally speaking, the default possessive classes contains all nouns that do not belong to the food-related class or the container class. The food-related class comprises edible entities, but also includes a few unexpected nouns such as linguistic or cultural entities. The container-class is an unusual category in terms of semantics. Its members are entities that somebody can go inside or be located in (e.g. a house, a hole, a rain cape or a coffin), but it also includes some locations and landmarks.

The Siar numeral system is a base-10 system, although base-5 systems have also been observed in related languages in the area, including languages of the Patpatar-Tolai subgroup (§4.5).

The class of true adjectives is a closed class and only contains the three adjectives *akak* 'good', *lamtin* 'big' and *lik(lik)* 'little'. True adjectives only have a modifying function to an NP and cannot be used predicatively, as opposed to adjectival modifiers which derive from verbs (§5).

The Siar verb does not inflect for tense. Temporal relations are expressed with the help of temporal adverbs, various aspectual markers and the two modality affixes (§6.1). The verb may change its form depending on its transitivity features (with the causative prefix *a-*, the anticausative prefix *ta-*, the reciprocal prefix *ar-* etc). As in many other Oceanic languages, it is also possible to combine two or more verbs to serial verb constructions which make up a single predication (§6.4). Demonstrative existentials are special types of verbs. They differ from the other verbs in that they do not take verbal affixes and in that they contain a demonstrative component (§8.2.1.4). The verb complex is followed by a number of aspectual markers which occur in fairly strict order (§10.2.3).

Siar verbs can be grouped in seven verb classes (with a number of subtypes), depending on their behaviour with regard to transitivity (§7.4). For example, some underlyingly transitive verbs are reduplicated in order to be transitivized, whereas others verbs are underlyingly intransitive and get the transitivizer suffix *-i* attached to them in order to be transitivized. Other verbs make up suppletive pairs depending on their transitivity, and yet other verbs are strictly intransitive or strictly transitive. Ambitransitive verbs may omit the object without a loss of grammaticality. Zero transitivity is uncommon and only available with the verb *nós* 'look', in which case the

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[14] The concept *food* is here taken to also include beverages.

verb has an 'it seems' reading (and with the subject marker functioning as a dummy). There are also a few ditransitive constructions, but they also are not very common.

Along with the noun phrase, the demonstrative system is another very complex and fascinating aspect of the Siar language (§8). There are five basic types of demonstratives: demonstrative determiners, demonstrative pronouns, demonstrative existentials, demonstrative locative adverbs and demonstrative allative adverbs. These forms are made up of one of a set of seven demonstrative roots which encode various locations, directions, degrees of distance as well as other categories. The most interesting opposition in this paradigm is a clockwise/counterclockwise opposition which distinguishes movement that roughly follows the coast in clockwise direction or counterclockwise direction. Such an opposition is rare, even in the Austronesian area.[15] The semantics of the clockwise/counterclockwise demonstrative roots are not restricted to this meaning alone. A full account of this is presented in section §8.1.2.

Three types of prepositions can be distinguished in Siar: simple prepositions (§9.1), prepositional pronouns (§9.2) and relational nouns in prepositional function (§9.3.1). There are five of each type. Simple prepositions are morphologically simple forms that head a PP and take an NP argument as their complement. Prepositional pronouns consist of a prepositional root (which is a bound morpheme) whose NP argument is encoded pronominally by a suffix, similar in form to the possessive suffixes, that attaches to it. The third type of prepositions in Siar are relational nouns in prepositional functions. Relational nouns are referential and often derive from body parts. As body parts, they are inalienably possessed and hence require a possessive suffix to be attached to them. They also need to be introduced by the locative preposition *an* 'at'.

Siar does not have an overt copula, which allows for verbless clauses (§11). This means that not only verbs may be the head of a predicate but also nouns, adjectival modifiers as well as other types of words. There are various kinds of meanings that a verbless clause can express, depending on what the verbless clause complement is.

The structure of the Siar clause is organized as follows:

1.   Emphatic pronoun / Subject NP
2.   Negation

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[15] The only Austronesian languages that have been described as having such an opposition are Manam (Lichtenberk 1983), Boumaa Fijian (Dixon 1988) and Makian Taba (Bowden 2001).

3. Subject marker

4. Preceding aspectual modifier

5. Predicate complex

6. Perfective aspect marker

7. Perfect aspect / temporality

8. Progressive aspect

9. Object pronoun or NP

10 Restrictive marker

11. Event transition marker

12. Optional adjuncts

Siar clauses have different characteristics and can be combined in various ways (§12). The following clause types can be found:

	Subordination		**Introduced by**	
1.	Relative clauses		'which; who; that'	(§12.1.1.1)
2.	Relative time clauses	*na*	'when'	(§12.1.1.3)
3.	Conditional clauses		'if'	(§12.1.1.2)
4.	Complement clauses	*(ka)nak (na)*	'that'	(§12.1.2)
5.	Intentive clauses	*sur*	'in order to'	(§12.1.3.1)
6.	Purposive clauses	*kón*	'for the purpose of'	(§12.1.3.2)
7.	Adversative clauses	*sak*	'lest; otherwise; in case that'	(§12.1.3.3)
	Coordination			
8.	Additive clauses	*ap*	'and'	(§12.2.1)
9.	Alternative clauses	*ó*	'or'	(§12.2.2)
10.	Contrastive clauses	*ma*	'but'	(§12.2.3)
11.	Temporal coordination	*masuk*	'then'	(§12.2.4)

Table 5: Clause types and types of clause coordination

2 Phonetics and phonology

2.1 Phoneme inventory

2.1.1 Consonants

Siar has a set of 15 consonantal phonemes, some of which have several allophones that depend on dialect, idiolect as well as grammatical context. The following table lists all phonemes with their manner and place of articulation:

	Bilabial		Labio-dental		Apico-alveolar		Lamino-palatal		Dorso-velar		Glottal	
Plosive	p	b			t	d			k	g		
Nasal		m				n				ŋ		
Trill					*[r]*							
Tap / Flap					*/ɾ/*							
Fricative	*[ɸ]* (rare)		*/f/*		s						*[h]* (*/f/*)	
Lateral approximant					l							
Approximant		w					j					

Table 6: The Siar consonant inventory (phonemes in bold print, salient allophones in italics)

Each phoneme type is discussed in the following sections.

2.1.1.1 Stops

Siar has a set of six stops with three pairs in a voiced/voiceless opposition. Places of articulation are bilabial (/p/, /b/), apico-alveolar (/t/, /d/) and dorso-velar (/k/,

/g/). Voiced stops may not occur syllable-finally due to phonotactic restrictions (cf. section §2.2):

	/b/	**/p/**	**/d/**	**/t/**	**/g/**	**/k/**
Syllable-initial	[b]	[p]	[d]	[t]	[g]	[k]
Syllable-final	-	[p], [p˺]	-	[t], [t˺]	-	[k], [k˺]

Table 7: Pronunciation of stops in different syllable positions

A list of words with stops in different positions of the syllable is given below:

(1) /p/ *pòl* [pọ:l] 'dog' /b/ *buar* [bwa:ɾ] 'bark'

  kapul [ka.ˈpu:l] 'opossum' *ribit* [ɾi.ˈbit] 'dugong'

  róp [ɾɔp] 'finished'

  /t/ *tuk* [tuk] 'be over' /d/ *dòt* [dọt] 'to tie'

  atór [a.ˈtɔɾ] 'to write' *kòdòm* [kọ.ˈdọm] 'swallow'

  fat [fat] 'stone'

  /k/ *kar* [kaɾ] 'scratch' /g/ *gur* [gu:ɾ] 'group'

  kukulè [ˌku.ku.ˈlẹ] 'earthquake' *agér* [a.ˈgɛɾ] 'turn around'

  pidik [pi.ˈdik] 'secret'

Rowe (2005: 6) states that voiceless stops in Siar are unreleased in word-final position. In my own recordings, unreleased stops only occur in syllable-final position when they are followed by a homorganic nasal:

(2)	*batnai*	[batˀ.ˈnaj]	'spy on somebody'
	bótnas	[bɔtˀ.ˈnas]	kind of freshwater fish
	Kiapma	[ki.ˡʲapˀ.ˈma]	male name
	ngékngék	[ŋɛkˀ.ˈŋɛk]	'crying'

In all other instances, final voiceless stops are released, but never aspirated.

In the east coast dialect, stops are often prenasalized when in word-medial position:

(3)		**West coast Siar**	**East coast Siar**	
	adèh	[a.ˈde̥h]	[a.ˈⁿde̥h]	'opposite'
	tagur	[ta.ˈguɾ]	[ta.ŋuːɾ]	'chop (tree)'
	buibui	[bʉj.ˈbʉj]	[bʉj.ˈᵐbʉj]	'bush'

Prenasalization is a common feature across many Oceanic languages of New Ireland and East New Britain. It is therefore not surprising that, being the more conservative dialect, East coast Siar has preserved those prenasalized stops. In west coast Siar no such prenasalization can be observed. One explanation for this might be the stronger presence of Tok Pisin (and maybe even English) on the west coast due to more frequent contact with East New Britain province.

2.1.1.2 Nasals

There are three nasals in Siar, all of which can occur in both syllable-initial and syllable-final position. Places of articulation are bilabial (/m/), (post)alveolear (/n/) and velar (/ŋ/).

(4) a. ***mètèk***   [mẹ.ˈtẹk]   'new'

  *kaila**m***   [kaj.ˈla**m**]   'lizard'

  b. ***n**ós*   [**n**ɔs]   'look'

  *bèrè**n***   [bẹ.ˈɾẹ**n**]   'rubbish'

  c. ***ngòngòt***   [ŋọ.ˈŋɔt]   'to hurt'

  *la**ng***   [la**ŋ**]   'fly'

2.1.1.3   Taps / flaps and trills

The phoneme /ɾ/ has two allophones, an alveolar tap [ɾ] and a postalveolar trill [r]. The reason that /ɾ/ is here taken to be the underlying phoneme only because of the higher frequency of its allophone [ɾ].[16] There do not seem to be any distributional reasons why one representation should be preferred over the other. Contrary to what is proposed here, Ross (2002: 411) argues that, *"Normally /r/ is a trill, occasionally a flap"*.

The choice of phoneme /ɾ/ here is not associated with either of the two dialects because both allophones can be heard on both coasts to an equal extent. Some speakers tend to trill significantly more often than others, which suggests that the choice of allophone is a feature of personal style (i.e. there is free variation). Individual speakers also differ in how strongly /ɾ/ is trilled.[17] Strong trilling is very uncommon but has been observed with some speakers. Speakers even alternate with trilling / tapping as well as the degree of trilling within the same word. That is, if a word is repeated in the same sentence, the word may be pronounced differently than it was pronounced earlier.

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[16] This frequency has no empirical or statistical basis so far and is purely subjective. Further research is needed here.

[17] I have observed strongly trilled /r/ more often with younger girls, which is likely to be a coincidence. Further research is needed here.

The position of /ɾ/ in the syllable does not have an influence on the manner of articulation. Initial /ɾ/ can be trilled or tapped, as can syllable-final /ɾ/. Some examples are shown below:

(5) *rak*   [ɾak]   [rak]   'to want ; will'

   ramai   [ɾa.ˈmaj]   [ra.ˈmaj]   'clear the bush'

   tur   [tuɾ]   [tur]   'to stand'

   gargar   [gaɾ.ˈgaɾ]   [gar.ˈgar]   'big conch shell'

2.1.1.4   Fricatives

The Siar consonant inventory includes the labiodental fricative /f/ and the alveolar fricative /s/. /s/ is found in both syllable onsets and codas and is one of the phonemes with the least variation across dialects and idiolects. The only exceptional case for /s/ can be observed in the pronunciation of the place name *Gariris*, which some speakers pronounce [ˌga.ɾi.ˈris] while others pronounce it [ˌga.ɾi.ˈriʃ]. However, the assumption that [ʃ] is as an allophone of /s/ is difficult to maintain because [ʃ] has not been observed in any other words, no matter whether the word is uttered by a Siar speaker who pronounces the place name in the first way or by a speaker or pronounces it in the second way. If it were a true allophone, then one should be able to observe a distributional pattern of some sort. There may be historical reasons why the fricative [ʃ] is present in some peoples' pronunciation of *Gariris*, such as that the preceding front vowel /i/ could have triggered the palatalization of /s/, but such a process cannot be observed elsewhere in Siar phonology.

The fricative /f/, on the other hand, is the most unusual phoneme in Siar. Ross (2002: 410-411) and Rowe (2005: 6-8) also identify its unusual characteristics but propose that the underlying phoneme is the voiceless bilabial fricative /ɸ/. Ross draws his data from two consultants, one originally coming from Lambóm Island and

the other coming from Bakók village on the southeast coast.[18] Rowe collected her data on Lambóm Island in the southwest only. I have collected stories from various villages on both the west coast and east coast, and in my recordings, the fricative /f/ occurs far more often than the bilabial fricative /ɸ/. We will therefore assume the labiodental fricative /f/ to be the underlying phoneme in contemporary Siar, with the bilabial fricative [ɸ] being one of its less frequent allophones.

The following observations and distributional patterns can be observed for /f/:

1.   Nouns with an initial /f/ lose this fricative when they are preceded by some of the articles. Since articles may end in both closed and open syllables, the deletion of the fricative does not appear to be phonologically motivated, and neither does there seem to be a process of assimilation in which the final stop of the article *ép* assimilates to the initial fricative /f/ of the following noun.

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[18] Being her adoptive son, I have had numerous conversations with Ross' consultant from Lambóm Island and have not noticed the bilabial fricative in her speech at all, which leads me to assume that Ross must either have observed it with his consultant from Bakók village or, as Ross and Rowe propose, /ɸ/ had been replaced by /w/ between the time he made his recordings and the time he published his Siar grammar sketch. I have made recordings in various villages of the Siar area on both coasts, and the bilabial fricative /ɸ/ does not occur in any of the stories. On Lambóm, I have only recorded two stories, and in neither of them the bilabial fricative is used. I also have not observed it in informal conversations with people from Lambóm. I have only observed it with one approximately 14 year old Siar speaker who was born in Matkamlagir village on the central east coast, but who went to school on Lambóm Island.

(6) *fain*   [fa.ˈiːn]   *ép fain*   [ɛ fa.ˈiːn]   '(the/a) woman'

                            ru ain   [ɾu ʷa.ˈin]   'two women'

                            tók ain   [tɔk a.ˈiːn]   '(no) women'

     fun   [fuːn]   *ép fun*   [ɛ fuːn]   '(the/a) banana'

                            ru un   [ɾu uːn]   'two bananas'

                            tók un   [tɔk uːn]   'bananas' (-COUNT)

     fin   [fiːn]   *ép fin*   [ɛ fiːn]   '(the/a) fruit'

                            ru in   [ɾu iːn]   'two fruits'

                            tók in   [tɔk iːn]   'fruits' (-COUNT)

     farum [fa.ˈɾuːm]   *ép farum* [ɛ fa.ˈɾuːm]   '(the/a) war'

                            ru arum   [ɾu ʷa.ˈɾuːm]   'two wars'

                            tók arum [tɔk a.ˈɾuːm]   '(no) wars'

     fat   [fat]   *ép fat*   [ɛ fat]   '(the/a) stone'

                            ru at   [ɾu ʷat]   'two stones'

                            tók at   [tɔk at]   'stones' (-COUNT)

The following table shows combinations with other articles and if initial /f/ is deleted or not:

	'banana'	**'stone'**	**'woman'**
Singular	*ép ſun*	*ép ſat*	*ép ſain*
Two x (dual)	*ru un*	*ru at*	*ru ain*
Three x	*tòl ép ſun*	*tòl ép ſat*	*tòl ép ſain*
Four x	*at ép ſun*	*at ép ſat*	*at ép ſain*
Plural	*tó un*	*tó atatat*	*kai ain / bar ain*
Class 2 noun	*a un*	*a at*	*a ain*
Group or set	*kam un*	*kam at*	*kam ain*
-COUNT / NEG	*tók un*	*tók at*	*tók ain*

Table 8: The presence of /f/ in different grammatical and phonological contexts

The deletion can be formalized as follows:

f → Ø / *ru* __   (dual nouns)
f → Ø / *tó* __   (plural nouns)
f → Ø / *a* __   (class 2 nouns)
f → Ø / *kam* __   (group or set)
f → Ø / *tók* __   (uncountable nouns)

In all other environments, /f/ remains in situ.

2.   For many of the words with an initial /f/, cognates can be found in related languages as well as Proto-Oceanic. In most instances, an initial consonant is present in the cognate forms as well, suggesting that the fricative /f/ in Siar is indeed part of the noun and not of the preceding article.

Siar	**Proto-Oceanic**	**Kuanua**	**Patpatar**	**Tangga**	
(f)ain	**pine* **papine*	*vavina*	*hahin*	*fifin*	'woman'
(f)at	**patu*	*vat*	*hat*	*fa:t*	'stone'
(f)inan	**pano*	*vana*	*han*		'go; walk'
(f)ar-	**pa(R)i*	*-var-*	*haar-*	*fa-*	REC

Table 9: Words with initial /f/ and some cognates

(some forms taken from Bell 1977, Condra 1989 and Greenhill et al. 2011)

3.   In spoken Siar, the articles which are usually obligatory are sometimes omitted (cf. section §4.2). In such cases, nouns with an initial /f/ always retain this fricative:

(7)   a.   ***Fain***   *talung*   *i*   *kawas.*
                      Ø   **f**ain   talung   i   kawas
                      (ART:CO1)   woman   demon   3.SG   climb

        'The witch climbed up.'
                                                                                (AIN [28])

        b.   *Nambawan*   ***f****at*   *i*   *ding.*
                      Ø   nambawan_{TP}   **f**at   i   d-ing
                      (ART:CO1)   very.good   stone   3.SG   DEM.SG-ANA

        'That was a very good stone.'
                                                                                (ÉPF [21])

4.   Nouns with an initial fricative /f/ may also be used as modifiers in nominal compounds. In these cases, the initial /f/ of the head noun is omitted.

(8)   a.   *ép*   *talung*   ***ain***
              ép   talung   **(f)ain**
              ART:CO1   demon   woman

        'the/a witch' (lit. '*female demon*')
                                                                                (AIN [0])

        b.   *ép*   *tun*   ***un***
              ép   tun   **(f)un**
              ART:CO1   cook   banana

        'the/a cooking banana'

5.   For some nouns with initial /f/, two pronunciations can be observed when they are preceded by the article *ép*: one in which the final stop of the article is retained but the initial fricative of the following word is omitted and one in which the final stop of the article becomes /f/, or depending on the analysis, one in which the noun retains the fricative /f/:

(9) a. *ép inan*   [ɛp i.ˈnan] or [ɛ fi.ˈnan]   'journey; travel'

   b. *ép usrai*   [ɛp uːs.ˈɾaj] or [ɛ fuːs.ˈɾaj]   'story'

6. In some nominalizations, the final stop of the article *ép* is omitted, even though the verb or its derived noun never contained an initial fricative */f/* in any context. In the following examples, the verb *usrai* 'to tell a story' and *amrai* 'to bring' keep their form after the derivation, and adding the fricative to the beginning results in an ungrammatical word:

(10) a. *A usrai   arin.*   *(*fusrai)*
         a=usrai   ari-n
         1.SG=story   BEN-3.SG.POSS

         'I told him/her (a story).'

   b. *ép usrai*   *(*fusrai)*
       [ɛp uːs.ˈɾaj] or [ɛ fuːs.ˈɾaj]

       'the/a story'

(11) a. *A amrai   pòl.*   *(*famrai)*
         a=amrai   pòl
         1.SG=bring   dog

         'I went pig-hunting.'

   b. *ép amrai pòl*   *(*famrai)*
       [ɛp am.ˈɾaj] or [ɛ fam.ˈɾaj]

       'the/a pig hunt'

7. Initial */f/* is dropped when reduplication is applied:

(12) a.   *ép*   *fat*   'the/a stone'
          tó   *atatat*   'stones'

      b.   *ép*   *fanu*   'the/a city'
          tó   *ananu*   'cities'

This might also be a result of the change of the initial article to the form *tó* which does not contain the final plosive.

It is interesting to note that both these reduplications with initial /f/ are irregular. This will also be discussed in section §2.3.

Ross (2002: 411) notes that /f/ is deleted after vowels. Note, however, that in Table 8 above the nouns that are preceded by the uncountable noun article *tók* (which ends with the consonant /k/) still omit the initial the fricative /f/. This means that preceding vowels alone cannot account for the deletion.

Rowe (2005: 7) reports that there is a zero-allophone for /f/. However, there is no phonological reason to omit initial /f/, at least not synchronically. Recall the cases in (8) in which nouns that normally have an initial /f/ lose this fricative when used as modifiers. There is no obvious phonological reason why people do not say **ép talung fain* to refer to a witch, and this noun phrase is phonologically well-formed. This means that there must be other reason for the deletion of /f/, and it then follows that zero cannot be an allophone of /f/.

It could also be that those nouns that show the initial fricative in certain contexts are the marked form, and that the unmarked form would be the form of the noun without the fricative. Then, however, it remains unexplained why native speakers give the form with the initial fricative as the citation form.

Ross and Rowe both find the fricative [h] not to be a separate phoneme but an allophone of /f/ (or of /ɸ/ in their analyses), an approach that is also followed here, the main reason being the complementary distribution of [f] and [h]. Further evidence comes from the fact that there are no Siar words with a syllable-initial /h/ or words

with a syllable-final /f/, which indeed suggests that there is a correlation between the two sounds. We can also find some diachronic evidence by looking at cognates in other Oceanic languages:

Siar	Proto-Oceanic	Nakanai	Bilur	Barok	Tabar	Tangga	
yah	**api*	*havi*	*aiap*	*ya*		*if*	'fire'
tòh	**topu*						'sugarcane'
(ba)barah	**b(w)arapu*						'tall; high'
siaròh	**niwarop*						'calm (sea)'
yahrat		*le-avala*		*awat*	*avarati*		'year'[19]

Table 10: Cognate forms with a consonant in the Siar /h/ position

(some forms taken from Bell 1977 and Greenhill et al. 2011)

It therefore seems that Siar [h] is a diachronic lenition of Proto-Oceanic /p/, just like the phoneme /f/, of which [h] is an allophone. Its distribution can be formalized as follows:

(13)　　/f/ → [f] / #_　　(syllable-initial)

　　　　/f/ → [h] / _#　　(syllable-final)

2.1.1.5　Liquids / lateral approximants

The liquid or lateral approximant /l/ is a straightforward phoneme. Its place of articulation is apico-alveolar, and there are no differences between dialects and idiolects. /l/ may occur in syllable onsets (e.g. *lau.lau* 'bad') and syllable codas (e.g. *pòl* 'dog').

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[19] Ross (2007: 133) reconstructs the Proto-Oceanic meaning *'Northwest wind; wet season when northwesterlies blow and sea is rough.'*

2.1.1.6   Glides

There are two glides in Siar, the bilablial glide /w/ and the lamino-palatal glide /j/. Both glides may appear in syllable onsets (15a) and codas (15b).

(14)   a.   *w*akin   [**wa**.ˈkiːn]   'wallaby'

        *y*ah   [**j**ah]   'fire'

        b.   la*u*   [la**w**]   'valley'

        kira*i*   [ki.ra**j**]   'day; time'

Assuming that there are two such glide phonemes in Siar has strong implications for the analysis of diphthongs and vowel sequences. This is discussed in greater detail in section §2.2.2.

2.1.2   Vowels

Siar has a set of seven distinct vowels which are represented in the vowel chart below:
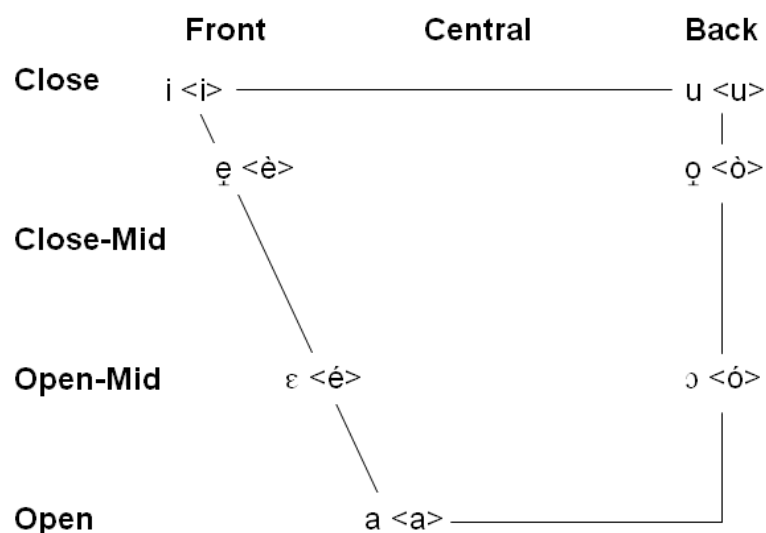
Figure 2: Siar vowel chart

There are no true central vowels in Siar. The most unusual vowels are /ẹ/ and /ọ/. With regard to its height/openness, the front vowel /ẹ/ can be described as being located between /i/ and /e/. It differs from the similar vowels /ɪ/ and /ʏ/ (which are not phonemes in Siar) in that it produced further at the front.[20] The height of the back vowel /ọ/ is situated between /u/ and /o/, and it differs from the closest vowel /ʊ/ in that it is pronounced more to the back.[21]

 Some minimal pairs to illustrate the phonemic status of Siar vowels are given below:

(15)	*sóng*	/ɔ/	'to meet'	*sòng*	/ọ/	'to pack, load'
	mét	/ɛ/	kind of tree	*mèt*	/ẹ/	1.PAU.EX
	tók	/ɔ/	ART:[-COUNT]	*tuk*	/u/	'be over'
	arli	/i/	'to race'	*arlè*	/ẹ/	'to swear at'
	pakan	/a/	'leaf'	*pukun*	/u/	'point; spot; location'

Ross (2002: 412) also finds a phoneme /ə/ which he says to *"[…] occur in a few words, in closed syllables mostly ending in /t/, /n/ or /ŋ/."* If the phoneme he finds indeed happens to be schwa, then this seems to be a feature of a specific individual person's pronunciation since I have not observed this phoneme anywhere in my own recordings. Ross presumably refers to /ọ/ here as he points out that, *"One of my informants writes it consistently as* o *before /t/ and /n/ but as* u *before /ŋ/."* If Ross' phoneme is represented by both <o> and <u> in the spelling, then it is very likely that the underlying phoneme is indeed /ọ/ because it is located right between /u/ and /o/ in terms of vowel height (and fronting) and thus sounds similar to both.

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[20] Peekel (1915: 13) makes a similar observation for some of the Lambel vowels.

[21] The position of these vowels has not yet been established using an acoustic instrumental analysis. It is merely a result of the observation that when the tongue moves from the /e/ position to the /i/ position, the articulatory position for /ẹ/ is located right in between. The same applies to the vowel /ọ/ that can be produced with the tongue at the position right in between /u/ and /o/.

In casual speech, the phoneme /ẹ/ can in a few instances be observed to become [i]. This has only been observed in some specific word sequences such as serial verb constructions when /ẹ/ is the final sound of the first verb:

(16)   *rè tat*   [ɾi.ˈtat]   'find by looking (lit. *look uncover*)'

The phonemes /ọ/ and /ɔ/ (which are represented by <ò> and <ó> in the orthography) only rarely co-occur in the same word. This results in a vowel harmony-like environment. The same is true for the phonemes /ẹ/ and /ɛ/ (which are represented by the graphemes <è> and <é> respectively). Note how in the following words, only one vowel of each opposing vowel pair occurs:

(17)   **/ọ/ only**   **/ɔ/ only**

tòtòròt	'belief'	*sósóból*	'to mix'
bòlòu	kind of seashell	*bókói*	'to float s.th.'
dòròdòrò suba	kind of snake	*bókól*	'rooster'
kòdòm	'to swallow'	*bótóng*	'grow high'
kòkòbòn	'surprised'	*dukrókói*	'dawn'
lòkòrpòl	kind of bird	*kódóra-*	'neck'
mòlòh	'shelter'	*kónómót*	kind of saltwater fish
		móksón	'spouse'
		sibóróbóró	'kind of insect; helicopter'
		tóbólómó	kind of freshwater fish

(18)   **/ẹ/ only**   **/ɛ/ only**

gèlèh	kind of tree	*béléngar*	kind of fish
gèlèk	'to tickle'	*dóméré*	kind of saltwater fish
èrbè	'to dream'	*fakéréng*	'friend'
mètèk	'new'	*farlémén*	'friendship'
rèdès	kind of seashell	*malélé*	'white'
tètè	'old man; grandfather'	*mantéké-*	'bum; buttocks'
		mégés	'let be'
		mélénas	'sun behind clouds'
		pélénga-	'ear'

In some instances in the above examples, the vowel harmony-like distribution is a mere result of reduplication and therefore no phonological process in the strict sense (e.g. *tò~tòròt* 'belief' or *só~sóból* 'to mix'). In other instances, the forms are morphologically simple but can be assumed to have derived from a reduplicated form at an earlier stage (e.g. *dòròdòrò suba* 'kind of snake', *sibóróbóró* 'kind of insect; helicopter'). In the remaining cases, there is no evidence that reduplication caused the vowel harmony-like effect.

I have only found one single exception to the rule that only one vowel of each opposing vowel pair can be used in a word, the noun *inkòbór* [ˌin.kọ.ˈbɔɾ] 'kind of saltwater fish', which shows both vowels of an opposing pair. This form does not appear to be made up of two words **inkò bór*, and this is a first proof against the assumption that there is true vowel harmony in Siar, or that at least it is less rigid than in other languages with productive vowel harmony phenomena and also does not appear to affect all vowels.

But it is clear that the two <e> vowels and the two <o> vowels which are sensitive to this assimilation effect do have an influence on each other. Evidence can be found in words that include one vowel of each pair. In the great majority of cases, words with the lower vowel /ɔ/ only allow for other vowels sensitive to the assimilation with the same vowel height. This means that /ɔ/ is usually only accompanied by the vowel /ɛ/ (19). The same should in principle be true for the

raised vowel /ọ/, which would be predicated only to occur with the vowel /ẹ/, which has the same height, but I have not found such forms. There are only few exceptions to this rule, and the only three recorded cases are shown in (20) below.

(19) **<e, o> vowel pairs with matching height**

mórówé	kind of saltwater fish
tónén	'orange coconut'
tógér	name of a traditional custom
póntalék	'disabled person'
gósóbén	kind of saltwater fish
dóméré	kind of saltwater fish
réóréó	'late afternoon; early evening'
Óstérélia	< Engl. *Australia*
léptóp	< Engl. *laptop*
kórdiél	< Engl. *cordial*
kómpiutér	< Engl. *computer*

(20) **<e, o> vowels with different height**

lénmòs	'dewdrop'
bókès	'coffin' (< TP *bokis*)
wólèból	< Engl. *volleyball*

Given the much higher number of words with combinations of the vowels <e> and <o> that match in their height we can conclude that the <e> and <o> vowels also have an impact on each other when they occur in the same word. But this impact is not so strong that it can completely rule out a combination of those vowels that differ in their height. The three cases in (20) are evidence of this. In the case of *wólèból* 'volleyball' and *bókès* 'coffin' we could even take it one step further and say that the differences in vowel height are a result of the borrowing process only, leaving *lénmòs* 'dewdrop' as the only exception.

It is important to note that true vowel harmony tends to be a feature of morphologically complex languages such as Turkish (see e.g. Kornfilt 1997) or

Hungarian (see. e.g. Rounds 2001). In these languages, vowel harmony has produced a great number of affixal allomorphs. Siar is a fairly isolating language with only a few affixes, and those affixes that do exist do not contain any of the four vowels that seem to be sensitive to each other. There is also only little affixal allomorphy.

Vowel length is not distinctive in Siar, but vowels may still differ with regard to how long they are in specific words. There does not seem to be a correlation between the length of a vowel and the immediately preceding or following sounds, the number of syllables or types of syllables (open/closed). Consider the following cases:

(21)   **Long vowel**   **Short vowel**

a. *tun*   /tuːn/   'to cook'   *pung*   /puŋ/   'to fall'

          */tun/   */puːŋ/

b. *bèlbèl* /be̞ːl.ˈbe̞ːl/ 'nobody is there'   *mètèk*   /me̞.ˈte̞k/   'new'

          */be̞l.ˈbe̞l/   */me̞ː.ˈte̞ːk/

c. *gurar*   /gu.ˈraːɾ/   'women'   *fat*   /fat/   'stone'

          */gu.ˈraɾ/   */faːt/

The vowels are preceded and followed by sounds of very different types and with different features such as voicing, which suggests that there is no direct influence of the neighbouring sounds on the vowels.

There also does not seem to be a correlation between stress and vowel length. Unstressed syllables may contain both short and longer vowels, just like stressed syllables. In all cases in (21) the stressed syllable contains a short vowel. In the following cases, the stressed syllable contains a longer vowel:

(22)   *kès*   /kɛ̪ːs/   'to sit; to dwell'

         aim   /a.'**iː**m/   'to plant'

2.2   Phonotactic restrictions and requirements

The basic Siar syllable structure is (C) V (C). Almost all phonemes can occur in syllable onsets and codas. An exception is the voiced stops, which cannot occur in the syllable coda. As noted earlier, [f] may only occur in syllable onsets (but not in codas) while [h] may only occur in syllable codas (but not in onsets).

Three other observations must be made with regard to phonotactics. These include the use of the epenthetic vowel /i/ (section §2.2.1), the question of whether there are diphthongs or vowel/glide-sequences in Siar, or both (cf. section §2.2.2) as well the lack of syllable-internal consonant clusters (cf. section §2.2.3).

2.2.1   Epenthetic /i/

In at least one instance, the vowel /i/ is epenthetic. This is the case for the inalienably possessed noun *nuknuk(-)* 'thought; mind' (< *nuk* 'to think') that has a final closed syllable. In order to allow one of the three consonant possessive suffixes (*-k*, *-m* and *-n*) to attach to this word, the vowel /i/ is inserted to break up the syllable-internal consonant cluster, which is not allowed by Siar phonotactics (see section §2.2.3).

(23)   a.   **Inalienably possessed nouns with final open syllables**

      palaru-k   'my face'

      pélénga-m   'your ear'

      tama-n   'his/her father'

      b.   **Inalienably possessed noun with final closed syllable**
             (→ vowel epenthesis)

      nuknuk(-)   'thought'

      nuknuki-k (*nuknuk-k)   'my thought'

      nuknuki-m (*nuknuk-m)   'your thought'

      nuknuki-n (*nuknuk-n)   'his/her thought'

The epenthetic vowel /i/ could be associated with either the nominal root (hence resulting in root allomorphy) or with the possessive suffixes (hence resulting in an additional allomorph for each of the suffixes). Since the noun *nuknuk(-)* appears to be the only form in Siar that makes use of this vowel, it makes sense to assume that the vowel is associated with the nominal root rather than the possessive suffixes, and that the epenthesis is a diachronic process that resulted from phonotactic conditions. It is plausible to assume that this requirement would also apply if there were other consonantal suffixes in Siar that could attach to a noun like *nuknuk*.

2.2.2   Diphthongs and glides

It is feasible to assume that in Siar there are no 'true' diphthongs (i.e. vowel sequences within the same syllable peak), and that potential diphthongs are vowels followed by a glide. This assumption allows us to maintain a canonical (C)V(C) syllable structure. It would follow that every time we find sequences of vowels in a written word, we should analyse them as phonemic sequences of a vowel in the syllable nucleus and a glide in the syllable coda. A similar assumption is made in Ross (2002: 412). Evidence for this approach is outlined below. In (24), some examples of the vowel-glide sequences found in Siar are given.

(24)   **<ai> /aj/**   CVC   *kai*   ART:ANIM.PL

                          CV.CVC   *panai*   'in vain'

                          CVC.CVC   *kailam*   'lizard'

        <au> /aw/   CVC   *lau*   'valley'

                          CV.CVC   *kinau*   'to steal'

                          CVC.CVC   *taubar*   'southeast trade wind'

        (<ei> /ɛj/   CVC   *Réi*   name of a village

                          CV.CVC   *Léséi*   name of a person

        <ói> /ɔj/   CVC   *tói*   'son'

                          CV.CVC   *bakói*   'shark'

        <òi> /o̜j/   CVC   *lòi*   'ant'

                          V.CVC   *inòi*   'full'

                          CVC.CVC   *sòisòi*   'caterpillar'

        <òu> /o̜w/   CVC   *lòu*   'to buy; to pay'

                          CV.CVC   *ragòu*   'hook'

        <uj> /ʉj/   CV.CVC   *pakan nibui* 'wave'

                          CVC.CVC   *buibui*   'bush'

If the glide were located in the syllable nucleus (thus forming a diphthong with the vowel), the coda would in principle remain available to other consonants. We can observe, however, that a sequence of two vowels within one syllable never allows for such a final consonant. Instead, the second vowel and the consonant form a new syllable, with a hiatus between the two vowels. Such a hiatus can easily be identified when reduplication is applied because with (preposed) reduplication only the initial

vowel is reduplicated, indicating that the second vowel is not part of the reduplicated syllable:

(25) *ya.uh*   'cook in earth oven (TR)'   *ya~ya.uh*   'cook in earth oven (ITR)'

　　 la.un   'to live'   *la~la.un*   'life'

Other simple forms are shown below. Note how the second vowel is always elongated. This is a result of the second vowel now being located in the final stressed syllable:

(26) a. **/a/ as first vowel, /u/ as second vowel**

　　　 *tau*n   /ta.ˈuːn/   CV.VC   'in-law'

　　　 *rau*t   /ɾa.ˈuːt/   CV.VC   'pile up'

　　　 *mau*p   /ma.ˈuːp/   CV.VC   'space; room'

　　　 *pau*l   /pa.ˈuːl/   CV.VC   kind of freshwater fish

　　　 *mau*r   /ma.ˈuːɾ/   CV.VC   'areca palm'

　　 b. **/a/ as first vowel, /i/ as second vowel**

　　　 *ai*m   /a.ˈiːm/   V.VC   'to plant'

　　　 *babai*t   /ˌba.ba.ˈiːt/ CV.CV.VC   'to fish'

　　　 *kai*s   /ka.ˈiːs/   CV.VC   'left (direction)'

　　　 *mai*l   /ma.ˈiːl/   CV.VC   kind of banana

　　　 *fai*n   /fa.ˈiːn/   CV.VC   'woman'

In cases where the first vowel in a vowel sequence is /u/, /u/ becomes an on-glide /w/ in spoken Siar and occupies the syllable peak together with the following vowel (27a). In at least one instance, an initial /i/ in such a sequence becomes an on-glide /j/ (27b). Underlyingly, however, these phonetically monosyllabic words are

phonologically disyllabic. In careful pronunciation, they are still pronounced with two separate syllables:

(27)

		Casual pronunciation	**Careful pronunciation**	**Phonemic representation**	
a.	*puai*	[pwaj]	[pu.ˈwaj]	/puai/	'to deny; to reject'
	puar	[pwaːɾ]	[pu.ˈwaːɾ]	/puaɾ/	'be born'
	bual	[bwal]	[bu.ˈwal]	/bual/	'forest'
	buar	[bwaɾ]	[bu.ˈwaːɾ]	/buaɾ/	'to bark'
	kuak	[kwak]	[ku.ˈwak]	/kuak/	'mango'
	kuar	[kwaːɾ]	[ku.ˈwaːɾ]	/kuaɾ/	'to cast a spell'
	suah	[swah]	[su.ˈwah]	/suah/	'to stop'
b.	*Siar*	[sjaːɾ]	[si.ˈʲaːɾ]	/siaɾ/	'Siar (people/language)'

As shown in (27), most of these cases involve the vowel sequence /ua/ (with /u/ becoming the glide /w/) while in the last case, the vowel /i/ that precedes /a/ becomes the glide /j/.

An interesting observation can be made with regard to initial /w/ in the verbs *wakak* 'be good' and *wòt* 'to come'. The initial glide is omitted when the verbs are used as modifiers, resulting in the forms *akak* 'good; well' (28a) and *òt* 'coming' (28b) respectively.

(28) a. *Tó*   *baran*   *róp*   *ón*   *i*   ***wakak*.**
          tó   baran   róp   ó-n   i   **wakak**
          ART:[-ANIM].PL thing   finish OBL-3.SG.POSS   3.SG   **be.good**

       'Everything about it was good.'

                                                                                    (LAM [44])

b. *I   lólóngón   **akak** kòl.*
i   ló~lóngón   **akak** kòl
3.SG RED~cold   **good** very
It   was.cold   **good** very

'It was nicely cold.'

(LAM [38])

(29) a. *Bèl   a **wòt**   kapit.*
bèl   a=**wòt**   kapit
NEG   1.SG=**come** quick

'I could not come quicker.'

(RTK [15])

b. *A yawas   **òt**   tim   gau.*
a=yawas   **òt**   t-im   gau
1.SG=paddle **come** LOC-down (t)here

'I paddled back there.'

(BAB [5])

This distribution is very similar to that of /f/ because like /f/, /w/ is dropped in some words when it occurs initially in a word with a modifying function (e.g. *fain* 'woman', *ain* 'female'). It is very likely that there is a diachronic relation between the glide and the fricative. Consider the following list of cognates: [22]

(30) | **Proto-Oceanic** | **Siar** | **Lambel** | **Kuanua** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *onom* | *wón* | *hono* | | 'six' |
| *ua[tu]* | *(w)òt* | *hot* | *vut* | 'come; go' |
| | *wai* | *huai* | | 'bear fruit' |
| | *wuwur* | *huhur* | | 'work' |

It was shown in Table 9 in section 2.1.1.4 that the fricative /f/ in Siar correlates with /h/ in Lambel and /v/ in Kuanua, and that these sounds go back to Proto-Oceanic */p/. In the above table, the reconstructed proto-forms do not have an initial consonant at all, but still we can observe a correlation between the sounds in Siar,

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[22] Forms taken from Peekel (1915: 96), Mosel (1984: 74) and Lynch et al. (2002: 72, 85).

Lambel and Kuanua. The difference here is that the Siar forms here have an initial glide /w/. The observation that like /f/, the glide /w/ is omitted in some instances suggests that there is a relation between the fricative and the glide in Siar. It is clear though that they remain separate phonemes since they can be distinctive sounds in minimal pairs (e.g. *fat* 'stone' and *wat* 'melon'). Ross (2002: 411) finds a similar correlation and proposes that [w] is an allophone of /f/, but as has been shown here this assumption is not tenable anymore in present-day Siar.

2.2.3   Consonant clusters

Siar phonotactics usually disallow consonant clusters within syllables, but as shown in the previous section, in spoken Siar vowels may sometimes become glides and merge with the preceding consonant (e.g. *Siar* /siaɾ/ [**sja:ɾ**]). When pronouncing words carefully, however, it is clear that in cases like this, there is no combination of consonant and glide but of a consonant and a vowel (/**si**.aɾ/).

The phonotactic rule which disallows consonant clusters within syllables is especially evident when borrowing words from languages with no such restriction:[23]

(31)	**Tok Pisin**	*trausis*	**Siar**	*tarausés*	'trousers'
	Tok Pisin	*glas*	**Siar**	*galas*	'dive with goggles'
					(< Engl. *glasses*)
	Tok Pisin	*skul*	**Siar**	*sukul*	'school'
	Tok Pisin	*plang*	**Siar**	*palang*	'plank'
	English	*Australia*	**Siar**	*Óstérélia*	[ɔs.tɛ.ɾɛ:.li.ʲa]
	English	*string*	**Siar**	*sitiring*	
	English	*taste*	**Siar**	*tès*	
	English	*passenger(s)*	**Siar**	*pasadia*	
	English	*soldier*	**Siar**	*sól(ó)dia*	

---

[23] Since Tok Pisin is an English-lexifier creole, it often difficult to determine which language (English or Tok Pisin) was the immediate source for the borrowing. It should also be noted that some dialects of Tok Pisin also disallow consonant clusters and use similar epenthetic vowels to break them up.

There are basically two options available for breaking up consonant clusters: consonant elision and vowel epenthesis. Vowel epenthesis is the most common mechanism that helps break up consonant clusters, and it is applied in 8 out of the 10 cases in the examples above. The vowel is inserted in between the two consonants that form the cluster. It is usually associated with the first consonant of the cluster with which it then forms a new syllable, thus increasing the total number of syllables by one. The choice of the inserted vowel is not random but depends on either the immediately preceding or immediately following vowel. This is different from the vowel harmony effects discussed earlier in section §2.1.2 because here, vowels such as /a/ and /i/ are also sensitive.[24] In most instances, the following vowel determines the quality of the inserted vowel, but in few instances, the preceding vowel determines it:

Regressive vowel assimilation			Progressive vowel assimilation		
trausis		*tar**a**usés*	*soldier*	→	*s**ó**l**ó**dia*
glas		*ga**l**a**s*			
skul	→	*s**u**k**u**l*			
plang		*pa**l**a**ng*			
Australia		*Óst**é**r**é**lia*			
stiring		*s**i**t**i**ring*			

Table 11: Vowel assimilation during epenthesis
(inserted vowels in bold print, determining vowels underlined)

Consonant elision (like in *tès* 'tas**t**e' and *tarausés* 'trouse**r**s') is much less common. Consonant clusters occur in both source languages and have important distinctive properties there. It is then probable that Siar speakers try to keep these distinctive properties in order to make themselves understood. This is perhaps why epenthesis is more common because it does not remove distinctive sounds from the borrowed words which makes it easier for the hearer to track down its origin and meaning.

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[24] This reminds one of the two vowel harmonies in Turkish, one in which assimilation can only result in the two vowels /e/ and /a/ (small vowel harmony), and one in which assimilation can result in the four vowels /i/, /ɪ/, /u/ and /ü/ (great vowel harmony).

2.3 The phonology of reduplication

Reduplication is a very productive process in Siar (cf. section §3.1.4 for a morphological and functional description). With regard to the phonology of reduplication, the following five subtypes can be distinguished:

1. **Complete leftward reduplication**   (common)
2. **Partial leftward reduplication**   (common)
3. **Irregular reduplication or lexical derivation**   (rare)

Examples for each type are shown below:

(32)   **Complete leftward reduplication (including the syllable coda)**

    a.   **Monosyllabic roots**

ka.bah	'ask (once)'	*ka~kabah*	'ask (ITR)'
ya.uh	'cook (TR)'	*ya~yauh*	'cook (ITR)'
ta.sim	'know'	*ta~tasim*	'knowledge'
ngis	'beautiful'	*ngis~ngis*	'beauty; blessing'
mér	'decorate'	*mér~mér*	'decoration'

    b.   **Polysyllabic roots**

a.yap	'Come here!'	*ayap~yap*	'quick'
la.man.tin	'be big (SG)'	*lamantin~tin*	'be big (PL)'

(33)   **Partial leftward reduplication (not including the syllable coda)**

a.   **Monosyllabic roots**

mal.was	'breathe'	*ma~malwas*	'soft'
mas.kai	'different'	*ma~maskai*	'difference'
kuk	'shout'	*ku~kuk*	'shouting'
bing	'press; push'	*bi~bing*	'pressing; pushing'

b.   **Polysyllabic roots**

a.sóng	'to trick; deceive (SG)'	*asó~sóng*	'to trick; deceive (PL)'
ma.tut	'be afraid'	*matu~tut*	'afraid'
ki.nòng	'to wrap'	*kinò~nòng*	'(the / a) wrapping'

(34)   **Irregular reduplication or suppletion**

liu	'to run'	*li~li* (also *liu-liu)*	'to escape'
fa.nat	'child'	*na~nat*	'children'
fa.nu	'city'	*an~anu*	'cities'
fat	'stone'	*atatat*	'stones' (triplication)

Assuming that all reduplication processes are leftward allows us to limit the types of reduplication to three. Cases such as *mér~mér* 'decoration' and *ngis~ngis* 'beauty; blessing' could also be said to be cases of rightward reduplication. However, there are no rightward reduplications of syllables that omit the coda in the base (e.g. **ngis~ngi* or **mér~mé*, or any other form). The cases in (32b) look as if the final syllable in the derived form is the reduplicant, but if that were the case we would have to assume that rightward reduplication is also possible in Siar, which would lead to more types of reduplication, with both CV reduplications and CVC reduplications. The polysyllabic

reduplications in (36) are all cleary leftward because the reduplicant to the left always contains less phonetic material than its base to the right.

The case of *li~li* 'escape; run away' in (34) is unusual because it allows for two reduplications, one which is regular (*liu~liu*) and one which is irregular (*li~li*). There does not appear to be a difference in meaning between the two forms. The three other irregular cases all involve an initial fricative /f/ which we have said to also behave in unusual ways in other contexts (§2.1.1.4). These three forms show different reduplication patterns. What they have in common is that the fricative is deleted in the derived form. The cases of *na~nat* 'children' and *an~anu* 'cities' suggest that a leftward reduplication has taken place because the reduplicant contains less phonetic material than the base it is reduplicated from. But it remains unclear why *fanat* is not reduplicated to **an~anat*. The case of *an~anu* though would perfectly fit into the reduplication type in (36b) if it did not involve the fricative /f/. The case of *atatat* 'stones' looks like a case of triplication, a derivation that has not been observed with any other forms in Siar. In principle, it could be said to be a reduplication of the types in both (32) and (33), but again the deletion of the initial fricative as well as the observation that it reduplicates twice instead of just once requires us to regard it as an exceptional case. Rowe (2005: 11) also reports the reduplicated form *atat* 'stones' which I have not observed in my own data. However, there is a place on the east coast named *Atat*, which presumably refers to a rocky area. If there is free variation between *atat* and *atatat*, then the latter form appears to be more common. In other related languages (such as Kuanua and Patpatar[25]), the noun *fat* 'stone' keeps its form for the plural.

The type of reduplication associated with each lexeme cannot be predicted but is an idiosyncrasy stored in the lexicon. That is, there is no plausible reason for why a word such as *mér* 'decorate' is reduplicated to *mérmér* and not to **mémér* (both forms are phonetically well-formed). As is also discussed in section §3.1.4, some roots can be reduplicated in two ways, and each reduplication has a different grammatical function, as is the case in the following examples:

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[25] see Mosel (1984: 70) for Kuanua, and Peekel (1909: 33) and Condra (1989: 146) for Patpatar

(35) *gós* 'wash (TR)'   ***gó~gós*** 'wash (ITR)'   ***gós~gós***   'wash'

                                                                    (non-SG subject)

    tòl 'do'   ***tò~tòl***   'grab'   ***tòl~tòl***_{N, V}   'job; habit;

                                                                    to handle'

2.4   Stress patterns

In Siar, primary stress always falls on the final syllable in disyllabic and, naturally, monosyllabic words, thus resulting in iambic feet:

(36) **Disyllabic words**   σ.ˈσ

    akak   [a.ˈkak]   'good; well'

    èkèt   [e̞.ˈke̞t]   'to scrape firewood'

    lamas   [la.ˈmas]   'coconut'

    kamis   [ka.ˈmiːs]   'sun'

    tibé   [ti.ˈbɛ]   'to share'

    tasim   [ta.ˈsiːm]   'to know'

    tòstòs [to̞s.ˈto̞s]   'straight; correct'

    manlar [man.ˈlaɾ]   'light; clear'

    sólsól [sɔl.ˈsɔl]   'sky; air'

While monosyllablic and disyllabic words are the most common, trisyllabic words can also frequently be found. Often they include a reduplicated morpheme. In these cases, the final syllable carries the stress and secondary stress is put on the first syllable:

(37) **Trisyllabic words**   ˌσ.σ.ˈσ

agayah	[ˌa.ga.ˈjah]	'noisy'
ayapyap	[ˌa.jap.ˈjap]	'quick'
banamus	[ˌba.na.ˈmuːs]	kind of bird
bibilór	[ˌbi.bi.ˈlɔɾ]	'yucky; disgusting'
kabinòh	[ˌka.bɪ.ˈno̥h]	kind of earth oven
lamantin	[ˌla.man.ˈtiːn]	'be big'
manmani	[ˌman.ma.ˈni]	'flying fox'
sangulih	[ˌsa.ŋuː.ˈlɪh]	'ten'

Words with four syllables are less common. They often refer to names or types of fish and trees etc; and some of them are diachronic reduplications which have fossilized (38a). Four-syllable words can also be derivations of trisyllabic words with an additional morpheme. Reduplicated morphemes are less common, but the causative prefix *a-* is often found and attaches itself as a separate syllable (38b).

(38)   **Four-syllabic words**   σ.ˌσ.σ.ˈσ

    a.   **Morphologically simple**

barumayat	[ba.ˌɾuː.ma.ˈjat]	kind of sea shell
békébéké	[bɛ.ˌkɛ.bɛ.ˈkɛ]	kind of saltwater fish
tóbólómó	[tɔ.ˌbɔ.lɔ.ˈmɔ]	kind of freshwater fish
kabalapan	[ka.ˌba.la.ˈpan]	'bow'
kabasinót	[ka.ˌba.sɪ.ˈnot̞]	'burning stick'
kabókaból	[ka.ˌbɔ.ka.ˈbɔl]	kind of sea shell
kalmumuku-	[kal.ˌmu.mu.ˈku]	'tail'
lélitaura	[lɛ.ˌlɪ.taw.ˈɾa]	kind of tree

    b.   **Morphologically complex**

a-pépélé	[a.ˌpɛ.pɛ.ˈlɛ]	'make somebody struggle' (CAUS)
a-lamantin	[a.ˌla.man.ˈtiːn]	'cause to grow' (CAUS)

Only two five-syllabic words have been observed, and remarkably enough, these two forms are morphologically simple. The regular stress pattern is applied here with primary stress on the final syllable and secondary stress on every second syllable that precedes it (thus including the first syllable):

(39) **Five-syllabic words**   ˌσ.σ.ˌσ.σ.ˈσ

kabakanawis	[ˌka.ba.ˌka.na.ˈwɪs]	'blowfish; scorpion fish'
sibóróbóró[26]	[ˌsɪ.bɔ.ˌɾɔ.bɔ.ˈɾɔ]	'kind of insect; helicopter (which is said to fly like this insect)'

Reportedly, there are different stress patterns in Kabóman village, the northernmost village on the west coast along which Lambel, Kandas and Ramoaaina are also

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[26] It is likely that this noun originally involved a reduplication, but synchronically this form is only comprised of a single morpheme only and cannot be analysed any further (**sibóró-bóró*). Note that there are many other forms that look like reduplications but which cannot be analysed into separate morphemes (e.g. *bòrbòr* 'sleep', but **bòr*).

spoken. Presumably, this different pattern is a result of language contact. I have not been able to collect any data from this village, and further research would be very interesting.

In some instances, the stress pattern can help to identify borrowings because borrowings often do not match the Siar pattern:

(40)　　*pusi*　　[pu.ˈsɪ]　　'to douse'

　　　　pusi　　[ˈpu.sɪ]　　'cat' (Tok Pisin)

[ˈpu.sɪ] is the Tok Pisin word meaning 'cat' and the two lexemes are distinct since the stress is not on the final syllable as would be expected.

The stress pattern is also ignored in some proper nouns, where the primary stress may fall on other syllables:

(41)　　*Lamassa*　　[la.ˈma.sa]　　　　'Lamassa (Island)'

　　　　Óstérélia　　[ˌɔs.tɛ.ˈrɛː.li.ˌja]　　'Australia'

The stress placement can in both cases be explained diachronically. The place name *Lamassa* is actually a sequence of the two words *lamas* 'coconut' and the restrictive marker *sa* 'only', thus referring to a place with an abundance of coconuts ('only coconuts'). The noun *lamas* itself carries stress on its final syllable, and this stress remains there even after the restrictive marker is 'attached' to it, hence the stress on the penultimate syllable in the place name. The proper noun *Óstérélia* is a borrowing from English *Australia*, where stress falls on the second syllable. The stress in the Siar name is moved to the third syllable because the second syllable is only a result of a vowel epenthesis. Moving the primary stress to the third syllable stresses the same segment as in the English word.

2.5　　Intonation patterns and prosody

Four general intonation patterns can be observed in Siar. The choice of intonational pattern depends on the type of clause that is produced.

a)   Declarative and imperative clauses (gradual drop towards the end of the clause)

b)   Content questions (rise and drop)

c)   Polar questions (gradual rise)

d)   Questions tags (gradual drop, then rise)

Each pattern and some variants of them is illustrated in the following sections.

2.5.1   Declarative and imperative clauses (gradual drop)

Declarative clauses are characterized by a gradual drop of the pitch contour towards
the end of the clause. Consider the following example:

(42) *Ép*   *barsan*   *ning*   *él*   *mat.*
       ép   barsan   ning   él   mat
       ART:CO1   man   DEM.[-SG].ANA   3.SG-IRR   die

       'That man would die.'

                                                                  (WAH [17])

The pitch contour for the above utterance is shown below:
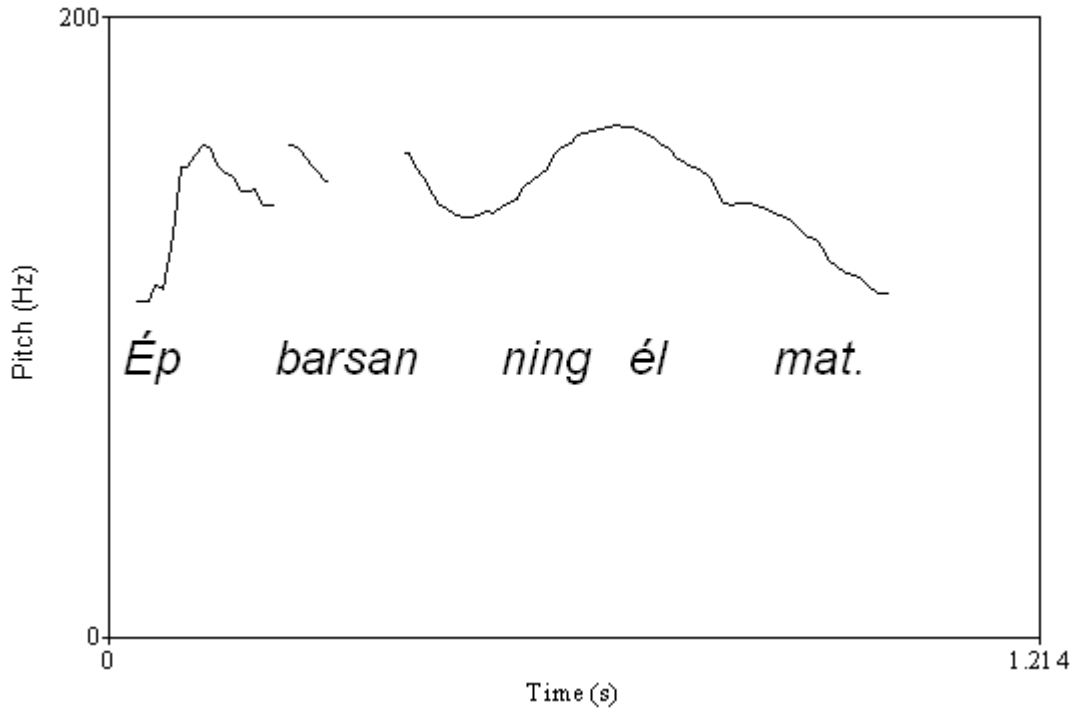
Figure 3: A typical pitch contour for declarative clauses

The pitch contour first rises with the utterance of the subject *ép barsan ning* 'that man', but then drops with the utterance of the predicate, starting with the modal subject marker *él*.

A similar contour can be observed for imperative or imperative-like clauses such as the following:

(43) *Ól*   *bas*   *lós*   *tar*   *ya'kasai*   *an*   *mas!*
         ó-l   bas   lós   tar   ya(u)=ka-Ø-sai   an   mas
         2.SG-IRR   must   carry PRF   1.SG=ALL-(LOC-)DIST   at   beach

'You must bring me up to the beach! '

(TAM [23])

The pitch contour for this utterance is illustrated below. Note how again the drop towards the end of the utterance is only gradual, starting with the preposition *an*:
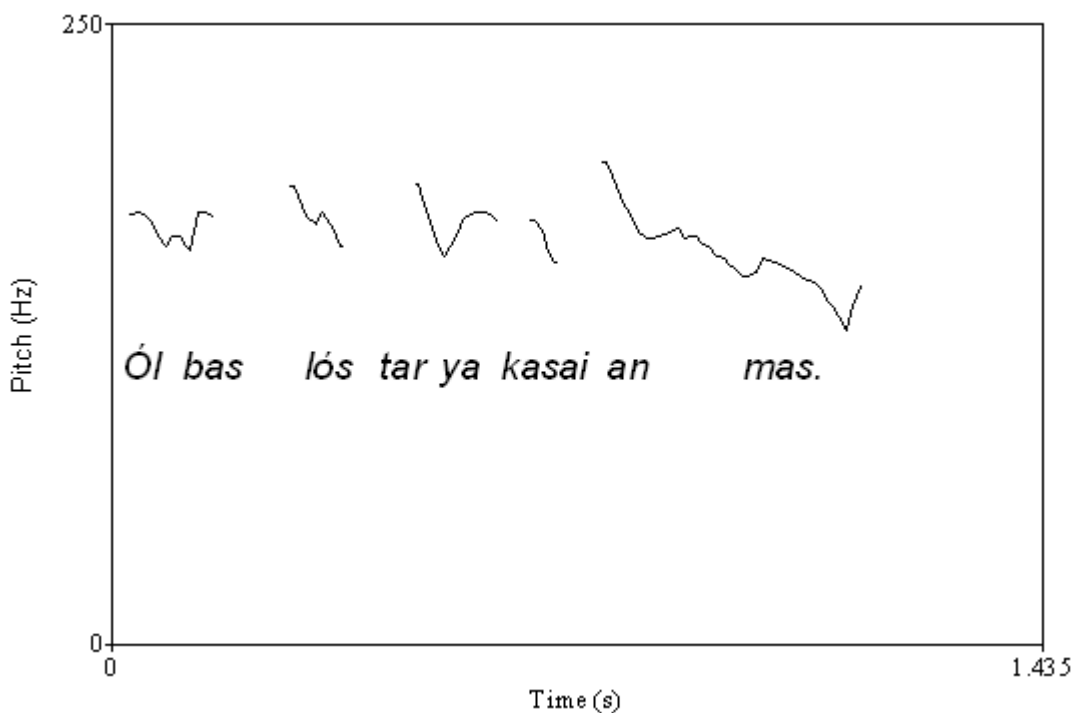
Figure 4: A pitch contour for a typical imperative or imperative-like clause

The small rise at the very end is a result of an elongated final sibilant /s/ in the word *mas* 'beach' and hence a periodic effect and not a prosodic feature.

There may for instance also be declarative clause with a rise at the end. Such rises can often be observed with postverbal marking, as in the following example:

(44) *Mèt*   *sòt*   *tó'gau*   *ón*   *ép*
      mèt   sòt   t-ó(ng)=gau   ó-n   ép
      1.PL.EX   land.on.shore LOC-*back*=there OBL-POSS ART:CO1

      bòng   *ma.*
      bòng   ma
      night   TRANS

      'We landed (the boat) there at night.'

(KÈL [11])

As is shown in the diagram below, the pitch contour also drops towards the end, but then rises again with the utterance of the event transition marker *ma*.
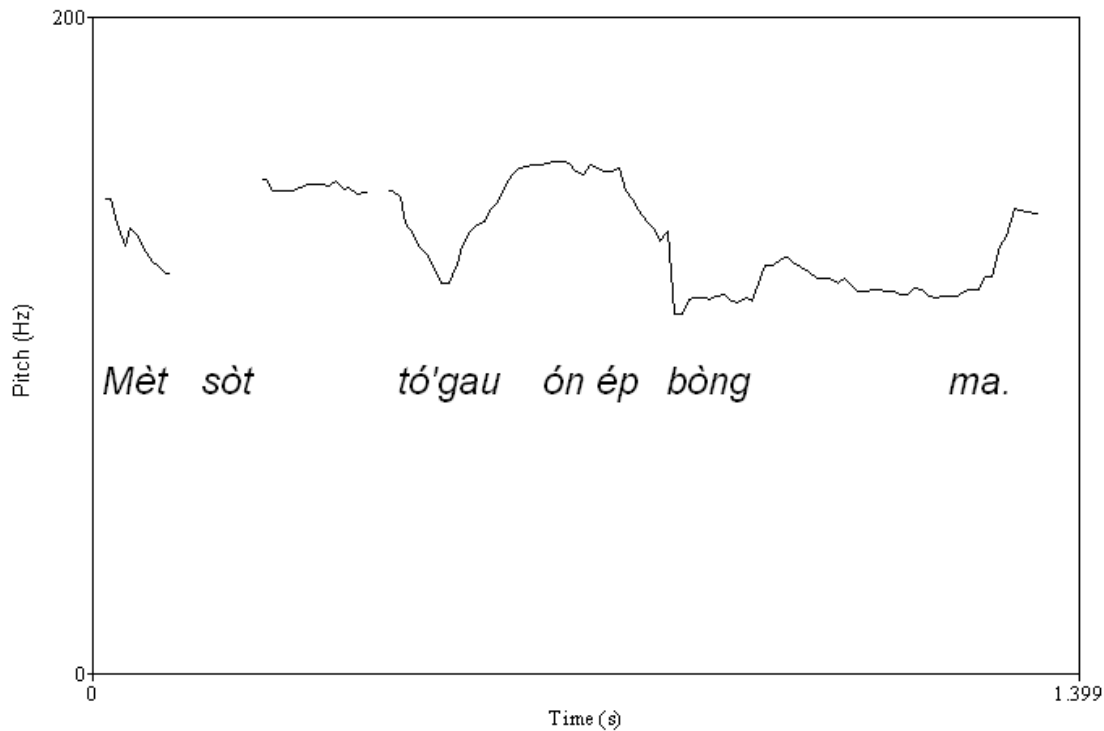
Figure 5: A declarative sentence with postverbal marking

Variations like this should be kept in mind when looking at the remaining pitch contours in the following sections.

2.5.2   Content questions (rise and drop)

Content questions involve one of the interrogative forms *as* 'who', *langsing* 'when', *sah* 'what/which', *móh* 'how' or any demonstrative form involving the interrogative demonstrative root *-ah*. In content questions, the pitch contour rises sharply with the

utterance of the interrogative word and then drops towards the end of the clause. Consider the following example:

(45)   a.   *A*   *in*   *ép*   *yai*   *i*   *da,*
              a   (f)in ép   yai   i   d-a
              ART:CO2   fruit ART:CO1   tree   3.SG DEM.SG-PROX

        b.   *m'a*   *in*   *ép*   *yai* **sah** *i*   *da?*
              m(a)=a   (f)in ép   yai **sah** i   d-a
              now=ART:CO2 fruit ART:CO1   tree **INT** 3.SG DEM.SG-PROX

              'This is a fruit, but from which tree?'

                                                                 (LAM [11])

The first part of the utterance in (45a) sets up a contextual frame for the following interrogative (and is not represented in the diagram below). The second part in (45b) is the actual interrogative clause. The first half of the pitch contour is slowly falling but then sharply rising with the utterance of the interrogative noun *sah* (at about the right half of the centre), and then the pitch drops again:
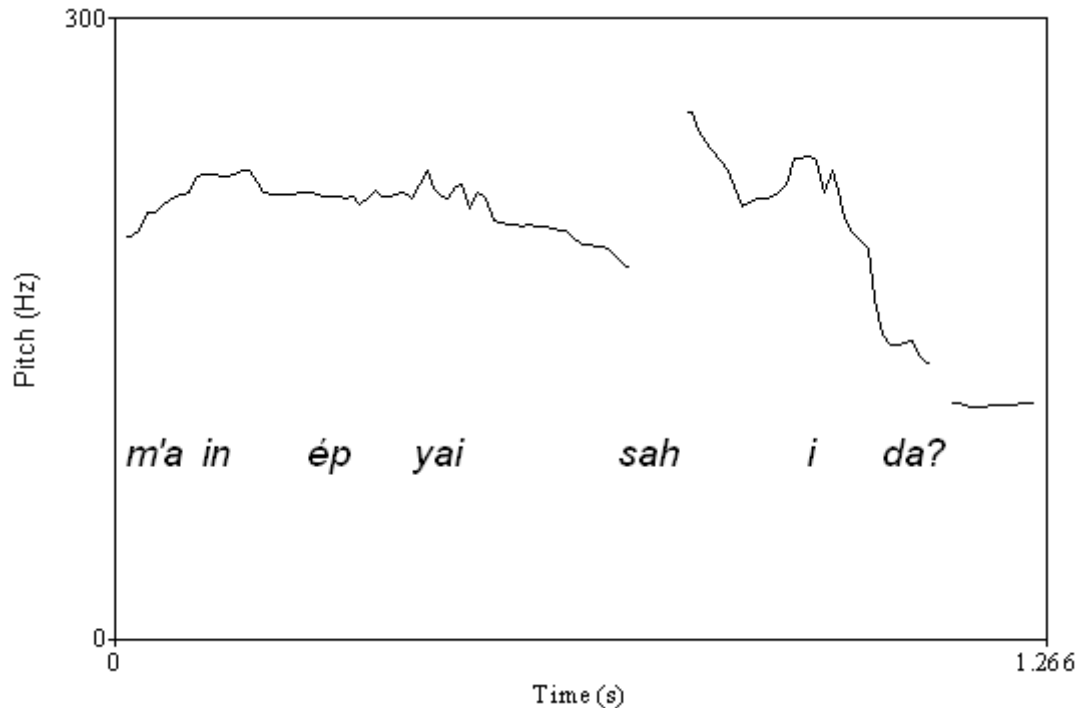
Figure 6: A typical pitch contour for a content interrogative

Content interrogatives may also have the interrogative word at the very beginning or end of the clause. The pattern in both cases is the same: the interrogative form is

accompanied by a rising pitch whereas the other parts of the utterance tend to have a significantly lower pitch.

The pitch contour of content questions is similar to that of declarative sentences, but differs in that in declarative sentences the final drop is gradual whereas in content questions it is stronger.

2.5.3 Polar questions (rise)

Polar questions require either a *yes* or *no* as an answer. Polar questions are characteristic of a sharp rise of the final syllable of the utterance. An example is given below:

(46) | *Amat* | *él* | | *nós* | *tar* | *ón* | | *a* | | *in* |
| amat | é-l | | nós | tar | ó-n | | a | | (f)in |
| 2.PL | 3.SG-IRR | | look | PRF | OBL-POSS | | ART:CO2 | | fruit |

ép		*yai*	*nè?*
ép		yai	n-è
ART:CO1		tree	DEM.[-SG]-IND

'Will you look after this fruit of the tree?'

(LAM [14])

The pitch contour for above utterance is shown below:
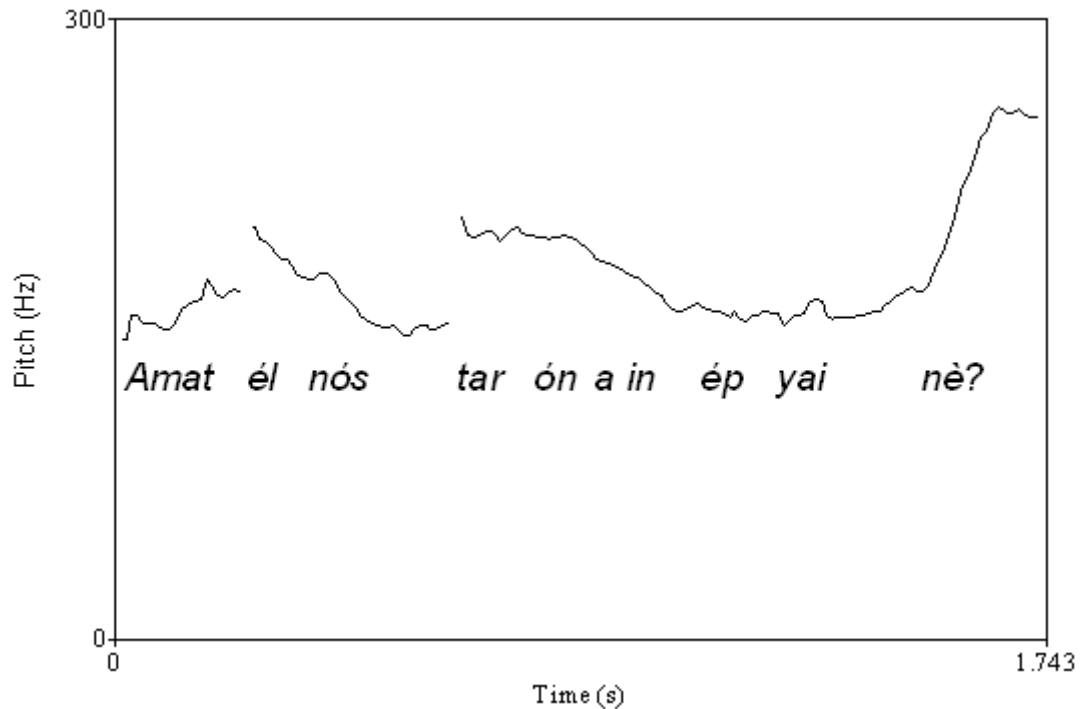
Figure 7: A typical pitch contour for polar interrogatives

The sharp rise in this case begins on the indexical demonstrative *nè* 'this.one'. There is no interrogative form in this utterance. Therefore, the sharp rise at the end indicates that a reply is expected.

2.5.4 Question tags (drop and rise)

Question tags turn declarative or imperative statements into questions. There are two question tag markers used in Siar: *aró* 'isn't it?' and *pèh* 'right?; eh?; okay?'. They differ in that *aró* is a strong question tag that only occurs sentence-finally where it is usually preceded by a pause, whereas *pèh* is less strong and can be located in other positions in the sentence where it is usually not preceded by a pause. This means that *arò* operates on the clause level whereas *pèh* operates on the phrase level. An example for a question tag with the strong marker *aró* is shown below:

(47)   *U   sa   n'u   kinau   tar   andan,   aró?*
       u   sa   n(a)=u   kinau   tar   andan   aró
       2.SG   RESTR REL=2.SG steal   PRF   pandanus **QTAG**

'It was you who stole the pandanus, wasn't it?'

(TAI [18])

The pitch contour for this utterance is shown in the diagram below. The pitch slowly drops with the initial statement but then sharply rises with the strong question tag marker *aró*:
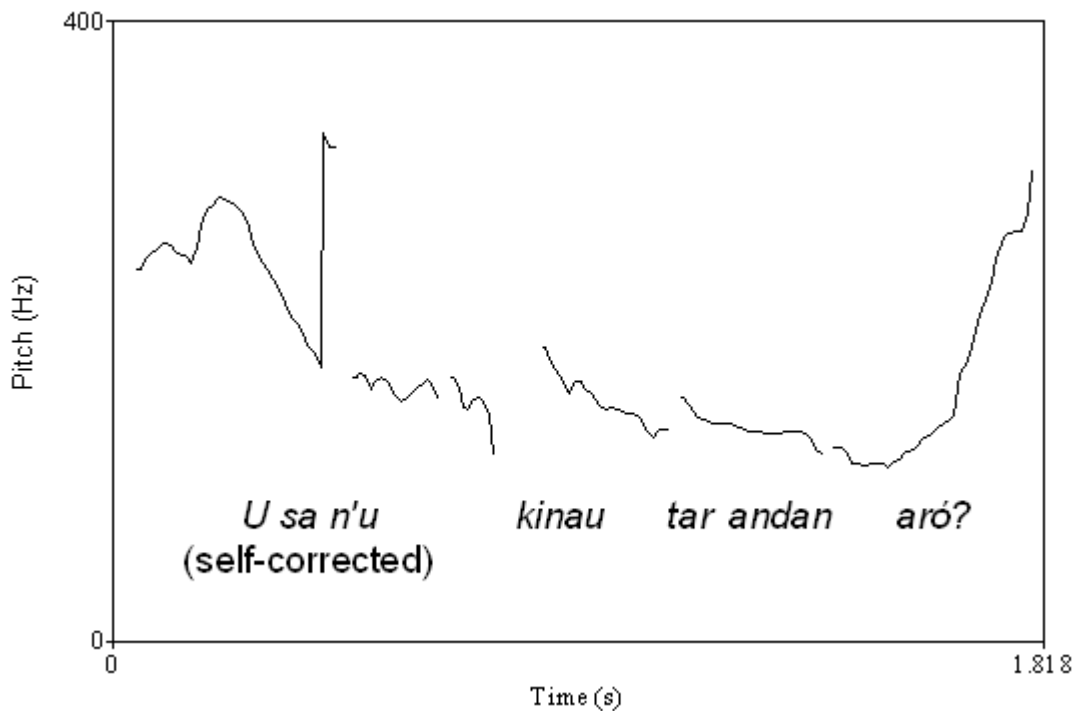
Figure 8: A typical pitch contour for a question tag with aró

The initial peak at about 0.42 seconds and its subsequent drop are a result of self-correction of a preceding utterance not reflected in (47) above and is not relevant for the generalization of a question tag pitch contour.

The weak question tag marker *pèh* can also occur sentence-finally, resulting in a similar pitch contour like for *aró*. But it may also occur in an unstressed position in the sentence where its presence can hardly be seen in the pitch contour:

(48) *Dé'kél*   *kòt*   *tòstòs*   *ma*   **pèh**   *tó*
      di(t)=k-é-l   kòt   tòstòs   ma   **pèh**   tó
      3.PL=FOC-3.SG-IRR cut   straight   TRANS **QTAG** ART.[-ANIM].PL

limak.
lima-k
arm-1.SG.POSS

'They were about to cut my arm off properly, right?'[27]

(WAI [129])

The pitch contour for this utterance is shown below. *Pèh* is accompanied by only a small rise (indicated by the oval in the diagram below). It is not significantly higher than for other words or syllables in that utterance.
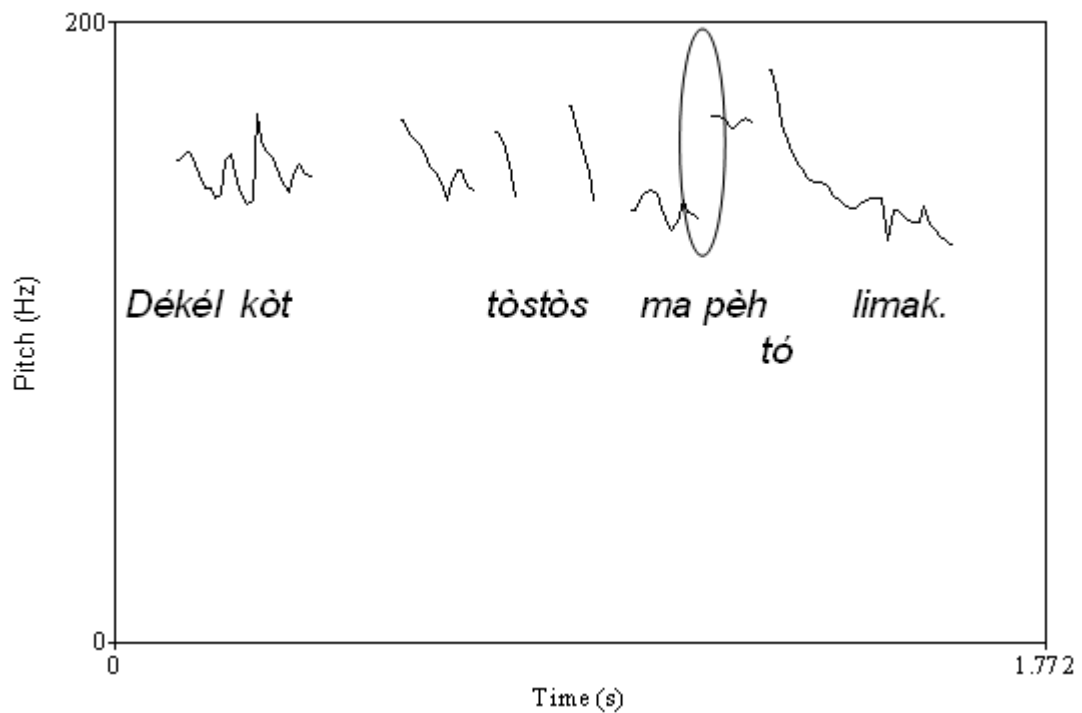
Figure 9: Pitch contour for a weak question tag with *pèh*

2.6 Clitics

Clitics are words that are grammatically independent but phonologically dependent, which makes them a category between a word and an affix (see e.g. Zwicky 1985, Dixon 2010). Clitics cannot be stressed or form a complete utterance.

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[27] Note that the English translation again employs a question tag. It would be more precise to translate it as *They were about to cut off **eh** my arm*.

Cliticization is quite common in spoken Siar and is also an important feature of some grammatical categories. The latter is especially true for the pronoun system (cf. section §4.3) where free pronouns often form pairs with clitic subject markers. Free pronouns may be stressed (49a) and can function as object pronouns whereas clitics cannot (49b).

(49)   a.   ***Yau**, **a** inan.*
               yau   **a=**inan
               1.SG   **1.SG=**go

               'As for me, I went.'

    b.   *Ép   barsan i rè   **(yau / *=a)**.*
               ép   barsan   i=rè   **(yau / *=a)**
               ART:CO1 man   3.SG=see **1.SG / =1.SG**

               'The man saw me.'

It is clear that the subject marker clitics are not affixes. One reason is that other affixes or particles may occur in between the clitic and its host. In these cases, the clitic attaches to the inserted element. In the following example, the clitic subject marker *a=* attaches to the invariant adverb *malik* 'again' rather than to the verb, as is the case in (49a) above.

(50)   *Yau **a** malik   inan.*
        yau   **a=**malik   inan
        1.SG   **1.SG=**REP   go

        'As for me, I went again.'

In addition to pronominal clitics, various other kinds of grammatical particles can also undergo cliticization. In the following examples, a demonstrative, a locative pronoun, a preposition and a subject marker are cliticized (51a). (51b) shows what the same utterance would look like if no clitics were employed and the full forms would be used instead.

(51)   a.   **Cliticized form**

Ti'ga' rak'a'na   matò kaptur.
t-i(ng)=ga(u)=rak=(l)a(r)=n-a   matò=kaptur
LOC-ANA=there=want=like=DEM.[-SG]-PROX   1.PAU.EX=take.off
'Then we took off like that.'

(LAK [7])

b.   **Uncliticized form**

Ting	*gau*	*rak*	*lar*	*na*	*matòl*	*kaptur.*
t-ing	gau	rak	lar	n-a	matòl	kaptur
LOC-ANA	(t)here	want	like	DEM.[-SG]-PROX	1.PAU.EX	take.off

'Then we took off like that.'

Frequent targets of cliticization processes are monosyllabic particles made up of open syllables which are followed by words with an initial open syllable, such as the relational marker *na* (52a), the event transition marker *ma* (52b) and the restrictive marker *sa* (52c), which are followed by words with an initial open syllable:

(52)   a.

Mèt	*ki*	*rè*	**n'ép**	*taim*	*ma*	*kón*
mèt	k-i	rè	**n(a)=ép**	taim	ma	kón
1.PAU.EX	FOC-3.SG	see	**REL=ART:COM**	time	TRANS	PURP

isis.
is~is
RED~return

'We saw that it was time to go back.'

(LÒU [19])

b.   *Yau*   **m'alò**   *al*   *kès*   *ting*   *an*   *pótór.*
       yau   **m(a)=alò**   a-l   kès   t-ing   an   pótór
       1.SG **TRANS=again** 1.SG-IRR sit LOC-ANA at middle

    'I will sit in the middle again.'

<div align="right">(TAM [6])</div>

c.   *Bèl* *a*   *Matlai*   *i*   *ding*   *i*   *pus*
       bèl a   Matlai   i   d-ing   i   pus
       NEG ART:CO2 Morning.Star 3.SG DEM.SG-ANA 3.SG come.out

    ma[28] *é*   *Kalang* **s'i**   *ding.*
       ma é   Kalang **s(a)=i**   d-ing
       but ART:PROP moon   **RESTR=3.SG** DEM.SG-ANA

    'That is not the Morning Star that is rising, it is only the moon.'

<div align="right">(AMP 2 [18])</div>

Cliticization is often regarded as a typical step in the process of grammaticalization (and thereafter). Grammaticalization is usually considered to be unidirectional (see e.g. Hopper 1991, Closs Traugott 1991). However, I have observed some younger speakers of Siar also using clitic pronouns as free and stressed pronouns, as in the following examples:

(53)   a.   **Matò,**   **matò**   *inan* *matò*   *sólsól*   *sa.*
          Matò(l)   **matò(l)**   inan matò   sólsól   sa
          1.PAU.EX **1.PAU.EX** go   1.PAU.EX walk.through.bush RESTR

      'As for us, we went and just walked through the bush.'

<div align="right">(WUWUR [x])</div>

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[28] This event transition marker *ma* can also proclitically attach to the following article *é*, resulting in *m(a)=é*, but that was not done in this specific utterance.

b. *Na*   *matò*   *warai*   *dira,*   *"Amra* *m'alò,*   **amra***
   na   matò   war-ai   dira(u)   **amra(u)** m(a)=alò   **amra(u)**
   REL   1.PAU.EX   speak-TR   3.DU   **2.DU**   TRANS=again **2.DU**

   inan *amra*   *akas*   *kuk"* *ap*   ***dira***   ***dira***   *bèl*   *ma*
   inan amra   akas   kuk ap   **dira(u)**   **dira(u)**   bèl   ma
   go   2.DU   dig.out   crab and   **3.DU**   **3.DU**   NEG   TRANS

   dira   *rak.*
   dira   rak
   3.DU   want

   "When we told the two, *'You two will go digging crabs again.'* they did not want to."

                                    (KUK [6])

c. *Dira*   *mung,*   ***mara*** ***mara***   *mur.*
   dira(u)   mung   **mara(u)** **mara(u)**   mur
   3.DU   lead   **1.DU.EX** **1.DU.EX**   follow

   'The two went ahead, (and) the two of us, we followed.'

                                    (WÒT [26])

The free and stressed forms are the same as the subject markers that precede the verbs. The same can be observed with object pronouns. This means that in some younger Siar speakers' grammar, the clitic has become a free form again, contrary to the unidirectionality principle, or it could be described as free variation. However, this behaviour has only been observed with non-singular pronouns.

2.7   Orthographic representation

The question of how to represent sounds orthographically is an important one in every language. For Siar, orthographies and spelling systems were proposed in Erdman (1991), Erdman & Goring (1992), Ross (2002) and Rowe (2005) in various degrees of detail. The orthography that is proposed here differs in some respects from the other ones, mainly in the use of different diacritics for some vowels. The main aim of the orthography proposed here is transparency and ease of remembering.

     The general approach has been to spell words phonemically, but it is clear that some phonological particularities in Siar need to be represented in special ways. This includes the glides /j/ and /w/ (section §2.7.1), the fricative /f/ (section §2.7.2), the

raised vowels /ẹ/ and /ọ/ (section §2.7.3), the nasal /ŋ/ (section §2.7.4) and clitics (section §2.7.5). The following table gives an overview:

Consonants		Vowels	
Phonemic	**Orthographic**	**Phonemic**	**Orthographic**
/p/	\<p>	/i/	\<i>
/b/	\<b>	/ẹ/	\<è>
/t/	\<t>	/ɛ/	\<é>
/d/	\<d>	/a/	\<a>
/k/	\<k>	/u/	\<u>
/g/	\<g>	/ọ/	\<ò>
/m/	\<m>	/ɔ/	\<ó>
/n/	\<n>		
/ŋ/	\<ng>		
/ɾ/	\<r>		
/f/	/f/ → \<f> / #_		
	/f/ → \<h> / _#		
/s/	\<s>		
/l/	\<l>		
/w/	/w/ → \<w> / #_		
	/w/ → \<u> / _#		
/j/	/j/ → \<y> / #_		
	/j/ → \<i> / _#		

Table 12: Orthographic representation of phonemes

(# represents a syllable boundary)

2.7.1   The glides /j/ and /w/

One frequent question when establishing orthographies is how the glides /j/ and /w/ should be represented. The decision is sometimes dependent on whether these two phonemes are consonants or parts of diphthongs. In section §2.2.2 we assumed that there are no diphthongs in Siar but only sequences of vowels and consonants. This suggests that the glides should be represented as <j> (or, following the English tradition, <y>) and <w> (instead of <i> and <u> respectively). Another option is apparent in the Kuanua spelling, which represents /j/ as <i> in syllable onsets (and all other syllable positions).

I have elicited speakers' intuitive spelling of glides in different syllable positions and different types of syllable combinations in order to develop a transparent orthography for Siar speakers which is easy to apply and remember.[29] The result is shown in the table below:

		Older speakers → Younger speakers (Kuanua-like spelling → English-like spelling)					
		Speaker 1	**Speaker 2**	**Speaker 3**	**Speaker 4**	**Speaker 5**	**Speaker 6**
/j/	***yayauh*** 'cook (itr.)'	*iaiavuh*	*ia ia uoh*	*yayauh*	*iaiauh*	*yayauh*	
	mayat 'reef'	*maiat*	*mayat*				
	kailam 'lizard'	*kailam*					
	bòròi 'pig'	*boroi*					
/w/	***warai*** 'tell'	*warai*			*varai*	*warai*	
	kawas 'move up'	*kavas*	*kawas*		*kavas*	*kawas*	
	taulai 'married'	*taulai*					
	pòu 'capsize'	*pou*			*pohu*	*pou*	*pouh*

Table 13: Orthographic representation of glides in different syllable positions by native speakers

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[29] Siar speakers had not tried to develop a coherent orthography system themselves, although individual speaker use their unique ways of representing words (e.g. by separating reduplicated morphemes by a hyphen).

Six speakers of different ages were asked to write down a set of eight words which contained glides in different syllable positions. Older speakers who were educated in Kuanua tended to represent /j/ as <i> in all syllable positions, like in the Kuanua spelling. Younger speakers who were educated in English, on the other hand, represent it with <y> in syllable-initial position, like in the English spelling. However, all age groups agree in always representing the glide /j/ as <i> instead of <j> or <y> when in syllable-final position.

A similar observation can be made for the glide /w/. This phoneme does not exist in some dialects of Kuanua, the equivalent of /w/ being the voiced bilabial fricative /ɸ/ in these cases, written <v> (SIL 2004). Since Kuanua /ɸ/ corresponds to Siar /w/[30], older Siar speakers do not distinguish the two phonemes, and this explains why they also tend to represent the Siar glide /w/ with a <v>. Younger speakers again follow the English tradition of representing /w/ as <w>. What is common across all age groups is that in syllable-final position, /w/ is always represented as <u> and never as <w>.

These observations lead us to propose the following spelling conventions for the glides /j/ and /w/ in order to make them easy to remember and to apply for Siar speakers.

/**j**/   is represented as <y> in syllable-initial position

is represented as <i> in syllable-final position

/**w**/   is represented as <w> in syllable-initial position

is represented as <u> in syllable-final position

As is also suggested in Ross (2002: 412), this representation is at odds with our assumption that there are no diphthongs in Siar because under the convention

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[30] In some varieties of Siar there is also a phone [ɸ], but this sound is an allophone of /f/ (cf. section §2.1.1.4).

proposed above, the vowels and glides may both appear as written vowels, thus suggesting a diphthong.

(54) a. *lau*   [law]   /law/   'valley'

         pòu   [pǫw]   /pǫw/   'to capsize'

     b. *tai*   [taj]   /taj/   'to steer'

         bakói [ba.ˈkɔj] /bakɔj/   'shark'

         bòròi   [bǫ.ˈɾɔj] /bǫɾɔj/   'pig'

However, for the reasons given above, this spelling is more intuitive for all Siar speakers and therefore easier for future generations to learn.

As Ross also points out, this spelling comes with another advantage. In (26) it was shown that in some Siar words there is a sequence of two vowel graphemes which do not form a diphthong but make up a hiatus (e.g. *babait* [ˌba.ba.ˈit] 'fishing'). For Siar learners there is no graphemic clue as to how this word should be pronounced, with a hiatus or with a vowel and glide. If we assume that there are no diphthongs in Siar, then two adjacent vowels need to make up separate syllables and hence be pronounced as hiati. It is then clear that *babait* is pronounced the way it is pronounced and not with a vowel and glide because there is a consonant /t/ following the vowel /i/. If we assume an underlying (C) V (C) structure, and the nucleus and coda are already occupied by the vowel and glide respectively, then the final stop needs to be located in a separate syllable. Since /t/ cannot be syllabic, it needs a vowel to form a syllable, which can only be /i/. Hence, the word must be pronounced with a hiatus and syllable break rather than with a vowel-glide-sequence.

2.7.2 The fricative /f/

It was shown in section §2.1.1.4 that an initial labiodental fricative /ɸ/ is omitted in certain contexts. We here follow Ross and Rowe by not representing /ɸ/ graphematically if it is not audible.

(55) *ép fun* 'the/a banana' [ɛ fuːn] *tók un* [tɔk uːn] 'bananas' (-COUNT)

    ép fin 'the/a fruit' [ɛ fiːn] *a in* [a iːn] '(single) fruit'

    ép finan 'journey' [ɛ fɪ.ˈnan] *inan* [i.ˈnan] 'to go'

Note that technically, we would also have to omit the final stop /p/ of the article *ép* because it is also not audible. The reason it is included in the spelling is that Siar speakers always include it in the writing. A reason for this may be that there would be a potential ambiguity with the homophonous proper article *é*.

We have also said that the glottal fricative [h] is an allophone of /f/. [h] only occurs in syllable-final position and is always audible, which is why we here propose to always represent it as <h> graphematically, rather than as <f> (thus also following Ross and Rowe).

The bilabial fricative /ɸ/ that Ross and Rowe have observed is too marginal to deserve to be represented in a specific way. It is therefore proposed here to represent it as <f>, which corresponds to its (diachronic) underlying phoneme.

2.7.3 The raised vowels /ẹ/ and /ọ/

It has been shown that there is a phonemic contrast between <é> /ɛ/ and <è> /ẹ/ as well as between <ó> /ɔ/ and <ò> /ọ/. In previous works and my own written elicitation data, these vowels have been represented as follows:

	Erdman (1991) Erdman & Goring (1992)	Ross (2002)	Rowe (2005)	Siar speaker 1	Siar speaker 2
/ɛ/	<e>	<e>	<e>	<e>	<e>
/ẹ/			<é>	<é>	
/ɔ/	<o>	<o>	<o>	<o>	<o>
/ọ/	<u>		<ó>	<ô>	

Table 14: Spelling conventions for the four vowels

Erdman (1991), Erdman & Goring (1992) and Ross (2002) do not identify the phonemic distinction between /ɛ/ and /ẹ/ and represent both phonemes as <e>. Rowe (2005) does make a distinction and suggests to represent /ɛ/ as <e> and /ẹ/ as <é>. There is, however, no obvious or transparent reason why one of the graphemes carries the diacritic whereas the other does not. In addition, it is unclear why the acute is used for /ẹ/, as opposed to a gravis, circumflex etc. It may be argued that the acute indicates the raising of the tongue, but then /ɛ/ would subsequently have to be represented as <è> to indicate a lowered tongue. The same is true for the other two vowels in Rowe's approach. One Siar speaker (with excellent linguistic intuition) wrote a story down for me and clearly distinguished all four phonemes graphematically and placed two different diacritics on the two raised vowels. The choice of the different diacritics was presumably a spontaneous one.

The spelling that is proposed here looks as follows:

/ẹ/ <è>   /ọ/ <ò>

/ɛ/ <é>   /ɔ/ <ó>

This representation has two advantages:

1. All vowels are treated equally in terms of diacritic marking.

2. This use of diacritics has proven to be more transparent and easier to remember for Siar speakers, and hence is more likely to be remembered more easily by current and future Siar learners.

I have discussed this spelling system with Siar speakers. As a mnemonic, I pronounced the phones [ɛ] and [ɔ] and pointed upward (signalling the going up of the pitch which is represented by the acute), and pronounced the phones [ẹ] and [ọ] pointing downward (signalling the going down of the pitch which is represented by the gravis). In writing tests after describing this rule, Siar speakers wrote the vowels correctly with only few exceptions, thus proving the usefulness and transparency of this kind of graphemic representation.

From a purely linguistic point of view it would make sense to reverse the diacritics in order to represent the position of the tongue (acute = raised vowel, gravis = unraised vowel). This, however, is more difficult to explain to Siar speakers because they find it difficult to determine the position of their tongue root when producing vowels. It is clear that the use of diacritics need not be iconic, but it makes it easier for Siar learners (and, presumably, native Siar speakers as well) to remember.

Ultimately, the graphemic distinction with a diacritic is only necessary in cases where disambiguation is necessary, as in the following minimal pair constructions:

(56)   a.   *É*   *Taibet*   *i*   *lós*   *ép*   *pól.*
            é   Taibet   i   lós   ép   pól
            ART:CO1   PN   3.SG   carry   ART:CO1   liquid

       'Taibet carried the liquid.'

       b.   *É*   *Taibet*   *i*   *lós*   *ép*   *pòl.*
            é   Taibet   i   lós   ép   pòl
            ART:CO1   PN   3.SG   carry   ART:CO1   dog

       'Taibet carried the dog.'

Without the use of diacritics, the sentence would in principle be ambiguous, if the context did not help to disambiguate it. For some words there are no such oppositions, e.g. there is a word *bém* 'butterfly' but no word **bèm*. In such cases, it is in principle

not important to make a distinction. We will still make this distinction throughout this thesis for the sake of clarity and transparency to Siar learners.

Using two diacritics for each vowel instead of just one has another advantage of indicating when a Siar speaker is marking a vowel and when he is not.

2.7.4   The nasal /ŋ/

In many grammars, the velar nasal /ŋ/ is represented as the digraph <ng>. This convention is also applied in all previous works on Siar as well as descriptions of closely related languages (e.g. Bell 1977, Fast 1987, Condra 1989, Van Der Mark 2007, Du 2010). In some descriptions, the nasal is represented with the IPA symbol <ŋ> (e.g. Peekel 1915) or as <n͡g> (e.g. Peekel 1909). Almost no Siar speaker knows about the IPA symbol, and they are all consistent in representing the nasal with the digraph in all syllable positions. This convention is therefore also followed here.

(57)   **ng**é*k*   [ŋɛk]   'to cry'

        *pu***ng**   [puŋ]   'to fall'

        *lang*s*ing*   [laŋ.'sɪŋ]   'when?'

        ngò**ng**ò*t*   [ŋo.'ŋot]   'to hurt'

There is, however, at least one word with the grapheme sequence <ng> which does not represent the nasal but two consonants in separate syllables.

(58)   *ru***ng**u*t*   [ɾun.'gut]   'to move suddenly'

It is not really necessary to make a further graphematic distinction that indicates that the grapheme sequence <ng> occupies two syllables since I have not found any other similar Siar words. In addition, there is no contrasting form *[ɾu.'ŋut] or *[ɾuŋ.'ut], and therefore it makes more sense to learn this one form as an exception.

2.7.5   Clitics

A discussion that is often avoided in grammars is how clitics should be represented orthographically. Clitics are a phenomenon primarily associated with spoken language, but there is also a need for rules that suggest how to transcribe such clitics in written language, as would be desirable for direct speech in written narratives. In many languages, the tendency has been to place an apostrophe in the position in which one or more sounds in the 'derived' clitic have been deleted.[31]

(59) | **Uncliticized representation** | **Cliticized representation** | **Glossing** |
|---|---|---|
| *na ép* | *n'ép* | REL=ART:CO1 |
| *sa i* | *s'i* | RESTR=3.SG |
| *ma alò* | *m'alò* | TRANS=*again* |

Representing cliticization in this way comes with two advantages and a disadvantage. One advantage is that it can clearly be seen that one or more sounds in a word are missing, thus indicating spoken language. Another advantage is that without the apostrophe, monosyllabic clitics that have lost a vowel would only be represented as single consonants (e.g. *n ép*, *s i*, *m alò*) which 'looks awkward'. The downside of the use of the apostrophe is that such a representation might be counterintuitive for some Siar speakers, especially when it comes to representing clitic subject markers.[32] We said in section §2.6 that younger speakers are degrammaticalizing subject clitics to free forms (e.g. the second person dual subject marker *amra(u)=* becomes *amra*). Such cases make it difficult to establish a coherent spelling because applying this convention, older speakers would tend to represent a sentence like *amra(u)=inan* 'You two are going' as *Amra'inan* (the cliticized way) whereas younger speakers would represent it as *Amra inan* (the uncliticized way). When representing clitics properly, it therefore makes sense to restrict the convention of using an apostrophe only to those cases that involve particles such as *na*, *ma*, and *sa* mentioned earlier. Alternatively, we could plan ahead and say that apostrophes are not to be used for the subject markers because in the future they are very unlikely to still be clitics anyway.

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[31] e.g. English *do not* → *don't*, German *gibt es* → *gibt's*

[32] I have not elicited the written representation of clitics in detail, but there seems to be a tendency not to use the apostrophe but to simply merge the two words to one (e.g. *nép, si, malò*).

Note that a cliticization such as *m'alò* could in theory also be represented as **ma'lò*, depending on what we analyse the grapheme \<a> to be a part of: the event transition marker *ma* or the adverb ***a**lò* 'again'. We here propose that it makes sense to retain the vowel in the word where it has the higher functional load, which in the case of *ma alò* is the adverb *alò*. One reason for this assumption is that as mentioned earlier, the event transition marker *ma* is also a frequent target of cliticization in other environments as well. In addition, the vowel plays a more important role in identifying the adverb.

3 Morphology

Siar is an isolating language with very little derivational morphology and even less inflectional morphology, but it still shows some variety with regard to the kinds of morphological processes that can be applied to words or morphemes. Six types of morphological or morphosyntactic mechanisms are discussed in §3.1. Section §3.2 briefly introduces the different functions these mechanisms have, distinguishing inflectional functions (§3.2.1) and derivational functions (§3.2.2).

3.1 Morphological processes

Being a fairly isolating language, Siar does not have a rich set of affixes or morphological mechanisms in general. However, the mechanisms that can be applied to words are rather diverse. Six different types of mechanisms are discussed in the following sections.

3.1.1 Prefixation

The following prefixes can be observed in Siar:

Function	Prefixed morpheme	Allomorphs	See also
Causative	*/a-/*	*a-, fa-*	§7.3.1
Reciprocal	*/ar-/*	*ar-, far-*	§7.2.4
Anticausative	*/ta-/*	*ta-, tak-*	§7.2.1
Event focus	*/k-/*	*k-*	§6.2.2
(multiplicative)	*/amun-/*	*amun-*	§4.5.4
locative	*/t-/*	*t-, Ø-*	§8.2.1.5.1
allative	*/ka-/*	*ka-*	§
(demonstrative) existential	*/a-/*	*a-*	§8.2.1.4
demonstrative singular	*/d-/*	*d-*	
demonstrative non-singular	*/n-/*	*n-*	§8.1.1
(Leftward reduplication)	depends on reduplicated base	none[33]	§3.2

Table 15: Siar prefixes and their functions

Reduplicants are also prefixes in the strict sense, but they differ from the other prefix types in that reduplicants can have very different forms, depending on the sequence of phonemes that was the source for the reduplication. Reduplication is therefore considered separately in section §3.1.4. In addition, reduplicants can have various functions (to be discussed in section §3.2) whereas the other prefixes only have a single function.

The following examples show instances with the three valency-changing prefixes:[34]

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[33] As discussed in section §2.3, a word may be reduplicated in different ways, but each reduplicated form then has a different meaning or function. Hence, there is no allomorphy.
[34] The effects on transitivity are discussed in more detail in section §7.

(60) **Causative /a-/ (/fa-/ for nominalised causatives)**

    a.   *pung*   'to fall'

          a-pung   'to drop'

          fa-pung   'the dropping down'

    b.   *kès*   'to sit'

          a-kès   'to make sb. sit down'

          fa-kès   'creation' (lit. *the sit-making*)

    c.   *tòstòs*   'straight; correct'

          a-tòstòs   'to straighten; to repair'

          fa-tòstòs   'repair' (lit. *the straight-making*)

(61) **Reciprocal /ar-/**

    a.   *um*   'to hit'

          ar-um   'to fight'

          far-um   'war; fight'

    b.   *nangan*   'to help'

          ar-nangan   'to help one another'

          far-nangan   'support'

    c.   *kapsur*   'to chase'

          ar-kapsur   'chase one another'

          far-kapsur   'chase'

(62)   **Anticausative /ta-/**

    a.   *kutus*   'to break in two'

        ta-*kutus*   'to break apart'

    b.   *silir*   'to rip apart'

        tak-*silir*   'be ripped apart'

    c.   *wér*   'to pour; to spill'

        tak-*wér*   'be poured; be spilt'

The causative prefix */a-/* and the reciprocal prefix */ar-/* both have an allomorph with an initial fricative /f/. This allomorph occurs when the derived form is nominalised. As was shown in section §2.1.1.4, the fricative goes back to a Proto-Oceanic stop */p/ which is omitted in certain environments in Siar. It may be argued that initial /f/ has a nominalising function in these cases, which would then require us to discard *fa-* and *far-* as allomorphs and to analyse the initial /f/ as a separate morpheme.

However, it is more plausible to assume that the initial /f/ reflects the initial consonants of the Proto-Oceanic causative **pa(ka)* (Lynch, Ross & Crowley 2002: 83) and reciprocal **paRi*-verb-*i* (Pawley 1973: 152), which in Siar happens to resurface in certain contexts. The nominalization can be said to be syntactic (or zero-derivational) because other verbs can also be nominalised by simply placing them in a noun phrase (e.g. *ép gang* 'the drinking'). Note also that /f/ cannot be attached to other forms as a nominalizer:

(63)   a.   *utih*   'to fetch water'

        ép   *utih*   'the/a water-fetching'

        ép*   **f-*utih*

b.   *isis*   'to return'

      ép   *isis*   'the/a return'

    *ép *ƒ-isis*

The anticausative prefix */ta-/* has an allomorph *tak-*. As is discussed in section §7.2.1, it is unclear if the allomorphy is phonologically conditioned, the main reason being the rareness of such forms in my corpus. The allomorph *tak-* has only been observed preceding verbs with an initial sibilant /s/ or glide /w/.

Another prefix is the event focus marker */k-/*, whose functions are discussed in more detail in section §6.2.2. This prefix attaches to any of the three singular subject markers:

Person	Modality setting	
	Unmarked	**Event focus**
1.SG	*a*	***k**-a*
2.SG	*u*	***k**-u*
3.SG	*i*	***k**-i*

Table 16: Event focus marking of singular subject markers

In case of non-singular referents, the third person singular subject marker *-i* is selected as default for all grammatical persons in the non-singular and the resulting form *k-i* is preceded by a free pronoun (e.g. ***Dit ki*** *inan* 'They were going').

The status of the multiplicative morpheme */amun-/* is currently unclear. This morpheme derives multiplicative numerals from cardinal numbers, as in the following example:

(64)   *amunat*
        amun-at
        MULTI-four

        'four times'

Its presence can trigger a change of stress shift, but that could also apply to clitics. */amun-/* could also be morphologically complex, i.e. the initial vowel /a/ could be the causative prefix and the final nasal /n/ could be the third person possessive suffix (*a-mu-n*). A proper analysis requires further elicitation.

The locative prefix */t-/* attaches to demonstrative roots (e.g. ***t-****a* LOC-PROX) and derives locative adverbs. It also has a zero-allomorph that is used when the consonantal prefix *t-* would collide with an initial consonant in the demonstrative root within the same syllable. This is the case for the *upward* locative adverb which therefore surfaces as Ø-*sai* instead of as **t-sai*.

The allative prefix */k(a)-/* attaches to locative adverbs and derives allative adverbs (e.g. *ka-t*-PROX 'hither'). When attached to prepositions that start with the vowel /a/, the vowel /a/ in the prefix is dropped, which means that there is an allomorph *k-* (e.g. *k-an* LOC-at or *k-arin* ALL-BEN). A derived allative adverb (which is derived from the locative adverb) may still contain a phonotactically conditioned zero-allomorph which is associated with the locative prefix. An alternative analysis would be to say that the allative form does not derive from the locative form, but instead to consonant *t-* is part of the allative root (*kat-a*). This can be ruled out because the allative prefix can also attach to other words such as the oblique preposition root *ó-* (such as in the form *ka-ó-n* which is used in contexts where something is applied on or to something), and there the consonant *t-* is not present.

The demonstrative existential prefix */a-/* attaches to the demonstrative singular prefix */d-/* and its non-singular counterpart */n-/* and together with the obligatory demonstrative root derives a demonstrative existential (e.g. *a-d-a* 'is here', *a-n-im* 'are down there'). The demonstrative existential prefix */a-/* is not related to the causative prefix */a-/*.

The demonstrative singular pronominal prefix */d-/* occurs in demonstrative determiners, demonstrative pronouns, personal demonstratives and demonstrative existentials (cf. section §8.2). The same is true for the non-singular pronominal *n-*. These prefixes attach to demonstrative roots (e.g. *d-a* 'this', *n-ing* 'those').

Cases of affix stacking (i.e. attaching one prefix to another prefix) are very rare in Siar, but they do occur. In all such cases, an anticausative form is reduplicated, resulting in word forms with seemingly two anticausative prefixes:

(65) a.   **ta-***régéh*   ACAUS-destroy   'to fall apart'

            ta₂~ta₁-*régéh*   RED~ACAUS-destroy   'to fall apart' (DISTR)

      b   **ta-***pagal*   ACAUS-break.apart   'to break apart'

            ta₂~ta₁-*pagal*   RED~ACAUS-break.apart   'to break apart' (DISTR)

      c.   **ta-***kubat*   ACAUS-cut.off   'cut off'

            ta₂~ta₁-*kubat*   RED~ACAUS-cut.off   'cut off' (DISTR)

      d.   **ta-***lilis*   ACAUS-spin.around   'to spin around'

            ta₂~ta₁-*lilis*   RED~ACAUS-spin.around   'to spin around (repeatedly)'

The question of which of the two *ta-* morphemes is the reduplicated one is answered in section §3.2.2. Prefix stacking is limited to two prefixes, and combinations of an anticausative prefix and its reduplicant are the only such cases that have been observed in Siar.

3.1.2   Suffixation

Siar employs a set of five suffixes, some of which have two or three allomorphs. As was the case with prefixes, postposed reduplicants could also be counted as another type of suffix. The reason why they are considered separately in section §3.1.4 is that they have more than one function (represented by the same form) and, in principle, an infinite number of forms.

Function	Suffix	Allomorphs	See also
Possessive	*/-k/* (-1.SG.POSS)	*-k*	§4.3.3
	/-m/ (-2.SG.POSS)	*-m*	
	/-n/ (-3.SG.POSS)	*-n*	
Transitivizing	*/-i/*	*-i, -ai, -ói*	§7.3.2
Irrealis	*/-l/*	*-l*	§6.2.1
Ordinal	*/-in/*	*-in, -an, -ón*	§4.5.2

Table 17: Siar suffixes and their functions

The three possessive suffixes are attached to inalienable nouns, which, in most instances, end with an open syllable. The only exception to this is the noun *nuknuk-* 'thought' which ends in a closed syllable and requires an epenthetic vowel /i/ to break up the resulting consonant cluster (see also section §2.2.1).

(66) **Possessive /-k/ , /-m/, /-n/**

  a. *puklu-**k*** head-1.SG.POSS 'my head'

  *puklu-**m*** head-2.SG.POSS 'your head'

  *puklu-**n*** head-(3.SG.)POSS 'his/her/its head'

  b. *nuknuk**i-k*** thought-1.SG.POSS 'my thought' (< *nuk* 'to think')

  *nuknuk**i-m*** thought-2.SG.POSS 'your thought'

  *nuknuk**i-n*** thought-(3.SG.)POSS 'his/her/its thought'

In section §2.2.1 we argued that the vowel should be considered as part of the noun, not of the possessive suffix. Since *nuknuk(i)-* is the only noun that employs this vowel, it makes more sense to associate this idiosyncrasy with the noun, and it does not require us to assume that each possessive suffix has an allmorph with an initial vowel (**-ik, *-im, *-in*).

As is discussed in greater detail in section §4.3.3, for non-singular possessors an additional free pronoun needs to be added to the third person singular suffix *-n* to indicate who is the possessor (e.g. *ép puklu-n **dit*** 'their heads'), which means that the possessive suffix does not encode grammatical person in such cases. Ross (2002: 413) analyzes all these free pronouns as part of the possessive suffix (i.e. *ép puklu-**ndit*** 'their heads')[35] whereas Rowe (2005: 42) only analyses some of the free pronouns as part of the suffix (e.g. **ép puklu-mtòl* 'your (PAU) heads' but *ép puklu-n dit* 'their heads'). She argues that the third person possessive suffix *-n* assimilates to *-m* for the first person exclusive pronouns *marau* (dual), *matòl* (paucal) and *mèt* (plural). It is clear, though, that assimilation is only a phonological process, not a morphological

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[35] Peekel (1915: 20) makes a similar analysis for Lambel.

one, which means that the separation between the possessive suffix and the free pronoun must remain intact.

Evidence for analyzing the possessive suffix and the following pronoun as morphologically unlinked elements comes from nominal compounds in which the first noun is inalienably possessed:

(67)   a.   *ép*   *ngisén*   *bòròi*   ***dit***
              ép   ngisé-**n**   bòròi   **dit**
              ART:CO1   tooth-**POSS**   pig   **3.PL**

              'their boar (lit. *their tooth pig*)'

                                                            (BARIM [47])

        b.   *ép*   *puklun*   *rumai*   ***dit***
              ép   puklu-**n**   rumai   **dit**
              ART:CO1   head-**POSS**   house   **3.PL**

              'their roofs' (lit. *their heads of the houses*)

                                                            (KAL 2 [4])

In such cases, the possessive suffix and the free pronoun are separated by the second noun of the nominal compound, and hence the suffix and the pronoun are morphologically discontinuous.

The transitivizer /-(V)*i*/ is another suffix in Siar. It is attached to intransitive verbs to derive transitive verbs.

(68)   **Transitivizing /-(V)*i*/**

       bas   'to throw'   *bas-**i***   'to throw something'

       nuk   'to think'   *nuk-**i***   'to think something'

       bók   'to float'   *bók-**ói***   'to set afloat'

       nós   'to look'   *nós-**ói***   'to look after somebody'

       par   'to move across'   *par-**ai***   'to put'

       pas   'to step'   *pas-**ai***   'to step on something'

In many instances, the choice of allomorph appears to be phonologically motivated. This applies to all verbs suffixed with the allomorph *-ói* because all of the derived roots have a final vowel <ó> in the root. In other cases, no such vowel assimilation can be observed, which is why *bas* 'to throw' is transitivized to *bas-i* and not to **basi-ai*, as would be expected. This suggests that the information about the transitivity status of the verb is stored in the lexicon. In section §2.1.2 we talked about vowel-harmony-like effects in Siar, and there seem to be phonological correlations between vowels within a word, but these effects do not allow us to explain why one allomorph is chosen over another in this case.

The irrealis suffix */-l/* is invariant in form and, like its event focus counterpart, attaches to any of the three singular subject markers:

Person	Modality setting	
	Unmarked	**Irrealis**
1.SG	*a*	*a-l*
2.SG	*u*	*ó-l*
3.SG	*i*	*é-l*

Table 18: Irrealis marking of singular subject markers

As is also the case for the event focus prefix */k-/*, the irrealis suffix */-l/* only attaches to singular subject markers. In case of non-singular subjects, a free pronoun needs to precede the modal subject marker which then surfaces as *é-* (e.g. **Dit é-l** *inan*. 'They will go').

Note that for the second and third person forms, the vowel in the root changes its form. To be more precise, the vowel height is lowered. The vowel /a/ in the first person form cannot be lowered any further and hence keeps its height. This can best be interpreted as root allomorphy of the subject marker.

The root allomorphy of the second and third person subject marker also tells us something about the internal morphological structure of modal pronouns which are marked for both event focus and irrealis. Such forms translate to English as *is about to x* or *will certainly x* (cf. section §6.2):

Person	Modality setting	
	Unmarked	**Event focus + Irrealis**
1.SG	*a*	**k-*a*-l**
2.SG	*u*	**k-*ó*-l**
3.SG	*i*	**k-*é*-l**

Table 19: Event focus and irrealis marking of singular subject markers

Since the vowels also change their forms here we are led to assume that in such cases the irrealis suffix is attached first (requiring the vowel change in the root), and only then the event focus prefix is attached. We therefore do not have a case of circumfixation, but rather some kind of a hierarchical morpheme structure in modal subject markers marked for both event focus and irrealis:

[*k*-[*a-l*]] FOC-1.SG-IRR

[*k*-[*ó-l*]] FOC-2.SG-IRR

[*k*-[*é-l*]] FOC-3.SG-IRR

There is, however, no obvious grammatical reason for having such a hierarchy, e.g. there is no prerequisite for the irrealis to be present in order for the event focus prefix to attach. The hierarchy only suggests that if the event focus prefix and the irrealis suffix co-occur, the irrealis suffix is attached first.

It is also possible tht these vowel alternations are the result of phonological processes that started at a much earlier stage. The vowels reconstructed for Proto-Oceanic show similar alternations (Lynch et al. 2002: 68).

The suffix */-in/* is attached to cardinal numbers to derive ordinals numbers. It surfaces as *-in, -an* and *-ón* (e.g. *tòlin* 'third', *liman* 'fifth', *wónón* 'sixth). The choice of allomorph appears to be phonologically conditioned and depends on the preceding vowel:

/-in/ → *-an* / *i*C__ or *u*C__

/-in/ → *-in* / *a*C__ or *ò*C_

/-in/ → *-ón* / *ó*C__

(where C is any consonant)

The only exception to these rules is the ordinal form *tikin* (the *form *tikan* would be expected here).

Rowe (2005: 57 ff.) also identifies an affix *-it* which refers to 'continuative or iterative action'. However, there is phonological evidence that *-it* is not a suffix but an autonomous particle:

it as particle		**-it* as suffix (Rowe 2005)		Translation
form	**pronunciation**	**form**	**pronunciation**	
*inan **it***	[i.ˈnan it]	**inan-**it***	**[ˌi.na.ˈnit]	'to walk continuously'
*gòsgòs **it***	[gọs. ˈgọs it]	**gòsgòs-**it***	**[ˌgọs.gọ.ˈsit]	'to dance continuously'
*kakau **it***	[ka.ˈkaw it]	**kakau-**it***	**[ˌka.ka.ˈwit]	'to crawl continuously'

Table 20: The morpheme *it*: particle or affix?

Evidence comes from the observation that the putative suffix **-it* has no influence on stress placement. If it were a suffix, then **-it* would always be the stressed syllable in a word, which it is not (the proper pronunciation is given in the table above). The real function of *it* (durative aspect) is discussed in section §10.2.3.4 .

3.1.3   Infixation

Infixation is a morphological process that has been reconstructed for Proto-Austronesian (see e.g. Adelaar & Himmelmann 2005), and it is therefore not surprising that reflexes of such infixes can still be found in a variety of modern Oceanic languages. A reflex that can be found in Siar is the nominalising infix *<in>* (Proto-Austronesian **-ən-*). As opposed to other closely related languages such as Ramoaaina (Davies & Fritzell 1992: 9), Vinitiri (Van Der Mark 2007: 103) and Barok (Du 2010: 79), this infix is not productive anymore in Siar, and nominalization is

mostly done via reduplication.[36] The only derivations with the Siar infix are shown below:

(69) a. **Regular derivations**

  mat 'to die'   *m<**in**>at* 'death; corpse; grave'

  taulai 'to marry' *t<**in**>aulai* 'marriage'

  b. **Irregular derivations**

  sam 'be sick with'

            *t<**in**>saman* 'sickness; disease'

  sasam 'be sick'

  mér 'to decorate' *m<**in**>mér* 'decoration'

  c. **Other derivations**

  *tan*_N 'mother'   *t<**in**>an*_N 'pregnancy; unborn child'

It is interesting to note that at least the first two derivations in (69a) are made in exactly the same way in Kuanua, which may be one of the reasons why they still persist in Siar. The cases in (69b) are irregular because the infix cannot be said to simply be put in between two parts of the underlying base. This also suggests that these derivations have been lexicalized. It is not clear to me if the derivation in (69c) is indeed plausible. While semantically there is a nice correlation between MOTHER and PREGNANCY or UNBORN CHILD, the underived form *tan* 'mother' has only been observed as a noun, and there is no point in using the nominalising infix in a noun to derive another noun.

  It is also noteworthy that most derived roots have an initial nasal /m/ or an initial stop /t/, so it could be argued that there are diachronic phonological reasons why infixation is preferred over reduplication for some forms, and the decision for a form is likely to have happened at the stage of Proto-Oceanic or Proto-Austronesian already. From a synchronic point of view it is plausible to say that nominalizations with *<in>* are fossilizations, which accounts for the low productivity of the morpheme in present-day Siar.

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[36] It should be noted that in other languages also, infixation is not the only means of nominalization, and reduplication is also a common way to derive nouns.

Note also that most of the forms that have retained the Proto-Austronesian infix refer to culturally important entities or activities, which means that there may be a preference to keep their traditional forms.

There appears to be no allomorphy for *<in>* in Siar, even though allomorphy is reported for many other related languages that have this infix. This may be a result of the decrease in productivity of the infix in Siar. It would also be conceivable that some forms that were once nominalizations with *<in>* have fossilized and phonologically adjusted in a way that they cannot be identified as nominalization with the infix anymore. An example could be the verb *kinòng* 'to wrap' that is irregularly nominalised to *ki-**nò**~nòng* 'wrapping'. The putative infix *-nò-* (and maybe the preceding vowel /i/) may go back to the nominalising infix *<in>*, having undergone a series of phonological adaptations. The putative infix *-nó-* could also be said to be a reduplicant, but this would contradict our assumption that reduplicants occur on the outside.

3.1.4 Reduplication

Reduplication is by far the most common and productive morphological process in Siar. The formal properties of reduplication are discussed in section §2.3. As for its function, reduplication it is applied for the following six effects:

(70) a. **Detransitivization of transitive verbs**

tun	'to cook' (TR)	***tun**~tun*	'to cook' (ITR)
raut	'to pile up' (TR)	***ra**~raut*	'to pile up' (ITR)
buar	'to bark at' (TR)	***bu**~buar*	'to bark' (ITR)

xx) b. **Nominalization of verbs**

was	'to count'	***wa**~was*	'census'
pagal	'to break off'	***pa**~pagal*	'dispersal'
dat	'to pull'	***da**~dat*	'current' (lit. *pulling*)

xx) c. **Marking of iterative aspect**

yan   'to eat' (TR)   ***yan~****yan*   'to eat repeatedly'

bas   'to throw'   ***bas~****bas*   'to throw repeatedly'

dat   'to pull'   ***dat~****dat*   'to pull repeatedly'

xx) d. **Marking plurality on nouns and some adjectival modifiers**

tubun   'ancestor'   ***tu~****tubun*   'ancestors'

taman   'father'   ***ta~****taman*   'parents'

buryah 'burning stick' ***bu~****buryah* 'burning sticks'

balkut 'angry'   ***ba~****balkut* 'angry (PL)'

xx) e. **Marking distributivity on nouns**

din   'piece'   ***di~****din*   'separate pieces'

xx) f. **Deriving adjectival modifiers from verbs**

lóngón   'be cold'   ***ló~****lóngón*   'cold'

lapang   'be hot'   ***la~****lapang*   'hot'

malwas   'to breathe' ***ma~****malwas* 'soft' (lit. *breathing*)

A word may also have two different reduplicated forms, each with a different function.

(71) *tòl* 'do'   ***tò~****tòl* 'grab'   ***tòl~****tòl*ₙ,ᵥ 'job; habit; to handle'

gós 'wash (TR)'   ***gó~****gós* 'wash (ITR)' ***gós~****gós* 'wash' (-SG)

mun 'dive down'   ***mu~****mun* 'hide'   ***mun~****mun* 'bathe; swim'

Most such instances are monosyllablic words which reduplicate initial CV for one function and which reduplicate the whole syllable for another function. Note how in the case of *mu~mun* 'to hide', there is a strong semantic shift from *mun* 'to dive

down'.[37] It could also be argued that *mu~mun* is a different word altogether, and that *mu~mun* is a reduplication of another form *mun* which must then be homonymous. Note, however, that the transitive form of *mu~mun* is *wun*, a suppletive form. This suppletion may be due to the fact that *mun* 'to dive down' is blocking the derivation.

As discussed earlier in section §3.1.1, reduplication is applied after all other affixes have been attached to the root, which means that in verbs such as *ta~ta-lilis* 'to spin around repeatedly', the initial morpheme is the reduplicant, and despite having the same form as the morpheme it has been reduplicated from, it has a different function.

3.1.5 Suppletion

Suppletion is another morphological mechanism that can be observed in Siar. Suppletion is an irregular derivational process in Siar that often occurs with high-frequency words (see e.g. Aronoff & Fudeman 2005). Some suppletive derivations are shown below:

(72)   a.   **Strong suppletion**

angan	'to eat (ITR)'	*yan*	'to eat (TR)'
mumun	'to hide (ITR)'	*wun*	'to hide (TR)'
lagar	'to laugh (ITR)'	*mahlai*	'to laugh at'
barsan	'man'	*tarai*	'men; people'
fain	'woman'	*gurar*	'women'

   b.   **Weak suppletion**

akak	'good'	*wakak*	'be good'
lamtin	'big'	*lamantin*	'be big'
yél	'to swim'	*yélé*	'swim with something'

It makes sense to distinguish two types of suppletion, strong and weak, which make up a continuum. This is because suppletive forms may differ in various degrees, i.e. the nominal pair *barsan* 'man' and *tarai* 'men; people' seems to be unrelated lexically (and hence is a strong case of suppletion), whereas pairs such as *yél* 'to swim' and *yélé*

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[37] Similar semantic extensions can be observed in other languages such as German *untertauchen* or *abtauchen* (lit. *to dive under/down*), meaning 'to hide oneself; to go undercover'.

'to swim with something' are only exceptional cases of another derivational paradigm. This is because it may be argued that the final *é* in the transitive form *yélé* is related to the transitivizer suffix -(V)*i* which could have undergone a vowel assimilation process (cf. sections §2.1.2).

Irregular reduplications (such as *asóng* 'to deceive (SG)' and *asó~sóng* 'to deceive (-SG)') would also fit the category of weak suppletion because on the one hand, one can identify the underlying morphological process of reduplication but on the other hand, the resulting form cannot be predicted because its is irregular.

3.1.6   Cliticization

Cliticization is a process that acts on the interface between phonology and morphology. Clitics are bound morphemes like affixes, but they function as separate syntactic constituents like other free morphemes (see e.g. Zwicky 1985, Matthews 1998, Halpern 2001, Bauer 2003, Anderson 2005, Aronoff & Fudemann 2005, Booij 2005). In the following example, the first person singular subject marker *a* functions as subject (73a), but it is phonologically dependent and cannot occur by itself (73b):

(73)   a.   *A inan.*
             [a=]SUBJ inan
             1.SG=go

             'I went.'

        b.   *As   i inan?*   **A.*   *Yau.*
             as   i=inan   =a=   yau
             who   3.SG=go   =1.SG=   1.SG

             'Who went?'

Clitics are discussed in greater detail in section §2.6, and are mentioned here simply to complete the list of morphological processes that can be observed in Siar.

3.2   Morphological functions

The previous sections illustrated the different morphological processes that Siar applies to derive or inflect words. In the following sections, we will look at the two

morphological functions that these processes can trigger: inflection (section §3.2.1) and derivation (section §3.2.2).

3.2.1   Inflectional morphology

Given the fairly isolating nature of Siar, inflection is an uncommon feature in the language. Booij (2005: 103) distinguishes two types of inflection: contextual inflection and inherent inflection. Contextual inflection refers to morphemes *'determined by the syntactic contexts in which they occur'*, whereas inherent inflection *'is determined by what information the speaker wants to convey'*. There are two contextual inflections in Siar: the third person singular subject marker *i* (or its irrealis form *-é-*) in contexts with a non-singular subject (74b), and the third person singular possessive suffix *-n*[38] in contexts with a non-singular possessor (75b).

(74)   a.   ***I***   *inan.*
              i   inan
              3.SG   go

              'He/She/It went.'

        b.   *Marau   ki   inan.*
              marau   k-**i**   inan
              1.DU.EX FOC-3.**SG** go

              'The two of us went.'

(75)   a.   *ép   kéh   anu**n***
              ép   kéh   anu-**n**
              ART:CO1   net   CL:GEN-**3.SG.POSS**

              'his/her/its fishing net'

        b.   *ép   kéh   anu**n***   *marau*
              ép   kéh   anu-**n**   marau
              ART:CO1   fishing.net CL:GEN-**3.SG.POSS**   1.DU.EX

              'our (DU) fishing net'

---

[38] This suffix is usually reduced to zero in spoken Siar, because the possessive classifier proclitically attaches to the free pronoun that disambiguates the possessor in non-singular contexts. This is discussed in more detail in section §4.3.3.

In (74a), the subject marker *i* makes a clear reference to a third person singular entity and functions like a full subject NP. This is different in (74b) because there is an additional subject pronoun *marau* 'we two' which specifies the subject. The subject marker occurs in its third person singular form *i*, even though the subject is neither third person nor singular. As is discussed in greater detail in section §4.3.1, this subject marker is expletive and only present to allow the event focus prefix *k-* to attach. The same would be true for irrealis contexts in which the irrealis suffix *-l* attaches to the third person singular subject marker *-é-*, even though the subject may also differ in person and number (e.g. *Marau **é-l** inan*. 'We two will go'). The expletive subject marker *i* can therefore be interpreted as a contextual inflection because its presence is required by the grammatical context. This is not the case for the singular subject marker *i* in cases such as (74a) which can be freely interchanged with other subject markers of free pronouns, and hence it is not an inflection at all.

A similar analysis can be made for the third person singular possessive suffix *-n* in contexts with a non-singular possessor. In singular contexts (75a), the suffix encodes both possession and a third person singular possessor. In non-singular contexts (75b), the suffix *-n* only encodes possession, with the following pronoun specifying the grammatical person and number of the possessor. Note that again, both person and number differ from that of the possessive suffix in the non-singular context. It therefore makes sense to assume that possessive *-n* in non-singular contexts is a contextual inflection, whereas in contexts with a singular possessor it is an inherent inflection.

There is no regular and predictable inflection of grammatical number and person in Siar. Note how in the following paradigm the verb *gang* 'drink' does not change its form at all:

Number	Person	Subject	Verb
Singular	**1**	*a*	
	2	*u*	
	3	*i*	
Dual	**1.EX**	*marau*	
	1.INC	*darau*	
	2	*amrau*	
	3	*dirau*	
Paucal	**1.EX**	*matòl*	*gang*
	1.INC	*datòl*	
	2	*amtòl*	
	3	*diat*	
Plural	**1.EX**	*mèt*	
	1.INC	*dat*	
	2	*amat*	
	3	*dit*	
Indefinite		*di*	

Table 21: Conjugating the verb *gang* 'drink'

Tense, mood, modality and aspect are marked on separate particles and not on the verb itself.

3.2.2   Derivational morphology

Derivational morphology changes the class of a word or leads to a change in the semantics of the derived word. In addition, derivational morphology is usually optional whereas the choice of inflectional morphology is grammatically determined. The following table shows all derivational morphemes in Siar:

Morpheme	Function	Type of root	Derived form	See also
ta-	Anticausative	transitive verb	intransitive verb	§7.2.1
a-	Causative	intransitive verb	transitive verb	§7.3.1
-(V)i	Transitivization	intransitive verb	transitive verb	§7.3.2
-in	Ordinal	numeral	ordinal	§4.5.2
<in>	Nominalizing	verb	noun	§3.1.3
Reduplication	1. Detransitive	transitive verb	intransitive verb	§7.2.3
	2. Nominalizing	verb or adjectival modifier	noun	§3.1.4
Suppletive forms	1. Transitivization	intransitive verb	transitive verb	§3.1.5
	2. Distributive	non-distributive noun	distributive noun	

Table 22: Derivational morphemes in Siar

As an example, the anticausative prefix *ta-* can optionally be added to a transitive verb to derive an intransitive verb. The change from transitive verb to intransitive verb can be regarded as a change in word class (but not as a change of part of speech). In addition, the semantics of the event denoted by the derived verb change because the anticausative morpheme encodes that there is no agentive entity involved in the event or recoverable from the context. Similar statements can be made for the other affixes because in these cases also, the derivation involves a change of the word class or of a salient feature of the form that is being derived from (such as transitivity) and/or a significant change in semantics.

Reduplication is a derivational process. On some nouns, reduplication encodes the derivational category of distributivity, with the result of the noun not being perceived of as referring to a single entity, but as a multitude of entities with multiple beneficiaries or targets:

(76) a. *A kèp   pas   i   tik   **a**   **din** gém.*
          a=kèp   pas   i   tik   **a**   **din** gém
          1.SG=get PFV   3.SG one   **ART:CO2**   **piece** cassava.bread

          'I had taken a piece of cassava bread.'

                                                              (PIR [30])

      b. *Kél   tar   sòi   ma   **tó**   **didin**   bòròi.*
          k-é-l   tar   sòi   ma   **tó**   **di~din**   bòròi
          FOC-3.SG-IRR give away TRANS **ART:[-ANIM].PL** **RED~piece** pig

          'She is about to distribute the pieces of pig (meat).'

                                                              (TIN [94])

The noun *din* 'piece' in (76a) is singular and occurs in its unreduplicated form. In (76b) the NP *tó didin* is marked for plural by the preceding article, but it is also prefixed by a reduplicated morpheme, encoding distributivity. Note how in the following example the noun is still marked by the plural article *tó*, but the noun itself remains unreduplicated because the event is not distributive.

(77) *Di   parai   **tó**   **din** bòròi an   main.*
      di   par-ai   **tó**   **din** bòròi an   main
      IND move.across-TR **ART:[-ANIM].PL** **piece** pig at   inside

      'They put the pieces of pig (meat) inside.'

                                                              (INA [x])

In addition to overt morphological derivation, there is also syntactic derivation, which in some approaches would be referred to as zero-derivation (or conversion). In such cases, a verb is turned into a noun simply by making it the head of a noun phrase, where it is preceded by an article:

(78) **Syntactic nominalization / zero-derivation**

      *angan*_V   'to eat (ITR)'   *ép angan*_N   '(the) eating'

      *tapagal*_V 'to break apart'   *ép tapagal*_N '(the) breaking apart'

      *isis*_V   'to return'   *ép isis*_N   '(the) return'

The question whether or not there is a zero-affix on the derived nouns is cumbersome to answer and will not be discussed here. Such syntactic derivation is very obvious for some borrowings:

(79) […] *kón* *stop* *ép*   *barsan* *sur*   *barsan* *góng*
         kón   stopENG   ép   barsan   sur   barsan   góng
         PURP stop   ART:CO1 man   INTENT   man   PROH

         i   *toilet*.
         i   toiletENG
         3.SG   toilet

         '(They bewitched that man) so that he could not go to the toilet (anymore).'

         (WAH [30])

In this example, the English noun *toilet* is borrowed and placed in a verbal slot. Note that this form does not change its form at all.

One criterion that is often used to distinguish inflection from derivation is that inflection usually applies after the derivation (see e.g. Bauer 2003: 99, Aikhenvald 2007: 36). This observation is useful in cases where a derived form is also inflected. This is uncommon in Siar, but can be observed with reduplications of anticausative forms:

(80)

[INFL	[DERIV	ROOT]]		
ta₂~	*ta₁-*	*régéh*	RED~ACAUS-destroy	'to fall apart' (DISTR)
ta₂~	*ta₁-*	*pagal*	RED~ACAUS-break.apart	'to break apart' (DISTR)
ta₂~	*ta₁-*	*kubat*	RED~ACAUS-cut.off	'to cut off' (DISTR)
ta₂~	*ta₁-*	*lilis*	RED~ACAUS-spin.around	'to spin around (repeatedly)'

The underlying question in such cases is which of the two *ta-* morphemes is the anticausative prefix and which is its reduplication. If we assume that derivation is applied first and that the derivational morpheme is closer to the root, then *ta₁-* in the above cases must be the anticausative prefix, and *ta₂~* must be its reduplicant that encodes distributivity or repeated action, and not the other way round. This analysis

also allows us to make a statement about the scope of the morphemes. For example, if the initial *ta~* in *tatalilis* 'to spin around (repeatedly)' is an inflectional prefix encoding distributivity, then the second *ta-* must be the real anticausative morpheme. Consequently, the resulting form is the 'distributivization' of an anticausative event. If it were the other way round (i.e. the first *ta~* would be the anticausative and the second *ta-* would be the reduplicant), then the resulting form would be an anticausativization of a reduplicated form (which is ungrammatical in Siar). This analysis also matches our assumption put forward in section §3.1.4 that reduplication in Siar is always leftward.

4   Nouns and noun phrases

The Siar noun phrase is one of the most complex areas of Siar grammar. This is reflected in a rich choice of articles that distinguish three noun classes and differentiate between inanimate and animate entities as well as human and non-human entities. Two types of possessive constructions also add to the complexity of the noun phrase in Siar.

Minimally, a noun phrase consists of an article and a noun complex. In spoken Siar, however, articles are sometimes omitted, especially in sentence-initial position. The constituents listed under 1 and 4 are in complementary distribution with each other, and only one category from each set may occur in the specified position of the noun phrase.

The basic structure of a noun phrase looks as follows:

1.   Preposed possessive classifier   or
       Prenominal demonstrative   or

2.   Numeral   or
       Quantifier

3.   **Article**

4.   **Noun complex**

5.   Noun modifier   or
       Postnominal demonstrative   or
       Postposed possessive classifier and suffix   or
       Possessive suffix

The bold constituents are obligatory.

4.1 Noun classes

Based on the distribution of articles (described in section §4.2) we can distinguish three noun classes in Siar: common 1, common 2 and proper. Generally speaking, the common 2 noun class comprises nouns that are semantically marked in some way, the proper noun class consists of names, and the common 1 noun class contains all other nouns. Every noun is associated with a certain noun class, but it is also possible for some nouns to move to another noun class, depending on the context.

The term *noun class* is often confused with the term *gender*, and sometimes the two terms are used interchangeably (Aikhenvald 2000a, b). Aikhenvald points out that the label *gender* is traditionally used for Indo-European languages where there is a basic distinction between masculine (male) and feminine (female) entities, whereas the term *noun class* additionally encompasses the nominal classes in many African languages. Siar is not a gender language in the traditional sense (it does not show differences between masculine/male and feminine/female entities), which is why I have used the term *noun class*. Grammatical descriptions of related languages are quite vague in relation to the labelling of this grammatical category and often use notions such as *type* or *class* interchangeably. Lynch, Ross & Crowley (2002: 69) speak of *categories* in Proto-Oceanic. Ross (2002: 413) and Rowe (2005: 16, following Ross) identify three *genders* in Siar, and their semantic analysis of these classes is discussed in this section.

The most straightforward noun class to describe and define is the class of proper nouns. Proper nouns are always preceded by the proper article *é* (cf. section §4.2.1), and the following types of proper NPs can be observed:

(81)   a. **Names of people and animals**   b. **Villages and geographic locations**

é Chris	'Chris'	*é Lamassa*	'Lamassa (village)'
é Grace	*'Grace'*	*é Kur*	'Kur (mountain)'
é Biket	*'Biket (dog name)'*	*é Kónómala*	'Konomala-speaking area'
		é Kabatan	'Point Kabatan'
		é Kótkótó	'Kótkótó (river)'

xxx) c. **Kinship terms**   d. **Some celestial bodies**[39]

é nana	'mummy'		*é Kalang*	'moon'
é mórang	'namesake'		*é Kabén*	'moon'
é taman	'father'		*é Wasu*	'sun' (east coast Siar)
é dal	'to-be-married woman'		*é Matlai*	'morning star'
é móksón	'spouse'			
é tètè	'grandfather'			

xxx) e. **Titles and professions**   f. **Names of clans**

é Pasta	'pastor'		*ép Kamrai*	'Kamrai (clan)'
é Sista	'nurse'		*ép Bóngyan*	'Bóngyan (clan)'
é Kamgói	'God'			
é Dókta	'doctor'			

xxx) g. **Protagonists in fables**   h. **Names of ships and boats**

é Wakin	'Wallaby'		*é Pida*	name of a dinghy
é Pòl	'Dog'			

xxx) i. **Descriptive proper nouns**

é fón kókók	'person with white skin'
é bun	'old man'
é lapun meri	'old woman'
	(< Tok Pisin)

In some instances, nouns that would be expected to be specified for the proper noun class are specified for different noun classes. For example, the noun phrase *ép bòròi Manamanam* 'the pig (called) Manamanam' is specified for the common 1 noun class because it is preceded by the common 1 article *ép*, even though the noun phrase clearly contains a proper name. This suggests that the final noun class is derived from the head noun *bòròi* 'pig' and not from the proper name.

Generally speaking, all nouns in the common 2 class are semantically marked in some way, i.e. Siar speakers consider them to have a specific semantic feature that deserves to signalled in order to make it stand out from the other (common 1) nouns.

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[39] As will be shown later, some celestial bodies can also occur in the common noun class.

Most nouns in the common 2 class refer to entities that are smallish or individuated from a greater mass, but there are also other semantic types that occur there. A list of examples is shown below:

(82) a. **Insects**

a mum	'grasshopper'
a lang	'fly'
a mumus	'mosquito'
a lòi	'ant'

b. **Birds**

a mani	'bird'
a kilil	red-eyed bird

xxx) c. **Other smallish animals**

a kuk	'crab'
a talai	'herring'
a tangir	'mackerel'

d. **Plants and parts of plants**

a purpur	'flower'
a pagómón	'bud'
a wakrin	'root'
a su	'liana'
a rakan (yai)	'branch (of a tree)'
a marang	'dry coconut'
a palin (lamas)	'(coconut) skin'

xxx) e. **Tools**

a ragòu	'hook'
a rèrèh	'fishing line'
a liwan	'knife'
a kòn	kind of trap

f. **Loanwords**

*a masin*_{ENG}	'machine; engine'
*a palang*_{ENG}	'plank'
*a kapa*_{TP}	'roof'
*a four-by-four*_{ENG}	'4 x 4 plank'

xxx) g. **Geographic locations**

a ngórngór	'(geogr.) point'
a arngas	'mountain'
a lau	'valley'
a biam	'plateau'

h. **Some meteorological phenomena**

a kali wuwur	'cyclone'
a pipi; a mémé	'lightning'
a parar	'thunder'

xxx) i. **Groups and sets**   j. **Ordinals**

a gur	'group'	*a tikin x*	'the first x'
a mangis	'clan'	*a ruan x*	'the second x'
a kutun	'school of herrings'	*a tòlin x*	'the third x'
a tinir (sis)	'set of fish on a fishing line'	*a atin x*	'the fourth x'
a tau	'school of fish'	*a liman x*	'the fifth x'
		[etc]	

Evidence that loan words form a subcategory within the common 2 class is to look at nouns such as *kéh* 'net'. *Kèh* is a noun of the common 1 (unmarked) class, but the English/Tok Pisin counterpart *net* is in the common 2 class. The referent has not changed at all, but Siar speakers still treat this form as lexically marked, which is why it is now introduced by the common 2 noun article *a*. Similar kinds of shifts have also been observed in other languages such as Dyirbal (Dixon 1972: 308, Lakoff 1987).

We said that smallish entities make up a good amount of the entities referred to by nouns of the common 2 noun class. An interesting exception in the common 2 noun class is the NP *a tan liwan* 'bush knife'. This NP is an augmentation of the noun *liwan* 'knife', which is usually a common 2 class noun (when regarded as a tool). The noun *tan* 'mother' can be used in Siar to augment entities, i.e. a big knife is literally 'a mother of a knife'. It seems that that the tool-semantics of the knife are more salient than its size causing it to remain associated with the common 2 noun class, even though it has been augmented.

By choosing the label common 2 for this noun class we maintain some consistency with the labels provided by Ross (2002: 413) and Rowe (2005 who refer to this class as 'Common 2 gender'. Ross only identifies the indiviiduating function of this class as well as the part-whole-relationship that is a semantic extension of this. Another previous strategy used by Erdman (1991) has been to label the common 2 class 'singular part whole (class)', thus also focussing only on the individuating function. Rowe recognizes more diversity and lists some of the semantic domains that belong to this noun class (e.g. birds, insects etc), thus establishing clearer semantic criteria for this noun class. A problem with these categorizations is that the common 2 class also comprises nouns such as *gur* 'group' and *liwan* 'knife'. A group is not an individuation (but the exact opposite), and a knife is neither smallish nor individuated.

It is therefore best to stick to the label common 2, rather than focusing on specific semantic features when it comes to labelling the class.

The common 1 noun class contains all noun that neither belong to the proper class nor to the common 2 class. This means that this noun class is semantically very heterogeneous, and it is most clearly defined in opposition two the other two classes.

Some interesting exceptions can also be observed here:

(83)   *ép ngók*   'hornbill'   (but **a** *mani* 'bird')

       ép natun wai 'baby crocodile' (but **a** *natun pòl* 'puppy dog')

       ép kurpòs   'termite'   (but **a** *lòi* 'ant')

       ép fék   'axe'   (but **a** *liwan* 'knife')

       ép dal   'bride'   (kinship-like term but common class)

       ép bat   'rain'   (but *a pipi* 'lightning' and *a parar* 'thunder')

These cases could be explained as follows: birds are usually members of the common 2 noun class, because being animals that are capable of flying they are considered special. The hornbill is an unusual bird because of its size and its strong and big bill (which could almost be perceived as a weapon in the case of some subspecies). In order to mark the hornbill as a bird, it needs to be moved out from the common 2 class. Since a hornbill is a non-proper noun it moves to the common 1 class, hence the use of the common 1 article *ép* in *ép ngók* 'hornbill' (instead of *a ngók*). Similarly, all animals modified by *natun* 'baby' are associated with the common 2 class like most smallish entities are. Crocodiles, however, are considered dangerous animals, and it could be argued that baby crocodiles are no exception there, hence the use of the common 1 article *ép* (*ép natun wai* 'baby crocodile). Insects are also associated with the common 2 noun class typically, the reason being either their smallish size or their insect quality. The kind of termite referred to as *kurpòs* has a reputation of eating the stilts on which houses are built, which can cause them to collapse. This special characteristic can be encoded by a switch of the noun class from the common 2 class to the common 1 class (*ép kurpòs* 'ant' instead of *a kurpòs*). One could also think of such analyses for the other nouns *fék* 'axe' (tool vs. weapon), *dal* 'bride' (temporary kind of kinship relation which only applies at the time just before and during the marriage ceremony) and *bat* 'rain' (celestial feature that involves water). Such cases remind strongly of the analyses that Dixon and Lakoff make for Dyirbal.

The interrogative noun *sah* deserves a special mention due to its inherently unspecific semantics. Rowe (2005: 17) claims that, *"The question word* sah *'what' also takes the article [é]p",* which suggests that *sah* is a common 1 class noun. In fact, *sah* can take any of a range of articles:

(84) | *i* | *tik* | *a* | *palang* | *na* | *di* | *warai* | ***ép*** | ***sah,*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| i | tik | a | palang_{TP} | na | di | war-ai | **ép** | **sah** |
| 3.SG | one | ART:CO2 | plank | REL | IND | say-TR | **ART:CO1** | **INT** |

a	*six-by-six*	*ó*	***a***	***sah?***
a	six-by-six_{ENG}	ó	**a**	**sah**
ART:CO2	six-by-six	or	**ART:CO2**	**INT**

'a plank that is called, what, a six-by-six or what?'

(TÓMÓL [x])

In (84), there does not appear to be a semantic change involved, the noun *sah* is still as unspecified in the first occurrence as in the second occurrence. The switch to the common 2 class seems to be triggered by the borrowed noun *six-by-six*, which is a common 2 noun.

Sah may also be specified for plural:

(85) | *Dit* | *rè* | *i* | ***tó*** | *sah* | *ma* | *na* | *di* | *parai* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| dit | rè | i | **tó** | **sah** | ma | na | di | par-ai |
| 3.PL | see | 3.SG | **ART:[-ANIM].PL** | **what** | TRANS | REL | IND | move.across-TR |

tar	*anin.*
tar	anin
PRF	there

'They saw the things they had put there.'

(FAR [61])

In this case, the speaker is referring to more than one unspecified entity, which is why *sah* is preceded by the plural inanimate article *tó*. This suggests that *sah* can also be preceded by other articles, although this needs further checking with elicitation.

Some nouns may freely switch their noun class depending on the status or function of the referent in the context. The nou *pòl* 'dog', for example, belongs to the common 1 noun class (86a), but can also switch to the common 2 class when it is modified by *lik* 'little' (86b) or the noun *natu-* 'baby (of)', or it can switch to the proper noun class if the dog is a protagonist in a fable (86c):

(86)   a.   **Common noun class**

ép   *pòl*
ép   pòl
ART:CO1   dog

'the/a dog'

b.   **Class 2 noun**

a   *pòl*   *lik*
a   pòl   lik
ART:CO2   dog   little

'the/a little dog'

c.   **Proper noun class**

é   *Pòl*
é   pòl
ART:CO1   dog

'Dog (in a fable)'

A Siar speaker may therefore associate nouns with different classes in order to distinguish certain semantic properties of the noun. The following two utterances were made by the same speaker in the same narrative:

(87)   a.   ***Ép***   ***marasin***   *i*   *rarakai.*
             ép   **marasin**TP   i   ra~rakai
             ART:CO1   **medicine**   3.SG   RED~strong

'The medicine is strong.'

(MAR [1])

b.   *A warai*   *manlar* *diat*   *kanak*   *a*   *marasin*
      a=war-ai   manlar   diat   kanak   **a**   **marasin**TP
      1.SG=speak-TR light   3.PAU   COMP   **ART:CO2**   **medicine**

sa   *i*   *um*   *yau.*
sa   i   um   yau
RESTR   3.SG hit   1.SG

'I told them that the medicine knocked me out.'

(MAR [26])

The noun *marasin* 'medicine in (87a) above is presented as being semantically unmarked as a member of the common 1 noun class, as indicated by the article *ép*. In the context of (87b), there are two possible reasons why the noun has switched to the common 2 class. One reason could be that *marasin* has been marked because it is a borrowed noun, and borrowed nouns have a strong tendency to be members of the common 2 class. The other reason could be that the speaker wants to stress the fact that a single pill of medicine was able to knock him out, with the single pill being presented as an individuated entity, in contrast to the unspecified quantity of medicine that is represented by *ép marasin* in (87a). We have said that entities individuated from a greater mass also strongly tend to occur in the common 2 noun class.

In some instances, a switch of noun class is blocked:

(88)   a.   *é*   *Panake* *Lik*
               é   Panake lik
               ART:PROP PN   little

               'Little Panake (the brother of Big Panake)'

(LAM [7])

    b.   *a*   *tan*   *gur*
               a   ta-n   gur
               ART:CO2   mother-POSS group

               'a huge group'

(CLA [6])

In (88a), the modifier *lik* 'little' which usually causes a switch of the noun phrase to the common 2 class does not have a formal effect on the noun phrase because the proper head noun *Panake* still requires the presence of the proper article *é.* As previously noted, the noun *ta-* 'mother' in (88b) can be used to augment noun referents (i.e. *a mother of x* meaning *a huge x*). The noun *gur* 'group' belongs to common class 2, and augmenting it with *ta-* does not cause a change of noun class. This suggests that it is the semantic head noun (*gur* 'group') that determines which noun classes it can be associated with, and the preceding article is just a reflection of that class association.

In other instances, the articles disambiguate 'polysemous' nouns, i.e. a change of the article results in a significant change of the NP referent. For example, the noun *ép kalang* 'moon' is a common 1 class noun, but its semantic extension *a kalang* 'month'

is in the common 2 class. The switch to the common 2 class is probably related to the need to mark the temporal unit as distinct from the moon in the sky. Similar mechanisms have also been observed in other languages such as Dyirbal (Dixon 1972: 308, Lakoff 1987).

These observations suggest that there is a semantic hierarchy of noun classes:

Common 1 nouns < Common 2 nouns < Proper nouns

→

Semantic saliency of the noun class

The common 1 noun class is the default class. When a common 1 noun is modified by making its referent smaller, individuated or otherwise semantically marked, it usually switches its noun class to common 2 (e.g. *ép pòl* 'the dog' becomes *a pòl lik* 'the little dog'). A common 2 noun may switch to the proper class if its referent has a proper name, even if a modifier such as *lik* 'little' is present (e.g. *é Panake lik* 'Little Panake'). It follows that at least in the great majority of cases, a common 2 article is never chosen over a proper article, and that a common 1 article is only in few cases chosen over a common 2 article, as was the case in (83).

4.2 Articles

Noun phrases are preceded by one of the following 14 obligatory articles:[40]

---

[40] Rowe (2005: 16) finds a total of 10 articles, not mentioning *bar*, *kabai*, *kók* and *kam*. She though notes that, *"Kam 'group (of things)' can be followed by another noun defining the group. In some cases this works as a compound."*

Type	Article	Noun class / Semantic specification	Number	Specificity	Definiteness
1	*é*	proper		+SPEC	+DEF
	ép	common 1			
	a	common 2			
2a	*ti*	common 1	singular	-SPEC	-DEF
	ta	common 2	singular	-SPEC	-DEF
2b	*ru*	common 1	dual		
	ra	common 2	dual		
3	*bar*	human	plural		
	kai	animate	plural		
	kabai	animate	*all x*	+SPEC	+DEF
	tó	inanimate	plural		
4a	*tók*	uncountable / polarity	non-singular	-SPEC	-DEF
4b	*kók*	diminutive		+SPEC	+DEF
4c	*kam*	group / set			

Table 23: Siar articles and their distinctive features

The articles have been arranged according to their semantic types. This is because articles can both share and be distinguished by semantic features and their syntactic distribution. Those articles that belong to the same type differ only minimally, in most cases only by one semantic feature. Furthermore, articles with higher type numbers tend to have very specific semantic and syntactic features, whereas articles from types with lower numbers tend to occur in less specific contexts.

Note that the paucal number is not represented in this system. It is only a number category in the pronoun system. This issue is briefly discussed in section §4.2.1. The empty fields in Table 23 indicate that some articles do not make a distinction in terms of the category concerned. For example, the article *ép* indicates neither specificity nor definiteness because it can be used in both specific and nonspecific contexts, as well as definite and indefinite contexts.

Here we follow Ross (2002: 414 ff) and Rowe (2005: 15 ff) by referring to these prenominal elements as articles. Erdman (1991: 62) and Erdman & Goring (1992: 110) label them noun markers but do not elaborate on why this term should be preferred. Siar articles match the definition of articles provided by Himmelmann (2001: 832) because they do not occur by themselves, they are frequent items in the language, they only occur in NPs (where they are usually located to the left of the head noun), and they are obligatory in specific grammatical contexts. It is common in

the Oceanic tradition to refer to such forms as articles (see e.g. Peekel 1915, Mosel 1984, Condra 1989, Volker 1998, Lynch et al. 2002), but in other languages such forms have also recently been referred to as noun markers (Erdman & Goring 1992, Van Der Mark 2007) and noun phrase markers (Du 2010).[41]

4.2.1   Type 1: *ép, a, é*

The articles of Type 1 are amongst the most frequent articles in Siar. This is because their semantic features are fairly general and their syntactic distribution is very similar.

The most straightforward Type 1 article is the proper article *é* which introduces proper nouns. An example can be seen below:

(89)   **É**   *Roboam*   *i*   *matiti*   *ép*   *bòròi.*
       [é   Roboam]_NP   i   matiti   ép   bòròi
       ART:PROP PN   3.SG   fear   ART:CO1   pig

'Roboam was afraid of the pig.'

(URI [5])

If a singular NP is headed by a proper noun, then it needs to be introduced by the proper article *é*. Proper nouns are always specific and definite. Non-singular proper nouns take a type 3 plural article, none of which are dedicated proper noun articles. There is a correlation between the singular proper noun article *é* and the human/animate articles *bar* and *kai* respectively because in the plural, *bar* and *kai* can also be used to introduce proper NPs such as clan names or nationalities (cf. section §4.1).

A special case are NPs that refer to families. In these instances, a member of that family is selected and introduced by the proper article *é*. Then the third person paucal pronoun *diat*, which semantically represents the other family members, is added to that construction:

---

[41] Du (2010: 112) finds the same features Himmelmann proposes for articles, but still refers to them as articles.

(90)   *é*   *Beverly* *diat*
        é   Beverly   diat
        ART:PROP   PN   3.PAU

        'Beverly's family'

<div align="right">(ÉPL [1])</div>

The resulting NP is not singular though. Evidence comes from the observation that if the above NP specifies a subject, the resumptive pronoun must be the third person paucal pronoun *diat*, and not the third person singular form (which is *i* in cases of unmarked modality):

(91)   a.   *é*   *Beverly* *diat*   ***diat***   *inan*
              é   Beverly   diat   **diat**   inan
              ART:PROP   PN   3.PAU   **3.PAU**   go

              'Beverly's family went'

        b.   * *é*   *Beverly* ***i***   *inan*
                é   Beverly   **i**   inan
                ART:PROP   PN   **3.SG**   go

It follows then that the proper article *é* is not specified for a grammatical number.

It is important to also discuss the terms definiteness and specificity in the context of Siar articles. Rowe (2005: 15) assumes that Siar articles are not specified for definiteness. This is true for some articles such as the common 1 class article *ép*, which is the most frequent Siar article and the statistically most frequent Siar word:

(92)   a.   *Kai*   *pòl* *dit* *pas* *tat* *pas* *i*   *tik*
              kai   pòl   dit   [pas   tat]SVC pas   i   tik
              ART:ANIM.PL   dog   3.PL   step   find   PFV   3.SG   one

              ép   ***bòròi.***
              ép   **bòròi**
              ART:CO1   **pig**

              'The dogs found a pig.'

<div align="right">(AMP 2 [38])</div>

b. *Kai   pòl dit kapsur i   ma   ép*

kai	pòl	dit	kapsur	i	ma	ép
ART:ANIM.PL	dog	3.PL	chase	3.SG	TRANS	ART:CO1

bòròi   ning.

bòròi	n-ing
pig	DEM.[-SG]-ANA

'The dogs were chasing that pig.'

(LAU [9])

The NP *i tik ép bòròi* 'a pig' in (92a) is indefinite because it is not clear which pig was found by the dogs. Reasons for the indefinite reading are the use of the numeral *i tik* 'one' and the absence of a (usually definite) demonstrative. Such a demonstrative *ning* 'that' is available in (92b). The pig in this case refers to one whose trace the dogs had found earlier. Even though the examples differ in terms of definiteness, the same article *ép* is used.

The article *a* is similar to the common 1 noun article *ép* in terms of distribution, and it differs from it only by the fact that it introduces nouns of the common 2 class. Two examples for the common 2 article *a* can be seen below:

(93)   a.   *Dirau wóng i   a   pagómón lik ki*

dirau	wóng	i	[a	pagómón]NP	lik	k-i
3.DU	check	3.SG	ART:CO2	bud	little	FOC-3.SG

pus'òt.

pus=(w)òt
come.out=come

'The two checked if (the young tree) had put forth a little bud.'

(LAM [17])

b.   *I kilang i   a   rèrèh   na   ki   dadat.*

i	kilang	i	[a	rèrèh]NP	na	k-i	da~dat
3.SG	feel	3.SG	ART:CO2	fishing.line	REL	FOC-3.SG	RED~pull

'He feels if there is pulling on the fishing line.'

(BAB 2 [5])

The head noun *pagómón* 'bud' in (93a) belongs to the common 2 noun class, like many other smallish entities and plants, and it therefore selects the article *a* rather than the article *ép*. It is indefinite in this context. The head noun *rèrèh* in (93b) is also a

member of the common 2 noun class, like many other nouns referring to tools, hence the use of the article *a*. It is definite in this context.

We said earlier that the Siar article system does not have forms for all grammatical numbers because there are no paucal articles. The paucal is only a grammatical number relevant for the pronoun system (cf. section §4.3.2). Paucal pronouns are used to refer to entities that contain at least three entities that are perceived as a coherent group of some sort (such as a family or a rugby team). When specifying a noun or an NP that represents three entities or a group, then the singular articles are used:

(94) *i*   *tòl*   ***ép***   *rumai*
      i   tòl   **ép**   rumai
      3.SG   three **ART:CO1**   house

      'three houses'

This is not the case for other grammatical numbers (dual and plural), where the articles agree in number with the head of the NP (cf. section §4.2.3).

4.2.2   Type 2a: Indefinite (*ti*, *ta*)

The articles *ti* and *ta* are used for indefinite and nonspecific singular nouns. Both articles can be assumed to derive from the numeral *tik* 'one' (cf. section §4.5.1).[42] *Ti* is used for indefinite and nonspecific nouns of the common 1 class whereas *ta* is used for indefinite and nonspecific nouns from the common 2 class. Two examples for *ti* can be seen below:

---

[42] Lynch et al. (2002: 71) mention the Proto-Malayo-Polynesian form **ta* and refer to it as *"accusative (indefinite)"*. This form is also present in Vinitiri (Van Der Mark 2007: 111) where Van Der Mark calls it *"non-specific common noun marker"*. Peekel (1915: 14) finds the form *ta* in Lambel, referring to it as an indefinite article.

(95)   a.   *Amra   tumarang   tar   i   sak   él   lók   tar*

amra(u)	tumarang	tar	i	sak	é-l	lók	tar
2.DU	watch.out	PRF	3.SG	ADVS	3.SG-IRR	bite	PRF

ti   *alin*   *datòl.*

[ti	(f)ali-n	datòl]$_{NP}$
ART:CO1.IND	partner-POSS	1.PAU.INC

'You two watch out, otherwise it will bite one of us.'

                                                     (LÓB [14])

b.   *A nuki   kanak   a   pipi   i   pirim*

a=nuk-i	kanak	a	pipi	i	pirim
1.SG=think-TR	COMP	ART:CO2	lightning	3.SG	move.down

ón   ***ti***   *lamas.*

ó-n	**ti**	lamas
OBL-POSS	**ART:CO1.IND**	coconut

'I thought that lightning had struck a coconut tree.'

                                                  (KAL [8])

The noun *(f)alin* 'partner' in (95a) is usually associated with the common 1 noun class, hence the use of the form *ti*. The same is true for the head noun *lamas* 'coconut' in (95b). Note that no distinction is made in terms of animacy, *(f)alin* in (95a) is animate whereas *lamas* in (95b) is inanimate. This parameter becomes relevant in relation to type 3 articles.

    Two constructions with nonspecific common 2 nouns, introduced by the article *ta*, are shown below:

(96)   a.   *Bèl **ta**   pukun kón mumun   arik.*

bèl	**ta**	pukun	kón	mu~mun	ari-k
NEG	**ART:CO2.IND**	place	for	RED~hide	BEN-1.SG.POSS

'There was no (lit. *not any*) place for me to hide.'

                                                  (BÈL [7])

b.   *tik **ta**   pòl lik*

tik	**ta**	pòl	lik
one	**ART:CO2.IND**	dog	little

'any little dog'

The noun *pukun* in (96a), like some other locational and geographical terms is a member of the common 2 class, hence the use of the common 2 indefinite and

nonspecific article *ta*. In (96b), the common 2 indefinite and nonspecific article is used because the head noun *pòl* 'dog' is modified by *lik* 'little', which always triggers a switch of noun class from common 1 to common 2.

4.2.3   Type 2b: Dual (*ru*, *ra*)

The basic distribution of the two dual articles *ru* and *ra* is in the same as the distribution as the nonspecific articles *ti* and *ta* respectively, the difference being that *ru* and *ra* occur in dual NPs. *Ru* is the dual common 1 article and *ra* is the dual common 2 article. Both forms can safely be assumed to derive from the numeral *ru* 'two' (cf. section §4.5.1). Like *ép* and *a*, *ru* and *ra* make no statement about definiteness and specificity. Examples for each form are shown below:

(97)   a.   *I   ning   **ru**   tarai kawan   **ru***
              i   n-ing   [**ru**   tarai kawan]NP [**ru**
              3.SG   DEM.[-SG]-ANA **ART:CO1.DU**   men   cousin   **ART:CO1.DU**

              risén   dirau   é   Solomon   dirau   é
              rise-n   dirau]NP é   Solomon   dirau   é
              name-POSS   3.DU   ART:PROP   PN   3.DU   ART:PROP

              Chris.
              Chris
              PN

              'The (two) names of those two cousins are Solomon and Chris.'
                                                                    (KAW [7])

       b.   *I   ru   **ra**   nat   lik   dira   ki*
              i   [ru   **ra**   (fa)nat lik]NP dira(u) k-i
              3.SG two   **ART:CO2.DU**   child   little 3.DU   FOC-3.SG

              saksak   tim   an   piu.
              sak~sak   t-im   an   piu
              RED~sing   LOC-down at   ground

              'Two little children were singing outside.'
                                                                    (URI [12])

In (97a) there are two dual noun complexes, each introduced by the dual common 1 article *ru* because both NP complexes are headed by nouns of the common 1 class. In (97b), the common 2 form of the dual article (*ra*) is used. Note that the head noun

itself is a member of the common 1 class (*ép fanat*), but the specification by the adjective *lik* triggers a change of noun class to common 2.

4.2.4   Type 3: Plural (*bar, kai, kabai, tó*)

Like Type 1 articles, Type 3 articles occur very frequently. Type 3 articles are specified for plural number, which makes it relatively easy to predict when they are used. Their semantic features are also quite straightforward.

The article *bar* is associated with plural nouns that refer to human entities. It does not carry information about definiteness or specificity:

(98)   a. | *Mèt* | *nós* | *sur* | *i* | ***bar*** | *soldia* | *na* | *di* |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| mèt | nós | sur | i | **bar** | soldia_{TP} | na | di |
| 1.PL.EX | look | GOAL | 3.SG | **ART:HUM.PL** | soldier | REL | IND |

apar	*tar*	*dit*	*tim*	*an*	*Lainsilòu.*
a-par	tar	dit	t-im	an	Lainsilòu
CAUS-move.across	PRF	3.PL	LOC-*down*	at	PN

'We looked for the soldiers that were dropped off down at Cape St George.'

(FAR [15])

b. | ***Bar*** | *ón* | *kókók* | *dit* | *ki* | *lós* | *pas* |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| **bar** | [(f)ó-n | kó~kók]_{NP} | dit | k-i | lós | pas |
| **ART:HUM.PL** | skin-POSS | RED~white | 3.PL | FOC-3.SG | carry | PFV |

tar	*i*	*ap*	*kasai*	*an*	*Rabaul.*
tar	i	ap	ka-Ø-sai	an	Rabaul
PRF	3.SG	and	ALL-(LOC-)DIST	at	PN

'The white men had brought it to Rabaul.'

(MAT 2 [33])

The head noun *soldia* 'soldier' in (98a) has been borrowed from Tok Pisin, and it clearly has a human reference. The NP *(f)ón kókók* 'white skin' in (98b) is used to refer to white people as reflected in the choice of the human plural article *bar*.

Proper NPs can also be introduced by *bar* in contexts where the noun refers to a group of people, representing particular nationalities (99a) or clans (99b):

(99)   a.   *Mèt   liu   ap   mèt   rup   kiòm   main   dit*
            mèt   liu   ap   mèt   rup   kiòm   mai-n   dit
            1.PL.EX   run   and   1.PL.EX enter   together COM-POSS 3.PL

            bar   Siapan.
            bar   **Siapan**
            ART:HUM.PL **PN**

            'We ran away and entered (in the holes) together with the Japanese.'

                                                                          (FAR [27])

       b.   *I   gat   ép   taun   anun   **bar***
            i   gat_TP   ép   taun   anu-n   **bar**
            3.SG   exist   ART:CO1   ancestor.village CL:GEN-POSS   **ART:HUM.PL**

            Kur*   *dit*   *ana.
            Kur   dit   a-n-a
            PN   3.PL   DEX-DEM.[-SG].PROX

            'There is an ancestor village belonging to the Kur (clan), they were
            here.'

                                                                          (TING [25])

An interesting case is the noun *minat* 'corpse; dead body', which is a nominalization of
the verb *mat* 'die'. Even though a corpse is not animate, it is still considered to be
human in Siar, which is why the NP it represents is introduced by the human plural
article *bar*:

(100) *Di   parai   ting   an   matmat lakan   tó*
       di   par-ai   t-ing   an   mat~mat laka-n   tó
       IND   move.across-TR LOC-ANA   at   RED~die top-of   ART:[-ANIM].PL

       *tung   ón   **bar**   **minat***.
       tung   ó-n   **bar**   **m<in>at**
       grave   for-it **ART:HUM.PL** **corpse**

       'They put (them) on the graves of the dead in the graveyard.'

                                                                          (TÓMÓL [28])

It should be noted though that the human plural article *bar* is being replaced by the
animate plural article *kai* among younger Siar speakers. This article does not convey
information about definiteness and specificity. In older speakers' Siar, *kai* refers to all
animate entities that are not human, i.e. it is mostly used to refer to animals. In
younger speakers' Siar, on the other hand, *kai* has replaced *bar* and hence introduces

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all noun phrases with animate referents. This means that the human / non-human distinction is being lost in Siar, and it may well have completely disappeared from the language in a few decades. To illustrate that the change is in progress, I have found one utterance where an older speaker switches between the two articles in the same sentence:

(101)   *Amtò*   *ki*   *tapagal*   *sòu*   *kabas*   *matòl*
             amtò(l)   k-i   ta-pagal   sòu   kabas   matòl
             2.PAU   FOC-3.SG   ACAUS-break.apart   move.off   leave   1.PAU.EX

             bar   ***Bóngyan***   *ap*   *amtòl*   **kai**   ***Marnai***
             bar   **Bóngyan**   ap   amtòl   **kai**   **Marnai**
             ART:HUM.PL **PN**   and   2.PAU   **ART:ANIM.PL** **PN**

             ma.
             ma
             TRANS

             'You have separated from us, the Bóngyan (clan), and now you are the Marnai (clan).'

                                                          (CLA [40])

The different choice of article here does not have any impact on the interpretation of the NP.

      The following sentence was uttered by a younger (14-year old) Siar speaker. Note that even though the NP referent is clearly human, the article *kai* is used:

(102)   *Mèt*   **kai**   *gurar*   *mèt*   *inan.*
             mèt   **kai**   **gurar**   mèt   inan
             1.PL.EX   **ART:ANIM.PL** **women**   1.PL.EX   go

             'Us women, we went.'

                                                           (NGÉL [1])

Like *kai* (and *bar*), the article *kabai* introduces noun phrases which have an animate referent. *Kabai* stresses the entirety of the NP referents, which usually make up a group of some sort. In addition, it is both a specifying and definite article. It therefore translates best to English as 'all (these/those) animate x'. *Kabai* does not distinguish between human (103a) and non-human referents (103b):

(103) a.   *A ningning   ati   **kabai**   nanat*
              a=ning~ning ati   [**kabai**   na~(fa)nat]_{NP}
              1.SG=RED~beg DURA **ART:ANIM.ALL** RED~child

              su'ngak   tók   lans.
              su(r)=nga-k   tók   lans_{ENG}
              GOAL=CL:FOOD-1.SG.POSS   ART:[-COUNT] lunch

              'I was begging all the children for something to eat for lunch.'
                                                (MAR [6])

    b.   *Dat   ki   dòt   sòi **kabai**   bòròi.*
              dat   k-i   dòt   sòi [**kabai**   bòròi]_{NP}
              1.PL.INC FOC-3.SG tie   away **ART:ANIM.ALL** pig

              'We tied up all the pigs.'
                                                (LLM [45])

Kabai is the least common article in my data, presumably due to its very specific semantics. There is also an alternative strategy for expressing the concept 'all animate x' in Siar, involving the verb *róp* 'finish', which also has as a quantifying meaning 'all'. This can be seen in the following example:

(104) **Kai**   **gurar** **róp** *dit* *él*   *muri*   *ais*
        kai   **gurar** **róp** dit é-l   mur-i   a-is
        ART:ANIM.PL **women** **finish** 3.PL 3.SG-IRR f follow-TR CAUS-return

        i.
        i
        3.SG

        'All the women will follow her back (inside the house).'
                                               (TIN [43])

Condra (1989: 102) finds *"[…] one filler of the class of plural marker,* kaba*, meaning more than three"* in the related language Patpatar. Patpatar *kaba* and Siar *kabai* look like cognates, both formally and semantically, but it also appears that the Siar semantics have been extended from *three or more x* to *all x*.

Finally, the type 3 article *tó* is used for all inanimate plural nouns and it is without any reference to specificity or definiteness. The following example shows three different inanimate plural NPs:

(105) | *I* | *akès* | *pas* | *tar* | ***tó*** | | ***mamaran*** | ***baran***, |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| i | a-kès | pas | tar | **tó** | | mamaran | baran |
| 3.SG | CAUS-sit | PFV | PRF | **ART:[-ANIM].PL** | | different | thing |

i	*akès*	***tó***		*yai*,	*ap*	*ép*	*lón*
i	a-kès	**tó**		yai	ap	ép	ló-n
3.SG	CAUS-sit	**ART:[-ANIM].PL**		tree	and	ART:CO1	mouth-POSS

bòn	*ap*	***tó***	***malum***.
bòn	ap	**tó**	**malum**
sea	and	**ART:[-ANIM].PL**	fresh.water

'He created different things: he created the trees and the sea and the rivers.'

(FAK [3])

The plural article *tó* is also used for inanimate nouns with distributive number. Nouns specified for the distributive *"[…] imply a plurality of separate individuals"* (Bickel & Nichols 2008: 227). Distributive nouns are reduplicated, as in the following example:

(106) | *Dé'kél* | | *tar* | *ma* | ***tó*** | | ***didin*** | *bòròi* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| di(t)=k-é-l | | tar | ma | **tó** | | **di~din** | bòròi |
| 3.PL=FOC-3.SG-IRR | | give | TRANS | **ART:[-ANIM].PL** | | **RED~piece** | pig |

liklik	*ngan*		*kai*		*nanat*	*gurar.*
lik~lik	nga-n		kai		na~nat	gurar
RED~little	CL:FOOD-POSS		ART:ANIM.PL		RED~child	women

'They will give small pieces of pork to the girls. '

(GURAR [13])

4.2.5   Type 4: Residual articles

The type 4 articles are only a residual category and have different semantic and syntactic features.

4.2.5.1   Type 4a: Uncountable and polarity sensitive (*tók*)

The articles *ti* and *ta* discussed in section §4.2.2 introduce nonspecific and indefinite singular nouns and NPs. The article *tók* also is both nonspecific and indefinite but in addition does not make any statement about the number of the NP referent. While *ti* and *ta* always refer to a single nonspecific and indefinite entity (*any single x*), *tók* refers to uncountable nouns. This can involve nouns which are inherently uncountable (mass nouns) such as *malum* 'water' (107a) or nouns that can be countable in other contexts (107b):

(107) a. *A rak   al   gang   **tók**   **malum**.*
           a=rak   a-l   drink   **tók**   **malum**
           1.SG=want 1.SG-IRR drink   **ART:[-COUNT]**   **fresh.water**

'I want to drink some water.'

b. *A rak   sén   alò   al   yan*
    a=rak   sén   alò   a-l   yan
    1.SG=want EMPH   also   1.SG-IRR eat

***tók*   *gém*.**
tók   **gém**
ART:[-COUNT]   **cassava.bread**

'I also wanted to eat some cassava bread.'

(PIR [29])

No specification is made with regard to the quantity of fresh water that is going to be drunk in (107a) or to the quantity of cassava bread to be eaten in (107b), which is why both sentences translate best to English using the quantifier *some*.

Tók is also the only article that is sensitive to polarity, this means that it is employed for all NPs that occur in negated existential clauses (*There is/are no x*). In negated contexts, the underlying noun class of the head noun is irrelevant. An example for a negated common 1 head noun is shown in (108a), (108b) shows a negated noun from the common 2 class:

(108) a. **Negated common 1 head noun**

*Bèl   al   ma   **tók**   **bòròi**   ting   an*
bèl   al   ma   **tók**   **bòròi**   t-ing   an
NEG   some TRANS   **ART:[-COUNT]**   **pig**   LOC-ANA at

lón   ép   ran.
ló-n   ép   ran
mouth-POSS   ART:CO1   earth.oven

'There was no pig in the earth oven.'

(RTK [6])

b.   **Negated common 2 head noun**

Bèl	*al*	***tók***	***pén***.
bèl	al	**tók**	**pén**ENG
NEG	some	**ART:[-COUNT]**	**pen**

'There were no pens.'

<div align="right">(CLA [14])</div>

4.2.5.2   Type 4b: Diminutive (*kók*)

As its label suggests, the diminutive article *kók* is used with NP referents to encode a semantic component of smallishness. NPs introduced by *kók* are always specific and definite. Consider the following pair of examples that primarily differ in the use of the article:

(109) a.

Ép	*usrai*	*anuk*	*i*	*i*	*róp*	*sa*
[ép	usrai	anu-k	i]NP	i	róp	sa
ART:CO1	**story**	**CL:GEN-1.SG.POSS**	**3.SG**	3.SG	finish	RESTR

ti'gau.
t-i(ng)=gau
LOC-ANA=place

'And my story just ends there.'

<div align="right">(NINGIN [12])</div>

b.

Kók	*usrai*	*anuk*	*i*	*tuk*	*rak*
[kók	usrai	anu-k]NP	i	tuk	rak
ART:DIM	**story**	**CL:GEN-1.SG.POSS**	3.SG	be.over	be.like

sa	*ning*.
sa	n-ing
RESTR	DEM.[-SG]-ANA

'My little story ends there.'

<div align="right">(PÉK [42])</div>

The noun *usrai* 'story' in (109a) is introduced by the common 1 article *ép* which does not have a significant impact on the semantics of the noun. In the NP in (109b), *usrai* is introduced by the diminutive article *kók*, and the NP translates to English as 'my little story'. Since there is no other constituent in the clause that could provide the meaning 'little' it must come from the article itself.

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Kók may also introduce nouns from the common 2 noun class. This is shown in the following examples:

(110) a. | *Ól* | *ari* | *sur* | *ól* | *rè* | *i* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ó-l | ari | sur | ó-l | rè | i |
| 2.SG-IRR | BEN | INTENT | 2.SG-IRR | see | 3.SG |

da	*a*	*pukun*.
d-a	**a**	**pukun**
DEM.SG-PROX	**ART:CO2**	**place**

'Come here so you can see this place.'

(ÈRB [12])

b. | *Na* | *ó'ning* | | *ning* | *kók* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| na | ó(-n)=n-ing | | n-ing | **[kók** |
| REL | OBL(-POSS)=DEM.[-SG]-ANA | | DEM.[-SG]-ANA | **ART:DIM** |

pukun	*kirai*	*ning*	*matò*	*ki*	*bòrbòr*	*laulau*
pukun	**kirai**	**n-ing]**NP	matò(l)	k-i	bòrbòr	laulau
place	**time**	**DEM.[-SG]-ANA**	1.PAU.EX	FOC-3.SG	sleep	bad

tar	*ma*.
tar	ma
PRF	TRANS

'Then we were sleeping badly for a little while.'

(AMP 2 [21])

The noun *pukun* is a member of the common 2 noun class. It can have a geographical-location meaning that translates to English as 'place' or 'spot'. Most other nouns with a similar meaning are also found in the common 2 noun class. This locational meaning is reflected in (110a) above, hence the use of the common 2 noun class article *a*. In (110b), the semantics of *pukun* are extended to refer to a period of time. When introduced by *kók*, which adds an additional specification of smallishness to the noun, the whole expression in (110b) above translates best to English as 'a little while'. *Kók* does not distinguish between common 1 nouns and common 2 nouns, although it tends to introduce nouns from the common 1 noun class. This might be because of the already "smallish" semantics of most nouns in the common 2 noun class.

In other instances, *kók* translates to English as 'a smallish amount of', as in the following example:

(111) *I*   *pitòk*   *kumi*   *pas*   *lik*   *i*   ***kók***   ***bòn***.
       i   pitòk   kumi   pas   lik   i   **kók**   **bòn**
       3.SG   fetch   secretly   PFV   TEMP   3.SG **ART:DIM**   **saltwater**

'She secretly fetched some saltwater.'

(MAT 2 [12])

Note that the modifier *lik* here modifies the fetching event only, not the NP.

The diminutive category is usually thought of as feature of the noun, which often has semantic extensions into the semantic realm of affection and endearment (Dahl 2006). Furthermore, in most languages for which the diminutive has been described, this category is usually expressed by an affix on the noun. However, if we adopt Dahl's view that,

```
"Diminutives   and   augmentatives   are   frequently   formed   by
affixation,   but   other   means   also   exist,   most   notably
reduplication and tone"
```

(Dahl 2006: 594)

and that,

```
"This   function   is   not   strictly   limited   to   morphological
diminutives but in principle works for any linguistic element
that conveys a notion of 'smallness.'"
```

(Dahl 2006: 595)

we can speak of the article *kók* as diminutive article.

The use of *kók* is also are associated with affection:

(112) a. ***kók***   ***pidik***   ***anuk***   *n'a*   *tòtòl*
           [**kók**   **pidik**   **anu-k**]ₙₚ   n(a)=a   tò~tòl
           ART:DIM   **secret**   **CL:GEN-1.SG.POSS**   REL=1.SG   RED~do

           tur
           tur
           stand

'my little secret that I hold tight onto'

(MAT 2 [12])

b.

Kók	**alélét**	**ón**	*i*	*sa*	*na*	*ép*
[kók	alélét	ó-n]ₙₚ	i	sa	na	ép
ART:DIM	**superstition**	**OBL-POSS**	3.SG	RESTR	REL	ART:CO1

barsan	*él*	*bólós*	*u*	*ting*	*lón*	*ngas*	*ap*
barsan	é-l	bólós	u	t-ing	ló-n	ngas	ap
man	3.SG-IRR	pass.by	2.SG	LOC-ANA	mouth-POSS	path	and

góng	*u*	*lès*	*tar*	*ngasin.*
góng	u	lès	tar	ngasi-n
PROH	2.SG	give.way	PRF	CL:CONT-3.SG.POSS

'There is a (nice) little superstition that when a man passes by you on the road you do not give way to him (but he gives way to you).'

(KÒN [17])

Kók is often used in 'my little story'-contexts such as (109b), which also suggests that, like diminutives, *kók* has a *"[…] pragmatic use for mitigating, downgrading, or softening a speech act."* (Dahl 2006: 595), in which case one might want to translate *kók usrai anuk* as 'my humble story' rather than 'my little story'.

It would be interesting to analyse the language that couples use when referring to each other or their children, or if the diminutive also surfaces more often when speaking with infants, as is often done in other languages that have a diminutive category.

4.2.5.3   Type 4c: Group or set (*kam*)

The word *kam* is syntactically inconsistent, and its semantics also are somewhat difficult to grasp. In terms of its syntactic distribution, *kam* sometimes shows similarities to articles, but there are also syntactic environments that suggests that *kam* can not be an article. In terms of semantics, *kam* mostly conveys the meaning 'group or set of x'. Two examples for each reading are shown below:

(113) a.

Diat	*lós*	*i*	*tik*	*sén*	*alò*	*ép*	*kéh*	*ap*
diat	lós	i	tik	sén	alò	ép	kéh	ap
3.PAU	carry	3.SG	one	EMPH	again	ART:CO1	net	and

tó	*kam*	*raurau*	*anu'diat*	*i.*
tó	**kam**	**raurau**	anu(-n)=diat	i
ART:[-ANIM].PL	**ART:GROUP**	**spears**	CL:GEN(-POSS)=3.PAU	3.SG

'They went and fetched the net and their spears.'

(LÓB [4])

b.

Ma	*na*	*ó'na*			**kam**	**tan**
ma	na	ó-(n)=n-a			**kam**	**tan**
but	REL	OBL(-POSS)=DEM.[-SG]-PROX			**ART:GROUP**	**person**

dit	*ardat*	*i*	*i*	*ding*	*ép*	*risén*
dit	ar-dat	i	i	d-ing	ép	rise-n
3.PL	REC-pull	3.SG	3.SG	DEM.SG-ANA	ART:CO1	name-POSS

baran	*di*	*warai*	*ép*	*Kórói*	*ón.*
baran	di	war-ai	ép	Kórói	ó-n
thing	IND	speak-TR	ART:CO1	PN	OBL-3.SG.POSS

'But today there is still a group of people that is confused about what is called the Kórói (clan).'

(CLA [71-A])

The noun *kam raurau* in (113a) refers to a trident-like fishing tool that is made by sticking three or more spiky pieces of wire into one end of a piece of wood. The noun *raurau* by itself refers to a kind of spear with a spike and a barbed hook.[43]

   Kam is not listed as an article by Ross (2002: 415) or Rowe (2005: 16), and the reason for this is presumably its inconsistent syntactic position. The two examples above show uses of *kam* which suggest that it functions like an article because it immediately precedes a noun like the other articles do. In the following two examples, however, there is another article that precedes *kam*, which makes the article analysis for *kam* untenable in these cases:

(114)   a.

A rak	*al*	*usrai*	*i*	*tik*	**ép**	**kam**
a=rak	a-l	usrai	i	tik	**ép**	**kam**
1.SG=want	1.SG-IRR	story	3.SG	one	**ART:CO1**	**ART:GROUP**

usrai	*ón*	*i*	*tik*	*ép*	*paltètè.*
usrai	ó-n	i	tik	ép	paltètè
story	OBL-POSS	3.SG	one	ART:CO1	old.man

'I want to tell a story about an old man.'

(PAL [1])

---

[43] There is also a verb *raurau* which means 'have something hooked on', which may refer to fish as well as humans figuratively.

b.

Diat	*ki*	*lóngrai*	*lar*	*na*		*ap*	*diat*
diat	k-i	lóng-rai	lar	n-a		ap	diat
3.PAU	FOC-3.SG	listen-TR	like	DEM.[-SG]-PROX		and	3.PAU

ki	*lós*	***tó***		***kam***	*ék.*
k-i	lós	tó		kam	(f)ék
FOC-3.SG	carry	**ART:[-ANIM].PL**		**ART:GROUP**	axe

'They heard (it) and they got the axes.'

<div align="right">(TNG [7])</div>

This shows that the morpheme *kam* is unstable for some reason. It could be that the article is currently emerging, or it could be that *kam* always used to be an article but is developing a modifying function.

Kam also has other semantic effects. For example, when preceding some nouns, it changes the reference:

(115)   **Derived nouns in same semantic domain**

yah	'fire'	***kam*** *yah*	'hearth'
ngas	'path'	***kam*** *ngas*	'shore'
kabang	'lime'	***kam*** *kabang*	'kind of tree'
pól	'liquid'	***kam*** *pól*	'puddle'

Kam is also an obligatory component of some body part NPs. The reasons why the group-reading of kam also extends to these remains unclear:

(116) **Body parts**

lima-	'hand'	***kam*** *lima-*	'shoulder'
lima-	'hand'	***kam*** *arsumai lima-*	'wrist'
ar-sumai	REC-join		
lima-	'hand'	***kam*** *lugun lima-*	'elbow'
laikió-	(unknown)	***kam*** *laikió-*	'rib'
guru-	(unknown)	***kam*** *guru-*	'chin'

Other nouns introduced by *kam* are derived from verbs:

(117) **Nouns derived from verbs**

    èrbè   'to dream'   ***kam** èrbè*   'dream'

    sarsar 'to rake'   ***kam** sarsar* 'chicken'

                                            (which usually 'rakes'

                                            the ground with its feet)

When *kam* is accompanied by the noun *matan* 'eye', the sequence results in the meaning 'kind of x' (118a) or 'style of x' (118b):[44]

(118) a. *i*   *tòl* *ép*   ***kam***   ***matan***   ***lès*** *ón*

            i   tòl   ép   **kam**   **mata-n** **lès** ó-n

            3.SG three ART:CO1 **ART:GROUP** **eye-POSS** **nut** OBL-POSS

            i   *tik* *s'ép*   *yai*

            i   tik   s(a)=ép   yai

            3.SG one   RESTR=ART:CO1 tree

            'three kinds of nuts from just one tree'

                                                (SIA [21])

      b. *I*   *na* *tó*   ***kam***   ***matan*** ***babait***

            i   na   tó   **kam**   **mata-n** **babait**

            3.SG REL ART:[-ANIM].PL **ART:GROUP** **eye-POSS** **fishing**

            na   *uring* *na*   *ép*   *tarai* *dit* *rèrè* *yan*

            na   uring na   ép   tarai dit   rèrè yan

            REL ago   REL ART:CO1 men   3.PL HAB eat

            sis *ón*   *na* *uring.*

            sis ó-n   na uring

            fish OBL-3.SG.POSS REL ago

            'This is the style of fishing the people used in the past to eat fish.'

                                                (BAB 2 [12])

In other constructions it remains unclear why *kam* is used as an article, or why it is not used. Consider the following example:

---

[44] Dixon (1988: 364) finds a word *mata* in Boumaa Fijian that he translates as 'group; team', but he assumes *mata* to be distinct from the noun *mata-* 'eye'. *Mata* is said to only occur in compounds. He also notes an NP modifier *mataqali* which he translates as 'kind of'.

(119) *Góng*   *u*   *warai*   *tar*   **kam**   **gurar**,   *kai*   *tarai!*
       góng   u   war-ai   tar   **kam**   gurar   kai   tarai
       PROH   2.SG   speak-TR   PRF   **ART:GROUP**   **women**   **ART:ANIM.PL** men

'Don't you tell the women (or) the men!'

(AKA [22])

Note that the first NP is introduced by *kam*, whereas the second NP is introduced by the plural animate article *kai* instead. In the context of the narrative, both NPs are mentioned for the first time and hence represent new information, and there is nothing in particular that makes the women stand out from the men in this context.

The noun that is most commonly introduced by *kam* is the noun *usrai* 'story', as shown in the following example:

(120) *Ap*   *anuk*   **kam**   **usrai**   *i*   *sa.*
      ap   anu-k   **kam**   usrai   i   sa
      and   CL:GEN-1.SG.POSS   **ART:GROUP**   **story**   3.SG   RESTR

'And that's my story.'

(NIN [15])

There is no obvious semantic reason why *usrai* should be associated with a group or set, and this suggests that *kam* has additional meanings that remain to be identified.

4.3 Pronouns and pronominals

This section describes the main pronominal categories in Siar. We begin with the subject makers in §4.3.1, followed by the free pronouns in §4.3.2. Possession and possessive pronouns are discussed in §4.3.3, and interrogatives are discussed in §4.3.4.

4.3.1 Subject markers

The paradigm of subject markers is shown in Table 24:

Number	Modality setting	Person		
		1	**2**	**3**
Singular	**Unmarked**	*a*	*u*	*i*
	Event focus	*k-a*	*k-u*	*k-i*
	Irrealis	*a-l*	*ó-l*	*é-l*
	Event focus + Irrealis	*k-a-l*	*k-ó-l*	*k-é-l*
Non-singular	**Unmarked**	**Ø**		
	Event focus	*k-i*		
	Irrealis	*é-l*		
	Event focus + Irrealis	*k-é-l*		

Table 24: Subject markers and modal subject markers

Rowe (2005: 59) refers to subject markers as *subject agreement markers*, and refers to them as *fused modals* when they are specified for modality.

The paradigm has contrasts for three persons and makes a singular/non-singular distinction. There are no person contrasts in the non-singular. Subject markers form clitic groups with the modality markers *k-* (event focus) and *-l* (irrealis). These are discussed in section §6.2. The subject marker *i* also surfaces as zero in non-singular contexts unmarked for modality.

Some allomorphy can be observed with the subject markers. Second person singular subject marker surfaces as *ó-* when marked for irrealis (resulting in the forms *ól* and *kól* instead of **ul* and **kul*). The third person subject marker *i* surfaces as *é-* when marked for irrealis (resulting in the forms *él* and *kél* and not **il* and **kil*). In both cases the vowel is lowered and centralized.

Subject markers are obligatory constituents in the clause (some exceptions being imperative constructions and constructions with demonstrative existentials). The free pronoun and the subject marker make up a subject complex. As noted above, the non-singular subject marker is zero in contexts where no modality marker is required.

Some simple examples with subject markers are shown below:

(121)   a.   *A   inan.*
                a   inan
                1.SG go

        'I go.'

b.   *U*   *inan.*
        u   inan
        2.SG   go

        'You go.'

c.   *I*   *inan.*
        i   inan
        3.SG   go

        'He/She/It goes.'

The second person singular and third person singular subject markers have the same form as the free pronouns. As this section will show, their syntactic distribution and morphological behaviour are both different, which leads us to assume that they belong to different categories.

In contexts with a non-singular subject, the subject marker is zero and only a free pronoun represents the subject:

(122)   a.   *Matòl*   *inan.*
           matòl   Ø   inan
           1.PAU.EX   (SM)   go

           'We go.'

b.   *Dit*   *inan.*
        dit   Ø   inan
        3.PL   (SM)   go

        'They go.'

It makes sense to assume that the subject marker slot is filled by a zero morpheme because in non-singular contexts with modality marking, the subject marker slot is filled:

(123)   a.   *Matòl*   **ki**   *inan.*
           matòl   **k-i**   inan
           1.PAU.EX   **FOC-3.SG**   go

           'We are going.'

b.   *Amat*   ***ki***   *inan.*
          amat   **k-i**   inan
          2.PL   **FOC-3.SG**   go

          'You are going.'

Note that in cases with a non-singular non-third-person subject, there is a lack of agreement in person between the subject marker and the free pronoun. This leads us to assume that the subject marker *i* here is a dummy pronoun, and the reason for its presence is only to allow the event focus marker *k-* to form a phonologically viable clitic group. The same is true in contexts marked for irrealis with the suffix *-l* (124a) or in contexts with both the event focus prefix and the irrealis suffix (124b):

(124)   a.   *Matòl*   ***él***   *inan.*
               matòl   **é-l**   inan
               1.PAU.EX   **3.SG-IRR**   go

               'We will go.'

     b.   *Matòl*   ***kél***   *inan.*
               matòl   **k-é-l**   inan
               1.PAU.EX   **FOC-3.SG-IRR**   go

               'We will certainly go. / We are about to go.'

The dummy subject marker *i* (or its allomorph *é*) is also obligatorily used in other constructions involving demonstrative determiners (125a) and numerals (125b):

(125)   a.   ***i***   *da*   *ép*   *baran*
               i   d-a   ép   baran
               3.SG   DEM.SG-PROX   ART:CO1   thing

               'this thing'

     b.   ***i***   *tik*   *ép*   *wang*
               i   tik   ép   wang
               3.SG   one   ART:CO1   canoe

               'one canoe'

These subject markers cannot be marked for modality in both cases (or are only rarely marked, cf. sections §4.5.1 and §8.2.1.1), and they cannot be replaced by the first or second person markers. We here assume that *i* is a reflex of the Proto-Oceanic "demonstrative base" *ti* (Ross 2004: 178-181) which has come to be reanalyzed as the third person singular subject marker.[45] This would explain why there is usually no modality marking on *i*, why it is never replaced by the first person singular or second person singular forms and why they are not verbless clauses.

Another interesting observation is that the third person subject marker is also used for plural subjects that are inanimate. Consider the following examples:

(126)　a.　　*Anu'matòl*　　　　　*tó*　　　　*baran*　*bèl*
　　　　　　anu(-n)=matòl　　　　**tò**　　　　**baran**　bèl
　　　　　　CL:GEN(-POSS)=1.PAU.EX　**ART:[-ANIM].PL**　**thing**　NEG

　　　　　　*(i / *dit)*　*busbus*　*arin*　　*ép*　　*bat.*
　　　　　　i / dit　　bus~bus　ari-n　　ép　　bat
　　　　　　3.SG / 3.PL　RED~wet　BEN-POSS　ART:CO1　rain

　　　　　　'Our things did not get wet in the rain.'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(KAL 2 [7])

　　　　b.　　*Tó*　　　　　　*baran*　*róp*　*ón*　　　　　*(i / *dit)*　*wakak.*
　　　　　　tó　　　　　　　**baran**　róp　ó-n　　　　　**i / dit**　　wakak
　　　　　　ART.[-ANIM].PL　**thing**　all　OBL-3.SG.POSS　**3.SG / 3.PL**　good

　　　　　　'Everything (lit. *all the things*) about it was good.'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(LAM [44])

One would expect a non-singular pronoun to occur instead of the subject marker *i* because *i* is only specified for singular number. This observation has also been made for other related languages such as Vinitiri (Van Der Mark 2007: 78) and Barok (Du 2010: 174).

4.3.2　　Free pronouns

4.3.2.1　　Forms

Siar has the following set of free pronouns that have various functions (to be discussed in the following subsections):

---

[45] Ross suggests that it could have derived from the Proto-Oceanic preposition *i*.

Number	Person	Pronoun
Singular	1	*ya(u)*
	2	*u*
	3	*i*
Dual	1.EX	*mara(u)*
	1.INC	*dara(u)*
	2	*amra(u)*
	3	*dira(u)*
Paucal	1.EX	*matò(l)*
	1.INC	*datò(l)*
	2	*amtò(l)*
	3	*diat*
Plural	1.EX	*mèt*
	1.INC	*dat*
	2	*amat*
	3	*dit*
Indefinite		*di*[46]

Table 25: Free pronouns

Note that there are allomorphs of some of the pronouns. All dual pronouns, most paucal pronouns and the first person singular pronoun may optionally omit the final vowel or liquid. Such omissions were originally associated with clitic groups, but these cliticized forms are now in the process of becoming free forms again (e.g. *datòl* → *datò=* → *datò*).

For the dual and paucal forms, the recurrent endings *-rau* and *-tól* are obvious. Diachronically, these derive from the numerals *ru* 'two' and *tòl* 'three' respectively. The endings *-at / -et / -it* for the plural forms derive from the numeral *at* 'four'[47]. Similar processes can be observed in many other Oceanic languages (see Lynch et al 2002: 35, 69). The morphology of the non-singular pronouns can be conceptualized as follows:

---

[46] *Di* may surface as *dé=* in casual speech if followed by a modality marker (e.g. *Dé=kél*).
[47] Proto-Oceanic **rua* 'two', **toli* or **tolu* 'three', **pat(i)* 'four' (Lynch et al. 2002: 36, 72)

Person	Number		
	-rau (dual) < *ru* 'two'	*-tòl* (paucal) < *tòl* 'three'	*-at* (plural) < *at* 'four'
ma- (1.EX)	marau	matòl	mèt (*maat)
da- (1.INC)	darau	datòl	dat (*daat)
am- (2)	amrau	amtòl	amat
di- (3)	dirau	diat (*ditòl)	dit (*diat)

Table 26: The 'construction set' for non-singular free pronouns

Note the following exceptional phonological processes: the first person plural inclusive pronoun *dat* (*daat*) can be explained phonologically, as the hiatus simply merges to a single vowel. A similar observation can be made for the first person plural exclusive pronoun *mèt* (as opposed to *maat*), but note that there is also an unexpected vowel change from /a/ to /ę/ involved here. A more interesting case is the third person paucal pronoun *diat*, which is actually the expected form for the third person plural. There is no obvious explanation why the third person paucal pronoun is not *ditòl*.[48] There also is no obvious explanation why the third person plural pronoun is *dit* and not the expected form *diat* (3.PL), although this patterns with *mèt* and *dat*. The indefinite pronoun *di* in Table 25 could be explained as being the underlyingly a third person form (*di-*) but without a number specification due to its indefiniteness (-Ø).

With the exception of the indefinite pronoun *di* (which usually translates to English as a passive construction or as *one*), all subject pronouns are specified for grammatical person and number. First person non-singular pronouns are also distinguished in terms of clusivity, which is a binary opposition that is common across the Austronesian language family (see e.g. Lichtenberk 2005). Free pronouns occur in the roles of pragmatically focused pronouns (section §4.3.2.3), object (section §4.3.2.4) and as complex pronominals involving kinship terms (section §4.3.2.5).

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[48] Interestingly though, Peekel (1915: 94) notes the trial form *ditol* in Lambel.

4.3.2.2 Grammatical number of free pronouns

Free pronouns distinguish singular, dual, paucal and plural number.[49] Singular pronouns refer to single entities and dual pronouns to two entities. The paucal number can refer to sets of three entities like a trial, but it is also used for higher quantities of entities. Generally, the paucal is used for sets of entities that make up a coherent group of some sort (e.g. families, clans, people doing something together). Such a group consists of at least three entities but may in some cases contain several dozen entities or more. This is consistent with Corbett's definition of the paucal, which is said to be,

```
"[referring] to a small number of distinct real world entities.
It is similar to the English quantifier 'a few' in meaning,
particularly in that there is no specific upper bound that can
be put on its use. (Its lower bound, like that of the plural,
will vary according to the system in which it is embedded.)"
```
<div align="right">(Corbett 2004: 22)</div>

The following examples illustrate the use of the paucal when referring to groups with different numbers.

(127)   a.   **Three referents**

I	***tòl***	*ép*	*tarai*	*tan*	***diat***
i	**tòl**	ép	tarai	ta-n	**diat**
3.SG	**three**	ART:CO1	men	mother-POSS	**3.PAU**

ki	*wòt*.
k-i	wòt
FOC-3.SG	arrive

'Three mothers were arriving.'
<div align="right">(RAU [4])</div>

---

[49] There is also a distributive number category (encoded by reduplication), but the distributive is never marked on pronouns, only on lexical nouns.

b. **Four referents**

Yau	*main*	*i*	*tòl*	*ép*	*kinbalik*
yau	mai-n	i	tòl	ép	kinbali-k
1.SG	COM-POSS	3.SG	three	ART:CO1	friend-1.SG.POSS

matò	*inan*	***matò***	*nósnós*	*kuk.*
matò(l)	inan	**matò(l)**	nós~nós	kuk
1.PAU.EX	go	**1.PAU.EX**	RED~look	crab

'Me and three of my friends went looking for crabs.'

(BAL [1])

c. **Bigger coherent groups**

Amtòl	*ning*	*kai*	*Marnai*	*ma*	*amtòl.*
amtòl	n-ing	kai	Marnai	ma	amtòl
2.PAU	DEM.[-SG]-ANA	ART:ANIM.PL	PN	TRANS	2.PAU

'You guys are now the Marnai (clan).'

(CLA [39])

The number of referents is three in (127a), four in (127b) and unspecified in (127c). The number of members in the Marnai clan at that point could have been almost any number from three up to a couple dozen or more.

The paucal number can also be interpreted as something that is situated between dual and plural. Crowley (1982: 81) notes that the paucal may give a clue to *"[…] the question of relative size, i.e. whether the group being referred to is contrasted with some larger group within which it is subsumed."* Consider the following example:

(128) | *Na* | ***mèt*** | *aróp* | *ap* | ***mèt*** | *ki* | *recess* | *ap* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| na | **mèt** | a-róp | ap | **mèt** | k-i | recess_ENG | ap |
| REL | **1.PL.EX** | CAUS-complete | and | **1.PL.EX** | FOC-3.SG | recess | and |

yau	*a kók*	*é*	*Rodney,*	*Naiwen,*	*Nilson*	*ap*
yau	a=kók	é	Rodney	Naiwen	Nilson	ap
1.SG	1.SG=get.person	ART:PROP	PN	PN	PN	and

é	*Philimon*	*sur*	***mat'él'an***
é	Philimon	sur	**mat(òl)=é-l=(in)an**
ART:PROP	PN	INTENT	**1.PAU.EX=**3.SG-IRR=go

mat'él	*papanak.*
mat(òl)=é-l	pa~panak
1.PAU.EX=3.SG-IRR	RED~shoot.with.slingshot

'When we had finished recess I told Rodney, Naiwen, Nilson and Philimon that we would go shooting (birds) with slingshots.'

(PAP [2])

The plural pronoun *mèt* is used to represent the participants during recess, thus including all the students. The new events (getting the others, going and shooting birds with slingshots) are all introduced by the paucal subject pronouns because now, the subject is a subgroup of the students.

In some cases, the situation is even more complex. Consider the following two sentences which are contiguous sentences in a narrative:

(129) a. | ***Dit*** | *ki* | *mugai* | ***matòl*** | *kata* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **dit** | k-i | mu(n)g-ai | **matòl** | ka-t-a |
| **3.PL** | FOC-3.SG | lead-TR | **1.PAU.EX** | ALL-LOC-PROX |

an	*lakman.*
an	lakman
at	village

'They went ahead of us, back here to the village.'

(BAL [18])

b.

Ap	*matòl,*	*matòl*	*ki*	*mur*	*ap*	*matò*
ap	**matòl**	**matòl**	k-i	mur	ap	**matò**
and	**1.PAU.EX**	**1.PAU.EX**	FOC-3.SG	follow	and	**1.PAU.EX**

wòt	*ón*	*ép*	*kuk*	*t'an*	*lakman,*
wòt	ó-n	ép	kuk	t(-a)=an	lakman
come	OBL-POSS	ART:CO1	crab	LOC(-PROX)=at	village

ap	*mèt*	*bòrbòr.*
ap	**mèt**	bòrbòr
and	**1.PL.EX**	sleep

'And we, we followed and came to the village with the crabs and then we (all) slept.'

(BAL [19])

In the narrative, a bigger group splits into two smaller groups. Note that in (129a), the group that leads the way is referred to with the plural pronoun whereas the narrator's own group is referred to with the paucal pronoun. A reason for this may be to better distinguish the two groups. When the two groups come together for the sleeping event, the subject is represented by the plural pronoun *mèt* again, referring to all the participants.

There are certain syntactic environments which only allow for the plural. One environment involves a specification of the subject by a full NP marked with a plural article:

(130)

Mèt	*kai*	*gurar*	*mèt'an*	*mèt*	*lahlah.*
mèt	**kai**	gurar	**mèt**=(in)an	**mèt**	lahlah
1.PL.EX	**ART:ANIM.PL**	women	**1.PL.EX**=go	**1.PL.EX**	gather.prawns

'Us women we went gathering prawns.'

(WÓWÓ [4])

The plural pronoun *mèt* cannot be replaced by the paucal form here (**matò(l) an matò(l) lahlah*) because this would result in lack of agreement in number between the pronoun and the article.

Another environment in which the plural pronouns need to be used is for subjects that are specified by *kónóm* 'many; plenty' (cf. section §4.6). *Kónóm* may surface as a quantifier (131a) or as a nominalised form, meaning 'majority' (131b):

(131) a. *Ap   ép   Kórói   **dit**   **kónóm** kòl.*
           ap   ép   Kórói   **dit**   **kónóm**   kòl
           and   ART:CO1   PN   **3.PL** **many**   very

           'And the Kórói (clan members) are plenty.'

                                                                    (CLA [69])

       b. *Ép   **kónóm**   in   kai   nanat*
           ép   **kónóm**   in   kai   na~nat
           ART:CO1   **many**   LIG   ART:ANIM.PL   RED~child

           ***dit**   lamantin'òt …*
           dit   lamantin=(w)òt
           3.PL   be.big=come

           'The majority of children grow up ...'

                                                                    (LAM [49])

Conversely, when naming the participants of an event, the number of participants is restricted and the paucal is typically used:

(132) *N'a   wòt   tóng   ap   é   Naomi   ap   é*
       n(a)=a   wòt   t-óng   ap   é   Naomi   ap   é
       REL=1.SG   come LOC-*back* and   ART:PROP   PN   and   ART:PROP

       *Jeminah   ap   é   Gilian   ap   é   Alwin   **diat***
       Jeminah   ap   é   Gilian   ap   é   Alwin   **diat**
       PN   and   ART:PROP   PN   and   ART:PROP   PN   **3.PAU**

       ki   akas   kuk.
       k-i   akas   kuk
       FOC-3.SG dig   crabs

       'When I came up there, Naomi, Jeminah, Gilian and Alwin were digging out crabs.'

                                                                    (KUK [9])

The first person dual exclusive pronoun *marau* is also used as inclusory pronominal (Lichtenberk 2000), as in the following example:

(133) *Mar'é   Naomi   mara   liu.*
       mar(au)=é   Naomi   mara(u) liu
       1.DU.EX=ART:PROP   PN   1.DU.EX run

       'Me and Naomi we ran.'

                                                                    (KUK [11])

Even though not explicitly stated, it is clear for Siar speakers that the dual pronoun *marau* refers to both Naomi and the speaker here. One may optionally add the first person singular emphatic pronoun *yau* to the beginning of the clause to make it even clearer. This is made possible by the inherent semantics of the first person dual exclusive pronoun *marau* because a first person pronoun per definition includes the speaker already. In principle then, it should also be possible to have the first person paucal exclusive pronoun *matòl* function as such an inclusory pronominal, which would then require two additional participants to be mentioned explicitly. This, however, has never been observed in spoken Siar.

4.3.2.3 Pragmatically related uses of free pronouns

Pronouns in topic position do not function as subjects themselves, but they are coreferent with the subject. These pronouns typically precede the subject at the beginning of the clause (134), Free pronouns may also occur at the very end of the clause to indicate focus (135):

(134)   **Preposed emphatic pronouns**

   a.   **Emphatic pronoun preceding negator**

   Yau, bèl a   lóng   arin.
   yau   **bèl**=a   lóng   ari-n
   1.SG   **NEG**=1.SG   listen   BEN-3.SG.POSS

   'As for me, I did not listen to him.'

(MAR [17])

   b.   **Emphatic pronoun preceding (modal) subject marker**

   U   ól   galas?
   u   **ó**-l   g(a)las$_{TP}$
   2.SG   **2.SG**-IRR   dive.with.goggles

   'And you, will you dive (for fish)?'

(UÒ [86-A])

(135)   **Postposed emphatic pronouns**

U	*ép*	*tan*	*sah*	*u?*
u	ép	tan	sah	**u**
2.SG	ART:CO1	person	INT	**2.SG**

'You, where are you from?'

<div align="right">(UÒ [115-L])</div>

In (135) above the final *u* can only be a free pronoun indicating focus because the slot can be filled by neither a subject pronoun nor an object pronoun.

Many topic pronouns are present to express emphasis. A good test to identify emphatic pronouns is to modify a pronoun with *sén alò* 'also'. If it can be modified, then the pronoun is emphatic. If not, then it is a subject marker:

(136)	*U*	*sén*	*alò,*	*na*	*an*	*mur*	*na*	*ól*	*mat* ...
	u	**sén**	**alò**	na	an	mur	na	**ó**-l	mat
	2.SG	**EMPH**	**again**	REL	at	follow	REL	**2.SG**-IRR	die

'You as well, when you die later …'

<div align="right">(KÈL [73])</div>

The initial pronoun *u* is emphatic because it is modified by *sén alò*, and the subject marker is the allomorph *ó-*. Both pronouns are coreferent.

The word sequence *yau a* in casual speech often becomes *y(au)=a*, which sounds as if only the emphatic pronoun *ya(u)* were uttered. However, *yau* cannot function as the subject marker, and hence we must assume that the audible vowel /a/ is the subject marker rather than the vowel in the free form.

There are some constructions in which a free pronoun appears in a pre-NP position, as is the case in the following examples:

(137)	a.	*Ap*	*i*	*a*	*kuk*	*adi'ma*	*ané.*
		ap	**i**	[a	kuk]_{NP}	a-d-i(ng)=ma	ané
		and	**i**	ART:CO2	crab	DEX-DEM.SG-ANA=TRANS	below

'And the crab was down below.'

<div align="right">(LÓB [24])</div>

b. | *Ap* | *diat* | *kamrai* | *pung* | *pirim* | *katim* | | *g'ané* |
|------|--------|----------|--------|---------|---------|--|---------|
| ap | diat | kamrai | pung | pirim | ka-t-im | | g(au)=ané |
| and | 3.PAU | together | fall | move.down | ALL-LOC-down | | (t)here=below |

karisan	*i*	*a*		*kuk*	*ning.*
(k)a-risa-n	**i**	[a		kuk	n-ing]_{NP}
ALL-side-POSS	**3.SG**	ART:CO2		crab	DEM.[-SG]-ANA

'They all fell down next to that crab.'

(LÓB [26])

I have no explanation for the presence of the pronoun *i* in these cases. These pronouns are optional and can be deleted without a change of grammaticality, and, so it seems, without a salient change of the semantics of the clause. There is no intonational break involved here, which suggests that the pronoun is not related to hesitation of the speaker. Such constructions are quite common, and further research needs to be done to be able to explain this phenomenon. These examples are treated in this section on pragmatic uses of free pronouns because emphasis seems to be the most plausible function of *i* in these cases. There might also be a correlation with the third person pronoun *i* that appears after some indirect possessive constructions (cf. section §4.3.3.2.1).

As opposed to the other free pronouns, the indefinite pronoun *di* is defective in a sense that it cannot be used as an emphatic pronoun (**Di, di inan*), but it can still be used as a topic pronoun:

(138) | *Ép* | *lakman* | *anu'dat* | | *na* | ***di*** | *warai* |
|-------|----------|-----------|--|------|---------|---------|
| ép | lakman | anu(-n)=dat | | na | **di** | war-ai |
| ART:CO1 | village | CL:GEN(-3.SG.POSS)=1.PL.INC | REL | **IND** | speak-TR |

é	*Lamassa.*
é	Lamassa
ART:PROP	PN

'our village they call Lamassa'
'our village one calls Lamassa'
'our village that is called Lamassa'

(LAM [2])

Di translates best to English as the indefinite pronouns *they* or *one*, but it is also possible to translate constructions with *di* as passives.

4.3.2.4 Pronouns as objects

The free pronouns can all also function as object NPs. Objects usually follow the verb complex:

(139) a. *A   marasin   sa   i   um   **yau**.*
 a   marasin_{TP}   sa   i   um   **yau**
 ART:CO2   medicine   RESTR   3.SG   hit   **1.SG**

 'The medicine just knocked me out.'

(MAR [26])

 b. *Ép   wai   él   isis   ap   él   yan*
 ép   wai   é-l   is~is   ap   é-l   yan
 ART:CO1   crocodile 3.SG-IRR   RED~return and   3.SG-IRR   eat

 *kiòm   tar   **darau**!*
 kiòm   tar   **darau**
 together   PRF   **1.DU.INC**

 'The crocodile will come back and eat both of us!'

(WAI [38])

 c. *A inan, bèl   m'a   sóng **dit**.*
 a=inan   bèl   m(a)=a   sóng **dit**
 1.SG=go NEG   TRANS=1.SG   meet **3.PL**

 'I went and I did not meet them.'

(AMP 3 [7])

No doubt due to their phonological simplicity, the second person singular object pronoun *u* and its third person counterpart *i* usually surface as enclitics. Evidence for this analysis comes from a shift of stress placement in certain words. Consider the following examples:

(140) a. *Ka   pas   tat   **pas u**.*
 k-a   pas   tat   **pas=u**
 FOC-1.SG   step   uncover   **PFV=2.SG**

 'I have found you.'

(RTK [22])

b. *Mèt   yan   sòi   **tar i**.*
   mèt   yan   sòi   **tar=i**
   1.PL.EX eat away **PRF=3.SG**

'We had eaten it all up.'

<div align="right">(PIK [12])</div>

With careful pronunciation, the object pronouns *u* and *i* are articulated as separate words. In casual speech, *u* and *i* cliticize to the particles preceding them, forming new disyllabic phonological words and moving stress to the final syllables which contain the object pronouns.

4.3.2.5   Pronominal constructions involving kinship terms

There are also specific constructions that involve free pronouns and kinship tems. Some examples are given below:

(141) a. *Na   i   bòng   pirim   **matò**   **tubun**   kès*
      na   i   bòng   pirim   **matò(l)** **tubu-n**   kès
      REL 3.SG night move.down **1.PAU.EX** **grandparent-POSS** sit

      piu.
      piu
      ground

'When night was upon us, we were sitting outside.'
(*we* = at least one grandparent and one grandchild)

<div align="right">(YAUH [17])</div>

b. *Na   mara'an'òt   tòstòs   tóng   an   lakman*
   na   mara(u)=(in)an=(w)òt tòstòs   t-óng   an   lakman
   REL 1.DU.EX=go=come   straight LOC-*back* at   home

   *arin   é   Esty **diat   taman** …*
   ari-n   é   Esty **diat   tama-n**
   BEN-POSS   ART:PROP PN   **3.PAU father-POSS**

'When the two of us arrived at the home of Esty's family …'
(*family* = at least one father and one child)

<div align="right">(WAI [54])</div>

c.   ***Matò***   ***kawan*** *lili*   *kati'pukus.*
      matò(l)   **kawan**   li(u)~li(u) ka-t-i(m)=pukus
      1.PAU.EX   **cousins**   RED~run ALL-LOC-*down*=north

'We (= two or more cousins) were driving north.'

(LIW [30])

Kinship is a very important relationship in Siar culture, and the information who is related to whom in what way is an important one (Kingston 1998: 96 ff). The use of this construction is preferred for family units of some sort. During my fieldwork I had asked the locals to always correct me if they noticed my grammar or choice of words was wrong. Although this was almost never done, I was often corrected in those cases in which I used free pronouns only instead of combining them with the appropriate kinship terms. The required kinship term is determined in relation to the following hierarchy:[50]
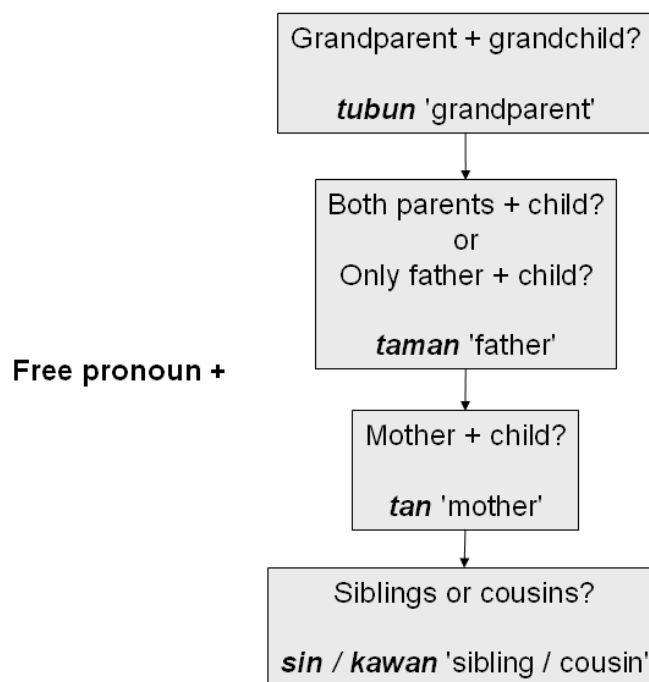
Figure 10: Hierarchy of kinship relations used in complex pronominals involving kinship terms

The kinship term *tubun* 'grandparent' is used when at least one grandparent and at least one grandchild are in that group, and if all other people referred to also belong to that

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[50] This hierarchy is likely to be more complex than it is represented here because there are a few more kinship terms. Further elicitation and observation are required here. For example, in-laws may also have a place in this hierarchy.

family (and hence share at least the grandparent). The parents of the grandchildren may be included in that group.[51] The kinship term *taman* is used when two parents and at least one child, or a father and at least one child are in the group. The kinship term *tan* 'mother' is used when the group consists of a mother (but not the father) and at least one child. The terms *sin* 'sibling' and *kawan* 'cousin' are used when the group consists solely of either siblings or cousins and no other higher ranked kin term could be used. Note that in all cases, no family outsiders may be in the group that is being referred to. Only the free pronoun can be used in this case.

These pronominals with kinship terms also interact with the number system. The complex pronominal *matò tubun* in (141a) refers to a group of at least three people (because of the paucal pronoun) including the speaker (because it is specified for first person). At least one person in that group is a grandparent, and at least one person is a grandchild to that grandparent and the other referent(s) are also family members. In (141b), the complex pronominal *diat taman* also refers to a group of at least three people (because of the paucal pronoun), but it does not include the speaker (because the pronoun is specified for third person). The kinship term *taman* allows for two options: either both parents and at least one of their children are in that group, or only the father (but not the mother) and at least one child of his are in that group. No grandparent is present because they rank higher in the hierarchy which would require their kinship term. In the final example in (141c), the group consists solely of cousins, hence the use of the form *matò kawan*, which includes the speaker himself. Neither parents nor grandparents can be included here.

Pronominals involving kinship terms occur both in topic position and as complements to prepositions, as is the case in the following construction:

(142) | *A atin* | *yah* | *ma* | *ón* | *ép* | *rah* | *kón* | *kès* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a=atin | yah | ma | ó-n | ép | rah | kón | kès |
| 1.SG=light | fire | TRANS | OBL-POSS | ART:CO1 | afternoon | PURP | sit |

rah	*ma*	**ari'matò**	**tubun**.
rah	ma	**ari(-n)=matò(l)**	**tubu-n**
afternoon	TRANS	**BEN(-POSS)=1.PAU.EX**	**grandparent-POSS**

'In the afternoon, I lit a fire for us to sit nearby in the afternoon.'
(*us* = at least one grandparent and at least one grandchild)

(YAUH [13])

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[51] It remains to be elicited if in-laws also consider their spouse's grandparents their own grandparents.

The kinship term could be left out without a loss of grammaticality but could imply that family outsiders were present.

The following example illustrates that kinship relations also apply to animals in Siar:

(143)   *I*   *bèh*   *i*   *ti'ga'sén*   ***diat***   ***tan***
        i   bèh   i   t-i(ng)=ga(u)=sén   **diat**   **ta-n**
        3.SG   move.ashore 3.SG   LOC-ANA=(t)here=EMPH **3.PAU**   **mother-POSS**

        angan *it*   *gau.*
        angan   it   gau
        eat   DURA   there

'It washed ashore on the beach where the mother pig and her children were eating.'

(BÈL [11])

In discourse, kinship terms may be omitted if they have been mentioned previously in order to avoid unnecessary repetition.

4.3.3   Possession

Like many other Oceanic languages (see e.g. Lynch et al. 2002: 75), Siar distinguishes two types of possession: alienable and inalienable possession. As is also the case for Siar, these types of possession tend to coincide with two types of construction: direct and indirect possession. Direct possession involves a possessive suffix attached to the noun (section §4.3.3.1), whereas indirect possession involves a possessive suffix attached to one of three possessive classifiers that specify a characteristic or a function of the entity denoted by the noun (section §4.3.3.2).

The possessive paradigm can be summarized as follows:

Person		Number			
		Singular	**Dual**	**Paucal**	**Plural**
1	**excl.**	*-k*	*-n marau (i)*	*-n matòl (i)*	*-n mèt (i)*
			=marau (i)	*=matòl (i)*	*=mèt (i)*
	incl.		*-n darau (i)*	*-n datòl (i)*	*-n dat (i)*
			=darau (i)	*=datòl (i)*	*=dat (i)*
2		*-m*	*-n amrau (i)*	*-n amtò (i)*	*-n amat (i)*
			=mrau (i)	*=mtòl (i)*	*=mat (i)*
3		*-n*	*-n dirau (i)*	*-n diat (i)*	*-n dit (i)*
			=dirau (i)	*=diat (i)*	*=dit (i)*

Table 27: Possessive suffixes and possessor pronouns

Note that the equal sign in the above table represents a clitic boundary. The possessor pronoun or the possessed NP form a clitic group. The third person singular pronominal *i* occurs optionally in possessive constructions with an alienably possessed noun. It does not occur in inalienable constructions.

4.3.3.1 Direct (inalienable) possession

4.3.3.1.1 Form and syntax

Inalienably possessed nouns are nouns that refer to entities which usually do not change their possessor (see e.g. Chappell & McGregor 1996, Lichtenberk 2005). The structure for inalienably possessed NPs is shown in Figure 11:
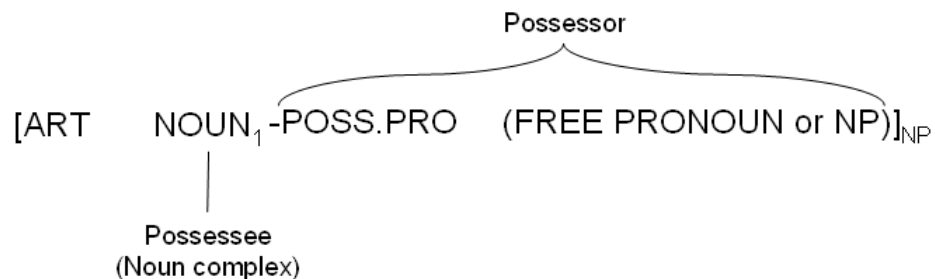
Figure 11: The structure of inalienable possession

As shown in Figure 11, inalienable possession is marked by a pronominal suffix on the possessed noun itself. This has been referred to as direct possession. An NP that further specifies the possessor may optionally follow. In the case of non-singular possessors, this slot must be filled. A paradigm for singular possessors is given below:

(144)   a.   *ép*   *mata**k***
                ép   mata-**k**
                ART:CO1   eye-**1.SG.POSS**

                'my eye'

       b.   *ép*   *mata**m***
                ép   mata-**m**
                ART:CO1   eye-**2.SG.POSS**

                'your eye'

       c.   *ép*   *mata**n***
                ép   mata-**n**$_1$
                ART:CO1   eye-**3.SG.POSS**

                'his/her/its eye'

For non-singular possessors, a free pronoun must be added to the possessed NP. In addition, the third person singular suffix *-n* is used as the possessive morpheme for all non-singular possessors. This presents an interesting correlation between the use of the third person singular possessive suffix *-n* and the third person singular subject marker *i* (and its allomorph *é*). Both forms have a third person reference in singular contexts and are also used in all non-singular contexts:

(145)   a.   *ép*   *mata**n***   ***marau***
                ép   mata-**n**$_2$ **marau**
                ART:CO1   eye-**POSS**   **1.DU.EX**

                'our eye'

       b.   *ép*   *mata**n***   ***amtòl***
                ép   ata-**n**$_2$ **amtòl**
                ART:CO1   eye-**POSS**   **2.PAU**

                'your eye'

      c.   *ép*   *mata**n***   ***dit***
            ép   mata-**n**$_2$ **dit**
            ART:CO1   eye-**POSS**   **3.PL**

            'their eye'

As a result, the possessive suffix does not encode grammatical person or number for non-singular possessors. It follows that the possessive suffix *-n*$_2$ only encodes possession and not the person or number of the possessor, and it is in contrast with *-n*$_1$ which also encodes singular number. The precise person and number value for non-singular possessors is provided by the free pronouns *marau* (145a), *amtòl* (145b) and *dit* (145c) that follow the possessive suffix in the above examples.

        The possessor may alternatively be represented by a full NP:

(146)   *ép*   *matan*   ***é***   ***Jerry***
            ép   mata-n   **é**   **Jerry**
            ART:CO1   eye-POSS   **ART:PROP**   **PN**

            'Jerry's eye'

In spoken Siar, all the elements following the article form a single phonological complex in which the possessive suffix and the following pronoun coalesce, so that the pronoun becomes an enclitic to the noun.

(147)   a.   **Careful pronunciation**

                    ép   *risé**n***   ***marau***
                    ép   risé-**n**$_2$ **marau**
                    ART:CO1   name-**POSS**   **1.DU.EX**

                    'our name'

        b.   **Casual speech**

                    ép   *risé'**marau***
                    ép   rise(**-n**$_2$)=**marau**
                    ART:CO1   name(**-POSS**)=**1.DU.EX**

                    'our name'

For Ross (2002: 413), the possessive suffix and the following pronoun make up a single morpheme (e.g. *-*nmarau*, *-*ndatòl*) throughout almost the whole paradigm.

For second person dual and second person paucal possessors, the possessive suffix coalesces with the first consonant of the free pronouns *am*rau (dual) and *am*tòl (paucal) and the initial vowel /a/ is dropped. According to Ross, this results in the different forms *-mrau* and *-mtòl*. Rowe (2005: 42) goes a step further and suggests that this assimilation process also applies to second person plural possessors, hence resulting in the possessive suffix **-mat*.[52]

Here I prefer to identify a process of cliticization in which the possessive suffix assimilates to the initial consonant of the following pronoun. In case of the second person non-singular pronouns, which all begin with an initial vowel /a/, this vowel is also dropped. The main argument for the clitic analysis is, as noted above, the observation that Siar speakers still distinguish between the possessive suffix and the following pronoun in careful speech. For example, in casual speech they tend to say *anu=matòl* (CL:GEN=1.PAU.EX), but in careful speech they would clearly say *anu-n matòl*. This applies to the whole non-singular possessive paradigm and results in two surface forms for non-singular possessors, one with a possessive suffix and a free pronoun and one with a clitic form.

Siar does not allow for consonant clusters within syllables and inalienably possessed nouns must therefore end in an open syllable. The only exception to this pattern is the noun *nuknuk-* 'thought; mind':

(148) *ép*   *nuknuk**ik***
       ép   nuk~nuk**i-k**
       ART:CO1   RED~think-**1.SG.POSS**

       'my thought/mind'

If the noun *nuknuk* were derived in the regular way, it would result in an ungrammatical form **nuknuk-k* with a syllable-final consonant cluster. This cluster is broken up by the epenthetic vowel /i/. Since *nuknuk* is the only inalienably possessed noun that does not end in an open syllable, it makes sense to associate the epenthetic vowel with the nominal root *nuknuk(i)-* rather than the suffix **-(i)k* (see also section §3.1.2). The reason for the exceptional status of *nuknuk(i)-* may be that it is a derived noun, whereas the great majority of other inalienably possessed nouns are underived.

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[52] In a number of other related languages, possessive construction are said to only involve a possessive suffix pronoun, and not a combination of suffix and free pronoun (see e.g. Peekel 1915: 20 ff. for Lambel, Davies & Fritzell 1992: 15 for Ramoaaina, and Van Der Mark 2007: 308 for Vinitiri).

The underlying verb *nuk* 'to think' just happens to have a final consonant. The use of the epenthetic vowel /i/ is also attested in Ramoaaina (Davies & Fritzell 1992: 8) and Lambel (Peekel 1915: 20-21). In these languages, it appears that inalienably possessed noun roots more often end in closed syllables. This suggests that there may have been processes in Siar that eliminate final consonants in some inalienably possessed nouns.

Direct possessive constructions can be recursive. Consider the following example:

(149)   *Matò*   *lóngrai*   *ap*   *ép*   ***félngén***   ***puklun***
          matò   lóngrai   ap   ép   **felnge-n**   **puklu-n**
          1.PAU.EX   listen   and   ART:CO1   **voice-POSS**   **head-POSS**

          rumai   *ma.*
          rumai   ma
          house   TRANS

          'When we were listening, we heard the noise of the roof (coming down).'
                                                          (KAL 2 [4])

There are two possessors encoded in this possessive construction: the noun *félngé-* 'voice' is possessed by the referent of the nominal complex *puklu- rumai* 'roof (lit. *house's head*). The referent of the noun *puklu-* 'head' is possessed by the referent of the noun *rumai* 'house'. This means that there is a hierarchical structure within the possessed noun complex:

         ép   [*félngé-n*   [*puklu-n*   *rumai*]]
              (lit. *the house's head's voice*)

The above example also illustrates that possessors of inalienably possessed nouns need not be animate. This does not apply to alienably possessed nouns which always require an animate possessor.

4.3.3.1.2   Semantics

In terms of their semantics, inalienably possessed nouns can be grouped according to semantic categories. The most salient categories are shown below:

(150) a. **Body parts**

  falinó- 'body', *bala-* 'stomach', *yiwu-* 'hair', *fó-* 'skin', *kati-* 'liver', *ngisé-*
  'tooth', *puklu-* 'head', *mata-* 'eye', *kabusu-* 'nose', *palaru-* 'face', *karmaya-*
  'tongue', *kiké-* 'leg; foot', *sisi-* 'flesh', *kalmumuku-* 'tail', *baba-* 'wing',
  papali- 'shell (of a crab)'

  b. **Some body products**

  ulmi- 'urine', *téké-* 'excrement', *kutli-* 'egg'

  c. **Kinship terms and expressions of social relations**

  tasi- 'sibling', *natu-* 'child', *ta-* 'mother', *tama-* 'father', *tubu-* 'grandparent;
  ancestor', *kinbali-* 'friend', *fali-* 'partner', *kamla-* 'in-law', *kawa-* 'uncle;
  aunt; cousin'

  d. **Relational nouns**

  laka- 'top (of)', *ló-* 'mouth, inside (of)', *muru-* 'behind', *risa-* 'side (of)',
  ané- 'below', *titihi-* 'end (of)'

  e. **Other entities**

  risé- 'name', *nuknuki-* 'thought; mind', *muli-* 'shadow; picture', *talnga-*
  'spirit (of somebody)', *félngé-* 'voice'

The nouns shown above are the most common inalienably possessed nouns in Siar.
The categories (b-d) are fairly exhaustive, whereas there are presumably further body
part nouns that could be added (especially a number of internal organs which I have
not been able to elicit).

There are also nouns which could be expected to be inalienably possessed, but
which are treated as alienable in possessive constructions (e.g. *lalaun* 'life', *minat*
'death', *lótat* 'sore').

4.3.3.2   Alienable (indirect) possession

4.3.3.2.1   Form and syntax

As opposed to inalienable possession, alienable possession typically involves entities that can change their possessor. The possessive construction itself can be referred to as indirect because possession is not marked on the noun itself but rather on an additional possessive classifier. There are two indirect constructions available in Siar depending on which constituent is in focus (possessor or possessee). The focus is a result of moving the constituent to the initial position of the NP. The two possibilities are shown in Figure 12, possessee focus, and Figure 13, possessor focus:
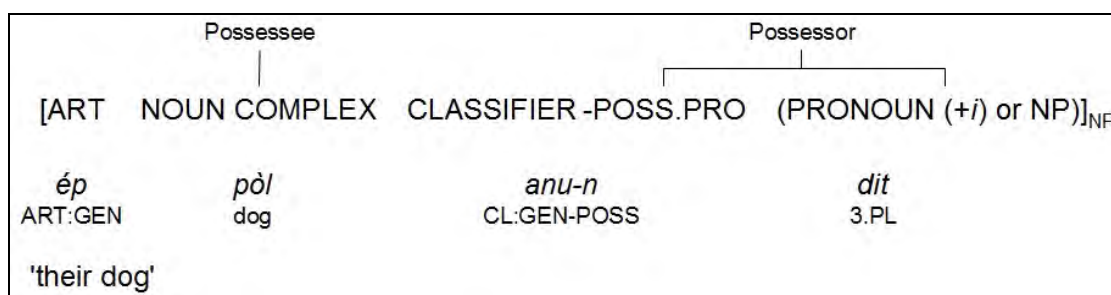
Figure 12: Alienable possession (possessee focus)
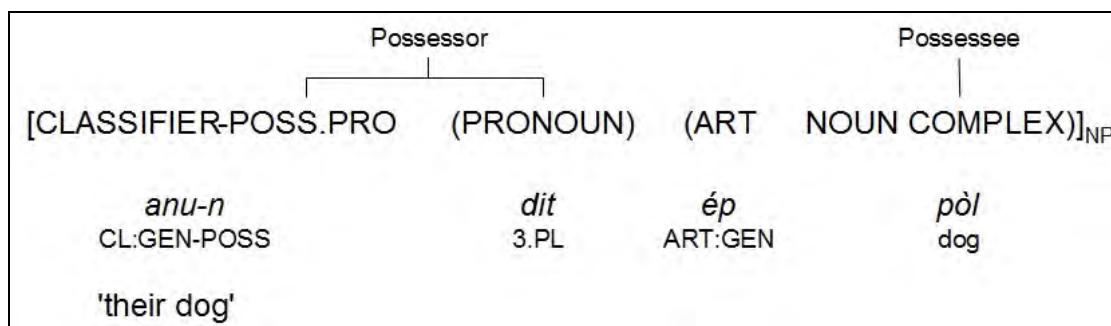
Figure 13: Alienable possession (possessor focus)

The possessee focus type of alienable possession (Figure 12) is the more common variant. A third person singular subject marker *i* occurs in constructions with possessee focus. This phenomenon is discussed in section §4.3.3.2.2.

In alienable possession, we find the following three possessive classifiers:

Semantic category of the possessee	Possessive classifier
Default nouns	*anu-*
Food-related nouns	*nga-*
Container nouns	*ngasi-*

Table 28: Possessive classifiers

The semantic categories for possessive classifiers are quite different from noun classes. Noun classes make a statement about the lexical category of the NP referent, whereas possessive classifiers make a statement about the contextual function of the possessed NP referent.

An example for each possessive classifier is shown below.

(151)   *Tó*   *baran*   *sén*   *alò*
      tó   baran   sén   alò
      ART:[-ANIM].PL   thing   EMPH   again

      anu'matòl   *i*   *i*   *busbus.*
      anu(-n)=matòl   i   i   bus~bus
      CL:GEN(-POSS)=1.PAU.EX 3.SG   3.SG   RED~wet

      'Our things were also wet.'
                                                      (PÒU [15])

The construction in (151) has possessee focus because the possessee (*tó baran* 'the things') occurs first. Here, the default possessive classifier *anu-* is used because the possessed entity is neither related to food nor container-like.

Example (152) shows possessor focus:

(152)   *A wun*   *tar*   *sa*   ***ngak***   *ép*   *tòh.*
      a=wun   tar   sa   **nga-k**   ép   tòh
      1.SG=hide   PRF   RESTR   **CL:FOOD-1.SG.POSS** ART:CO1   sugarcane

      'I had hidden my sugarcanes.'
                                                    (TÒH [8])

This involves preposing the classifier and possessive pronominal to the initial position of the NP. The possessee is an edible entity here, hence the use of the food-related classifier *nga-*. Note that the purpose of the possessee determines which possessive

classifier is employed. It is not an inherent characteristic of the possessed entity. The noun could as well be specified by another classifier in different contexts (e.g. sugarcane used as a tool would be associated with the default possessive classifier *anu-*).

The following example shows a possessive construction with the container classifier:

(153) *Matò*   *sòi*   *ón*   *ép*   *wang*
       matò   sòi   ó-n   ép   wang
       1.PAU.EX   away   OBL-POSS   ART:CO1   canoe

       ngasin   *é*   *Gilian*   *diat.*
       ngasi-n   é   Gilian   diat
       CL:CONT-POSS   ART:PROP   PN   3.PAU

       'We took off in the canoe of Gilian's family.'

<div align="right">(PÒU [4])</div>

Like (151), (154) is a possessive construction with possessee focus. The possessed entity *ép wang* 'the/a canoe' precedes the possessor complex *-n é Gilian diat* 'of Gilian's family' that follows the possessive classifier *ngasi-*. Canoes are container-like because you can go inside.

Possessive classifiers may be also used predicatively:

(155) a.   *Tó*   *baran*   *anuk*   ***anum***
             tó   baran   anu-k   **anu-m**
             ART:[-ANIM].PL   thing   CL:GEN-1.SG.POSS   **CL:GEN-2.SG.POSS**

             ma.
             ma
             TRANS

             'My belongings (are) yours now.'

<div align="right">(TNG [19])</div>

b. | *Junior* | *i* | *warai* | *sur* | *kanak* | ***ngan*** | *ap* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Junior | i | war-ai | sur | kanak | **nga-n** | ap |
| PN | 3.SG | speak-TR | INTENT | COMP | **CL:FOOD-POSS** | and |

yau	*a tar*	*i.*
yau	a=tar	i
1.SG	1.SG=give	3.SG

'Junior said it's his to eat and I gave it (to him).'
(or: Junior said he wanted to eat it …)

(BUS [13])

This is also discussed in section §11.1.

In some contexts, the possessee in alienably possessive constructions need not be explicitly mentioned.

(156) | *I* | *sósó* | ***nga'marau.*** |
|---|---|---|
| i | só~só | **nga(-n)=marau** |
| 3.SG | RED~spear | **CL:FOOD(-POSS)=1.PAU.EX** |

'He speared ours (to eat).'

(KÈP [27])

If the possessee NP is left out, then the possessive complex gets an unspecific reading. Depending on the classifier, this may translate as 'something for us to eat' in the case of the food-classifier or as 'something for us to go into' in the case of the container classifier. For the default classifier, the possessee needs to be recoverable from context because the possessive classifier does not provide sufficient information that allows tracking down the possessee.

4.3.3.2.2   The postposed pronominal *i*

As mentioned earlier, the third person singular marker *i* occurs optionally in (151) but not in (152) and (153). Ross and Rowe note that,

```
"Any possessor suffix may have -i added to it, e.g. -
ki 1SG, but it is not known under which conditions
this occurs."
                                    (Ross 2002: 413)
```

```
"[…] in all persons the suffixed classifier is
optionally followed by the third singular pronoun i,
when it is in post-nominal position […] Mother-tongue
speakers insist that this i is a separate word, and
not part of the suffix. Further study is needed on the
conditions under which i is present."
```
<div align="right">(Rowe 2005: 42)</div>

We follow Rowe here in treating *i* as a separate word (cf. section §4.3.1 on subject markers). We can make the following observations about the presence or absence of the subject marker in possessive constructions:

1. *i* only occurs in possessive constructions with alienably possessed nouns, hence the ungrammaticality of possessives such as (**ép matak i 'my eye').

2. *i* follows the possessive suffix in singular contexts (e.g. *tó baran anuk **i*** 'my things') and the additional pronoun in non-singular contexts (e.g. *tó baran anu-n matòl **i*** 'our things').

3. If a non-pronominal possessor NP is present, *i* is situated between the possessive suffix and the possessor NP (e.g. *ép rumai ngasi-n **i** é taman* 'the house of his father').

4. *i* is optional. Note the following two sentences which each conclude a narrative. *i* is present in one case (157a) but not in the other (157b), even though the constructions are virtually the same otherwise:

(157)   a.   **Third person subject marker present**

Ép	*usrai*	*anuk*	***i***	*i*	*tuk*	*sa*
ép	usrai	anu-k	**i**	i	tuk	sa
ART:CO1	story	CL:GEN-1.SG.POSS	**3.SG**	3.SG	over	RESTR

ti'gau.
t-i(ng)=gau
LOC-ANA=(t)here

'My story ends there.'

<div align="right">(BAB [31])</div>

b. **Third person subject marker not present**

Kam	*usrai*	*anuk*		*i*	*tuk*	*sa*
kam	usrai	anu-k	Ø	i	tuk	sa
group	story	CL:GEN-1.SG.POSS	**(3.SG)**	3.SG	over	RESTR

ti'gau.
t-i(ng)=gau
LOC-ANA=(t)here

'My story ends there.'

(SÉM 2 [7])

5. *i* is never present in possessive constructions with possessor focus. Hence the ungrammaticality of constructions such as **anuk **i** tó baran* or **anuk tó baran **i*** 'my things'.

6. Assuming that *i* is a third person pronominal, it cannot be replaced by the first or second person singular forms, even in cases with a first or second person singular possessor. Hence the ungrammaticality of **ép baran anu-**k** **a*** ('my thing') or **ép baran anu-**m** **u*** 'your thing').[53]

The above observations and the fact that its use cannot be predicted suggest that either the third person singular subject marker *i* has a pragmatic function in possessive constructions (which is yet to be identified) or that the construction is currently undergoing a change. It might have been the case that at an earlier stage of Siar the pronoun was present in all possessive constructions and had an alienable referent, or only those ones with possessee focus, and it might also be the case that the pronoun in this position is a relatively recent innovation. The subject marker *i* could be a remnant of the *"personal article *i"* that Lichtenberk (1985) reconstructs for those cases where the possessor was represented by a proper name (see also Lynch et al. 2002: 75). In the case of Siar, there does not appear to be a clear explanation for when *i* occurs and when it does not, we can only observe that its absence is more common than its presence. Peekel (1915: 21-22) also observes *i* in alienably possessive constructions in the neighbouring Lambel language, but he does also not identify its function, and in his examples also, *i* is present in some cases and absent in others.

---

[53] cf. the use of the third person singular subject marker *i* in non-singular contexts (§4.3.1) and the use of the third person singular possessive suffix *-n* for non-singular possessors (§4.3.3).

4.3.3.2.3 Semantics

We have said that there are three semantic groups that nouns can be associated with in indirect possessive constructions. Erdman (1991) identifies the two possessive 'forms' (he only provides the gloss POSS) *anu-* (ibid. 37) and *nga-* (ibid. 163) but does not make a distinction between them. Ross (2002: 419) in addition identifies the classifier *ngasi-*. He also introduces the label *possessive classifier*, which is also followed by Rowe (2005), and which is also used here. Ross also draws the following semantic distinction between the categories:

anu-   general

nga-   food and food-related items

ngasi- large object which a person may sit or stand in

The following lists give typical examples for nouns of each semantic category with some additional semantic specifications:

(158) **Default possessive class**

sungut	'trap'	*rèdio*	< Engl. 'radio'
bèn	'bait'	*wilwil*	'bicycle' (< Tok Pisin)
usrai	'story'	*banis*	'fence' (< Tok Pisin)
rèrè	'fishing line'	*lalaun*	'life'
puklun rumai	'roof'	*tarayu*	'gender-specific area'
	(lit. *head of house*)		
baran	'thing'	*pidik*	'secret'
fakéréng	'friend'	*kawan*	'uncle'
tódóng	kind of feast	*wól*	'custom; plan'
kirai	'time; day'	*barsan*	'man (husband)'
rat	'basket'	*kusur*	'spear'
marang	'dry coconut'	*téng*	< Engl. '(water) tank'
mamaris	'love'	*rum*	< Engl. 'room'

(159)   **Food-related possessive class**

    a. **Consumable entities**

baran angan	'food' (lit. *eating thing*)
pun	'turtle'
fun	'banana'
malum	'fresh water'
lans	< Engl. 'lunch'
lamas	'coconut'
tòh	'sugarcane'
rais	'rice' (< Tok Pisin)
bòròi	'pig; pork'
ngélngél	'sweet potato'
mumugur	'bamboo containing drinkable liquid'
sis	'fish'
kam payam	'vegetable'
sikar	'cigarette' (< English)
marasin	'medicine' (< Tok Pisin)

xxx) b. **Other entities related to food**

barim	'garden' (for planting crops)
ran	'earth oven'

    c. **Some cultural and linguistic entities**

mangis	'clan'
ngasa	'custom'
mamam	'game'
saksak	'song'
warwar	'speech; language; words'

    d. **Some entities related to war and death**

farum	'fight; war'
minat	'death'

(160)   **Container-like possessive class**

    a. **Buildings**

       rumai   'house'

    b. **Other containers**

       mósól   'hole (in which an animal lives)'

       bókès   'coffin' (< Tok Pisin *bokis*)

       kòn   'pig trap'

       kadi   'rain cape'

       wang   'canoe'

       kèskès   'chair'

       lóng   'bed; table'

    c. **Locations and some landmarks**

       pukun   'place'

       lakman   'home; village'

       fanu   'town'

       bit   'island'

       ngas   'path; road'

Nouns are most frequently associated with the default classifier and least frequently associated with the container classifier.

Rowe labels the possessive classifier *ngasi-* 'container classifier', but points out that

"[…] 'container' is not entirely satisfactory as a label, it provides a clue as to which noun will require it. There is some flexibility in the use of *ngasi-* according to the use of the possessed item."

(Rowe 2005: 47)

The container classifier is associated with a number of nouns that refer to more general geographic locations or landmarks, an observation that is not made by Ross and Rowe. Most of these nouns could be conceived of as containers in some sense

(e.g. islands and villages may contain people, a road may contain cars etc), which is why labelling this semantic category container better covers the overall semantics than labelling it location or landmark. There are also numerous nouns that do specify a location or landmark, but which are never associated with this category (such as *tarayu* 'gender-specific area' or *arngas* 'mountain'). The great majority of container nouns refer to locations or entities that contain humans and animals only. Ross and Rowe both stress that this semantic category comprises entities that are biggish, and hence the label *augmentative* also comes to mind. However, nouns that are augmented by noun *tan* 'mother (of)' are not always specified with the classifier *ngasi-*, as is the case in the following example; suggesting that augmentation is not the key semantic characteristic of this class:

(161) *i*   *ru*   *ru*   ***tan***   ***mangis***
       i   ru   ru   **ta-n**   **mangis**
       3.SG   two   ART:CO1.DU   **mother-POSS**   **clan**

       anu'dat   *(*ngasi'dat).*
       anu(-n)=dat   ngasi(-n)=dat
       CL:GEN(-POSS)=1.PL.INC   CL:CONT(-POSS)=1.PL.INC

       'our two big clans (moieties)'

                                                                (KAP [5])

The label *container noun* is an overgeneralization in some respects since only animate and most often only human entities are relevant in this category. This is shown, for example, in relation to the nouns *sungut* 'trap' and *rat* 'basket' which take the default classifier and which typically contain inanimate entities.[54]

(162) a.   ***an***   ***lón***   ***anun***   *ép*   *sungut*
            an   **ló-n**   **anu-n**   ép   sungut
            at   **mouth-POSS**   **CL:GEN-POSS** ART:CO1   trap

            'inside his trap'

                                                                (RTK [20])

---

[54] Condra (1989: 16) finds a similar morpheme *ngasia-* in Patpatar (presumably also a possessive classifier) and glosses it 'house'.

b. | *A sòng* | *i* | *an* | *lón* | *anuk* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a=sòng | i | an | ló-n | anu-k |
| 1.SG=pack | 3.SG | at | mouth-POSS | CL:GEN-1.SG.POSS |

ép	*rat.*
ép	rat
ART:CO1	basket

'I packed it into my basket.'

(KUK 2 [6])

The food-related category is slightly more heterogeneous. It is clear that edible and drinkable entities make up the biggest subgroup in this category, and from a cognitive point of view, one could also expect food utensils to appear in this group, which is the case. Similarly, relating cigarettes to food-related terms is also quite common across languages.[55] One might also refer to this group as *consumables*, but for the sake of consistency we follow the earlier approaches on the semantics of the classifier *nga-* by referring to it as *food-classifier*. One unusual subgroup comprises cultural and linguistic entities. The nouns *saksak* 'song' and *warwar* 'speech; language; words' which also fall into this category do also have a certain degree of 'orality' to them because they refer to entities that are produced with the mouth. Another subgroup of the food-related category comprises the two nouns *farum* 'war' and *minat* 'death; corpse'. The reason for this is likely to go back to the times in which cannibalism was common in Siar culture and in which slain enemies were later eaten. *Minat* can also be observed together with the default possessive classifier:

(163) | *Na* | *ól* | *tòtòròt* | *ón* | *i* | *ding* | *ép* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| na | ó-l | tò~tòròt | ó-n | i | d-ing | ép |
| REL | 2.SG-IRR | RED~believe | OBL-3.SG | 3.SG | DEM.SG-ANA | ART:CL1 |

minat	*anun*	*é*	*Suilik …*
m<in>at	anu-n	é	Suilik
die<NOM>die	CL:GEN-POSS	ART:PROP	PN

'If you believe in the death of Suilik …'

(FAK [25])

It is likely that this change of possessive class is due to the fact that cannibalism is now frowned upon in Siar culture, or that it is less natural for younger speakers to associate the noun *minat* 'death' with other edible entities.

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[55] Compare languages such as Turkish in which a cigarette is *drunk*, rather than smoked (*sigara içmek*).

We can also look at the etymology of the three classifiers to support statements about their function and semantics. The container classifier *ngasi-* also occurs in the Siar data as the noun *ngasin*, which often translates as 'spot', 'location' or 'origin'. There is also an expression *ngasin kòkòbòn* (*kòkòbòn* 'be afraid'), which is sometimes used in order to express the reason (or origin) of somebody's being surprised. Another relevant expression is *liu ngasin* (*liu* 'to run'), meaning 'to run away from (the origin) x'. The noun *ngasin* could be a nominalised form of the classifier with the third person possessive suffix attached (*ngasi-n*). Another related noun would be the noun *ngas* 'path', which selects the container classifier in possessive constructions.

The food classifier *nga-* is formally similar to several other words: the intransitive verb *angan* 'to eat', the transitive verb ***ngas*** 'to bite', the transitive verb ***nga****u* 'to chew' and the noun ***ngisé-*** 'tooth'. It is likely that some or even all four of these are related to each other (note that they have the velar nasal /ŋ/ in common).

As for the default classifier *anu-*, there is no obvious related word in contemporary Siar, but Ross (1988: 274) reconstructs a classifier **anu* for Proto-Meso-Melanesian which is reflected in a number of other languages in the area. He points out that it is likely to be related to the word 'thing' in Proto-Malayo-Polynesian.[56]

Many nouns may be compatible with more than one classifier, depending on their function in relation to the possessor in the given context. Typical examples involve domestic animals that can be regarded as animals kept near the home (in which case the default possessive classifier *anu-* is used) or as edible entities (in which case the food-related possessive classifier *nga-* is used):

(164)   a.   **Domestic animals (default class)**

Matò	*inan*	*ap*	*matò*	*nós*	***kai***	***bòròi***
matò	inan	ap	matò	nós	**kai**	**bòròi**
1.PAU.EX	go	and	1.PAU.EX	look	**ART:ANIM.PL**	**pig**

an'é		*Kit*	*diat.*
an(u-n)=é		Kit	diat
CL:GEN-POSS=ART:PROP		PN	3.PAU

'We went and saw the pigs of Kit's family.'

(IR [12])

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[56] Lynch et al. (2002: 77) also reconstruct a food classifier **ka* and a drink classifier **m^(w)a* for Proto-Oceanic.

b.　**Domestic animals (food class)**

Dit'an	*dit*	*yan*	***nga'dit***	***ép***	***bòròi.***
dit=(in)an	dit	yan	**nga(-n)=dit**	**ép**	**bòròi**
3.PL=go	3.PL	eat	**CL:FOOD(-POSS)=3.PL**	**ART:CO1**	**pig**

'They went and ate their pigs.'

(KÈL [59])

In the Siar area, pigs are often fattened over several months or even years, and during that period they are even considered a part of the family in some instances (especially by young children who grow up with them). In such contexts, pigs are not regarded as edible entities which is why the default possessive classifier *anu-* is often used (164a).

There are also frequent alternations of possessive classifiers involving NP referring to edible plants that are grown to be sold (default classifier) or eaten (food classifier). The word *lamas* 'coconut' in (165a) refers to coconuts that are not supposed to be eaten but will be dried and sold for the production of coconut oil, hence the use of the default classifier. The coconuts in (165b) on the other hand have the purpose of being eaten, hence the use of the food classifier.

(165)　a.　**Edible plants (default class)**

Matò	*él*	*sém*	***lamas***	***an'é***
matò(l)	é-l	sém	**lamas**	**an(u-n)=é**
1.PAU.EX	3.SG-IRR	cut.copra	**coconut**	**CL:GEN-POSS=ART:PROP**

Laimen.
Laimen
PN

'We wanted to cut Laimen's copra.'

(PÒU [3])

b. **Edible plants (food class)**

Mara	*sipuk*	*pas*	*i*	*at*	*a*	***lamas***
mara(u)	sipuk	pas	i	at	a	**lamas**
1.DU.EX	remove.husk	PFV	3.SG	four	ART:CO2	**coconut**

ngan	*é*	*fón*	*kókók.*
nga-n	é	fó-n	kókók
CL:FOOD-POSS	ART:PROP	skin-POSS	white

'We removed the husks from four coconuts for the white man to eat.'

(FÓN [12])

The noun *bala-* 'stomach' is usually inalienable, but in a context where the stomach is removed from an animal in order to be eaten (as is regularly done with pigs), the noun may also be used in alienable (indirect) possessive constructions.

(166) | *ngak* | *ép* | *balak* |
|---|---|---|
| nga-k | ép | bala-k |
| CL:FOOD-1.SG.POSS | ART:CO1 | stomach-1.SG.POSS |

'my stomach to eat'

(elicited)

Alternations are more unusual with nouns of the container class, but they do occur:

(167) a. **Canoe as container noun**

Mara	*sòi*	*sòu*	*ón*	*ép*	*tan*	***wang***
mara(u)	sòi	sòu	ó-n	ép	ta-n	**wang**
1.DU.EX	away	off	OBL-POSS	ART:CO1	mother-POSS	**canoe**

ngasin	*é*	*pasta*	*diat*	*taman.*
ngasi-n	é	pasta	diat	tama-n
CL:CONT-POSS	ART:PROP	pastor	3.PAU	father-POSS

'We took off with the big canoe of the pastor's family.'

(KÈP [19])

b. **Canoe as default noun**

Matò	*yausai*	*ép*	***wang***
matò	yau-sai	ép	**wang**
1.PAU.EX	paddle-TR	ART:CO1	**canoe**

an'é		*Mini.*
an(u-n)=é		Mini
CL:GEN(-POSS)=ART:PROP		PN

'We paddled Mini's canoe.'

(PÒI [3])

It is unclear why the general possessive classifier is preferred over the container classifier in (167b). A possible explanation could be that this sentence was uttered by a younger (about 14 years old) speaker, and that the container classifier is being displaced by the default class because it contains only relatively few nouns.

Polysemous nouns may be distinguished with help of a possessive classifier. For example, the noun *kèskès* is a reduplication of the verb *kès* 'sit; dwell' and may have two meanings: 'chair' and 'lifetime; lifestyle'. A possessive classifier disambiguates the two meanings, as in the following minimal pair:

(168)   a.

ép	*kèskès*	***ngasin***
ép	kès~kès	**ngasi-n**
ART:CO1	RED~sit	**CL:CONT-3.SG.POSS**

'his/her/its chair'

b.

ép	*kèskès*	***anun***
ép	kès~kès	**anu-n**
ART:CO1	RED~sit	**CL:GEN-3.SG.POSS**

'his/her/its lifetime'

(NÓN [4])

4.3.3.3   Unpossessable nouns

In a few instances, utterances that would translate into English as possessive constructions do not appear to be true possessive constructions in Siar. This is the case for at least two nouns: *silik* 'blood' and *tinan* 'unborn child'. Possessive-like relations with the noun *silik* 'blood' can only be expressed with the help of the oblique prepositional root *ó-*:

(169)   a.   *Ép*   ***silik***   ***ón***   *i*   *takwér.*
                 ép   **silik**   **ó-n**   i   tak-wér
                 ART:CO1   **blood**   **OBL-3.SG.POSS**   3.SG   ACAUS-spill
                 'His blood was spilt.'

                                                             (FAK [21])

     b.   *Ép*   *pusi* *ning*   *i*   *dam* *tar*   *ép*
                 ép   pusi_{TP} n-ing   i   dam tar   ép
                 ART:CO1   cat   DEM.[-SG]-ANA   3.SG lick PRF ART:CO1

                 silik *ók.*
                 silik   ó-k
                 blood   OBL-1.SG.POSS

                 'That cat was licking my blood.'

                                                             (AMP 5 [116])

Silik also does not occur with any of the possessive classifiers that are used in indirect possessive constructions (*ép silik anu-k etc). This suggests that *silik* 'blood' is an unpossessable entity in Siar.[57]

4.3.4   Interrogatives

Siar has the following set of interrogative forms:

Simple interrogatives		Interrogative demonstratives	
as	'who; whom'	*a-d-ah*	'where is …'
is	'how many'	*a-n-ah*	'where are …'
langsing	'when'	*t-ah*	'where (at); where (from)'
móh	'how; why'	*ka-t-ah*	'where (to)'
sah	'what; which'		

Table 29: Siar interrogatives

Two types of interrogatives can be distinguished: simple interrogatives and morphologically complex interrogative demonstratives. The latter involve the interrogative demonstrative root *-ah* (cf. section §8.1.2.7). The final aspiration of the simple interrogatives *sah* and *móh* suggests that they are likely to be fossilizations of forms that were once demonstratives containing the interrogative demonstrative root -

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[57] Peekel (1915: 107) lists the Lambel equivalent *suluk(i)-* as inalienable root.

ah, or that the interrogative demonstrative root *-ah* was once a dedicated interrogative marker, which would make *sah* and *móh* diachronic coalescences of the interrogative marker and another preceding word.[58]

A common feature of interrogative forms in Siar is that they often trigger the interrogative mood of the clause:

(170) a. ***As**   ma   kél   tólói akès   pas   i?*
           as   ma   k-é-l   tólói a-kès   pas   i
           who   TRANS   FOC-3.SG-IRR   hold   CAUS-sit   PFV   3.SG

           'Who is supposed to take care of them now?'

                                                                        (KÈL [65])

       b. *I   **is**   ma   a   sis*
           i   **is**   ma   a   sis
           3.SG   **how.many** TRANS   ART:CO2   fish

           ani'ga'sén   mara   akór   lik   i?
           a-n-i(ng)=ga(u)=sén   mara(u) a-kór   lik   i
           DEX-DEM.[-SG]-ANA=there=EMPH   1.DU.EX CAUS-boil   little 3.SG

           'How many fish were still there that we had boiled (but not eaten)?'

                                                                        (BÒN [48])

       c. ***Langsing** él   inan?*
           langsing   é-l   inan
           when   3.SG-IRR   go

           'When will he go?'

In some clause types, such as indirect speech clauses, the mood of the clause need not be affected by the presence of interrogative forms:

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[58] A typical sound change from Proto-Oceanic to Siar is that syllables with an initial plosive /p/ and a following vowel lenite the plosive to /h/ and delete the vowel (e.g. *POc *api* → Siar *yah* 'fire', *POc *topu* → Siar *tòh* 'sugarcane', *POc *sapa* → Siar *sah* 'what?'). This suggests that the interrogative demonstrative root *-ah* is a grammaticalization of Proto-Oceanic **sapa* (see Lynch et al. 2002: 89 for a reconstruction of the Proto-Oceanic forms).

(171)　*A warai*　　*é*　　　　　*Denten kanak*　*na*　***langsing***　*ma*
　　　　a=war-ai　　é　　　　　Denten　kanak　na　**langsing**　ma
　　　　1.SG=speak-TR　ART:PROP　PN　　COMP　REL　**when**　　TRANS

　　　　él　　*lós*　*pas*　*i*　*a*　　　*rèrèh*　　*ning.*
　　　　é-l　　lós　pas　i　a　　　rèrèh　　n-ing
　　　　3.SG-IRR　carry　PFV　3.SG　ART:CO2　fishing.line　DEM.[-SG]-ANA

　　　　'I asked Denten when he would get that fishing line.'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(PÒI [27])

4.3.4.1　Simple interrogatives

The interrogative *móh* 'how' can occur by itself (172a) but is also often accompanied by the verb *rak* 'want'[59] (172b) or the refective preposition *kón* (172c) with slightly different semantic effects:

(172)　a.　*U*　***móh***, *u*　*masun?*
　　　　　u　**móh**　u　　masun
　　　　　2.SG　**how**　2.SG　tired

　　　　　'How are you, are you tired?'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(UÒ [75-L])

　　　　b.　*Ka*　　　*kakabah*　*i*　　*kanak*　*na*　*él'an*　　***rak***　***móh***.
　　　　　k-a　　　ka~kabah　i　　kanak　na　é-l=(in)an　**rak**　**móh**
　　　　　FOC-1.SG　RED~ask　3.SG　COMP　REL　3.SG-IRR=go　**want**　**how**

　　　　　'I asked him which way (lit. *how*) he would go.'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(BÒN [32])

　　　　c.　*Amra*　*pit*　　*pakan*　***kón***　***móh?***
　　　　　amra(u)　pit　　pakan　**kón**　**móh**
　　　　　2.DU　cut.off　leaf　**PURP**　**how**

　　　　　'Why/For what reason are you two cutting off leaves?'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(LAKA [28])

Móh by itself is used for asking about particularities of a certain state whereas *rak móh* is used for asking about particularities of events and actions. *Kón móh* asks for reasons.

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[59] *Rak* seems to have other meanings than 'want'. In some instances, it is used to refer to the fact that an event is ongoing (as in English *and so on and so on* …). It often translates to English as 'be (a)like'.

The interrogative form *sah* means 'what' or 'which', depending on the construction it occurs in. For 'what', *sah* is preceded by an article (173a) whereas for 'which', *sah* is preceded by a full NP (173b) in which it functions as a post-head modifier:

(173) a. **_Ép_** **_sah_** *ma*   *na*   *u*   *tòl* *i?*
           ép   **sah**   ma   na   u   tòl   i
           ART:CO1 **what** TRANS REL   2.SG   do   it

       'What is it that you are doing?'

                                                            (RTK [14])

       b. *Amat*   *saksak,*   **_ép_**   *saksak*   *sah*   *n'amat*
           amat   sak~sak   [**ép**   **sak~sak** **sah**]ₙₚ   n(a)=amat
           2.PL   RED~sing   **ART:CO1** **RED~sing** **what** REL=2.PL

           sak   *i?*
           sak   i
           sing   3.SG

       'You were singing, which song were you singing?'

                                                            (UÒ [59-L])

In some contexts, *sah* translates as 'whatever':

(174) *Bèl* *dit* *rèrè* *arum*   *ón*   *a*   *liwan* *ó* *a*
       bèl   dit   rèrè   ar-um   ó-n   a   liwan   ó   a
       NEG   3.PL   HAB   REC-hit   OBL-POSS   ART:CO2   knife   or   ART:CO2

       lamròt *ó* *ép*   **_sah_**.
       lamròt   ó   ép   **sah**
       spear   or   ART:CO1 **whatever**

       'They did not use to fight with knives, spears or whatever.'

                                                            (TÓMÓL [8])

This sentence is not marked for interrogative mood because the prosody is the same as for a declarative sentence (cf. section §2.5.1). The fact that *sah* can be preceded by an article suggests that it is a noun. The fact that it can be specified for plural provides further evidence for this assumption (an example for this was given in §4.1).

The interrogatives *as* 'who' and *langsing* 'when' may occur in two positions in the clause: clause-initial and clause-final. The position of the interrogative has a pragmatic effect with focus on the word in final position:

(175)   a.   ***As   ép   risén?***
               as   ép   risé-n
               who   ART:CO1   name-3.SG.POSS

              'What's his *name*?'

      b.   *Ép   risén   **as**?*
               ép   risé-n   **as**
               ART:CO1   name-3.SG.POSS   **who**

               '*What's* his name?'

The second construction which stresses the interrogative tends to be used more often in contexts where a question is asked for a second time (e.g. because the initial reply was not understood).

      The simple interrogative *is* 'how many' is unsual because it needs to be preceded by a third person subject marker, and it may optionally be specified for event focus or irrealis.

(176)   a.   ***I   is   ép   taim   ma   i'an'òt***
               i   **is**   ép   taim_{TP}   ma   i=[(in)an=(w)òt
               3.SG   **return**   ART:CL1 time   TRANS   3.SG=go=come

               kabah   lik   yau?
               kabah]_{SVC?}   lik   yau
               ask   little   1.SG

               'How many times did he come back to me to ask me questions?'
                                                      (KÈL [64])

      b.   *I   tik   ép   falin   ki   kabah   i   kanak,*
               i   tik   ép   fali-n   k-i   kabah   i   kanak
               3.SG   one   ART: CO1   partner-POSS   FOC-3.SG   ask   3.SG   COMP

               "I   ki   is?"
               i   **k-i**   **is**
               3.SG   **FOC-3.SG**   **how.many**

               'One of them asked, "How many have you got?" '
                                                   (LAKA [3])

c.	*Él*	*dat*	*i*	*tik*	*ta*		*sis*	*ó*	*él*	*is?*
	é-l	dat	i	tik	ta		sis	ó	é-l	is
	3.SG-IRR	pull	3.SG	one	ART:CO2.IND		fish	or	3.SG-IRR	how.many

'Is he going to catch only one fish, or how many?'

<div align="right">(KABÈ [21])</div>

This suggests that *is* 'how many' is actually a verbal interrogative. There is also a verb *is* which translates to English as 'return; come back'. These two forms may be homophones, but it is also conceivable to assume that the two forms are instances of the same verb. It would then follow that the English interrogative complex *'how many'* translates to Siar as *'it returns …?'*. Other related languages in the area show similar forms for this interrogative, such as Patpatar *ahise* (Peekel 1909: 1997), Lambel *naisa* (Peekel 1915: 16), Vinitiri *ivisá* (Van Der Mark 2007: 202), but for none of these languages a similar analysis is made.[60] This suggests that *is* 'how many' and *is* 'return' are homonyms or at least homophones.

4.3.4.2   Interrogative demonstratives

The interrogative demonstrative existentials *adah* 'where is …?' and *anah* 'Where are…?' head a predicate:

(177) a. **Adah** *sa* *ép* *pun*
           a-d-ah sa ép pun
           DEX-DEM.SG-INT RESTR ART:CO1 turtle

          nga'mtòl *i?*
          nga(-n)=(a)mtòl i
          CL:FOOD(-POSS)=2.PAU 3.SG

          'Where is your turtle (that you were planning to eat) now?'

<div align="right">(TAM [34])</div>

       b. *Kai* *pòl* **anah** *ma?*
           kai pòl **a-n-ah** ma
           ART:ANIM.PL dog **DEX-DEM.[-SG]-INT** TRANS

          'Where are the dogs?'

---

[60] The vowel /i/ in all three languages is analysed as part of the interrogative, not as a separate morpheme as in Siar. This could suggest that a reanalysis of the third person subject marker *i* has taken place at some stage in the case of Siar.

Note that demonstrative existentials can also occur in different positions of the clause. In (177a) it is clause-initial whereas in (177b) it occurs later in the clause. The constructions differ in what is in focus. Similarly to (175), the interrogative is focused when it occurs at the end of the utterance.

The other demonstrative interrogatives are adverbs and have a modifying function in the predicate:

(178)　a.　*I*　　*kès*　　***tah?***
　　　　　i　　　kès　　　**t-ah**
　　　　　3.SG　sit　　　**LOC-INT**

　　　　　'Where does he live?'

　　　　b.　*U*　　*inan*　　***tah?***
　　　　　u　　　inan　　　**t-ah**
　　　　　2.SG　go　　　　**LOC-INT**

　　　　　'Where are you coming from?'

(179)　*I*　　*inan*　***katah***?
　　　　i　　　inan　　**ka-t-ah**
　　　　3.SG　go　　　**ALL-LOC-INT**

　　　'Where is he going?'

4.3.5　Nominal compounding

Compound nouns are formed by juxtaposing two or more nouns within a single noun phrase. The fact that they make up a compound is indicated by the presence of only one article for both nouns. The cases in (180) below show the simplest type of nominal compounding which is referred to here as non-possessive nominal compounding:

(180)   **Non-possessive nominal compounding**

a.	*ép*	*rumai*	*lamas*	'copra drier'	(lit. 'house coconut')
	ART:CO1	house	coconut		
b.	*ép*	*warwar*	*lakman*	'local language'	(lit. 'speech village')
	ART:CO1	speech	village		
c.	*ép*	*pakan*	*gah*	'rattan leaf'	(lit. 'leaf rattan')
	ART:CO1	leaf	rattan		

Non-possessive nominal compounds are always semantically left-headed. For example, the copra drier is a kind of building (house), not a kind of coconut.

Another type of nominal compounding is possessive nominal compounding. In these constructions, the head noun of the compound is an inalienably possessed noun, and the other noun in the compound represents the possessor:

(181)   **Possessive nominal compounding**

a.	*ép*	*ngisé-n*	*bòròi*	'boar'	(lit. 'tooth pig')
	ART:CO1	tooth-POSS	pig		
b.	*ép*	*puklu-n*	*rumai*	'roof'	(lit. 'head of the house')
	ART:CO1	head-POSS	house		
c.	*ép*	*papali-n*	*bòròi*	'pig crust'	(lit. 'crust of the pig')
	ART:CO1	crust-POSS	pig		

Like non-possessive nominal compounds, possessive nominal compounds are left-headed. Note than in such compounds, the possessive suffix on the head noun is always the third person form -*n*. It is interesting to note that in other related languages such as Kuanua (Mosel 1984: 31) and Vinitiri (Van Der Mark 2007: 97), the slot of the Siar suffix -*n* is occupied by a "linker" *na*, which is cognate with the Siar ligature *in*. This could mean that the Siar suffix -*n* was originally not a possessive suffix, and that it has undergone coalescence and subsequent reanalysis as the third person singular suffix.

Augmented nominal compounds can be considered a subtype of possessive-nominal compounding. In such compounds, the initial augmenting noun *tan* 'mother' modifies the augmented noun which is the second noun in the compound:[61]

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[61] Rowe (2005: 45) mentions that the noun *tama-n* 'father' can also be used to augment nouns, but is less commonly used for that purpose. I have not found such cases in my data.

(182) **Augmented nominal compounds**

ép	*ta-n*	*wang*	'big canoe'	(lit. 'mother of a canoe')
ART:CO1	mother-POSS	canoe		

ép	*ta-n*	*liwan*	'bush knife'	(lit. 'mother of a knife')
ART:CO1	mother-POSS	knife		

Augmented nominal compounds are right-headed, i.e. a 'mother-canoe' is a type of canoe (and not a type of mother). Examples are also found for a type of diminutive using the noun *natu-* 'child' (see 184).

It is also possible to augment a sequence of nouns that already make up a nominal compound. This results in an augmented nominal compound that consists of three component nouns:

(183) | *ép* | [*tan* | [*rumai* | *lamas*]_{N1}]_{N2} | 'big copra drier' |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | ART:CO1 | mother-POSS | house | coconut | (lit. 'mother of a coconut house') |

All the above nominal compounds are introduced by the common 1 article *ép*. A nominal compound may also be headed by a common 2 noun and introduced by the common 2 article *a*:

(184) a. | *a* | <u>*wakrin*</u> | *yai* | 'tree root' |
|---|---|---|---|
| | ART:CO2 | root | tree | |

b. | *a* | *ta-n* | <u>*gur*</u> | 'big group' |
|---|---|---|---|
| | ART:CO2 | mother-POSS | group | |

c. | *a* | *natu-n* | <u>*mani*</u> | 'chick' | (lit. 'child bird') |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | ART:CO2 | child-POSS | bird | | |

In some cases, a nominal compound may be headless (exocentric):

(185) | *ép* | *ngisén* | *liwan* | 'cut in the skin' | (lit. 'tooth of a knife') |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | ART:CO1 | tooth-POSS | knife | | |

The nominal compound *ngisén liwan* is neither a type of tooth nor a type of knife. Instead, it refers to a cut to the flesh or skin inflicted by a sharp instrument. This means that none of the semantic information contained by the two nouns percolates up

to the compound. Syntactically though it is a left-headed compound as indicated by the choice of the common article *ép*. As is discussed in section §4.1, *liwan* 'knife' as a tool would typically select the common 2 article *a*.

There are also some cases of lexicalized nominal compounding.

(186)	***ép***	***mata-***	***rumai***	'door'	(lit. 'house eye')
	ART:CO1	eye	house		

The reason why we assume that this is a lexicalized form is that the inalienably possessed noun *mata-* 'eye' occurs without a possessive suffix here, i.e. it surfaces as a free form. If this construction represented a productive compound, then *mata-* would need to have the suffix attached. I have not found any instances of the form *ép mata-**n** rumai* in my data.

There are also other types of constructions that are analogous to nominal compounding. Consider the following examples:[62]

(187)	***ép***	***tan***	***ép***	***arèrè***	'teacher'
	ART:CO1	person	ART:CO1	CAUS-see	(lit. 'causing-to-see person')
	ép	***tan***	***ép***	***(f)arum***	'soldier'
	ART:CO1	person	ART:CO1	REC-hit	(lit. 'fighting person')
	ép	***tan***	***ép***	***babait***	'fisherman'
	ART:CO1	person	ART:CO1	fishing	(lit 'fishing person')

These constructions are not nominal compounds because each noun is preceded by its own article, which indicates that each noun makes up its own noun phrase. Still, the meaning of each construction is made up to equal amounts of each NP that it contains. They could therefore be considered compounds in a semantic sense (with the meaning of the whole being derived from the meaning of each component noun), but they are not compounds in a structural sense.

4.4   The ligature *in*

Ligatures are a common phenomenon across Austronesian languages. The term ligature is used in Blust (2003). Other terms such as ligatives (Franklin 1968),

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[62] The noun *tan* 'person' in these examples is different from the noun *ta-n* 'mother', although there may be a diachronic relationship between the two nouns.

connectives (Davies & Fritzell 1992), linkers (Daguman 2004, Pustet 2006, Van Der Mark 2007, Du 2010), linking articles (Himmelmann 2001) and attributive markers (in the case of Takivatan Bunun, De Busser, p.c.) can also be found. In older grammars (e.g. Peekel 1909, 1915), these forms are simply referred to as affixes or particles. In more recent grammars they are sometimes referred to as just clitics. Here we follow Ross, Blust and Rowe in referring to these terms as ligatures. An advantage of the term ligature is that it is consistent with some previous literature on Siar (Ross 2002, Rowe 2005).

One reason for the great number of labels for this category is that ligatures do different things in different languages. Generally, a ligature links two elements in the clause, but these elements may have different characteristics. In Mussau (New Ireland, St Matthias Family, Brownie & Brownie 2007: 17), ligatures link subject proclitics and specific vowels as well as verbs in a serial verb construction whereas in Bariai (Southwest East New Britain Province, Gallagher & Baer 2005: 55), the ligature marks new information or introduces relative clauses.

The function of ligatures in Siar is to link attributes to nouns, similar to related languages such as Lambel (Peekel 1915: 14-15), Vinitiri (Van Der Mark 2007: 257) or Barok (Du 2010: 16). A simple example from Siar is shown below:

(188) | *Ép* | *kónóm* | ***in*** | *ép* | *kuk* | *ma* | *sén* | *na* |
|------|---------|---------|------|------|------|-------|------|
| [ép | [kónóm]ATTR | **in**]NP | [ép | kuk]NP | ma | sén | na |
| ART:CO1 | many | **LIG** | ART:CO1 | crab | TRANS | EMPH | REL |

matò	*ki*	*kèp*	*pas*	*i.*
matò(l)	k-i	kèp	pas	i
1.PAU.EX	FOC-3.SG	get	PFV	3.SG

'It was indeed plenty of crabs that we had gathered.'
(lit. *It was the lot of crabs indeed that we had gathered.*)

(BAL [5])

The above example shows the structure of a typical construction that involves the ligature *in*. The ligature *in*[63] is always preceded by the attribute that modifies the NP (*kónóm* '(be) plenty' in this case), which is often a nominalised adjective or adjectival modifier as in this example. The modified NP *ép kuk* 'the crabs' follows the ligature. The ligature can therefore be said to link these two NPs syntactically, and each NP is introduced by its own article.

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[63] Proto Austronesian **(n)a*, Proto Malayo-Polynesian **(n)a* (see e.g. Blust 2003).

The ligature can function anaphorically, signalling the semantic head of the NP even if it is absent, as in (189a). It can also stand for an entire NP as in (189b).

(189) a.
Matò	*pas*	*tat*	*ma*	*ép*	*kónóm*	*in*
matò(l)	pas	tat	ma	[ép	[kónóm]ATTR	in]NP
1.PAU.EX	step	uncover	TRANS	ART:CO1	many	**LIG**

	ap	*matò*	*só*	*lik*	*dit.*
[Ø]NP	ap	matò(l)	só	lik	dit
	and	1.PAU.EX	spear	TEMP	3.PL

'We found many (of them) and speared them.'

(PÒI [47])

b.
As	*ma*	*kél*	*tólói*	*akès*	*pas*	*in?*
as	ma	k-é-l	tólói	a-kès	pas	in
who	TRANS	FOC-3.SG-IRR	hold	CAUS-sit	PFV	**LIG**

'Who is going to take care of them now?'

(KÈL [65])

Pure pronominal uses of the ligature without linking to attributes, such as in (189b) above, are rare. Free object pronouns are more typical in anaphoric function.

The corpus contains a pair of examples suggesting parallelism between the linker and the oblique prepositional root *ó-*, or its third person singular form *ó-n* (see also section §9.2.3). The examples are shown in (190):

(190) a.
Ép	*pipilai*	*in*	*kanak*	*a*	*natun*
ép	pi~pilai	**in**	kanak	a	natu-n
ART:CO1	RED~to.mean	**LIG**	COMP	ART:CO2	child-POSS

a	*parar.*
a	parar
ART:CO2	thunder

'This meant that he was the child of thunder.'

(NAT [8])

b. *Ép*   *pipilai*   ***ón***   *ép*   *Bóngyan*
    ép   pi~pilai   **ó-n**   ép   Bóngyan
    ART:CO1   RED~mean   **OBL-POSS**   ART:CO1   PN

    i   *rak'a'na.*
    i   rak=(l)a(r)=n-a
    3.SG   want=like=DEM.[-SG]-PROX

    'This is the meaning of the Bóngyan (clan).'

(CLA [13])

The ligature *in* in (190a) and the third person singular prepositional pronoun *ón* in (190b) both link an NP (*ép pipilai* 'meaning') with a constituent that modifies or specifies this NP. As is also discussed in section §4.5.1, the prepositional pronoun *ón* and the ligature *in* can even replace each other in some contexts such as the following:

(191)   a.   *i*   *tik*   *ép*   *bònòt*   ***ón***   ***kai***   *pòl*
              i   tik   ép   bònòt   **ó-n**   **kai**   pòl
              3.SG   one   the   ten   **OBL-POSS**   **ART:ANIM.PL** dogs

              'ten dogs'

    b.   *i*   *tik*   *ép*   *bònòt*   ***in***   ***kai***   *pòl*
              i   tik   ép   bònòt   **in**   **kai**   pòl
              3.SG   one   the   ten   **LIG**   **ART:ANIM.PL** dogs

              'ten dogs'

It is unclear to me what the exact semantic difference between the two constructions is. The structural difference is more obvious because the prepositional pronoun *ón* in (191a) and the ligature *in* in (191b) are very distinct types of words.

4.5   Numerals

Siar numerals can be grouped into four categories: cardinals ('one', §4.5.1), ordinals ('first', §4.5.2), partitive numerals ('half an x', §4.5.3) and multiplicative numerals ('x times', §4.5.4).

4.5.1 Cardinals

The Siar cardinal system is a base 10 system:[64]

#	Cardinal	Literally
1	*i tik*	it is one
2	*i ru*	it is two
3	*i tòl*	it is three
4	*i at*	it is four
5	*i lim*	it is five
6	*i wón*	it is six
7	*i (f)is*	it is seven
8	*i wal*	it is eight
9	*i siwòk*	it is nine
10	*i tik ép bònòt*	it is one ten
	i sangulih	it is ten
11	*i tik ép bònòt apipisir i tik*	it is one ten that makes one flick up
	i sangulih apipisir i tik	it is ten that makes one flick up
12	*i tik ép bònòt apipisir i ru*	it is one ten that makes two flick up
	i sangulih apipisir i ru	it is ten and that makes two flick up
13	*i tik ép bònòt apipisir i tòl*	it is one ten that makes three flick up
	i sangulih apipisir i tòl	it is ten that makes three flick up
20	*i ru ru bònòt*	it is two tens
30	*i tòl ép bònòt*	it is three tens
40	*i at ép bònòt*	it is four tens
50	*i lim ép bònòt*	it is five tens
100	*i tik ép mar* *i tik ép yah*	it is one hundred
101	*i tik ép mar apipisir i tik*	it is one hundred that makes one flick up
110	*i tik ép mar, i tik ép bònòt*	it is one hundred one ten
111	*i tik ép mar, i tik ép bònòt apipisir i tik*	it is one hundred, one ten that makes one flick up
200	*i ru ru mar*	it is two hundred
300	*i tòl ép mar*	it is three hundred
1000	*i tik ép tausén*	it is one thousand
1001	*i tik ép tausén apipisir i tik*	it is one thousand that makes one flick up
1011	*i tik ép tausén, i tik ép bònòt apipisir i tik*	it is one thousand one ten that makes one flick up
1111	*i tik ép tausén, i tik ép mar, i tik ép bònòt apipisir i tik*	it is one thousand, one hundred, one ten that makes one flick up

Table 30: Siar cardinals

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64 Within the Patpatar-Tolai family of the Oceanic languages there are also languages with a base 5 system (see Lean 1985 for an overview of New Ireland languages).

There appear to be two expressions that refer to the cardinal 10: *bònòt* and *sangulih*. *Bònòt* is a much more common expression, but Siar speakers are also aware of the other form. The fact that *sangulih* can be traced back to a Proto-Oceanic etymon *sa[- Na]-puluq* (Lynch et al. 2002: 72) suggests that the use of *bònòt* is an innovation. *Bònòt* has not been observed in any other function, but it is likely that it might have had an additional meaning. It is translated here as the noun (not numeral) 'a ten'. Evidence for this analysis comes from the fact that *bònòt* is always preceded by an article. The cardinal *sangulih* behaves differently, and I have not observed it with a preceding article, which suggests that *sangulih* is not a noun. However, Lean (1985: 58) elicited the expression *ru sangulih* for 'twenty', which suggests that *sangulih* can indeed function as the head of an NP in some circumstances. As opposed to *bònòt*, *sangulih* strongly tends not to be used for cardinals above 10. While it is grammatical to say e.g. *i sangulih i a pisir i tik* 'eleven', the *bònòt* variant (e.g. *i tik ép bònòt apipisir i tik* 'eleven') is much more common.[65]

For cardinals between the multiples of ten, the NP *a (pi)pisir* is used. *Pisir* is a verb that does not translate to English easily, but its semantics include 'to flick up; to pop up' as well as 'get into trousers or laplaps' among other meanings. *Apipisir* is the causative form of the verb 'the flicking up / popping up'. It is plausible to take the 'flick up' meaning as the underlying one for numerals because one can easily imagine the 'flicking up of fingers' when counting. Note, however, that the New Ireland style of counting with one's finger is very different from that in western cultures. Volker notes that,

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"To begin counting, the hand is open with the thumb and all
fingers extended. For each number, an appropriate of 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'."
```

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                                                (Volker 1998: 118)
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The expression *a (pi)pisir* has been analyzed in different ways in different descriptions of Siar. Lean (1985: 58) transcribes it as *iar pisir* but does not provide a further explanation of this expression. Ross (2002: 416) merges the subject marker *i* and the

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[65] Peekel (1915) finds the cognate forms *bonot* and *sangahulu* for 'ten' in Lambel, but he does not make a distinction between the two forms.

article to the word form *ya (pisir)*, but does not provide a translation. Rowe (2005: 27) follows Ross' analysis and notes that, "*The word* pisir *has been observed only in this construction; its meaning is uncertain.*" The preceding *a* appears as if it could be the first person singular subject marker rather than the article, and that *(pi)pisir* is a verb. However, this is not the case as can be shown by phrases such as *i ru **ra** pisir*, in which the dual common 2 noun class article *ra* appears instead of *a*.

A problem with the analysis of *a (pi)pisir* is that there is a formal ambiguity that results from a strong phonetic similarity, as represented in the following three potential analyses:

(192) a.   *a*   *pipisir*   [a ˌpɪ.pɪ.ˈsiːɾ]
            a   pi~pisir
            ART:CO2   RED~flick.up

            'the flicking-up'

       b.   *ap i*   *pisir*   [a.ˈpɪ pɪ.ˈsiːɾ]
            ap=i   pisir
            and=3.SG   flick.up

            'and it flicks up'

       c.   *apipisir*   [a.ˌpɪ.pɪ.ˈsiːɾ]
            a-pi~pisir
            CAUS-RED~flick.up

            'causes to flick up'

When asking native speakers to pronounce this expression carefully, all variants were uttered. This suggests that speakers differ with regard to how they analyse this expression, which in turn could explain the difficulties that have occurred with this expression in earlier work. The problem with the analysis in (192a) is that the noun is a noun of the common 2 class, but the flicking-up does not match any of the semantic criteria we established for common 2 nouns in section §4.1. The analysis in (192b) is more likely to be the underlying one, and I do not have any evidence that rules out this analysis. Evidence for the analysis in (192c, which is homophonous with (192b)) can be drawn from Peekel (1915: 95) who analyses the Lambel equivalent as *hapisir*. Though he does not mention it explicitly, the initial *ha-* has the same form as the

causative prefix (Siar *(f)a-*). This suggests that causative analysis is the most likely one here. However, further elicitation is required to rule out the analysis in (192b).

Lean notes that the noun *mar* 'hundred' is a borrowing from Kuanua. Native speakers have pointed out to me that the native Siar word for hundred is *yah*, which also means 'fire'. I have never observed *yah* as a cardinal in spoken Siar, which suggests that *mar* has completely replaced *yah*. Lean also lists forms similar to *mar* for Lambel, Kandas, Konomala, Sursurunga, Patpatar as well as languages of northern New Ireland province which have had less contact with Kuanua. This suggests that *mar* (and variant forms in the different languages) is not a borrowing per se but rather represents the "New Ireland/Gazelle Peninsula word" for hundred (with a few exceptions).

Siar has borrowed the numeral *tausén* from English 'thousand' (presumably via Tok Pisin *tausen*). It is unclear though if a numeral for 'thousand' has always been available in Siar. Such a numeral has been observed in related languages (e.g. Vinitiri *rip*, Van Der Mark 2007, Barok *arip*, Du 2010), but Rowe (2005: 28) points out that in Siar, thousands may also be expressed in hundreds:

(193) | *i* | *lim* | *ép* | *bònòt* | *in* | *tó* | *mar* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| i | lim | ép | bònòt | in | tó | mar |
| 3.SG | five | ART:CO1 | ten | LIG | ART:[-ANIM].PL | hundred |

'five thousand' (lit: 'fifty hundreds')
(Rowe 2005: 28, with adjusted spelling and additional glossing)

I have not observed this use myself, but if it were a productive way of forming thousands at an earlier stage, then there would be no need to have a single word for the numeral 'thousand'.

The general structure of a counted NP and the numeral it contains can be represented as follows, the underlined forms showing the numerals:

#	Thousands	Hundreds	Tens[66]	*apipisir* 'flick'	Ones	Counted NP[67]
1					*i <u>tik</u>*	*ép rumai* 'house(s)'
12			*i <u>tik</u> ép bònòt*	*apipisir*	*i <u>ru</u>*	
123		*i <u>tik</u> ép mar*	*i <u>ru</u> ru bònòt*	*apipisir*	*i <u>tòl</u>*	*a liwan* 'knive(s)'
1234	*i <u>tik</u> ép tausén*	*i <u>ru</u> ru mar*	*i <u>tòl</u> ép bònòt*	*apipisir*	*i <u>at</u>*	

Table 31: Syntactic outline for counted NPs (using the borrowed word for 'thousand')

For the numerals 1 to 9, the counted NP is introduced by the article *ép* (for non-dual nouns) and *ru* or *ra* (for dual nouns) as in (194a).[68] For numerals above 9, the following NP is introduced by *ón tó / kai* (depending on the animacy of the referent, 194b):

(194) a. *i   tòl   **ép**   pòl*
           i   tòl   **ép**   pòl
           3.SG   three   **ART:CO1** dog

       'three dogs'

       b. *i   tik   ép   bònòt   **ón**   **kai**   pòl*
           i   tik   ép   bònòt   **ó-n**   **kai**   pòl
           3.SG   one   the   ten   **OBL-POSS**   **ART:ANIM.PL** dogs

       'ten dogs'

As noted above, there appears to be some shared functionality in the use of the ligature *in* and the prepositional pronoun *ón*, and it is difficult to predict which form is used when because *in* in (193) could be replaced by *ón*, and *ón* in (194b) could be replaced by *in*:

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[66] The article *ép* becomes the dual form *ru* or *ra* when *ru* 'two' is used as numeral (e.g. *i ru ru bònòt* 'twenty' instead of **i ru ép bònòt*).

[67] Note that the article *ép* may be replaced by other forms, depending on the grammatical person, number, noun class and definiteness of the NP referent.

[68] The choice of dual article depends on the noun class of the counted entity (marked *ra* vs. unmarked *ru*).

(195)   b.   *i*   *tik*   *ép*   *bònòt*   **in**   **kai**   *pòl*
         i   tik   ép   bònòt   **in**   **kai**   pòl
         3.SG   one   the   ten   **LIG**   **ART:ANIM.PL**   dogs

         'ten dogs'

Cardinals in Siar can be used predicatively, as might be expected given their occurrence with a subject marker. This subject marker is always the third person form *i* (or its allomorph *é* in irrealis contexts). Cardinals can also be specified for the modality categories event focus (196a) and irrealis (196b).

(196)   a.   *Ki*   *warai*   *kanak*   *i*   *sén*   *alò*   **ki**   *tik*.
         k-i   war-ai   kanak   i   sén   alò   **k-i**   tik
         FOC-3.SG   speak-TR   COMP   3.SG   EMPH   again   **FOC-3.SG**   one

         'He said that it was also one (for him).'

                                                                                (LAKA [5])

        b.   *A warai*   *na*   *dir'él*   *arbólói*   *i*   *tik*
         a=war-ai   na   dir(au)=é-l   ar-bólói   i   tik
         1.SG=speak-TR   REL   3.DU=3.SG-IRR   REC-carry.together 3.SG one

             a   *gòtò*   *ap*   *yau*   *al*   *lós*   **él**   *tik*.
         a   gòtò   ap   yau   a-l   lós   **é-l**   tik
         ART:CO2   bamboo   and   1.SG   1.SG-IRR   carry   **3.SG-IRR** one

         ' I told them to carry one bamboo together and I would carry one (myself).'

                                                                                (PIR [20])

The subject marker is omitted in cases where the numeral *tik* 'one' is negated:

(197)   **Bèl**   **tik**   *i*   *nangan*   *yau*.
         bèl   **tik**   i   nangan   yau
         NEG   **one**   3.SG   help   1.SG

         'Not one (person) is helping me.'

                                                                                (TKK [4])

4.5.2   Ordinals

Ordinals derive from cardinals and refer to the position or rank of an entity in relation to others. As a general rule, ordinals are derived by attaching the suffix *-in* to a cardinal:

#	Ordinal
1st	*tikin*
	also *tikai*, *mugan* (< *mung* 'to lead')
2nd	*ruan*
3rd	*tòlin*
4th	*atin*
5th	*liman*
6th	*wónón*
7th	*isan*
8th	*walin*
9th	*siwòkin*
≥ 10	no ordinals
last	*ngungusun* 'end'

Table 32: Siar ordinals

The ordinal suffix *-in* surfaces with the allomorphs *-in*, *-an* and *-ón*. The rules that determine which allomorph is used were given in section §3.1.2.

Some examples for ordinals are shown in (197):

(198) **Tikai**   *bòng,*   *a*   **ruan**   *bòng,*   *a*   **tòlin**
       tik-ai   bòng   a   **ru-an**   bòng   a   **tòl-in**
       one-ORD   night   ART:CO2   **two-ORD** night   ART:CO2   **three-ORD**

       bòng, a   **atin**   *bòng,*   *ap*   *i*   *m'atin*
       bòng   a   **at-in**   bòng   ap   i   m(a)=**at-in**
       night ART:CO2   **four-ORD** night   and   3.SG   TRANS=**four-ORD**

       bòng kanak   na   él   *pit   sòi.*
       bòng   kanak   na   é-l   pit   sòi
       night COMP   REL   3.SG-IRR   pluck away

'The first night, the second night, the third night, the fourth night (went by) and on the fourth night he plucked (it) off.'

(MAT 2 [113])

All ordinal NPs are specified for the common 2 noun class as indicated by the preceding common 2 noun article *a*. We have said that one function of the common 2 noun category is that it encodes a part-whole-relationship or individuates entities from a greater set or mass, which also applies when picking a ranked entity (the entity represented by the ordinal NP) from a greater set (all counted entities).

4.5.3 Partitive numerals

Partitive numerals refer to a part (or fraction) of an entity or of a set. The only partitive numeral I have observed in Siar is the noun *kumlin* 'half'.

(199) a. | *A kèp* | *pas* | *i* | *tik* | ***a*** | ***kumlin*** | ***un*** | *ap* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a=kèp | pas | i | tik | **a** | **kumlin** | **(f)un** | ap |
| 1.SG=take | PFV | 3.SG | one | **ART:CO2** | **half** | **banana** | and |

a yan	*i.*
a=yan	i
1.SG=eat	3.SG

'I first took half a banana and (then) I ate it.'

(BÒN [44])

b. | *Dira* | *gang* | *i* | *tik* | *a* | *lamas* | *ap* | *dira* | *yan* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| dira(u) | gang | i | tik | a | lamas | ap | dira(u) | yan |
| 3.DU | drink | 3.SG | one | ART:CO2 | coconut | and | 3.DU | eat |

i	*tik*	***a***	***kumlin***.
i	tik	**a**	**kumlin**
3.SG	one	**ART:CO2**	**half**

'They drank a coconut, and they ate one half of it.'

(KINAU [18])

Note that like ordinals, partitive numerals select an article that is specified for the common 2 noun class. This is because partitives refer to a part-whole-relationship. The partitive numeral *kumlin* in (199b) heads its own NP.

4.5.4 Multiplicative numerals

Multiplicative numerals[69] refer to the number of times that an event takes place. In Siar, multiplicative numerals are derived by combining the morpheme *amun* with a cardinal.

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[69] The term is taken from Pei and Gaynor (1954).

once	*amun**tik***
twice	*amun**ru***
thrice	*amun**tòl***
four times	*amun**at***
five times	*amun**lim***
six times	*amun**wón***
seven times	*amun**is***
eight times	*amun**wal***
nine times	*amun**siwòk***
ten times	*?amun**sangulih*** **amun**bònòt***

Table 33: Multiplicative numerals

During elicitation of the paradigm, my consultants pointed out that it sounds strange to make this derivation with the numerals 10 and above. The reason is likely to be the fact that cardinals above ten are represented with complex phrases that do not readily interact with this suffix.

In my corpus, I have only found derivations with the cardinal *at* 'four', of which two cases (from the same narrative) are illustrated below:

(200) a. *Él   taltal   **amunat**   s'alò.*
           é-l   taltal   **amun-at**   s(én)=alò
           3.SG-IRR   walk.around   **MULTI-four** EMPH=again

       'It will walk around (the table) another four times.'

                                                                      (TIN [80])

       b. *Él   taltal   alar   mumugi   ép*
           é-l   taltal   a-lar   mu~mu(n)gi ép
           3.SG-IRR   walk.around   CAUS-resemble RED~lead   ART:CO1

           *pók   ning,   él   **amunat**.*
           pók   n-ing   é-l   **amun-at**
           k.o.table DEM.[-SG].ANA 3.SG-IRR   **MULTI-four**

       'It will walk around the table watching it, it (will do so) four times.'

                                                                      (TIN [75])

In (200a) above, *amunat* functions as a modifier to the walking-around event. In (200b), the multiplicative numeral is used predicatively.

The morphological structure of these forms is currently unclear and requires further elicitation. *Amun* could be a free morpheme (*amun*) or a prefix (*amun-*), and it may be morphologically complex itself because the initial *a* could be the causative prefix (*a-mun*) or the final *n* could be the third person singular possessive suffix to an inalienably possessed noun *amu-* (*amu-n*). A stress shift is apparent in the pronunciation of a multiplicative numeral when *amunat* is uttered [ˌa.mu.ˈnat]. The final nasal /n/ in *amun* makes up a new syllable with the cardinal *at* 'four'. Since stress always falls on the final syllable in Siar, this observation suggests that *amun* is a bound morpheme, i.e. either a clitic or a prefix. Peekel (1915: 95) represents two of the Lambel multiplicatives as *ha-na-ur* 'two times' and *ha-na-tol* 'three times'. The initial *ha-* has the same form as the causative prefix, which could suggest that the initial /a/ in the Siar prefix is a remnant of the Siar causative *(f)a-*, and *-mun-* could have been a specific word at some stage (there is a Siar verb *mun* 'to hide', but it is unlikely that it is related to the multiplicative prefix).

4.6   Quantifiers

Quantifiers give *"[…] a relative or indefinite indication of quantity"* (Matthews 1997: 305). Quantifiers in Siar are very heterogeneous in character, which makes it undesirable to treat them as a single class. Table 34 gives an overview of the different forms and of their distinctive features. True quantifiers are represented in bold and are discussed in section §4.6.1. The other three forms which can be associated with some other existing word class are discussed in section §4.6.2.

	Can be followed by ligature	Preceded by noun	Can be used predicatively	Is also a separate noun	Sensitive to polarity	Can function pronominally
ningan 'some'	-	-	-	-	-	+
al 'some'	-	-	-	-	+	+
kòl 'many; very'	-	+	-	-	-	-
kónóm '(be) plenty'	+	-	+	-	-	-
róp 'finish; all'	-	+	+	-	-	-
pukun 'place; particular x'	-	-	-	+	-	-

Table 34: Distinctive features of Siar words with quantifying function or semantics

4.6.1 True quantifiers

In this section, we deal with forms that have quantifying semantics and which do not fall readily into other established word classes. There are three words of this type: *ningan* 'some', *al* 'some' and *kòl* 'many; plenty'. These are treated as true quantifiers.

Two examples for *ningan* are shown in the following example:

(201)   *Diat*   *tar*   *sòi*   *tar*   ***ningan***   *nga'matòl*   *ép*
           diat   tar   sòi   tar   **ningan**   nga(-n)=matòl   ép
           3.PAU   give   away   PRF   **some**   CL:FOOD(-POSS)=1.PAU.EX   ART:CO1

           sis   *ap*   *matò*   *tun*   *pas*   ***ningan***   *ap*   *matò*   *yan*
           sis   ap   matò(l)   tun   pas   **ningan**   ap   matò(l)   yan
           fish   and   1.PAU.EX   cook   PFV   **some**   and   1.PAU.EX   eat

           pas   *i.*
           pas   i
           PFV   3.SG

           'They distributed some fish, we cooked them and then we ate them.'
                                                          (LAKLAK [6])

The first occurrence of *ningan* encodes an indefinite amount of fish. Note that it occurs at the start of the whole quantified NP *nga'matòl ép sis* 'our fish to eat'. The second *ningan* in the above sentence is also a quantification, but here the quantifier also has a pronominal use because there is no NP following, and because it could be replaced by one. *Ningan* never occurs as an autonomous noun (**ép/a ningan*) or a verb (**i ningan*). In terms of semantics, *ningan* is partitive.

Al (202a) differs from *ningan* in that it can also be used as an object pronoun (202b): [70]

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[70] Peekel (1915: 95) notes the form *hal* in Lambel which has the same meaning. Since word initial /h/ in Lambel corresponds with initial /f/ in Siar (which may surface as zero) it makes sense to assume that *al* was *fal* at an earlier stage of Siar.

(202) a.   *I rak kòl sur   él   kèp al tó   kam*

i	rak	kòl	sur	é-l	kèp	**al**	tó	kam
he	wants	very	INTENT	3.SG-IRR	get	**some**	ART:[-ANIM].PL	set

matan   usrai.

mata-n	usrai
eye-POSS	story

'He wants to know these kinds of stories. '

(TING [25])

b.   *Ma bè'sa   i   nap   él   dat kòl tar al.*

ma	bè(l)=sa	i	nap_{TP}	é-l	dat	kòl	tar	**al**
but	NEG=RESTR	3.SG	enough	3.SG-IRR	pull	very	PRF	**some**

'But he will not manage to pull out many (fish).'

(KABÈ [22])

Negated clauses take *al* and not *ningan*:

(203) a.   *Bèl a   lóngrai al tók   agaya.*

bèl=a	lóng-rai	**al**	tók	agaya
NEG=1.SG	listen-TR	**some**	ART:[-COUNT]	noise

'I did not hear any noise.'

(FÓN [7])

b.   *Bèl al tók   yah.*

bèl	**al**	tók	yah
NEG	**some**	ART:[-COUNT]	fire

'There was no fire.'

(LAU [18])

The quantifier *kòl* translates as 'many; plenty; a lot', and it can be used to make a statement about the quantity of entities as well as the duration of an event. In the former case, it functions as an NP modifier (204a) and in the latter case, it modifies a VP functioning like an adverb (204b):

(204) a. *U   rak   él   akaptur   sòi   pas   i,*
           u   rak   é-l   a-kaptur   sòi   pas   i
           2.SG want   3.SG-IRR CAUS-take.off away   PFV   3.SG

           tó   baran   kòl.
           [tó   baran]ₙₚ   **kòl**
           ART:[-ANIM].PL   thing   **very**

           'You will bring back many things.'

                                                        (KÈL [89])

       b. *Ép   balak   i   ngòngòt   kòl.*
           ép   bala-k   [i   ngò~ngòt]ᵥₚ **kòl**
           ART:CO1   stomach-1.SG.POSS 3.SG   RED~bite   **very**

           'My stomach hurts a lot.'

                                                        (RTK [15])

Kòl 'a lot' can also be combined with *ningan* 'some':

(205) a. *Matò   dik   pas   ningan ép   kuk*
           matò   dik   pas   [[**ningan** ép   kuk]
           1.PAU.EX shine.light PFV   **some**   ART:CO1   crab

           kòl.
           kòl]
           many

           'We found a lot a lot of crabs (using torches).'

                                                        (BAL [3])

       b. *Ningan kòl bèl   dit   tòtòròt óm.*
           ningan **kòl** bèl   dit   tòtòròt   ó-m
           some   **many** NEG   3.PL believe   OBL-2.SG.POSS

           'Many will not believe you.'

                                                        (UÒ [120-L])

Note that *kòl* functions here as a modifier of *ningan*. When the two quantifiers co-occur, *ningan* always precedes *kòl*.

4.6.2   Quantifying words in other parts of speech

The stative verb *kónóm* (east coast Siar *ginóm* or *giyóm*) translates to English as 'be plenty'. As a stative verb, *kónóm* can be used predicatively:

(206) *Na   kai   kuk   dit   kél   **kónóm***
     na   kai   kuk   dit   k-é-l   **kónóm**
     REL   ART:ANIM.PL crab 3.PL FOC-3.SG-IRR **plenty**

     ap   kal   is   katim   an   lakman.
     ap   k-a-l   is   ka-t-im   an   lakman
     and   FOC-1.SG-IRR return ALL-LOC-*down* at   home

'When the crabs (I have caught) are plenty I return to the village.'

(KUK 2 [9])

In this example, *kónóm* refers to a state of a plenitude of crabs, which means that it has a quantifying function. In addition to the predicative use, *kónóm* can be combined with the ligature *in* (cf. section §4.4) and used within an NP:

(207) ***Kónóm*** *in   bar   ón   kókók   dit   ki   wah*
     [**kónóm** in   bar   (f)ón kó~kók]_{NP} dit   k-i   wah
     plenty LIG   ART:HUM.PL   skin RED~white   3.PL FOC-3.SG   poison

     sòi   tar   dit.
     sòi   tar   dit
     away   PRF   3.PL

'Many white men, they were cast spells upon.'

(TING [9])

In casual speech, the quantifier *kónóm* and the ligature *in* fuse to a single phonological word *kónómin*. This happens so often that Rowe (2005: 30) lists *kónómin* as a morphologically simple quantifier. In careful pronunciation there is a clear phonological break between *kónóm* and *in* as well as a different stress pattern (*kónómin* has stress on the final syllable, *kónóm in* has stress on the penultimate syllable).

    Kónóm can also be nominalised with a preceding article, resulting in a noun meaning 'majority':

(208)   **Ép**   **kónóm** *ón*   *dit*   *di*   *warai*   *kanak*
      ép   **kónóm**   ó-n   dit   di   war-ai   kanak
      ART:CO1 **plenty**   OBL-POSS   3.PL   IND   speak-TR   COMP

      kai   *Butam*   *ón*   *dit.*
      kai   Butam   ó-n   dit
      ART:ANIM.PL   PN   OBL-POSS   3.PL

      'The majority of them were called the Butam.'

                                                     (CLA [5])

The noun *pukun* has quantifying semantics. In its original meaning, *pukun* refers to a place or location. But it is also used to individuate a specific entity or part out of a greater set (*one of the x, a specific x, part of an x*). This is illustrated in the following example:

(209)   a.   *É*   *Polin*   *i*   *kèp* *pas* *a*   ***pukun*** ***yai*** *ap*
           é   Polin   i   kèp   pas   a   **pukun**   **yai** ap
           ART:CO1   PN   3.SG   get   PFV   ART:CO2   **place**   **tree** and

           i   *bas*   *i.*
           i   bas   i
           3.SG   throw   3.SG

           'Polin got a branch (lit. piece of tree) and threw it.'

                                            (SARSAR [x])

      b.   *I tik*   *a*   ***pukun*** ***bòng*** *a bòrbòr*   *ap*   *a èrbè.*
           i tik   a   **pukun**   **bòng** a=bòrbòr   ap   a=èrbè
           3.SG=one   ART:CO2   **place**   **night** 1.SG=sleep   and   1.SG=dream

           'One (particular) night I slept and I dreamt.'

                                            (ÈRB [3])

In (209a), *pukun yai* picks one single branch out of the set of branches on a whole tree. In (209b), *pukun bòng* picks one specific night out of a set of many nights. This selection is also reinforced by the use of the preceding numeral *i tik* 'one'. Another common use of *pukun* is *pukun war* 'word', which individuates a single word from the set of all words (*warwar*).

      The verb *róp* 'be finished' is used to express quantification. Its distribution is similar to that of the verb *kónóm*, but it differs in that *kónóm* precedes the quantified NP together with the ligature *in* whereas *róp* follows the NP without the ligature like other modifying nouns:

(210)   a.   *Tó*   *baran* ***róp***   *ón*   *i*   *wakak.*

               [tó   baran]_{NP} **róp**   ó-n   i   wakak

               ART:[-ANIM].PL thing   **finish** OBL-3.SG.POSS   3.SG good

               'Everything about it was good.'

                                                    (LAM [44])

        b.   *Dit* ***róp*** *dit*   *ana*   *sén.*

              [dit]_{NP} **róp** dit   a-n-a   sén

              3.PL   **finish** 3.PL DEX-DEM.[-SG]-PROX EMPH

              'They were all right here.'

                                                    (CLA [84])

I have also found one instance in which the verb *kès* 'sit' appears to be used with a quantifying sense that translates to English as 'lot(s) of'. Since this is the only occurrence of a quantifying use of this verb it may be an example of figurative speech:

(211)   *Mara* *só*   *pas*   *kai*   *sis* ***kès.***

         mara   só   pas   [kai   sis]_{NP} **kès**

         1.DU.EX spear PFV   ART:ANIM.PL fish   **sit**

         'We speared a lot of fish.'

                                                     (SÓ [4])

Note also the unusual syntactic position of *kès*. It is not located in a verbal slot, but rather in a postnominal position where other quantifiers such as *róp* 'all' are located.

     Finally, the form *tiktik*, which is a reduplication of the numeral *tik* 'one', can also be used in a quantifying sense meaning 'each'.

(212)   a.   *Dit* *was* *sén*   *kai*   *nanat*   *gurar*   *ón*

              dit   was   sén   kai   na~nat   gurar   ó-n

              3.PL count EMPH ART:ANIM.PL RED~child women OBL-POSS

             i   ***tiktik***   *ép*   *tarai*   *taman.*

             i   **tik~tik**   [ép   tarai   tama-n]_{NP}

             3.SG   **RED~one** ART:CO1 men   parents-POSS

             'They count the girls in each family.'

                                                     (TIN [54])

b.   *Ki*   *kakabah*   ***tiktik***   *ó'dit.*
     k-i   ka~kabah   **tik~tik**   ó(-n)=[dit]$_{NP}$
     FOC-3.SG   RED~ask   **RED~one**   OBL(-POSS)=3.PL

'He interrogated each of them.'

(TAI [17])

5   Adjectives and adjectival modifiers

Together with nouns and verbs, adjectives have long been considered a major word class across many languages. Languages differ greatly, however, in how adjectives are realized morphologically and syntactically (Dixon 1982, Bhat 1994, Pustet 2006, Dixon 2010), even within the Oceanic language family (Ross 1998). Adjectives may be a word class of their own (as in many European languages), they may show properties that are more similar to nouns, or they may have properties more similar to verbs. This is a characteristic that has long been observed in other New Ireland languages (see e.g. Peekel 1909 and Condra 1989) for the case of Patpatar). In what follows, I argue that Siar has a very small closed class of adjectives which only comprises three forms: *akak* 'good', *lamtin* 'big' and *lik* 'little, small' (section §5.2). NPs may also be modified by stative verbs which are put into postnominal position, but these forms are not assumed to be prototypical adjectives according to the analysis presented here. These stative verbs functioning as modifiers within an NP are here referred to as *adjectival modifiers* (see section §5.3). The following section §5.1 gives a general overview of how nouns and noun phrases can be modified.

5.1   General noun modification

The canonical context in which adjectives and adjectival modifiers in general can be observed is in constructions where they function as modifiers of noun phrases. Examples containing common adjectival modifiers can be seen below:

(213) a.   *ép*   *rumai*   ***mètèk***
            [ép   rumai]$_{NP}$ **mètèk**
            ART:CO1   house   **new**

            'the/a new house'

       b.   *ép*   *malum*   ***laman***
            [ép   malum]$_{NP}$ **laman**
            ART:CO1   fresh.water   **deep**

            'the/a deep river'

In such constructions, the adjectival modifier is the final constituent within the modified NP. It may also precede the modified NP in which case the ligature *in* (which is discussed in more detail in section §4.4) has to be used as a linker in between:

(214) a. *ép*   ***mètèk***   *in*   *ép*   *rumai*
             ép   **mètèk**   in   ép   [rumai]$_{NP}$
             ART:CO1   **new**   LIG   ART:CO1   house

             'the/a new house (lit. *the new one of a house*)'

    b. *ép*   ***laman***   *in*   *ép*   *malum*
             ép   **laman**   in   ép   [malum]$_{NP}$
             ART:CO1   **deep**   LIG   ART:CO1   fresh.water

             'the/a deep river (lit. *the deep one of a river*)'

Prenominal modification is more emphatic than postnominal modification.

    Adjectival modifiers may also head a predicate, in which case they immediately follow the subject marker: [71]

(215) a. *Ép*   *rumai*   *i*   ***mètèk***.
             [ép   rumai]$_{NP}$ i   **mètèk**
             ART:CO1   house   3.SG   **new**

             'The house is new.'

    b. *Ép*   *malum*   *i*   ***laman***.
             [ép   malum]$_{NP}$ i   **laman**
             ART:CO1   fresh.water   3.SG   **deep**

             'The river is deep.'

The modifiers *mètèk* 'new' and *laman* 'deep', therefore, seem to share properties with verbs since they could easily be replaced with such in the examples in (215) above. Note, however, that they do not show any verbal properties, such as taking a subject marker, when they are used as postnominal modifiers.

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[71] In irrealis contexts they follow the irrealis marker (e.g. *ép rumai él mètèk* 'the house will be new')

Modifiers such as *mètèk* 'new' and *laman* 'deep' have slightly different formal features compared to other nominal modifiers. In total, three types of modifiers can be distinguished in Siar:

Adjectives	Adjectival modifiers	
(Type 1)	**Reduplicated stative verbs[72]** **(Type 2)**	**Incomplex stative verbs[73]** **(Type 3)**
akak 'good'	*bu~burun* '(be) tiny'	*laman* '(be) deep'
lamtin 'big'	*ba~barah* '(be) tall, high'	*pòtpòt* '(be) short'
lik(lik) 'little'	*ma~maris* '(be) lovely'	*mètèk* '(be) new'
	mò~mòl '(be) true, real'	*turai* '(be) old'
	kó~kók '(be) white'	*laulau* '(be) bad'
	ra~rakai '(be) strong'	*mèmèrèk* '(be) red'
	ma~malwas '(be) soft'	*durdur* '(be) black'
	bus~bus '(be) wet'	*sisingan* '(be) yellow, shy'
	la~lapang '(be) hot'	*makrau* '(be) green'
	ló~lóngón '(be) cold'	*malélé* '(be) k.o. white'
	sa~sam '(be) sick'	*mèmèlèm* '(be) orange'
	gót~gót '(be) happy'	*sisimuk* '(be) blue'
	ta~tasim '(be) smart'	*yawai* '(be) brown'
	ayap~yap '(be) quick, fast'	*mamat* '(be) heavy'
	mi~milau '(be) near, nearby'	*masun* '(be) tired'
	bu~bulut '(be) sticky'	*murak* '(be) hungry'
	but~but '(be) fat'	*masur* '(be) satiated, full'
	rò~rònmòn '(be) dark'	*tòstòs* '(be) straight, correct'

Table 35: Types of adjectives in Siar

As shown in Table 35, there is a small closed class of 'true' adjectives and two sets of stative verbs with adjectival functions. These forms can also be divided into 2 sets based on their morphological characteristics (as described further below).

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[72] A few of these verbs also have an active use or can be transitive (e.g. *lapang* 'heat up sth.' or *sam* 'be sick with sth.').

[73] Here, all modifiers for which no morphologically simple form has been found (e.g. **mèrèk*) will be analysed as morphologically simple, even though they appear to be reduplicated forms. Some of them may, in fact, belong to Type 2. Type 2 modifiers, however, can safely be assumed not to be members of Type 3.

5.2   True adjectives (Type 1)

Type 1 adjectives can be referred to as true adjectives. True adjectives are a very small closed class of only three words. The main characteristic of these forms, as opposed to adjectival modifiers, is that they cannot head a predicate, they can only be used as modifiers. True adjectives are all suppletive forms of stative verbs which can themselves be used predicatively, but not as modifiers:

True adjective			**Stative verb**	
akak	'good'	<	*wakak*	'be good'
lamtin	'big'	<	*lamantin*	'be big'
lik(lik)	'little small'	<	*burun (lik)*	'be small/little'

An example pair for *akak / wakak* can be seen below:

(216) | *I* | *tik* | *ép* | *yai* | **akak,** | *ap* | *i* | *tik* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| i | tik | [ép | yai]ₙₚ | **akak** | ap | i | tik |
| 3.SG | one | ART:CO1 | tree | **good** | and | 3.SG | one |

ép	*yai*	*na*	*bèl*	*i*	**wakak.**
[ép	yai]ₙₚ	na	bèl	i	**wakak**
ART:CO1	tree	REL	NEG	3.SG	**good**

'One good tree, and one tree that was not good.'

(FAK [8])

Akak follows the NP *ép yai* 'a tree' which it modifies while *wakak* is used predicatively.[74] Other occurrences of these two forms provide further evidence for this distribution in which *akak* is used as a modifier while *wakak* is used predicatively, and this rules out the analysis that *akak* is only a clitic form of *wakak*. Since *akak* 'good' always has a modifying function (to an NP or VP), it makes sense to refer to it as adjective in nominal contexts. The fact that it is usually not used predicatively, however, is unusual when comparing it to other adjectives in other languages.

The other two real (Type 1) adjectives *lamtin* 'big' and *lik(lik)* 'little, small'[75] also have suppletive stative verb counterparts which cannot function as modifiers. In (217)

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[74] There are only two exceptions in the Siar corpus: a predicative use of *akak* (*Bèl ma i **akak** 'It's not good') and an adjectival use of *wakak* (*ép fain **wakak** 'the/a good woman').
[75] It may be argued that *liklik* is a borrowing from Tok Pisin where it has the same meaning. Many Tok Pisin words are taken from its Kuanua substratum (which is closely related to Siar). This can make it difficult to decide whether a certain Siar word is native or borrowed from either Tok Pisin or Kuanua.

below, the adjectival use of both *lamtin* and *lik* is shown whereas (218a,b) illustrates their stative verb equivalents. Note that the stative verb equivalents cannot be employed in (217) and that the adjectives cannot be employed in (218a,b).

(217)   *é*   *Panake*   **lamtin**   *ap*   *é*   *Panake*   **lik**

              [é   Panake]_{NP}   **lamtin**   ap   [é   Panake]_{NP}   **lik**

              ART:PROP   PN   **big**   and   ART:PROP   PN   **little**

        '(the two namesakes) big Panake and little Panake'

                                                      (LAM [7])

(218)   a.   *Ap*   *kati'gau*   *ap*   *ki'an*   *ap*   *ki*   .

               ap   ka-t-i(ng)=gau   ap   k-i=(in)an   ap   k-i

               and   ALL-LOC-ANA=there   and   FOC-3.SG=go   and   FOC-3.SG

            lamantin

            lamantin

            be.big

            'And from then on it was getting bigger.'

                                                      (LAM [33])

     b.   *Ép*   *wang*   *i*   ***burun***   *sa.*

               ép   wang   i   **burun**   sa

               ART:CO1   canoe   3.SG   **be.small**   RESTR

            'The canoe is too small.'

                                                     (ÉPF [66])

5.3   Stative verbs as adjectival modifiers (Type 2 and 3)

Adjectival modifiers (Type 2 and Type 3) are subclasses of stative verbs that can function as adjectival modifiers.[76] They differ from true adjectives (Type 1) in that being stative verbs, they can both modify NPs and also head the predicate. Adjectival modifiers come in two forms: as reduplicated / unreduplicated word pairs of which the reduplicated form functions as modifier while the underived form can be used as head of the predicate (Type 2), and as morphologically simple forms which can be used

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In the case of *liklik* we will assume that it is a native Siar word, the main argument being the possibility of an unreduplicated form *lik* which is, except for the New Hannover variety of Tok Pisin (Mihalic 1971: 121) not a word of 'standard' Tok Pisin.

[76] The reason why they are considered semi-open is that not all stative verbs can be reduplicated (and hence be of Type 2), and conversely, some remain unreduplicated (and hence be of Type 3).

both predicatively and as modifiers within an NP (Type 3). Membership in Type 2 or Type 3 is a property of the stative verb lexeme. Example (219) shows a Type 2 pair:

(219)   **Type 2 adjectival modifiers** (unreduplicated / reduplicated pairs)

a.   *ép*   *malum*   **lalapang**.
     [ép   malum]_{NP}   **la~lapang**
     ART:CO1   fresh.water   **RED~be.hot**

     'hot water'

b.   *U*   *pupus*   *róp*   *tar*   *ap*   *u*   **lapang**   *i*.
     u   pu~pus   róp   tar   ap   u   **lapang**   i
     2.SG   RED~come.out   finish   PRF   and   2.SG   **lapang**   3.SG

     'You squeeze all (of them) and heat it up.'

                                                                    (KU [7])

A Type 3 pair can be seen in the following example:

(220)   **Type 3 adjectival modifiers** (morphologically simple)

a.   *ép*   *rumai*   **mètèk**
     [ép   rumai]_{NP}   **mètèk**
     ART:CO1   house   **new**

     'the / a new house'

b.   *Ép*   *rumai*   *i*   **mètèk**.
     ép   rumai   i   **mètèk**
     ART:CO1   house   3.SG   **be.new**

     'The house is new.'

There are also irregularities within the subtypes themselves. The true adjectives *lamtin* 'big' and *lik* 'small' also need to agree with the specified NP in number. If the specified NP is plural[77] the adjective must be reduplicated. This does not apply to *akak* 'good'.

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[77] *i ru ra nat **lik*** 'two little children'

(221) a. *kai*   *nanat*   **liklik**
           kai   nanat   **lik~lik**
           ART:ANIM.PL   children   **RED~little**

       '(the) little children'

       b. *tó*   **lamantintin**   *in*   *tó*   *kaptikén*
           tó   **lamantin~tin** in   [tó   kaptikén]~NP~
           ART:[-ANIM].PL **be.big~RED**   LIG   ART:[-ANIM].PL   stem

       'big stems (of trees)'

                                                                    (CLA [53])

Interestingly, (221a) reduplicates the adjectival form while (221b) reduplicates the
stative verb form (hence the ungrammaticality of **la~lamtin* or **lamtin~tin*).

A similar irregularity can be observed for one of the adjectival modifiers of
Type 2 such as *(kó)kók* 'white'. Here, however, the adjectival modifier / stative verb
distinguishes between uncountable nouns and countable nouns in both modifying and
predicative function. Uncountable nouns require the reduplicated form *kókók* (222)
while countable nouns require the unreduplicated form *kók* (223):

(222) a. *ép*   *fón*   **kókók**
           [ép   fó-n]~NP~   **kó~kók**
           ART:CO1   skin-POSS   **RED~white**

       'white skin; person with white skin'

       b. *Ép*   *fón*   *i*   **kókók**.
           [ép   fó-n]~NP~   i   **kó~kók**
           ART:CO1   skin.of-3.SG.POSS 3.SG   **RED~white**

       'His/her skin is white.'

(223) a. *tók*   *mém*   **kók**
           [tók   mém]~NP~   **kók**
           ART:[-COUNT]   food   **white**

       'white food (such as rice)'

                                                                    (PIR [26])

b.   *Ép*   *pas* *i*   **kók** *akak* *kòl.*
       [ép   pas]_{NP} i   **kók** (w)akak kòl
       ART:CO1 taro 3.SG **white** good   very

      'The taro is nicely white.'

(KAR [15])

(Kó-)kók is the only adjectival modifier which behaves in this way.

5.4   Nominalization of adjectives and adjectival modifiers

Some adjectives and adjectival modifiers may also undergo nominalization:

(224)   *Ka*   *rè*   *tar* *ép*   **wakak** *ón*
        k-a   rè   tar ép   **wakak** ó-n
        FOC-1.SG see PRF ART:CO1 **good** OBL-3.SG.POSS

      ap *ép*   **laulau** *ón.*
      ap   ép   **laulau** ó-n
      and ART:CO1 **bad**   OBL-3.SG.POSS

      'I have seen the good and bad (things) about it.'

(KÈL [67])

It is interesting to note that in the above example, the predicative form *wakak* (not the modifying form *akak*) is employed for the nominalization process. *Laulau* is a morphologically simple form (*lau) and simply placed in a nominal slot for the derivation.

6   Verbs and verb phrases

6.1   Tense and temporal relations

Erdman & Goring (1992: 111) state that *"Siar has a binary tense system with a future versus non-future split"*. In what follows, I will try to show that Siar is in fact a tenseless language.

The following examples illustrate that the verb itself does not change its form when the verb refers to an event that is located in the past (225a), present (225b,c) and future (225d).

(225)   a.   *Labòng a inan.*
labòng   a=inan.
yesterday 1.SG=go

'Yesterday I went.'

b.   *Misa na   a inan.*
misa   n-a   a=inan
today   DEM.[-SG]-PROX   1.SG=go

'Today I go/went.'

c.   *Na   ó'na   ka   inan.*
na   ó(-n)=n-a   k-a   inan
REL   OBL(-POSS)=DEM.[-SG]-PROX   FOC-1.SG   go

'I am going (right now).'

d.   *Latu   al   inan.*
latu   a-l   inan
tomorrow   1.SG-IRR go

'Tomorrow I will go.'

The forms *labòng* 'yesterday' and *latu* 'tomorrow' are temporal adverbs, the modifiers in (225b,c) are temporal adverbs which are discussed in section (§8.2.2).

Note that in (225a) and (225b) the first person singular subject marker *a* remains unmarked whereas in (225c) it is marked for event focus to indicate the current prominence of the (possibly ongoing) event, and in (225d) it is specified for irrealis

because the event is located in the future. As is shown in section §6.2.1, the suffix *-l* is not a future marker but an irrealis marker because it can also be found in non-future contexts such as conditionals (cf. section §12.1.1.2) or constructions with complement-taking modal verbs (cf. section §12.1.2.1). And as is shown in section §6.2.2, the event focus prefix *k-* is not a tense marker but a modality marker, and as such it can be used to refer to past, present and future events. It follows that Siar does not make distinctions between past tense, present tense and future tense but rather uses temporal adverbs and different modality configurations instead.

Siar can combine the modality markers and various preverbal and postverbal aspectual markers in various ways to encode other temporal relations such as the English future perfect:

(226)   *Kél   inan tar.*
         k-é-l   inan tar
         FOC-3.SG-IRR   go   PRF

         'He will have gone.'

Tenses are attested for other related languages in the area (e.g. Vinitiri, Barok, Kuanua, Patpatar), but they tend to be restricted to a remote past tense or a present tense. Lynch et al. (2002: 84) note that tenses were not a feature of Proto-Oceanic and are also absent in many present-day Oceanic languages. The Lambel language employs the same kinds of mechanisms as Siar to compensate for the lack of tense (Peekel (1915: 25).[78]

6.2   Modality

There are two grammatical categories that encode modality: irrealis (section §6.2.1) and event focus (section §6.2.2). Complements-taking modal verbs (section §12.1.2.1) also encode modality but in different ways than event focus and irrealis. The irrealis category is often assumed be associated with grammatical mood rather than modality (see e.g. Timberlake 2008), although other approaches suggest the opposite (see e.g. Bybee & Fleischman (1995: 3)). Matthews (1997) notes that often times, mood and

---

[78] Peekel notes that the verb does not change its form for present or past tense. For the future he notes the use of the suffix *-r* (which he calls an *attached sound* "*angehängter Laut*") which is cognate with the Siar irrealis suffix *-l*. He also mentions the perfect marker *tar* for Lambel which is identical to the Siar perfect marker in both form and function.

modality are terms that are used interchangeably. We here use the term modality when referring to event focus and irrealis.

The reason why the category event focus is here also assumed to be associated with modality is the fact that it has a similar morphological position (event focus and irrealis are the only morphemes attached to a subject marker) and that the event focus has a similar function to the irrealis because both make a statement about the speaker's attitude towards a given proposition. In addition, the event focus prefix *k-* has also been referred to as realis prefix in earlier work on Siar, a category that is usually associated with modality.

6.2.1 Irrealis (*-l*)

Irrealis modality in Siar is encoded by the suffix *-l* that attaches to the subject marker. The following paradigm shows the encoding for singular subjects:

Person	Modality setting	
	Unmarked	Irrealis
1.SG	*a*	*a*-**l**
2.SG	*u*	*ó*-**l**
3.SG	*i*	*é*-**l**

Table 36: The irrealis suffix on subject markers

Note the vowel change from <u> to <ó> for the second person singular, and from <i> to <é> for the third person singular.

The following example shows the use of the irrealis in a very simple sentence:

(227) *Al*   *inan.*
       a-**l**   inan
       1.SG-**IRR**   go

       'I will go.'

For non-singular subjects, the third person subject marker *é* (*i* in unmarked settings or settings with event focus) is used as a dummy pronoun that hosts the irrealis suffix. The subject referent is represented by a full pronoun (228):

(228) *Dit   él   inan.*
      dit   [é]_{expl.}-l   inan
      3.PL 3.SG-IRR   go

      'They will go.'

The use of the third person singular form as a dummy pronoun can also be found in constructions marked for event focus (section §6.2.2) as well as in possessive constructions (section §4.3.3).

    The irrealis marker functions on the phrase level, not on the clause level. Evidence comes from modal verb constructions in which both the complement-taking modal verb and the specified lexical verb can have their own modality setting (cf. section §12.1.2.1).

    The above examples suggest that the irrealis is used for future events. However, it is clear that *-l* is not a future marker because it also occurs in other non-future contexts in which irrealis would be expected. Conditional constructions are one of these contexts:[79]

(229) **Na** *é*   *John* *él*   *wòt*   *tar* *ap*   *yau* *al*
      na é   John é**-l**   wòt   tar   ap   yau   a**-l**
      REL ART:PROP PN   3.SG**-IRR** arrive PRF and 1.SG 1.SG**-IRR**

      warwar   karin.
      war~war   k-ari-n
      RED~speak   ALL-BEN-3.SG.POSS

      'If John had come I would have told him.'
                                                 (elicited)

Note that both the protasis and the apodosis are specified for irrealis because both events (the arriving and the telling John) are events that did not happen and, presumably, will never happen. Note also that the events in this sentence are located in the past, which would not be expected if *-l* were a future marker.

    Other types of constructions that often involve the irrealis are modal verb constructions such as the following:

---

[79] As will be discussed in section §12.1.1.2, conditional constructions are formally identical to relational clauses and relative clauses.

(230) | *Ép* | *tarai* | *tóng* | *an* | *Naskó* | *dit* | *ki* | *warai* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ép | tarai | t-óng | an | Naskó | dit | k-i | war-ai |
| ART:CO1 | men | LOC-*back* | at | PN | 3.PL | FOC-3.SG | speak-TR |

kanak	*na*	*mat'él*	***bas***	*él*	*bòrbòr.*
kanak	na	mat(òl)=é-**l**	**bas**	é-**l**	bòrbòr
COMP	REL	1.PAU.EX=3.SG-**IRR**	**must**	3.SG-**IRR**	sleep

'And the people up at Nasko told us to get some sleep.'

(NAS [10])

Note that both the modal verb *bas* 'have to' and the lexical verb *bòrbòr* 'sleep' are usually marked for irrealis, though they need not be. This is discussed in further detail in section §12.1.2.1.

Adversative clauses (which are introduced by the adversative subordinator *sak*, see also section §12.1.3.3) obligatorily require the presence of an irrealis marker:

(231) | *Amra* | *tumarang* | *tar* | *i* | ***sak*** | *él* | *lók* | *tar* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| amra(u) | tumarang | tar | i | **sak** | é-**l** | lók | tar |
| 2.DU | careful | PRF | 3.SG | **ADVS** | 3.SG-**IRR** | bite | PRF |

ti	*alin*	*datòl.*
ti	(f)ali-n	datòl
ART:CO1.IND	partner-POSS	1.PAU.INC

'You two be careful, otherwise it will bite one of us.'

(LÓB [14])

As discussed in section §10.1.2.2, hortative constructions are another type of construction that requires the presence of the irrealis suffix *-l*:

(232) | *Datòl* | *kèl* | *inan!* |
|---|---|---|
| datòl | k-é-**l** | inan |
| 1.PAU.INC | FOC-3.SG-**IRR** | go |

'Let's go!'

Intentive clauses introduced by *sur* (cf. section §12.1.3.1) also require the presence of the irrealis suffix if they contain a full verb:[80]

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[80] Exceptions are prohibitive intentive clauses (e.g. *in order for x not to do y*).

(233) | *Matò* | *inan* | *tar* | **sur** | *matòl* | *él* | *amrai* | *pòl.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| matò(l) | inan | tar | **sur** | matòl | é-l | amrai | pòl |
| 1.PAU.EX | go | PRF | **INTENT** | 1.PAU.EX | 3.SG-**IRR** | bring | dog |

'We went in order to hunt pigs.'

Languages differ with regard to whether imperative and prohibitive constructions need to be marked for irrealis, and whether they are marked obligatorily or optionally (Elliot 2000).[81] In the case of Siar, the irrealis may optionally be used to weaken the force of imperatives (234), but it cannot occur in prohibitive constructions (e.g. **Gòng ól inan* 'Don't go'):

(234) | *Ól* | *inan!* |
|---|---|
| ó-l | inan |
| 2.SG-**IRR** | go |

'You might (better) go.'

The irrealis is also compatible with all the aspectual markers (discussed in section §10.2), and their combination allows for the encoding of various temporal and aspectual relations. For example, the Siar equivalent of a future perfect would be a combination of the irrealis suffix *-l* and the perfect aspect marker *tar* (which is discussed in more detail in section §10.2.3.2):

(235) | *Ól* | *inan* | *tar.* |
|---|---|---|
| ó-l | inan | **tar** |
| 2.SG-**IRR** | go | **PRF** |

'You will have gone.'

The irrealis may also be combined with the event focus prefix *k-* to express immediate future (236a) or certain future (236b):

---

[81] Nearby cases of imperatives with obligatory irrealis marking of imperatives are Manam (Lichtenberk 1983: 188) and Lambel (Peekel 1915: 25). Vinitiri (Van Der Mark 2007) and Usen Barok (Du 2010) are two related languages in which the irrealis is not always present in imperatives.

(236) a. *As   ma   **kél**   tólói akès   pas   in?*

          as   ma   **k-é-l**   tólói a-kès pas   in

          who TRANS **FOC**-3.SG-**IRR** hold CAUS-sit PFV LIG

        'Who is going to take care of them now?'

                                                        (KÈL [65])

  b. *Na   uring   na   i   mumun tar,   na   misana   na*

          na   uring   na   i   mumun tar   na   misan-a   na

          REL   ago   REL 3.SG hide.ITR PRF   REL today-PROX REL

        kél   wòt manlar.

        k-é-l   wòt manlar

        FOC-3.SG-**IRR** come light

        'Long ago it was obscure, but these days it will certainly become clear.'

                                                        (KÈL [90])

The contexts in which Siar uses the irrealis need not always match the contexts in which related languages use the irrealis (see Bugenhagen 1993: 36 for an overview of the use of the irrealis in other Austronesian languages of Papua New Guinea). In Manam, for instance, commands always need to be specified for the 'definite' irrealis (Lichtenberk 1985: 188), whereas such a specification is usually not made in Siar (it can optionally be made though, which has an effect of the level of politeness, see section §10.1.2.1).

It should be noted that Rowe (2005: 60) prefers the term 'potential' over the term 'irrealis'. The main reason for this is that the irrealis can occur together with the event focus prefix *k-* which has also been referred to as realis marker in the literature. A discussion of the event focus *k-* is provided in section §6.2.2, and some correlations with the irrealis will also be shown.

6.2.2   Event focus (*k-*)

The function of the event focus prefix *k-* is difficult to pin down and has been a controversial issue in earlier works on Siar. As a preliminary definition, the event focus affix makes events salient by foregrounding them, stressing the actuality of the event and by assigning it a certain prominence in the discourse. Like the irrealis suffix *-l*, the event focus prefix *k-* attaches to the subject marker. This results in the following modal subject markers for the three grammatical persons in the singular:

Person	Modality setting	
	Unmarked	**Event focus**
1.SG	*a*	**k**-*a*
2.SG	*u*	**k**-*u*
3.SG	*i*	**k**-*i*

Table 37: The event focus prefix on subject markers

The following example shows a minimal construction marked for event focus:

(237) ***Ki***   *inan.*
       k-i   inan
       FOC-3.SG   go

'He goes. / He went.'

As is also the case for the irrealis, the third person singular subject marker functions as a dummy pronoun in contexts with a non-singular subjects, with the only purpose of hosting the event focus prefix. The non-singular subject referent is represented by a full subject pronoun that precedes the modal subject marker:

(238) *Dit*   ***ki***   *inan.*
       dit   **k**-i   inan
       3.PL   **FOC**-3.SG   go

'They go. / They went.'

As shown in the previous section, the event focus marker and the irrealis marker may co-occur, resulting in a reading referring to the immediate or certain future. In addition, similar to the irrealis, the event focus prefix *k-* functions on the phrase level, not on the clause level. Evidence comes from modal verb constructions in which both the complement-taking modal verb and the specified lexical verb can have their own modality settings:

(239) *Dit* ***ki***   ***rak***   *dit* ***kél***   *wók* *i*   *tik*
      dit   **k**-i   **rak**   dit   **k**-é-**l**   wók$_{TP}$ i   tik
      3.PL   **FOC**-3.SG   **want**   3.PL   **FOC**-3.SG-**IRR** work 3.SG one

      ép   *ngasa.*
      ép   ngasa
      ART:CO1   feast

      'They wanted to prepare a feast.'

                                                                    (CLA [14])

In this example, the modal verb *rak* 'want' is specified for event focus only whereas the lexical *wók* 'work' is specified for both event focus and irrealis. Other combinations (such as no modality marking of the modal verb and irrealis only on the for the lexical verb) are also possible. This is further discussed in section §12.1.2.1.

The prefix *k-* has been a controversial issue in earlier works on Siar, and it has often been referred to as realis marker. Erdman (1991) notes the,

```
"[…] use of the realis modal to mark semantic expression event
propositions and the mainline of the text […]"
```

                                             (Erdman 1991: 5)

Erdman & Goring (1992) investigate the use of the prefix *k-* in more detail and conclude that,

```
"[...] it appears that the realis marker k indicates the
outline of the story, elements that the narrator considers
salient. […] Propositions not marked with k are off-mainline,
and elaborate the sali[ent] propositions or are predictable
from them to some degree. Whether the k actually marks realis
in other contexts, or is always a prominence marker (which may
share so[me] characteristics of realis) remains to be
explored."
```

                                    (Erdman & Goring 1992: 117)

Ross also uses the label 'realis' in his Siar grammar sketch, but he also points out that,

```
"The function of k REALIS is unclear. Erdman and Goring […]
suggest that it marks verbs denoting events that belong to the
```

event line of a narrative, but its functions must extend beyond
this. In the future, it seems to mark certainty."

(Ross 2002: 421)

Rowe (2005) says about irrealis and the prefix *k-* in Siar that,

"The modals are tentatively glossed as 'eventive' and
'potential', as these labels seem to cover their function more
adequately than the traditional labels 'realis' and 'irrealis'.
Certainly the fact that they can co-occur in one phrase argues
against the use of these terms."

(Rowe 2005: 60)

In what follows, I will try to show that the label 'realis' cannot be applied to the prefix *k-*. Furthermore, I would like to illustrate that while Rowe's label 'eventive' does account for the fact that the prefix *k-* is not in complementary distribution with the irrealis suffix *-l*, this label also cannot be applied in all cases.

According to Rowe (2005: 61), the 'eventive' prefix *k-* *"[…] may refer to an event in the past, or to a state that has changed and is perceived as an event."* This suggests that an unchanged state itself would not be expected to be marked with the eventive. Trask (1993: 95) lists 'eventive' as an alternative label for 'dynamic', which is an opposing category of statives. Statives, however, are very often specified by the Siar 'eventive'. This is the case in the following two examples:

(240) a. *Ép   fók   ki   óngrón.*
           ép   fó-k   k-i   óngrón
           ART:CO1   skin-1.SG.POSS FOC-3.SG   lazy

       'I was weak.'
                                                        (PIR [4])

       b. *Matò   **ki**   **bòrbòr**.*
           matò(l)   **k-i**   **bòrbòr**
           1.PAU.EX   **FOC-3.SG**   **sleep**

       'We were sleeping.'
                                                        (BEN [18])

This suggests that the label 'eventive' should be avoided when referring to the prefix *k-*.

Erdman (1991), Erdman & Goring (1992) and Ross (2002) refer to this category as 'realis'. Rowe mentions the problem of the category not being in complementary distribution with the irrealis as main argument against the label 'realis'. If we analyse the prefix *k-* as a realis marker and look at those cases in which the 'realis' and the irrealis co-occur, however, there would be no real need to assume that these two categories are in complementary distribution in the case of Siar. Consider the examples in (236) above, repeated below:

(241) a. *As   ma   kél   tólói akès   pas   in?*
           as   ma   k-é-l   tólói a-kès   pas   in
           who   TRANS **FOC-3.SG-IRR**   hold   CAUS-sit PFV   LIG

       'Who is going to take care of them now?'

                                                              (KÈL [65])

       b. *Na   uring   na   i   mumun tar,   na   misa*
           na   uring   na   i   mumun tar   na   misa
           REL   ago   REL   3.SG hide.ITR PRF   REL   today

           na   na   kél   wòt   manlar.
           n-a   na   k-é-l   wòt   manlar
           DEM.[-SG]-PROX   REL   **FOC-3.SG-IRR** come   light

       'Long ago it was obscure, but these days it will certainly become clear.'
                                                              (KÈL [90])

The TAKE CARE event in (241a) is marked for both 'realis' and irrealis. The irrealis provides a certain degree of futurity to the event, whereas the 'realis' provides a certain degree of certainty to the event. However, neither of the two categories is dominant, and the construction gets an immediate future reading which is nicely transparent from a cognitive point of view. Similarly in (241b), the irrealis suffix *-l* provides the futurity to the becoming clear event, whereas the 'realis' provides a degree of certainty to the event, hence, the resulting combined meaning of referring to a certain future. We can therefore conclude that even if we follow the realis analysis for *k-* there would be no need to assume that it should not co-occur with the irrealis since both categories combined express immediate or certain future, a new modal category that is equally comprised of its two component categories.

The ultimate reason why it is here proposed not to label the prefix *k-* 'realis' is that it simply does not always occur in those contexts where one would usually expect the realis to occur. Elliot points out that,

```
"Prototypically realis is used in clauses where there is
perceived certainty of the factual reality of an event's taking
place […]'
```

<div align="right">Elliot (2000: 67)</div>

This then would include all events that happened in the past or are in the process of happening at the time of the utterance or at another reference point in time. It is clear though that this is not true for many Siar sentences. The following examples show events that unambiguously happened in the past:

(242) a. *A rak* *s'al* *usrai* *na* **labòng *a inan***
a=rak s(a)=a-l usrai na **labòng a=inan**
1.SG=want RESTR=1.SG-IRR story REL **yesterday 1.SG=go**

  a amrai ***pòl****.*
  a=amrai **pòl**
  1.SG=bring **dog**

  'I only want to tell a story about how I went pig hunting yesterday.'
<div align="right">(AMP 3 [1])</div>

  b. ***Uring*** ***uring*** ***sén*** *ting* *ón* *i* *tik*
  uring **uring** **sén** t-ing ó-n i tik
  ago **ago** **EMPH** LOC-ANA OBL-POSS 3.SG one

  ép *lakman* *é* *Roboam* *i* *kès* *gau.*
  ép lakman é Roboam **i** kès gau
  ART:CO1 lakman ART:PROP PN **3.SG** sit there

  'Long long ago Roboam dwelt in a village.'
<div align="right">(URI [1])</div>

The event in (242a) is located in the close past at the time of the utterance, as is expressed by the temporal adverb *labòng* 'yesterday'. Neither of the events that are said to have happened at that time, represented by the verbs *inan* 'go' and *amrai pòl* 'hunt pigs' (lit. 'bring the dogs') are marked for 'realis'. The adverbial clause *uring*

uring sén 'long long ago' in (242b) encodes that the dwelling event of the subject is located in the remote past. Here also, the verb *kès* 'sit; dwell' is not marked for 'realis'.

The same is true for many events that are located in the present at the time of the utterance or at a specific reference point in time:

(243) a. *Ép   tarai kinbalin   anun   darau   i*
           ép   tarai kinbali-n   anu-n   darau   i
           ART:CO1   men   friend-POSS   CL:GEN-POSS   1.DU.INC 3.SG

           takutus   ma   ón   i   da   ép
           ta-kutus   ma   ó-n   i   d-a   ép
           ACAUS-break   TRANS   OBL-POSS 3.SG   DEM.SG-PROX   ART:CO1

           kirai.
           kirai
           day

           'Our (male) friendship ends on this day (today).'
           (RTK [23])

       b. *É   Pasta   adóng   ma   an   piu*
           é   Pasta   a-d-óng   ma   an   piu
           ART:PROP   pastor   DEX-DEM.SG-CLK   TRANS   at   ground

           i   tur   tar, ki   kòlòng   laulau   tar.
           i   tur   tar   k-i   kòlòng   laulau   tar
           3.SG   stand PRF   FOC-3.SG   terrified bad   PRF

           'The pastor was standing there, he was terribly scared.'
           (KAL 2 [9])

The example in (243a) makes a reference to the present day at the time of the utterance, and the breaking of the friendship happens right at the time this utterance is made (because the speaker made the decision) at that very moment in the context of the narrative. Still, the breaking event *takutus* is not marked for 'realis'. In (243b) which is an oral report, the speaker makes a reference to the past (which is not encoded in this sentence), and focuses on one situation which becomes the deictic centre in terms of temporality. Two events occur at that time simultaneously: the standing of the pastor and his being terribly afraid. Even though both events happen at the same time in the (relative) present, only the being afraid event is marked with 'realis', whereas the standing event remains unmarked. This behaviour cannot be explained if we follow a conventional analysis of 'realis'.

Another important problem with the realis analysis is that the use of the prefix *k-* cannot always be predicted, which suggests that the prefix has a more pragmatic function. Consider the following sentence pair in which each sentence is the very first sentence in a narrative:

(244)   a.

A rak	*al*	*usrai*	*pas*	*i*	*tik*	*ép*	*kirai*
a=rak	a-l	usrai	pas	i	tik	ép	kirai
1.SG=want	1.SG-IRR	story	PFV	3.SG	one	ART:CO1	time

n'a	*babait.*
n(a)=a	babait
REL=1.SG	fishing

'I first want to talk about how I went fishing one day.'

(BAB [1])

b.

Ka	***rak***	*al*	*usrai*	*ép*	*farum.*
k-a	**rak**	a-l	usrai	ép	far-um
FOC-1.SG	**want**	1.SG-IRR	tell.story	ART:CO1	REC-hit

'I want to talk about the war.'

(FAR [1])

The story telling-event, represented by the verb *usrai* is unmarked in (244a), but marked for 'realis' in (244b), even though the proposition is the same. This kind of behaviour would not be expected of a true realis marker. Note that the perfective marker *pas* in (244a) does not have any effect on the presence of the prefix *k-*, because there are also constructions with the perfective marker *pas* in which the prefix *k-* is present. A plausible assumption is that in the case of (244b) the prefix *k-* signifies a transition from one topic or story to another. In the context in which the utterance in (244b) was made though there was no such transition, and the story he told was the first of two.

The following two examples each conclude a narrative:

(245)   a.

Ap	*i*	*róp.*
ap	**i**	**róp**
and	**3.SG**	**finish**

'And that's all.'

(BUS [15])

b. *I   sa,   **ki   róp***.
    i   sa   **k-i**   **róp**
    3.SG   RESTR   **FOC-3.SG**   **finish**

    'That's it, it's over.'

<div align="right">(LAK [12])</div>

The propositions are again the same, but in one case, the proposition is unmarked for 'realis' whereas in the other case it is not.

Erdman & Goring (1992) propose that in Siar narratives, the prefix *k-* marks mainline events. They list the following five typical constructions in which it occurs and give examples for each case.

1. Semantic quotatives

2. Logical arrangements

3. Reiterations

4. Elaborations

5. Transitions

It can easily be shown that the prefix *k-* does not necessarily have to occur in these contexts at all or at least every time.

With *semantic quotatives* Erdman & Goring refer to quotation frames for direct speech, i.e. the speech report verb is marked realis. While this is true of the majority of cases, there is also a significant number of speech report verbs unmarked by *k-*. In a random sample of 85 quotation frames in my corpus, 60 speech report verbs were indeed marked with *k-*, but the other 25 verbs remained unmarked.

Logical arrangements are said to have the prior condition marked with *k-* whereas the subsequent result (which is usually accompanied by *rak'a'na* 'like that; thus') remains unmarked. In the samples taken from my corpus, this applies in 50 out 52 cases, which is significant, and which suggests that there is an inherent quality of the prior condition that attracts the prefix *k-*. However, in one case, neither the prior condition nor the subsequent result is marked. This is shown in the following two consecutive sentences of a narrative. The prior condition is given in (246a) and the logical consequence is shown in (246b).

(246)   a.   **Prior condition**

Dit   warai,   "Kawas!"
dit   Ø   war-ai   kawas
3.PL   speak-TR   move.up

"They said, 'Get in (the canoe)!' "

<div align="right">(MAT [x])</div>

b.   **Subsequent result**

Na   i   kawas   rak'a'na…
na   i   kawas   **rak=(l)a(r)=n-a**
REL   **3.SG** move.up   **want=like=DEM.[-SG]-PROX**

'Thus, when he climbed in … (he stepped into the canoe with his foot).'

<div align="right">(MAT [x])</div>

In the other exceptional construction, both the prior condition and the subsequent result are specified by *k-*:

(247)   a.   **Prior condition**

Ép   bat ki'an   ap   ki   pung.
ép   bat **k-**i=(in)an   ap   **k-**i   pung
ART:CO1   rain **FOC-**3.SG=go   and **FOC-**3.SG   fall

'The rain came up and (started) falling.'

<div align="right">(KÈP [54])</div>

b.   **Subsequent result**

Ép   bat ki   pung rak'a'na   ap
ép   bat **k-**i   pung rak=(l)a(r)=n-a   ap
ART:CO1   rain **FOC-**3.SG   fall   want=like=DEM.[-SG].PROX and

a angan.
a=angan
1.SG=eat

'Thus the rain was falling and I was eating.'

<div align="right">(KÈP [55])</div>

Reiterations are said to *"[…] have the first statement marked with k, and leave the repetitions unmarked."* (ibid. 114). A counterexample for this can be seen in (247b)

above where the falling event is reiterated (it has already been mentioned in the previous sentence in (247a)) but still marked with *k-*.

Elaborations are said to mark the elaborated statement with *k-* while leaving the elaboration unmarked. A counterexample for this can be seen in the below:

(248)   a.   **Elaborated statement**

Uring	*uring*	*sén*	*ting*	*ón*	*i*	*tik*
uring	uring	sén	t-ing	ó-n	i	tik
ago	ago	EMPH	LOC-ANA	OBL-POSS	3.SG	one

ép	*lakman*	*é*	*Roboam*	*i*	*kès*	*gau.*
ép	lakman	é	Roboam	i	kès	gau
ART:CO1	lakman	ART:PROP	PN	**3.SG**	sit	there

'Long long ago Roboam lived in a village.'

(URI [1])

    b.   **Elaboration**

Ap	*i*	*ding*	*ép*	*lakman*	*i*	*tik*	*sén*
ap	i	d-ing	ép	lakman	i	tik	sén
and	**3.SG**	DEM.SG-ANA	ART:CO1	village	**3.SG**	one	EMPH

alò	*ép*	*bòròi*	*adi'gau,*		*ap*	*i*
alò	ép	bòròi	a-d-i(ng)=gau		ap	i
again	ART:CO1	pig	DEX-DEM.SG-ANA=(t)here		and	**3.SG**

ding	*ép*	*lakman*	*i*	*tik*	*sén*	*alò*
d-ing	ép	lakman	i	tik	sén	alò
DEM.SG-ANA	ART:CO1	village	**3.SG**	one	EMPH	again

ép	*bòròi*	*i*	*rèrè*	*yanyan*	*ép*	*tarai.*
ép	bòròi	i	rèrè	yan~yan	ép	tarai
ART:CO1	pig	**3.SG**	HAB	RED~eat	ART:CO1	men

'And there was also a pig in that village, and the pig in that village used to eat the people.'

(URI [2])

The elaborated statement in (248a) remains unmarked by *k-*, and so do all the elaborations in (248b). This shows that elaborations also do not require the presence of the prefix *k-*.

Finally, *transitions* are supposed to indicate a switch from one activity to another, with the transition being specified by *k-*. This can be shown to be false by the following example:

(249) *N'é*   *Nelson* *i*   *wòt* *lar* *na*   *ap*   *matò*
        n(a)=é   Nelson   i   wòt   lar   n-a   ap   matò(l)
        REL=ART:PROP   PN   3.SG come   like   DEM.[-SG]-PROX and   1.PAU.EX

        tutun   *pas.*
        tu~tun   pas
        RED~cook   PFV

        'So when Nelson had come we finished cooking.'

                                                        (GAL [25])

Here, there is a transition from the arriving of Nelson to the finishing of the cooking, yet the second event (which should signify the transition) remains unmarked. Another reason why *k-* should not primarily mark such transitions is that Siar has a dedicated event transition marker *ma* (cf. section §10.2.3.6) which usually does exactly this. The reason it is not present in the above example is due to the event structure of the following sentences in the narrative.

We can conclude that Erdman & Goring have shown that there are certain tendencies for the use of the prefix *k-*, some of which are indeed significant, but the great number of exceptions lead us to conclude that we need to look for a different way to characterise this morpheme. I suggest that the prefix *k-* be called event focus marker. With the term *event* we here refer to both states and actions, categories which can both be modified by the prefix. The label 'event focus' has the advantage over the label 'realis' of accounting for the optionality of the form in many contexts which is usually not available to a realis category, whereas realis tends to be a category that is often obligatory in certain contexts. In addition, this label makes a statement about the discursive function of *k-*. The advantage over the label 'eventive' that has been proposed by Rowe is that the label proposed here also accounts for non-dynamic states as events as well as events that are not completed yet.

Diachronically, the prefix *k-* may go back to one of the preverbal aspect markers that Ross (1982: 180) reconstructs for Proto-New Ireland. The most likely candidates are **ka* 'consequential' and **ga* 'past', both from a phonological as well as semantic point of view. With regard to the consequential, Erdman & Goring predict the opposite by assuming that consequential events remain unmarked by *k-*. By providing the label *event focus* we can easily say that the consequential semantics can be included in the semantics of an event focus because consequences naturally tend to be more in focus. The prefix *k-* may also have emerged from the Proto-Oceanic past

tense marker *ga, given that *k-* has often been interpreted as a realis marker, and given that past events tend to be marked for realis in many other languages.

If we therefore assume that the prefix *k-* is not a realis marker, then it also needs to be discussed if a realis category can be found elsewhere in Siar, given that an irrealis category is also available and both realis and irrealis are often co-occurring categories in languages. Since there is no other visible morpheme available that would qualify, the most obvious candidate for a potential realis morpheme would be a zero-morpheme, which would mean that all events that surface as unmarked in terms of modality are actually realis events. If this were true, however, then we would not expect past events as in (242) or events specified by the perfect aspect marker *tar* to remain unmarked, as is the case in (241b) and (243b).

The event focus prefix *k-* can co-occur with almost all preverbal and postverbal aspectual markers discussed in section §10.2. It has not been observed together with the habitual marker *rèrè* (cf. section §10.2.1.1) and the durative markers *it* and *ati* (cf. section §10.2.3.4). If their co-occurrence is in principle ungrammatical still needs to be elicited. The (potential) complementary distribution of the event focus prefix *k-* and habitual *rèrè* would make sense if we assume that if an event is habitual (hence happening more than once), there is no possibility to focus on a particular (sub)event that the habitual event contains. With regard to the durative markers *it* and *ati* there is no obvious reason why they seem to be in complementary distribution with the event focus prefix. A reason might be that durative events are naturally focused in some sense, and having both categories simultaneously would be a case of over-encoding. Further research is required here.

Morphemes that are similar in form and function to the Siar event focus marker *k-* can also be found in other languages in the area. Peekel (1915: 97) finds the preverbal particle *ka* in Lambel and notes that it is a *"General state particle which especially signifies completed action."*[82] This Lambel particle shows a similar syntactic behaviour like the Siar prefix, and like in Siar, the Lambel marker can also co-occur with the irrealis. In the Sulka language just across the St George's Channel, Reesink (2005) finds a sequential prefix *k(a)-* that he notes to have undergone similar discussions in the literature. Even further west in East New Britain Province, Hashimoto 1992) notes a subordinator *ka* which *"join[s] more than two different*

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[82] *"Allgemeine Zustandspartikel, dient besonders zur Bezeichnung einer vollendeten Handlung"*

events in chronological order" in the Pele-Ata language.[83] All these are forms and functions that seem to be related to the Siar event focus prefix *k-*.

6.3   Demonstrative existentials

Demonstrative existentials are specific types of verbs. They generally translate to English as 'is/are (t)here' and also provide additional specification about the location, depending on which demonstrative root is used. Two examples are shown below:

(250)   a.   *Ép*   *kirai na*   *ép*   *lakman*
               ép   kirai   n-a   ép   lakman
               ART:CO1   time   DEM.[-SG]-PROX   ART:CO1   village

               adóng   *sén*   *an*   *Kingén.*
               a-d-óng   sén   an   Kingén
               DEX-DEM.SG-CLK   EMPH   at   PN

               'That time the village was further north at Kingén.'

                                                                              (LAM [6])

         b.   *Kai*   *nanatun*   ***anim***   *an*   *bòn.*
               kai   na~natu-n   **a-n-im**   an   bòn
               ART:ANIM.PL   RED~child-POSS   **DEX.DEM.[-SG]-down**   at   sea

               'The children were down by the sea.'

                                                                              (BÈL [12])

Like other words in predicative function, demonstrative existentials may be specified for event focus and/or irrealis. Such cases are rare, but the following example shows both event focus and irrealis simultaneously specifying a demonstrative existential:

(251)   *Ép*   *fain*   *na*   *kél*
         ép   fain   n-a   **k-é-l**
         ART:CO1   woman   DEM.[-SG]-PROX   **FOC-**3.SG-**IRR**

         adi'ga'ma.
         a-d-i(ng)=ga(u)=ma
         DEX-DEM.SG-ANA=place=TRANS

         'Then this woman will be there now.'

                                                                              (TIN [110])

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[83] It should be noted though that Pele-Ata and Sulka are non-Austronesian languages, hence there is a small chance that the similarity in form and function is only a coincidence.

Demonstrative existentials are discussed in more detail in section §8.2.1.4.

6.4   Serial verb constructions

Serial verb constructions (henceforth SVCs) are widely attested throughout the Oceanic language area (Durie 1988, Lynch et al. 2002: 46-47, Aikhenvald & Dixon 2006) and are also a very common feature in Siar. Aikhenvald defines serial verb construction as,

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"[…] sequence[s] of verbs which act together as a single
predicate, without any overt marker of coordination,
subordination, or syntactic dependency of any other sort."
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                                                        Aikhenvald (2006: 1)

She also provides a list of six formal criteria that are usually associated with serial verb constructions. These include:

1.   SVCs as single predicates   (§6.4.1.1)
2.   Monoclausality of SVCs   (§6.4.1.2)
3.   SVCs as 'one event'   (§6.4.1.3)
4.   Shared TAM-settings and polarity value (§6.4.1.4)
5.   Shared arguments of SVCs   (§6.4.1.5)
6.   Prosodic properties of SVCs   (§6.4.1.6)

The semantic features of SVCs are looked at in section §6.4.2.

6.4.1   Features of serial verb constructions

6.4.1.1   Single predication

SVCs make up a single predication and occupy a single verb complex. This means that no other constituents may appear between the two verbs. This is shown in the following two examples:

(252) a. *Ép*   *kailam*   *sa*   *i*   ***yan***   ***aróp***   *pas*
           ép   kailam   sa   i   [yan   a-róp]_{SVC}   pas
           ART:CO1   lizard   RESTR   3.SG   **eat.TR**   **CAUS-finish** PFV

           ép   *bòròi.*
           ép   bòròi
           ART:CO1   pig

           'The lizard had eaten the pig all by himself.'

(RTK [7])

       b. *Ép*   *pòl*   *i*   ***inan*** ***pirim***   *katim*
           ép   pòl   i   [inan   pirim]_{SVC} ka-t-im
           ART:CO1   dog   3.SG   **go**   **move.down** ALL-LOC-down

           ép   *ran*   *gau.*
           ép   ran   gau
           ART:CO1   earth.oven   place

           'The dog went down to the place of the earth oven.'

(RTK [20])

Note that there is only one subject marker that precedes the SVC and that the component verbs are not marked individually. In section §12.1.2.1 we argue that subject markers operate on the VP level because complement-taking modal verbs and the lexical verbs they specify make up two separate verb phrases, which is why both of them are marked separately. This is not the case for SVCs, hence the second verb in the SVC remains unmarked by a subject marker. We mentioned that for some modal verb constructions the lexical verb (phrase) is not introduced by a subject marker whereas in others they are. This suggests that in cases such as the following we do not have a serial verb construction but rather two juxtaposed VPs in which the subject marker has been omitted in the second VP:

(253) *A wòt*   *ap a*   ***bas***   *munmun.*
       a=wòt   ap=a   **bas**   mun~mun
       1.SG=arrive   and=1.SG   **have.to**   RED~dive.down

       'I arrived and needed to take a bath.'

(BEN [12])

Such constructions should therefore not be treated as SVCs.

SVCs contain at least two verbs but may also consist of three verbs in some cases such as the following:

(254) a. *Matòl*   **kòtkòt**   **sòi**   **aróp**   *tar*   *i*
           matòl   **[kòt-kòt**   **sòi**   **a-róp]**_{SVC}   tar   i
           1.PAU.EX   **RED~cut.with.knife**   **move.away**   **CAUS-complete** PRF   3.SG

           'We cut all of them in pieces.'

                                                                                    (FRI [37])

       b. *Matò*   **atòstòs**   **aróp**   **ais**   *tar*   *i.*
           matò(l)   **[a-tòstòs**   **a-róp**   **a-is]**_{SVC}   tar   i
           1.PAU.EX   **CAUS-correct**   **CAUS-complete**   **CAUS-return**   PRF   3.SG

           'We had completely repaired it.'

                                                                                    (KAL 2 [13])

It is currently unclear if there are SVCs with more than three verbs. There should be a pragmatic limit on the number of verbs situated within an SVC, but we can assume that syntactically, no such limitations are imposed onto the SVC.

   An SVC may contain only intransitive verbs, only transitive verbs or both intransitive and transitive verbs. An SVC with only intransitive verbs is shown in (255a), and SVC with only transitive verbs is shown in (255b):

(255) a. *N'a*   **wòt**   **is**   *kata*   *an*   *lakman*
           n(a)=a   **[wòt**   **is]**_{SVC}   ka-t-a   an   lakman
           REL=1.SG   **come**   **return**   ALL-LOC-PROX   at   village

           ap a   *wók*   *s'ép*   *nuknukik*
           ap=a   wók_{TP}   s(a)=ép   nuk~nuk-ik
           and=1.SG   made   RESTR=ART:CO1   RED~think-1.SG.POSS

           'When I returned here to the village I made up my mind.'

                                                                                    (KÈL [62])

       b. *Dit*   *él*   **um**   **amat**   *datòl.*
           dit   é-l   **[um**   **a-mat]**_{SVC}   [datòl]_O
           3.PL   3.SG-IRR **hit**   **CAUS-die**   1.PAU.INC

           'They are going to kill us.'

                                                                                    (BAL [10])

Note that the object *datòl* 'us' in (255b) is an argument of both the verb *um* 'hit' and the verb *amat* 'cause to die', and both verbs are strictly transitive (cf. section §7.4). In

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terms of frequency, purely intransitive SVCs are less common than purely transitive serial verb constructions.

The following examples show serial verb constructions with verbs that have different transitivity:

(256) a. *É* *Isiah'dim* *s'an* *piu* *i*
   é Isiah=(a-)d-im   s(a)=an piu i
   ART:PROP PN=(DEX-)DEM.SG-down RESTR=at ground 3.SG

   mamam nangnang *yau.*
   [mamam nang~nang]_{SVC} [yau]_O
   play **RED~wait** 1.SG

   'Isiah was outside, playing while waiting for me.'

                (TUN [16])

 b. *Matò* **liu** **kabas** **sòi** *i* *ma* *ép*
   matò(l) **[liu** **kabas** **sòi]**_{SVC} i ma ép
   1.PAU.EX **run** **leave** **move.away** 3.SG TRANS 3.SG=ART:CO1

   tarai ning.
   tarai n-ing
   men DEM.[-SG]-ANA

   'We ran away leaving those people.'

                (RAU [11])

In (256a), the verb *mamam* 'play' is intransitive and the verb *nangnang* 'wait' is (ambi)transitive, but the whole SVC is transitive because there is an O argument *yau* 'me' present. Similarly in (256b), the SVC consists of the intransitive verbs *liu* 'run' and *sòi* 'move away' and the strictly transitive verb *kabas* 'leave'. This predicate also is transitive because there is an O argument *i* present.[84] We can thus observe that as soon as one of the component verbs in the SVC is transitive, the whole SVC becomes transitive as well, and that the transitivity of the SVC may not be higher than that of the component verb with the highest transitivity. This behaviour is what Aikhenvald (2006: 13) predicts for most serial verb constructions.[85]

It is interesting to note that in all transitive SVCs, the second verb must be transitive. The reason for this is probably the fact that the object usually immediately

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[84] The NP *ép tarai ning* 'those men' is optional here and only specifies the O argument.
[85] "*A prototypical SVC has an overall argument structure which is not more complex than that of one of its components.*"

follows the transitive verb in the SVC, and that it would sound odd to have an underlyingly intransitive verb be followed by an object.

Further evidence for the assumption that SVCs are single predicates comes from the observation that the whole SVC can be nominalised and not just one of the component verbs:

(257)   *Mèt*   *él*   *wur*   *ép*   *barim*   *anun*
         mèt   é-l   wur   ép   barim   anu-n
         1.PL.EX   3.SG-IRR   work   ART:CO1   garden   CL:GEN-POSS

         ép   *tan*   **ép**   *nósnós*   *alar*
         ép   tan   **ép**   [nós~nós   a-lar]_{SVC}
         ART:CO1   person   **ART:CO1**   **RED~look**   **CAUS-resemble**

         anu'mèt   *i.*
         anu(-n)=mèt   i
         CL:GEN(-POSS)=1.PL.EX   3.SG

         'We went to work in the garden for the person that looks after us.'
                                                         (NGÉL [2])

In the above example, the SVC is nominalised by specifying it with an article and by putting into a nominal slot. Note that the second verb *alar* 'resemble' is not preceded by a separate article. Note also that the possessive classifier (which always precedes or follows the whole possessed NP, cf. section §4.3.3.2.1) follows both verbs of the underlying SVC.

6.4.1.2   Monoclausality

The fact that Siar SVCs are monoclausal is a result of the fact that they make up a single predication. The SVC component verbs may not be located in separate clauses. An observation that can be made for coordinated verbs is that their order can be reversed without a significant change of semantics or loss of grammaticality. This is not possible for SVCs in which the order of the component verbs cannot be changed that easily:

(258)   a.   *I*   **lat**   **aróp**   *pas*   *kai*   *sis.*
                i   [lat   a-róp]_{SVC}   pas   kai   sis
                3.SG   **gut**   **CAUS-complete**   PFV   ART:ANIM.PL   fish

                'He gutted all the fish.'
                                                           (KÈP [47])

b.	*	*I*	***aróp***	***lat***	*pas*	*kai*	*sis.*
		i	[a-róp	lat]$_{SVC}$	pas	kai	sis
		3.SG	**CAUS-complete**	**gut**	PFV	ART:ANIM.PL	fish

6.4.1.3   Single events

SVCs are generally assumed to refer to single events, but the internal event structure may differ from SVC to SVC. Aikhenvald (2006: 12) points out that SVCs *"[…] may encode one event, or several subevents closely linked together, or even several subevents in sequence which may be conceptualized as connected to each other."*

For Siar SVCs it is helpful to distinguish two types of events. In one type, the events represented by the component verbs in the SVC are semantically equal and salient. In the other type, the event represented by the major verb is modified or specified by the event represented by the minor verb. The former type of event is typically represented by symmetrical SVCs whereas the latter type tends to be represented by asymmetrical SVCs. Symmetrical and asymmetrical SVCs are looked at in closer detail in section §6.4.2.

Two asymmetrical SVCs can be seen in the following examples:

(259)	a.	*Matò*	*ki*	***malai***	***ais***$_{SVC}$	*matòl.*
		matò(l)	k-i	[malai	a-is]$_{SVC}$	matòl
		1.PAU.EX	FOC-3.SG	**laugh.TR**	**CAUS-return**	1.PAU.EX

'We were laughing about ourselves.'

(PÒU [17])

	b.	*Dit*	*saksak*	*bóbólós*	*lik*	*sa*	*ón*	*ép*
		dit	[sak~sak	bó~bólós]$_{SVC}$	lik	sa	ó-n	ép
		3.PL	**RED~sing**	**RED~pass.by**	little	RESTR	OBL-POSS	ART:CO1

		kèskès	*anun*	*dit*	*i.*
		kès~kès	anu-n	dit	i
		RED~sit	COMM-POSS	3.PL	3.SG

'They were always singing about their lifetime.'

(ÈRB [15])

The SVC in (259a) consists of the major verb *malai* 'laugh' and the minor verb *ais* 'cause to return'. The laughing event is the major verb here; and that the causative minor verb functions only as a modifier to the major verb. As is shown in section

§6.5, the causative form *ais* is sometimes used in a reflexive sense, as is the case above. The SVC in (259b) contains the major verb *saksak* 'sing' and the minor verb *bóbólós* 'be passing by; happen repeatedly'. Here also, the singing is the salient event, and the passing by event only makes a specifying or modifying statement about the event.

The following two examples show symmetric SVCs:

(260) a. *Matò*   **atin**   **kubar**   *sa*   *ép*   *yah.*
           matò(l)   [atin   kubar]_SVC   sa   ép   yah
           1.PAU.EX   **to.light** **glow**   RESTR   ART:CO1   fire

'We lit the fire until it was glowing.'

(NIN [11])

    b. *Él*   **tubul**   **amat**   *u*   *sa.*
        é-l   [tubul   a-mat]_SVC   u   sa
        3.SG-IRR **punch**   **CAUS-die** 2.SG   RESTR

'He would just punch you dead.'

(TÓMÓL [11])

The SVC in (260a) contains the two major verbs *atin* 'to light' and *kubar* 'to glow'. As opposed to asymmetrical SVCs, the second verb can here not be said to be modifying the first verb. Rather, both events represent subsequent stages of the event, one in which the fire is being lit and one in which it is glowing. Note also that there would be no glowing of the fire without it being lit first Similarly, in (260b) there are two subsequent events *tubul* 'punch' and *amat* 'cause to die'. The causative event does not modify the punching event, but it is a subsequent consequence of the punching event. As in the previous example, the causative dying event would not happen without the punching event, and the SVC is resultative.

It is noteworthy that the second verb *a-mat* 'cause to die' does not occur as a single verb, even though there are no specific reasons that would disallow for this. For example, the causative verb *a-kór* 'cause to boil' (e.g. *akór ép malum* 'boil the water') can easily be used predicatively by itself, and hence there is no reason why the same should not apply to *a-mat*. Du (2010: 267) makes a similar observation for the same (causative) verb in Barok, arguing that *"[…] the action that 'causes the death' is always important and thus cannot be separated from the effect of 'death'."* Enfield (2002: 232) refers to such cases as *event typicality*, which *"[…] impacts directly upon*

the productive assembly of serial verb (and other) constructions, as well as the interpretation of the semantics of verb serialization [...]".

6.4.1.4   Shared TAM and polarity settings

SVCs have only a single tense, mood, aspect and modality setting which also applies to every component verb. The predicate in (261a) below is specified for irrealis modality in pre-SVC position and for perfective aspect in post-SVC position. These two markers are not linked to any of the component verbs but specify the entire SVC. Similarly, in (261b), the SVC is specified for event focus and perfect aspect:

(261)   a.   *Dit   él   kapsur   atuk   **pas**   i.*
              dit   é-**l**   [kapsur   a-tuk]$_{SVC}$ **pas**   i
              3.PL   3.SG-**IRR**   chase   CAUS-over   **PFV**   3.SG

              'They will chase and trap it.'

                                                          (AMP [5])

         b.   *Amtò   **ki**   was   aróng   **tar**   tó   kirai*
              amtò(l)   **k**-i   [was   a-róng$_{TP}$]$_{SVC}$ **tar**   tó   kirai
              2.PAU   **FOC**-3.SG   read   CAUS-wrong   **PRF**   ART:[-ANIM].PL   day

              anu'mtòl   i.
              anu(-n)=mtòl   i
              CL:GEN-POSS=2.PAU   3.SG

              'You got the time (for the feast) wrong.'

                                                          (CLA [27])

Negations negate the whole SVC and not just any of the component verbs. This is illustrated in the following example:

(262)   *A inan,   n'a   nós   **bèl** a   pas   tat   tik.*
         a=inan   n(a)=a   nós   **bèl**=a   [pas   tat]$_{SVC}$ tik
         1.SG=go   REL=1.SG   look   **NEG**=1.SG   step   uncover   one

         'I went, and when I looked I did not find any.'

                                                          (AMP 3 [10])

However, this is not really surprising because the negator usually has scope over the entire clause (which may contain more than one NP), not just the SVC (cf. section §10.1.4), it does not function on the nuclear or core level.

6.4.1.5   Argument sharing

SVCs usually share at least one argument (Aikhenvald 2006: 12) which in the case of Siar is always the subject (usually an actor). It makes sense to assume that Siar has structurally complex subjects consisting of a subject marker slot and a full NP slot, of which at least one slot needs to be filled (Frowein 2009). In (263a) below, the subject marker slot is filled by the subject marker *i* which represents the subject. In (263b), the free pronoun *dit* is the part of the subject that identifies the subject referent, whereas the subject marker is a dummy (cf. section §6.2.1 on irrealis):

(263)   a.   ***I***   *yan*   *aróp*   *pas*   *ép*   *tarai.*
         [i]$_A$ [yan   a-róp]$_{SVC}$ pas   ép   tarai
         3.SG   eat   CAUS-finish   PFV   ART:CO1   men

         'It ate up all the people.'

                                                                    (URI [3])

        b.   *Dit*   *él*   *kapsur*   *atuk*   ***pas***   *i.*
         [dit   é]$_A$-**l**   [kapsur   a-tuk]$_{SVC}$ **pas**   i
         3.PL   3.SG-**IRR**   chase   CAUS-be.over   **PFV**   3.SG

         'They will chase and trap it.'

                                                                    (AMP [5])

Object pronouns are also shared by the whole SVC. The presence of an object requires a transitive SVC, and an SVC becomes transitive if at least one component verb is transitive (cf. section §6.4.1.1.). This is shown in the following example:

(264)   *Mara*   *liu*   *kabas*   ***é***   *Denten*.
        mara(u)   [liu   kabas]$_{SVC}$ [**é**   **Denten**]$_O$
        1.DU.EX   run   leave   **ART:PROP**   PN

        'We ran away from Denten.'

                                                                    (PÒI [17])

The verb *liu* 'run' is strictly intransitive but the verb *kabas* 'leave' is strictly transitive. The transitive SVC must therefore inherit its transitivity from the transitive component verb *kabas* 'leave'. The object is selected by the whole SVC, not the transitive component verb.

6.4.1.6   Prosodic properties

Clauses that contain SVCs have the same prosodic features as clauses that contain single verbs. For example, a declarative clause which does not contain an SVC shows a gradual drop in pitch towards the end of the clause, with smaller rises and drops at the beginning of the clause, depending on the number and position of stressed syllables (cf. section §2.5.1). SVCs generally do not alter the prosody significantly. This is reflected in the following example pair:[86]

(265)   a.

I	*pasai*	*but*	*pas*	*ép*	*món.*
i	[pas-ai	but]SVC	pas	ép	món
3.SG	step-TR	break.apart	PFV	ART:CO1	plank.boat
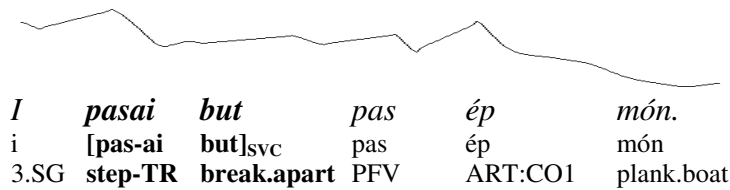
'He stepped into the plank boat breaking it.'

(TAM [18])

b.

I	*tur*	*pas*	*ép*	*mahlai.*
i	tur	pas	ép	mahlai
3.SG	stand	PFV	ART:CO1	laughter
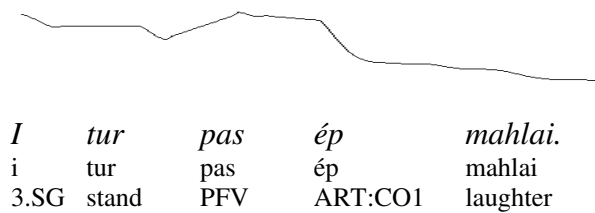
'He started laughing.'

(KAW [13])

6.4.1.7   Types of verbs in SVCs

It is interesting to consider what kinds of verbs can become part of an SVC. In some instances, demonstrative existentials are followed by motion verbs, suggesting an SVC:

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[86] Note that the time axis of the pitch contour does only approximately match the time of the utterance of the words below.

(266) a. *Dir'anisai*   *pirim*,   *dira*   *lós*   *a*
           dir(au)=**a-n-isai**   **pirim**   dira(u)   lós   a
           3.DU=**DEX-DEM.[-SG]-DIST**   **move.down**   3.DU   carry   ART:CO2

           tinir sis.
           tinir   sis
           line   fish

           'The two were up there coming down, they were carrying a line with
           fish on it.'
                                                                    (GAL [15])

       b. *I*   *tik*   *ép*   *fat*   **adim**   **kawas**
           i   tik   ép   fat   **a-d-im**   **kawas**
           3.SG   one   ART:CO1   stone   **DEX-DEM.SG-down**   **move.up**

           lón   *bòn.*
           ló-n   bòn
           mouth-POSS   sea

           'There is a rock that rises out of the sea.'
                                                                    (BAB [14])

However, these are not serial verb constructions. This is because aspectual markers
may be put between the two verbs. In the following example, the verb *is* 'return'
follows the event transition marker *ma*, rather than the demonstrative existential
adóng, which means that it is outside the putative SVC:

(267) *É*   *tata'dóng*   *ma*   *is*
       é   tata=**(a-)d-óng**   **ma**   **is**
       ART:PROP   daddy=**(DEX-)DEM.SG-CLK**   **TRANS**   **return**

       'Daddy was there now returning.'
                                                                    (NIN [15])

It follows that the second verb is part of an adjunct that specifies the verb phrase. This
distribution only occurs with demonstrative existentials, and indicates that they cannot
be part of serial verb constructions.

    Anticausatives are another special kind of verb form, and they can be employed
for serial verb constructions. I have only found one such case in my corpus:

(268) *Dit* **tapagal**   **kabas**   *tar*   *ép*   *Kamrai.*
     dit **[ta-pagal**   **kabas]**_{SVC} tar [ép   Kamrai]_O
     3.PL **ACAUS-break.apart** **leave** PRF ART:CO1 PN

'They broke apart, leaving the Kamrai (clan).'

(CLA [54])

It is safe to assume that the anticausative is part of an SVC here. There is only one subject, one object and one aspectual setting for the entire SVC. It is interesting to note that the anticausative status of the first verb does not have an influence on the overall transitivity of the SVC. The verb *kabas* 'leave' is the verb with the highest transitivity (from which the SVC hence inherits its transitivity) while *tapagal* 'break apart' as an anticausative verb would usually be expected to absorb an object (cf. section §7.2.1).

Reciprocal verbs can also occur in SVCs. In my corpus, I have found only one case in which the reciprocal form is the first verb in the SVC (269a), but Rowe also shows one example in which it is the second verb in the SVC (269b):

(269) a. *I* *wakak* *dar'él*   **arkèlès** **is**   *sén*   *alò.*
           i wakak dar(au)=é-l   **[ar-kèlès** **is]**_{SVC} sén alò
           3.SG good 1.DU.INC=3.SG-IRR **REC-change** **return** EMPH again

'It would be good if we switched (places) again.'

(TAM [12])

     b. *I* *lós* *pas* *i* *tik* *a*   *din* *pepa* *ap*
           i lós pas i tik a   din pepa_{TP} ap
           3.SG carry PFV 3.SG one ART:CO2 piece paper and

         i **kòt** **arlar**   *pas* *i* *tik* *a*
         i **[kòt** **ar-lar]**_{SVC}   pas i tik a
         3.SG **cut** **REC-resemble** PFV 3.SG one ART:CO2

         bém.
         bém
         butterfly

'He brought a piece of paper, and he cut out a butterfly.'

(Rowe 2005: 68)[87]

As for other verbs, Rowe (2005: 68) notes that *"Lele 'know' is found only as the second element in a serial construction, never as an independent verb. It occurs in*

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[87] The spelling and glosses have been adjusted according to the analyses in this thesis.

combination with several other verbs [in serial verb constructions]." Lélé (which we here gloss as the verb 'recognize'[88]) most often occurs in serial verb constructions together with perception verbs, resulting in constructions that translate as 'recognize by hearing/seeing/listening' etc:

(270)   a.   *Bèl=a*   ***rè***   ***lélé***   *dit.*

bèl=a	[rè	lélé]$_{SVC}$	dit
NEG=1.SG	**see**	**recognize**	3.PL

'I did not recognize them (by seeing).'

(BÒN [21])

    b.   *Na*   *a lóngrai*   *ap*   *a **lóngrai lélé***   *ép*

na	a=lóngrai	ap	a=[lóngrai	lélé]$_{SVC}$	ép
REL	1.SG=hear	and	1.SG=**hear**	**recognized**	ART:CO1

félngén.

félngé-n
voice-POSS

'When I listened I recognized his voice.'

Contrary to Rowe's observation, however, I have also found that *lélé* can also be used predicatively, which suggests that it is an autonomous verb. When used independently, *lélé* translates to English as 'to figure (out)':

(271)   *A **lélé***   *sur*   *al*   *lós*   *i*   *katim*   *an*   *lakman.*

a=lélé	sur	a-l	lós	i	ka-t-im	an	lakman
1.SG=**figure.out**	INTENT	1.SG-IRR	carry	3.SG	ALL-LOC-down	at	village

'I figured I should carry it to the village.'

The verb *kabas* 'leave' is said not to be *"[…] found outside of serial constructions. It follows an intransitive verb of motion, but is itself transitive"* (Rowe 2005: 69). This is true in the majority of cases, but *kabas* also can be used independently, suggesting that it also is an autonomous verb:[89]

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[88] *Lélé* can also be nominalised, resulting in a noun that translates to English as 'experience'. The verb meaning 'to know' is *tasim*.

[89] The semantics of *kabas* is not restricted to 'passing away' but also includes those contexts in which English *leave* is used (e.g. *I kabas dit.* 'He left them').

(272) *Dat   ki   sang   sur   i   ma   na*
       dat   k-i   sang   sur   i   ma   na
       1.PL.INC FOC-3.SG   prepare   GOAL   3.SG   TRANS   REL

       kél   kabas   dat.
       k-é-l   kabas   dat
       FOC-3.SG-IRR   **leave** 1.PL.INC

'When we see that he is very sick we prepare for his passing away.'

(LLM [3])

It therefore appears that in Siar there are no verbs that occur exclusively in SVCs.

Finally, borrowed verbs may also be used in SVCs. (273a) shows a component verb borrowed from Tok Pisin, and a component verb borrowed directly from English can be seen in (273b):

(273) a. *I   raun   ais   i.*
           i   [raun$_{TP}$ a-is]$_{SVC}$ i
           3.SG **turn**   **CAUS-return**   3.SG

           'It spinned around (itself).'

(KAL [14])

       b. *Mèt   assembly   róp   pas.*
           mèt   [assembly$_{ENG}$ róp]$_{SVC}$ pas
           1.PL.EX **assemble**   **be.finished** PFV

           'We finished assembling.'

(MAR [11])

6.4.2   Semantics

Aikhenvald (2006: 21 ff.) groups SVCs into symmetrical SVCs and asymmetrical SVCs. Symmetrical SVCs consist of at least two major verbs whereas asymmetrical SVCs consist of at least one verb from a semantically unrestricted class (the major verb) and at least one verb from a grammatically restricted class (the minor verb). She discusses the following types of symmetrical and asymmetrical SVCs:

Symmetrical SVCs:

Asymmetrical SVCs:

The subtypes in bold print can also be observed in Siar and are briefly discussed in the following sections.

6.4.2.1 Symmetrical SVCs

6.4.2.1.1 Sequences of actions / related concomitant actions

In this type of SVC, the order of the verbs is iconic and reflects the temporal sequence of events as they happen in the real world, i.e. the event represented by first verb occurs first while the event represented by the final verb occurs last:

(274) a. *I   inan   tat   ép   ran   bòròi.*
          i   [inan tat]$_{SVC}$ ép   ran   bòròi
          3.SG   **go**   **uncover**   ART:CO1   earth.oven   pig

       'He went (and) uncovered the pig oven.'

                                                                        (RTK [5])

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[90] Aikhenvald lists manner SVCs under symmetrical SVCs, but it will be shown that in the case of Siar, manner SVCs are always asymmetrical.

b. | *Kai* | *pòl* | *dit* | *él* | ***wóh*** | ***tat*** | *pas* | *i* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| kai | pòl | dit | é-l | **[wóh** | **tat]**SVC | pas | i |
| ART:ANIM.PL | dog | 3.PL | 3.SG-IRR | **smell** | **find** | PFV | 3.SG |

kai	*bòròi*	*ning.*
kai	bòròi	n-ing
ART:ANIM.PL	pig	DEM.[-SG]-ANA

'The dogs will sniff and find those pigs.'

(AMP [4])

In (274a), the going event precedes the uncovering event temporally, but both events are perceived as a unitary event by Siar speakers. Similarly, in (274b), the dogs first sniff and then find the pigs, but the finding-by-sniffing event is regarded as a whole. Note that the dogs would presumably not have found the pigs without sniffing. Likewise, in (274a), the earth oven could not be uncovered without first going there.

6.4.2.1.2 Cause-effect SVCs

Like in the previous kind of SVC, the verbs in cause-effect SVCs have an iconic order. The first verb represents a cause and the second verb refers to an effect that results from the cause. Two examples for this type of construction can be seen below:

(275) a. | *I* | ***usai*** | ***rèrègèh*** | *i* | *ép* | *wang* | *ning* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| i | **[usai** | **rè~règèh]**SVC | i | ép | wang | n-ing |
| 3.SG | **blow** | **RED~destroy** | 3.SG | ART:CO1 | canoe | DEM.[-SG]-ANA |

'It (the wind) was blowing, destroying that canoe.'

(PAL [13])

b. | *I* | ***pasai*** | ***but*** | *pas* | *ép* | *món.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| i | **[pas-ai** | **but]**SVC | pas | ép | món |
| 3.SG | **step-TR** | **apart** | PFV | ART:CO1 | plank.boat |

'He stepped into the canoe breaking it apart.'

(TAM [18])

Each SVC represents a macro event comprised of two subevents which happen in the order in which they are represented within the SVC. In (275a), the blowing of the wind causes the canoe to be destroyed, and in (275b), the stepping into the canoe causes it to break apart. The events in each SVC happen consecutively, not simultaneously.

6.4.2.1.3   Synonymous verb serialization

In synonymous verb serializations, the two component verbs in the SVC are synonymous or nearly synonymous (Aikhenvald 2006: 30). Such cases are very rare in Siar, and I have only found a single SVC that would qualify for such an analysis:

(276)   *N'i*   *sò*   *i*   *ap*   *n'i*   *sukai*   *sò*   *i*   *tar*
        n(a)=i   sò   i   ap   n(a)=i   [suk-ai   sò]_{SVC}   i   tar
        REL=3.SG   spear   3.SG   and   REL=3.SG   **pierce-TR**   **spear**   3.SG   PRF

        i   *ón*   *i*   *tik*   *a*   *tan*   *pukun*   *yai*
        i   ó-n   i   tik   a   ta-n   pukun   yai
        3.SG   OBL-POSS 3.SG   one   ART:CO2   mother-POSS piece.of   tree

        kukuntan   *in.*
        ku-kuntan   in
        RED~huge   LIG

        'When he wanted to spear it, he only (missed and) speared a huge tree log.'
                                          (PÒI [51])

The SVC is here made up of the two transitive major verbs *sukai* 'pierce' and *só* 'spear'. *Sukai* and *só* both refer to the penetration of a surface with a sharp tool, but they differ in that *só* always implies the use of a spear whereas *sukai* can also imply the use of a syringe or other tools, which suggests that *sukai* implies a certain precision whereas *só* does not. It is not clear then why *sukai* is used in the above example since the spear ultimately missed its target.

6.4.2.2   Asymmetrical SVCs

6.4.2.2.1   Direction and orientation

In SVCs with this kind of semantics, the minor verb specifies the direction or location of the event represented by the major verb. Both the major verb and the minor verb are usually motion verbs. Such constructions are quite common in Siar. A typical major verb here is the more general verb *inan* 'go' (277a), but there also more specific verbs such as *yawas* 'paddle' (277b):

(277) a.   *Na   mara   **inan'òt**   sai   gali   ...*
         na   mara(u)   **[inan=(w)òt]**_{SVC} Ø-sai   gali
         REL   1.DU.EX   **go=come**   (LOC-)DIST   above

         'When we two arrived at the top …'

                                                                  (ÈRB [9])

      b.   *I   **yawas òt**   tar   ap   i   sòt.*
         i   **[yawas=(w)òt]**_{SVC} tar   ap   i   sòt
         3.SG   **paddle=come**   PRF   and   3.SG   land

         'He came paddling and landed on the shore.'

                                                                  (PAL [5])

In (277a), the verb *inan* specifies that the subjects are moving uphill, i.e. they are moving in an absolute direction. In (277b), the verb *òt* 'come' makes a statement that the subject is moving towards the landing site of the boat which the speaker here makes the deictic centre, which means that this verb encodes a relative direction.

     The verb *òt* 'come; arrive' is clearly a minor verb because it cannot be used as a separate verb itself. In order for it to head its own VP it needs to occur in its full form *wòt*. Note that the initial glide /w/ is not dropped due to phonological reasons in cases such as (277), it is always dropped when the verb *wòt* is used in a modifying function. This is also the case in modified demonstrative adverbs (cf. section §8.2.1.5.3).

6.4.2.2.2   Aspect, extent, and change of state

In these constructions, the function of the minor verb is to make an aspectual statement (278a), to refer to the extent of an event (278b) or to refer to the fact that a certain state has changed during the event (278c):

(278) a.   *Dit   **saksak**   **bóbólós**   lik   sa   ón*
         dit   **[sak~sak**   **bó~bólós]**_{SVC} lik   sa   ó-n
         3.PL   **RED~sing**   **RED~pass.by**   little   RESTR   OBL-POSS

         ép   kèskès   anun   dit   i.
         ép   kès~kès   anu-n   dit   i
         ART:CO1   RED~sit   COMM-POSS   3.PL   3.SG

         'They were always singing about their lifetime.'

                                                                  (ÈRB [15])

b. *Ép*   *pòl*   *bèl*   *i*   *tasim*   *ón*   *nak*   *na*
    ép   pòl   bèl   i   tasim   ó-n   nak   na
    ART:CO1   dog   NEG   3.SG   know   OBL-POSS   COMPL   REL

    ép   *kailam*   *sa*   *i*   **yan**   **aróp**   *pas*
    ép   kailam   sa   i   [yan   a-róp]SVC   pas
    ART:CO1   lizard   RESTR   3.SG   **eat.TR**   **CAUS-finish**   PFV

    ép   *bòròi.*
    ép   bòròi
    ART:CO1   pig

'The dog did not know that the lizard had eaten the pig completely.'

(RTK [7])

c. *I*   *gòsgòs*   *amònòng*   *dit*   *ma.*
    i   [gòsgòs   a-mònòng]SVC   dit   ma
    3.SG   **dance**   **CAUS-busy** 3.PL   TRANS

'He danced, causing them to be distracted.'

(TAM [31])

The verb *bóbólós* in (278a) is a reduplication of the transitive verb *bólós* 'to pass by'. But instead of referring to a physical passing-by event, this form expresses that the singing event is happening over and over again, which means that it functions like a habitual or repetitive aspect marker. The causative verb *aróp* 'cause to be finished' in (278b) makes a statement about the extent to which the event represented by the SVC has applied, i.e. that the pig has been eaten completely.[91] In (278c), the minor verb *amònòng* 'cause to be busy; distract' expresses a change of state, from not being busy at the beginning of the event to being busy at the end of the event. Causative verbs are very common to refer to such changes of state. The construction in (278b) could also be interpreted to involve a change of state, which suggests that the boundaries between the different semantic types of SVCs are fluid.

As is discussed in section §10.2.1.1, the habitual marker *rèrè* is a reduplication of the verb *rè* 'to see'. The reason why it was not analysed as the first verb in a serial verb construction is that it occupies the syntactic slot occupied by aspectual markers, and it is therefore not located within the SVC, unlike *bóbólós*, which functions as an "aspectual component verb" in (278a).

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[91] The verb *sòi* 'move away' is also used in some contexts to refer to such circumstances, e.g. *Mèt sòng **sòi** ép wang* 'We fully loaded the canoe'.

6.4.2.2.3   **Manner SVCs**

Manner SVCs in Siar are asymmetrical constructions rather than symmetrical constructions. This is because component verbs modifying the manner of the event are always stative intransitives:[92]

(279)   a.   *Ép*   *pòl*   *i*   *warai*   *ép*   *kailam*   *nak*
             ép   pòl   i   war-ai   ép   kailam   nak
             ART:CO1   dog   3.SG speak-TR   ART:CO1   lizard   COMPL

             na   *i*   *basa* *él*   ***parung*** ***mungmung***   *ap*   *i*
             na   i   basa   é-l   [parung   mung~mung]_{SVC}   ap   i
             REL   3.SG   first 3.SG-IRR   **jump.in**   **RED~lead**   and   3.SG

             él   *wawas*   *an*   *lakan.*
             é-l   wa~was   an   laka-n
             3.SG-IRR   RED~count   at   top-3.SG.POSS

             'The dog said to the lizard that he would jump into the water first
             while he (the dog) would count (the seconds) on the surface.'
                                                                               (RTK [16])

        b.   *Ép*   *pòl*   *i*   ***kès*** ***nangnang*** ***panai***   *tar*   *i.*
             ép   pòl   i   [kès   nang~nang   panai]_{SVC}   tar   i
             ART:CO1   dog   3.SG **sit**   **RED~wait**   **in.vain**   PRF   3.SG

             'The dog had been sitting (there) waiting for him in vain.'
                                                                               (RTK [19])

The intransitive minor verb *mungmung* in (279a) is a reduplication of the verb *mung* 'to lead', and it specifies the manner of the major verb *parung* 'jump in'. The SVC best translates to English as 'jump in first'. The SVC in (279b) consists of three verbs. The major verb is *kès* 'sit' and the minor verbs are *nangnang* 'be waiting' and *panai* 'do in vain'. Both minor verbs are ambitransitive verbs. *Nangnang* 'be waiting for' is a stative intransitive verb which modifies the major verb. *Panai* is translated here as 'in vain', but it can also be used predicatively, meaning 'getting tired of doing x', as shown in the following example:

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[92] Lichtenberk 2006: 258 proposes a similar analysis for Toqabaqita.

(280) *Ka*   ***panai***   *ép*   *bòròi.*
      k-a   **panai**   [ép   bòròi]ₒ
      FOC-1.SG   **be.tired.of**   ART:CO1   pig

'I was tired of (carrying) the pig.'

Note that the component verbs have backward scope over the major verb because they all modify the sitting event, but it is unclear if *panai* has direct scope over the sitting event, or if it only modifies the waiting event which in turn modifies the sitting event.

6.4.2.2.4   Secondary concept serialization

Secondary concept verbs modify major verbs in terms of obligation and probability, and they are also used in constructions that mean *pretend to do x*, *begin/end to do x*, *try to do x*. They can also express negation (Dixon 1991, Aikhenvald 2006: 23). Of these, the *finish to do x* type (281a) and the *try to do x* type (281b) can be observed in Siar:

(281) a. *Na*   *matò*   ***angan***   *róp*   *pas*   *ap*   *matò*   *inan*
           na   matò(l)   [angan   róp]ₛᵥc   pas   ap   matò(l)   inan
           REL   1.PAU.EX   **eat.ITR** **be.finished**   PFV   and   1.PAU.EX   go

           ma   *katim*   *an*   *lón*   *barim.*
           ma   ka-t-im   an   ló-n   barim
           TRANS   ALL-LOC-down   at   mouth-POSS   garden

           'When we had finished eating we went to the garden.'

     b. *Diat*   *ki*   *mangin*   *pas*   *i*   *ép*   *lamas*
           diat   k-i   mangin   pas   i   ép   lamas
           3.PAU   FOC-3.SG   scratch.out   PFV   3.SG   ART:CO1   coconut

           sai   *sup*   *an*   *lón*   *ap*   *diat*   *ki*
           Ø-sai   sup   an   ló-n   ap   diat   k-i
           (LOC-)DIST   inside   at   mouth-3.SG.POSS   and   3.PAU   FOC-3.SG

           yan   ***tóh***   *i.*
           [yan   tóh]ₛᵥc   i
           eat   **try**   3.SG

           'They scraped out the inside of the coconut and tasted it.'

In (281a), the verb *róp* 'be finished' is the minor verb, specifying the end of the eating event. Note that the end of the event is indicated by the perfective aspect marker *pas* present, which suggests that the secondary verb here provides additional emphasis of the end of the event. Events modified by *róp* are accomplishments, which is why they do not translate to English as *stop doing x* but as *finish doing x*. The verb *tóh* 'try; test; attempt' in (281b) expresses that the event is started without a guarantee of its successful completion or desired effect. When used in SVCs, *tóh* often modifies verbs referring to food consumption (in the sense of *taste x by drinking, eating* etc), but it is not limited to these kinds of verbs, e.g. *papas tóh* 'to step try' means *try to (slowly) step forward, e.g. on unstable ground*).

6.4.2.2.5   Reducing valency

As discussed in sections §6.5 and §7.3.1.2, SVCs with the causative form *a-is* 'cause to return' can be used to express reflexive and reciprocal concepts. This is shown in the following examples:

(282)   a.   *I   raun   ais   i   ap   i   atur   ais*
            i   [raun$_{TP}$ **a-is**]$_{SVC}$ [i]$_O$ ap   i   [a-tur   a-is]$_{SVC}$
            3.SG   **spin**   **CAUS-return**   3.SG   and   3.SG   CAUS-stand CAUS-return

            tar   i   tóng   sén   an   lón
            tar   i   t-óng   sén   an   ló-n
            PRF   3.SG   LOC-*back*   EMPH   at   mouth-POSS

            ép   barim.
            ép   barim
            ART:CO1   garden

            'It (the cyclone) spinned around (itself) and it took the roof back all the way to the garden.'

                                                                            (KAL [14])

        b.   *Uring   uring   sén   kai   tutubun   dat*
            uring   uring   sén   kai   tu~tubu-n   dat
            ago   ago   EMPH   ART:ANIM.PL   RED~ancestor-POSS 1.PL.INC

            dit   rèrè   yan   ais   dit.
            dit   rèrè   [yan **a-is**]$_{SVC}$ [dit]$_O$
            3.PL   HAB   **eat** **CAUS-return** 3.PL

            'Long long ago our ancestors used to eat each other.'

                                                                            (YAN [1])

In (282a), *ais* expresses a reflexive concept whereas in (282b) it expresses a reciprocal concept. It must be noted though that these constructions are not intransitive because in both cases an object argument is present and it cannot be left out. With reflexives and reciprocals, a reduction of valency would be expected though if we assume that this is also the case for the majority of other languages. This means that technically there is no reducing-valency type of SVC in Siar.

The second SVC *atur ais* 'put upright somewhere else' in (282a) illustrates that an SVC with *ais* as minor verb need not necessarily have a reflexive or reciprocal reading, as is the case in the other SVCs in (282).

6.5   Reflexive constructions

Reflexivity refers to the coreference of the subject and the object in a transitive relation.[93] Reflexivity is not a formally separate grammatical category in Siar, as is also the situation in many Oceanic languages (Lichtenberk 2000). Reflexive uses of reciprocals are discussed in detail in section §7.2.4, but here we discuss other alternatives that Siar provides to refer to reflexive relations.

The simplest way to express a reflexive relation in Siar is to use a verb with an object pronoun that is coreferent with the subject:

(283)   a.   ***A warai   ya** na   langin   kòbòt   datò   kès   lik*
            [a]$_A$=war-ai   [ya(u)]$_O$=na langin   kòbòt   datò(l)   kès   lik
            1.SG=speak-TR 1.SG=REL   earlier   morning 1.PAU.INC sit   TEMP

            tim   an   bòn   ning.
            t-im   an   bòn   n-ing
            LOC-down   at   sea   DEM.[-SG]-ANA

            'This morning I was talking to myself when we were sitting down by the beach.'

                                   (UÒ [79-L])

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[93] Although in some languages such as Mandarin Chinese, reflexives are coded as intransitives.

b.
I	**mér**	*pas*	**i**	*ón*	*tó*	*larim*
[i]$_A$	mér	pas	[i]$_O$	ó-n	tó	larim
3.SG	**dress**	PFV	**3.SG**	OBL-POSS	ART:[-ANIM].PL	clothes

anun	*é*	*Ròk.*
anu-n	é	Ròk
CL:GEN-POSS	ART:PROP	PN

'He dressed (himself) with Ròk's clothes.'

(TAM [31])

The construction in (283a) is unambiguous with regard to the reference of the subject marker *a,* and with regard to the object pronoun *yau* which both clearly refer to the same first person singular referent (the speaker). The construction in (283b) is in principle ambiguous because it cannot be inferred from the construction itself whether the subject and the object are coreferent, and the sentence could in principle also translate as 'He dressed her with Ròk's clothes'. In the context of the narrative, however, it is clear that the subject and the object are coreferent.

As mentioned earlier, a strategy to disambiguate such cases is to form a serial verb construction that contains the verb denoting the reflexivized event as the major verb and the minor verb *ais*, which is the causativized form of the verb *is* 'return' as minor verb. It is clear then that the subject and the object are coreferent:

(284)
Ép	*barsan*	*i*	*um*	*amat*	*ais*	*i.*
ép	barsan	i	[um	a-mat	**a-is**]$_{SVC}$	i
ART:CO1	man	**3.SG**	hit	CAUS-die	**CAUS-return**	**3.SG**

'The man killed himself.'

(elicited)

Note, however, that serial verb constructions that contain the verb *ais* need not always be reflexive, and *ais* can also encode an entity that returns to its original position (e.g. *lós ais* 'bring back').

I have also found one construction in which the emphatic marker *sén* (cf. section §10.4) functions as a disambiguator, in a similar way to *ais*:

(285) *Kabai*   *nanat*   *dit*   *mamam tar*
       kabai   na~(fa)nat   [dit]_A mamam tar
       ART:ANIM.ALL   RED~child   3.PL   play   PRF

       kari'dit   ***sén***.
       k-ari(-n)=[dit]_O   **sén**
       ALL-BEN(-POSS)=3.PL   **EMPH**

       'All the children were playing amongst themselves.'

       (NÓN [6])

Without the emphatic marker and without the context it would be unclear whether the children are playing amongst themselves or with others. The emphatic marker emphasizes the actor, but it does not represent it pronominally as in a true reflexive construction.

6.6   Modification of verbs

There is no distinctive, VP level category of adverbs in Siar. Stative verbs with an adverbial function can be observed in different semantic types of symmetrical SVC. For example, in a direction-and-orientation SVC (section §6.4.2.2.1), the minor verb specifies the direction or orientation of the event represented by the major verb. An example is repeated below:

(286) *Na*   *mara*   ***inan òt***   *sai*   *gali* ...
       na   mara(u)   **[inan=(w)òt]**_{SVC} Ø-sai   gali
       REL   1.DU.EX   **go=come**   (LOC-)DIST above

       'When we two arrived at the top …'

       (ÈRB [9])

In this example, the minor verb *òt* 'come; arrive' is not an adverb per se because it is part of a serial verb construction, but its function is still to modify the event that the SVC represents. This applies to all minor verbs in asymmetrical SVCs.

7   Transitivity and valency

Transitivity relates to the total number of core arguments in the clause, and valency relates to the number of core arguments specified by the head of the predicate. It may include semantic specifications such as thematic roles (e.g. agent, patient, experiencer) or grammatical case. Valency can be compared to a "stage setting" with a specific number of actors, each of which has a different role. Valency differs from transitivity in that valency is a quantitative notion which specifies the number of core arguments while transitivity is more concerned with the quality (i.e. the function) of those core arguments in the predicate (such as subject, object, extended object etc, see also section §7.1). We will use the above abbreviations (which are traditionally used for transitivity relations) to be able to easily identify the core arguments in the clause.

Section §7.1 discusses the transitivity types that can be observed in Siar. Nonverbal clauses are treated separately in section §11. The remainder of this chapter is concerned with valency-changing mechanisms in Siar. These include the anticausative (§7.2.1), noun stripping (§7.2.2), detransitivization (§7.2.3) and reciprocals (§7.2.4) derive constructions with lower transitivity. Valency-increasing mechanisms such as causatives (§7.3.1) and transitivization (§7.3.2) derive constructions with higher transitivity.

7.1   Transitivity types

The following transitivity patterns are found in Siar:

1. *Intransitive* predicates (with one core argument, usually the subject), §7.1.1
2. *Monotransitive* (henceforth just *transitive*) predicates (with two core arguments, usually subject and direct object), §7.1.2
3. Predicates with an *ambitransitive* verb (with at least one optional core argument). Ambitransitive verbs can be used both intransitively and transitively without a change in form, §7.1.3.
4. *Ditransitive* predicates (with three core arguments - usually subject, direct object and indirect object), §7.1.4

5. *Atransitive* (or *zero-transitive*) predicates with an expletive 'dummy' pronoun in subject position which only serves a syntactic function, §7.1.5

It is usually the verb that determines the transitivity status of a predicate, and verbs can therefore be classified as intransitive if they create intransitive predicates, or they can be classified as transitive if the create transitive predicates. There are also verbs which can create both types of predicates, intransitive and transitive ones. Such verbs are referred to as ambitransitive verbs[94].

Table 38 below shows which features can be checked in order to determine the basic transitivity of a clause:

Intransitive predicates	Transitive predicates
- only one core argument	- more than one core argument
- reduplication of the verb (not always)	- transitivizer suffix *-(a)i* on the verb
suppletive verb forms (different roots for intransitive and transitive verbs)	

Table 38: Features to distinguish intransitive and transitive constructions in Siar

Suppletive forms are morphologically simple, but still their forms make it easy to determine their transitivity.

In the remainder of this section, the core arguments of the predicate are represented as follows (following Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000):

S	Subject of intransitive clause
A	Subject of transitive clause
O	Direct object of transitive clause
E	Indirect (or extended) object of transitive clause

Each of the five construction types is discussed in the following sections.

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[94] Predicates can only be either intransitive or transitive, depending on the number of visible core arguments. It therefore does not make sense to speak of ambitransitive predicates or ambitransitive constructions. Rather, ambitransitivity is a feature of the verb.

7.1.1 Intransitivity

Intransitive constructions are characterized by a single NP in S function with no other argument slots. Some seemingly intransitive verbs may optionally take an object NP; these cases are discussed in section §7.1.3 on ambitransitivity.

Some examples of strictly intransitive constructions are given below:

(287) a. *Matò   ki   bòrbòr.*
     [matò(l)]$_S$ k-i   bòrbòr
     1.PAU.EX   FOC-3.SG   sleep

     'We were sleeping.'

                                         (AMP 2 [5])

     b. *Mèt   kaptur.*
     [mèt]$_S$ kaptur
     1.PL.EX   take.off

     'We took off.'

                                         (ARS [7])

     c. *Ki   liu   tar.*
     k-[i]$_S$ liu   tar
     FOC-3.SG   run   PRF

     'It had run (away).'

                                         (DIK [17])

In all above cases, adding an O argument results in ungrammaticality. Adjunct phrases (which are optional and allow for further specification of the predicate) may always be added to intransitive verbs:

(288) *Ép   kali wuwur   i   wòt uring   ón   ép*
     [ép   kali wuwur]$_{S.NP}$ [i]$_S$ wòt [uring   ón   ép
     ART:CO1   cyclone   3.SG   come ago   OBL-POSS ART:CO1

     wónón   kirai.
     wón-ón   kirai]$_{ADJCT}$
     six-ORD   day

     'The cyclone came last Saturday.'

                                         (KAL 2 [15])

Many intransitive verbs, including the cases in (287), are morphologically simple[95], but a number of intransitive verbs are reduplicated, and this is a good indicator of intransitivity:

(289)   a.   *Matò*   ***kèkèlès***   *pas.*
              [matò(l)]$_S$ **kè~kèlès**   pas
              1.PAU.EX   **RED~change**   PFV

              'We changed (clothes).'

                                                  (SUK [4])

      b.   *Ap*   *na*   *matòl*   *ani'ga'sa*   *ap*   *dit*
              ap   na   matòl   a-n-i(ng)=ga(u)=sa   ap   [dit]$_S$
              and   REL   1.PAU.EX   DEX-DEM.[-SG]-ANA=(t)here=RESTR   and   3.PL

              ki   ***bóbólós***.
              k-i   **bó~bólós**
              FOC-3.SG   **RED~pass.by**

              'And when we were there they passed by.'
                                        (BAL [17])

Reduplication is in these cases applied to an underlying transitive verb, and this removes the O slot from the predicate. One has to be careful though, because reduplication also serves other purposes, such as marking iterative Aktionsart (§10.2.2) and nominalization (§3.2.2). Reduplicated verbs may also have two of those functions at the same time, both expressed by the reduplicated morpheme. Consider the following example:

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[95] *Bòrbòr* 'sleep' is a simplex since there is no unreduplicated form *bòr. Diachronically, however, it is likely that such a form once existed. Examples such as this presumably go back to verb forms that had been reduplicated in order to express progressive aspect.

(290) | *Na* | *dira* | *ki* | ***munmun,*** | *i* | *tik* | *basa* | *ép* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| na | [dira(u)]$_S$ | k-i | **mun~mun** | i | tik | basa | ép |
| REL | 3.DU | FOC-3.SG | **RED~dive.down** | 3.SG | one | first | ART:CO1 |

falin	*dirau*	*i*	*malik*	*mun*	*ap*	*i*	*tik*
fali-n	dirau	i	malik	mun	ap	[i	tik]$_S$
partner-POSS	3.DU	3.SG	REP	dive.down	and	3.SG	one

él	*malik*	***wawas***	*an*	*lakan.*
é-l	malik	**wa~was**	an	laka-n
3.SG-IRR	REP	**RED~count**	at	top-3.SG.POSS

'When the two were swimming, one would dive and one would count (the seconds) on the surface.'

(RTK [4])

Example (290) contains two reduplicated forms. *Wawas* 'count' is the reduplicated form of *was* 'count / read something'. There is no overt NP in O function, therefore we can only infer from the context what is being counted. Since *was* is otherwise a transitive verb, the reduplication in the above example is clearly being used to detransitivize. In addition, it can be argued that the counting event is durative (counting for a longer period) or iterative (counting more than once). This cannot be easily determined in the above examples because either interpretation would be possible in the context of (290). The case of *munmun* is different. Here, both the verb *mun* 'dive down' and its reduplicated form are strictly intransitive. The reduplication must therefore have the primary function of marking iterative Aktionsart.

The third strategy for identifying intransitive verbs is to look for suppletive pairs of verbs denoting the same event, but with different transitivity values. Such suppletive verb forms can be seen in (291) - (293). In each case the verb in (a) is intransitive and the verb in (b) is transitive:

(291) a.	*Kai*	*bòròi*	*dit*	*ki*	***angan***	*pas.*
kai	bòròi	[dit]$_S$	k-i	**angan**	pas
ART:ANIM.PL	pig	3.PL	FOC-3.SG	**eat.ITR**	PFV

'The pigs had already eaten.'

(AMP 3 [9])

b. | *Ép* | *bòròi* | *i* | *inan* | *ap* | *i* | **yan** | *aróp* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ép | bòròi | i | inan | ap | [i]$_A$ | [**yan** | a-róp]$_{SVC}$ |
| ART:CO1 | pig | 3.SG | go | and | 3.SG | **eat.TR** | CAUS-finish |

pas	*ép*	*tarai.*
pas	[ép	tarai]$_O$
PFV	ART:CO1	men

'The pig went and ate all the people.'

(URI [3])

(292) a. | *I* | **mumun** | *tar* | *ma.*[96] |
|---|---|---|---|
| [i]$_S$ | **mumun** | tar | ma. |
| 3.SG | **hide.ITR** | PRF | TRANS |

'He was hiding.'

(MAT [x])

b. | *Matò* | **wun** | *tar* | *ningan* | *tó* | | *bek* | *patpat.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [matò(l)]$_A$ | **wun** | tar | [ningan | tó | | bek | patpat]$_O$ |
| 1.PAU.EX | **hide.TR** | PRF | some | ART:[-ANIM].PL | | bag$_{TP}$ | dry.betelnut |

'We had hidden some of the bags with the dry betelnuts.'

(NAS [23])

(293) a. | *I* | **yél** | *it* | *ma* | *sai* | *talang* | *an* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [i]$_S$ | **yél** | it | ma | Ø-sai | talang | an |
| 3.SG | **swim** | DURA | TRANS | (LOC-)DIST | opposite | at |

lón	*bòn.*
ló-n	bòn
mouth-POSS	sea

'And now he was swimming there in the sea.'

(KAW [12])

b. | *A* **yélé** | *ép* | *wang* | *katim* | *an* | *mas.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [a]$_A$=**yélé** | [ép | wang]$_O$ | ka-t-im | an | mas |
| 1.SG=**swim.TR** | ART:CO1 | canoe | ALL-LOC-down | at | dry |

'I swam the canoe back to the shore.'

(BIW [13])

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[96] There is a resemblance between *mumun* 'hide (itr.)' with the verb *mun* 'dive down'. While it is not the reduplicated form of *mun* (this form would be *munmun* 'bathe; take shower'), it may be argued that diachronically, *mumun* derives from *mun*. As shown in (§7.4), each verb is associated with a different transitivity class. *Munmun* is a suppletive verb that forms a pair with its transitive counterpart *wun* 'hide sth.'.

In the examples given above there are three pairs, each with an intransitive and transitive verb denoting the same event, but with a different number of arguments. Each of the intransitive forms (*angan, mumun, yél*) may not select an O argument. Similarly, the transitive forms require the presence of an argument in O function.

Each verb in such a suppletive pair is either strictly intransitive or strictly transitive. Another suppletive pair is *lagar* 'laugh (itr.)' / *mahlai* 'laugh at'.

There are also other derivational processes which lead to an intransitive construction. These cases are discussed in section §7.2.1 (anticausative) and section §7.2.2 (noun stripping/noun incorporation).

7.1.2 (Mono)transitivity

Strictly monotransitive (henceforth just *transitive*) constructions consist of a verb with two core arguments A and O. There are also less strictly transitive constructions where the object NP may optionally be omitted. Those cases are discussed in §7.1.3 (ambitransitivity). Some example constructions that always require the presence of the O argument can be seen below.

(294) a. *Dira **um** pas i tik ép   bòròi.*

[dira(u)]$_A$	**um**	pas	[i	tik	ép	bòròi]$_O$
3.DU	**hit**	PFV	3.SG	one	ART:CO1	pig

'They caught a pig.'

(RTK [2])

b. * *Dira **um** pas.*

[dira(u)]$_S$	**um**	pas
3.DU	**hit**	PFV

(295) a. *Él **lók** tar ti   alin   datòl.*

[é]$_A$-l	**lók**	tar	[ti	(f)ali-n	datòl]$_O$
3.SG-IRR	**animal.bite**	PRF	ART:CO1.IND	partner-POSS	1.PAU.INC

'It will bite one of us.'

(LOB [14])

b.   * *Él*   ***lók***   *tar.*

         [é]$_S$-l   **lók**   tar

         3.SG-IRR   **animal.bite**   PRF

Reduplication can be applied in order to detransitive a number of verbs (cf. section §7.2.3). This does not apply to the verbs *um* 'hit' and *lók* 'bite (animal)' in the examples above[97]. Neither verb is overtly marked for transitivity, and their status has to be deduced from their syntactic and semantic requirements. The grammaticality of leaving out or inserting O arguments is a useful indicator in this case. There are also two processes for increasing the transitivity of a verb in Siar, though neither can be said to have applied here.

Many transitive verbs in Siar carry the transitivizer suffix -V*i*. In the following pair of examples we can see the intransitive verb *yawas* 'paddle' (296a) and its transitive counterpart *yausai* 'paddle somebody' (296b). It is impossible to reduplicate the transitive form in order to detransitivize it (**yayausai*). *Yawas* can only be used in intransitive constructions whereas *yausai* only surfaces in transitive constructions.

(296)   a.   *Dit*   *ki*   ***yawas***   *(*marau).*

            [dit]$_S$ k-i   **yawas**   [marau]$_O$

            3.PL   FOC-3.SG   **paddle**   1.DU.EX

            'They were paddling (us).'

                                                               (BAB [10])

     b.   *A*   ***yausai***   *marau*   *katim*   *an*   *mas.*

            [a]$_A$ **yaus-ai**   [marau]$_O$ ka-t-im   an   mas

            1.SG   **paddle-TR**   1.DU.EX   ALL-LOC-down   at   dry

            'I paddled us back to the shore.'

                                                             (KÈP [44])

Arguments of the verb need not necessarily be NPs, clausal arguments are also possible:

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[97] which explains the ungrammaticality of **Dira umum* and **Él ló(k)lók tar*.

(297) a. *Matò*   ***nuki***   *kanak*   *na*   *e*   *Matlai*   *ma*
      [matò(l)]_A **nuk-i**   [kanak   na   e   Matlai   ma
      1.PAU.EX   **think-TR**   COMP   REL   ART:PROP   Morning.Star   TRANS

      i   *ding*   *ki*   *pus.*
      i   d-ing   k-i   pus]_O
      3.SG   DEM.SG-ANA   FOC-3.SG   come.out

      'We thought that it was the Morning Star that was rising.'
                                        (AMP 2 [9])

  b. *I*   ***warai***   *kanak*   *na*   *al*   *angan*   *rarakai*   *akak*
      [i]_A   **war-ai**   [kanak   na   a-l   angan   rarakai   (w)akak
      3.SG   **speak-TR**   COMP   REL   1.SG-IRR   eat.ITR   strong   good

      pas   *ap*   *al*   *gang.*
      pas   ap   a-l   gang]_O
      PFV   and   1.SG-IRR   drink

      'He told me to eat well and to drink.'
                                        (MAR [16])

Clausal argument are restricted to function as O arguments though, and I have not found any cases of clauses that function as subjects.

Both the complement clause in (297a) and the speech report in (297b) are obligatory elements of the predicate, selected by the transitive verbs in the matrix clauses. As is shown in section §12.3 on speech reports, addressees typically involved in speech reports are not obligatory arguments of the verb.

There are also constructions with a transitivized verb form, but without an overt core argument. Consider the following examples:

(298) a. ***Matò***   ***lóngrai***   *ap*   *ép*   *félngén*
      [matò(l)]_S   **lóngr-ai**   ap   ép   félngé-n
      1.PAU.EX   **listen-TR**   and   ART:CO1   voice-POSS

      puklun   *rumai*   *ma.*
      puklu-n   rumai   ma
      head-POSS   house   TRANS

      'We heard the noise from the roof.'
                                        (KAL 2 [4])

b. *Yau bèl a*   ***lóng***   *(arin).*
    yau   bèl=[a]ₛ   **lóng**   ari-n
    1.SG NEG=1.SG   **listen**   BEN-3.SG.POSS

    'As for me, I did not listen (to him).'

<div align="right">(MAR [17])</div>

In (298) we can see the verb forms *lóngrai* 'hear' (transitive) and *lóng* 'listen' (intransitive). The problem with (298a) is that even though the verb bears the transitivizer suffix, there is no overt O argument (the following coordinator *ap* 'and' indicates that the following clause is an autonomous element in the utterance and not a core argument of the verb). (298b) shows that in canonical intransitive constructions, the verb appears in the unaffixed form *lóng*. The following benefactive prepositional phrase *arin* 'to him' is optional.

   A similar pair of examples is shown in (299):

(299) a. *Dirau   ki*   ***warai,***   *"Dat   él*   *bas   ré   i*
          [dirau]ₐ k-i   **war-ai**   [dat   é-l   bas   ré   i
          3.DU   FOC-3.SG **speak-TR**   1.PL.INC 3.SG-IRR must see 3.SG

          da   *a*   *in   ép*   *yai   na."*
          d-a   a   (f)in ép   yai   n-a]ₒ
          DEM.SG-PROX   ART:CO2   fruit ART:CO1   tree DEM.[-SG]-PROX

          'The two said, "*We must see that fruit*." '

<div align="right">(LAM [23])</div>

       b. *Ma   na   kél*   *parai   ép*   *pakan   ap   amat*
          ma   na   k-é-l   parai   ép   pakan   ap   [amat]ₐ
          but   REL   FOC-3.SG-IRR put   ART:CO1 leaf   and   2.PL

          él   ***warai***   .
          é-l   **war-ai**   [Ø]ₒ
          3.SG-IRR   **speak-TR**

          'When its leaves shoot you will tell.'

<div align="right">(LAM [15])</div>

In (299a), the transitive verb *warai* 'say' is followed by a direct speech report which functions as the O argument. In (299b) the speech report has been omitted (in the slot indicated by Ø), but the verb remains in its transitive form. If we analysed the form *warai* as ambitransitive, then it is not clear why the transitivizer suffix -V*i* should be present. A way out of this dilemma would be to interpret (299b) as involving ellipsis.

According to Trask (1993: 89), ellipsis involves absent *"[…] material which is required for semantic interpretation and which could have been overly present […] but [which is] immediately recoverable from the linguistic context […]"*. In the case of (299b) it is clear what would be the subject of the speech report, namely a notification that the leaves have shot out. *Warai* can therefore be analysed as transitive form in both cases of (299) above.

As mentioned in the previous section, there are also suppletive verb forms that can only be used in transitive contexts (e.g. *yan* 'eat.TR', *yélé* 'swim.TR'[98], *wun* 'hide.TR' and *mahlai* 'laugh at').

7.1.3   Ambitransitivity

There are a number of verb forms which may occur in both intransitive and transitive predicates. Consider the following example:

(300)   a.   *Matò*   ***gang***.
             [matò(l)]$_S$ **gang**
             1.PAU.EX   **drink**

             'We drank.'

        b.   *Matò*   ***gang***   *ép*   *malum.*
             [matò(l)]$_A$ **gang**   [ép   malum]$_O$
             1.PAU.EX   **drink**   ART:CO1   fresh.water

             'We drank the water.'

In both constructions in (300), the verb *gang* 'drink' has the same unaffixed form. It is not possible to attach the transitivizer suffix to *gang* (**gang-ai, *gang-i*), and the form may not be reduplicated in order to be detransitivized (**ga~gang*). Since the constructions differ only in the presence of an O argument, *gang* is best analysed as an ambitransitive verb. The same is true for other ambitransitive verbs in Siar, such as *kawas* 'move up, climb, enter', *pirim* 'move down, leave', *rè* 'see' and *nós* 'look (for)' (see also section §7.1.5 on atransitivity).[99]

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[98] In Siar, one can *swim the canoe to the shore* (i.e. with the subject outside the canoe in the water, pushing it to the shore)

[99] These four verbs can be reduplicated, but the function of the reduplicant is to encode iterative Aktionsart.

Dixon & Aikhenvald (2000: 5) note a distinction between S=A and S=O ambitransitives. These two types of ambitransitives differ in their coreferential relations when used transitively:

S=A ambitransitives (unergative)	The subject of the intransitive clause (S) is identical to the subject of the transitive clause (A).
S=O ambitransitives (unaccusative)	The subject of the intransitive clause (S) is identical to the object of the transitive clause (O).

The verb *gang* in (300) can be analysed as S=A ambitransitive because the subject of the intransitive clause in (300a) (the first person paucal pronoun *matò*) is coreferential with the subject of the transitive clause (300b). This in fact applies to all ambitransitive verbs in Siar; there are no S=O ambitransitive verbs in which the subject of the intransitive clause is identical to the object of the transitive clause[100].

7.1.4   Ditransitivity

Ditransitive constructions involve a subject argument (A) and two object arguments (O and E). There are only three ditransitive verbs in Siar: *warai* 'tell', *tar* 'give' and *atòng* 'to call; name; give label'.

The verb *atòng* is the only verb that is always ditransitive and in which a core argument can never be omitted. An example is shown below:

(301) *Kai*　　　　*nanat*　　*dit*　*lamantin òt*　*pas*　*sa*　*ap*　*dit*
　　　　kai　　　　na~(fa)nat　dit　lamantin (w)òt　pas　sa　ap　[dit]$_A$
　　　　ART:ANIM.PL　RED~child　3.PL　big　　　come　PFV　RESTR　and　3.PL

　　　　atòng　*òròs*　　　　*ép*　　　*risén*　　　*é*　　　　　*Lamassa.*
　　　　atòng　òròs　　　　[ép　　　rise-n]$_O$　[é　　　　Lamassa]$_E$
　　　　call　without.purpose　ART:CO1　name-POSS　ART:PROP　PN

　　　　'The children grow up and where they call it Lamassa without knowing why.'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(LAM [49])

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[100] An example of S=A ambitransitivity in English would be the verb *melt* ([*The sun*]$_A$ *melted* [*the ice*]$_O$ / [*The ice*]$_S$ *melted*).

The O argument and the E argument follow the verb complex, and each argument is introduced by its own article which shows that they are separate NPs. The order of the O argument and the E argument cannot be switched.

The two other verbs which can be ditransitive can also occur with an ellipses of the recipient. The verb *tar* 'give' usually requires three core arguments (302a), but the third argument (the recipient of the giving event) can be omitted if it can be inferred from the context (302b):

(302)   a.   *D'él*   **tar**   *tar*   *ép*   *palin*   *bòròi*   *arin*
           [d(i)]$_A$=é-l   **tar**   tar   [ép   pali-n   bòròi]$_O$ ari-n
           they=will   **give**   PRF   ART:CO1 piece-POSS   pig   BEN-POSS

           kai   *nanat*   *gurar.*
           [kai   na~nat   gurar]$_E$
           ART:ANIM.PL   RED~child   women

           'They will give pieces of the pig to the girls.'
                                             (GURAR [15])

       b.   *Na*   *mara*   *sipuk*   *pas*   *i*   *at*   *a*   *lamas*
           na   mara(u)   sipuk   pas   i   at   a   lamas
           REL   1.DU.EX   remove.husk   PFV   3.SG   four   ART:CO2   coconut

           ngan   *ép*   *fón*   *kókók*   *ap*   *mara*   *inan*
           nga-n   ép   fó-n   kókók   ap   mara(u)   inan
           CL:FOOD-POSS   ART:CO1 skin-POSS   white   and   1.DU.EX   go

           kasai   *mara*   **tar**   *tar*   *i.*
           ka-Ø-sai   [mara(u)]$_A$ **tar**   tar   [i]$_O$ [Ø]$_E$
           ALL-(LOC-)DIST   1.DU.EX   **give**   PRF   3.SG

           'When we had cut off the shell of four coconuts for the white man we went up and gave them (to him).'
                                             (FÓN [13])

In (302b) the E argument (the recipient of the coconuts) has been omitted, but in the context of the narrative it is clear that the white man is supposed to get them, and this licenses the omission.

The verb *warai* 'tell' is even more variable because it can occur in constructions with three core arguments (A, O and E, 303a), two core arguments (A and E in 303b and A and O in 303c) or only an A argument (303d).

(303)   a.   *É   tata   i   **warai**   matòl   kanak   él*

[é	tata]_A	i	**war-ai**	[matòl]_O	[kanak	é-l
ART:PROP	daddy	3.SG	**speak-TR**	1.PAU.EX	COMP	3.SG-IRR

isis   sén   alò   él   babait.

is~is	sén	alò	é-l	babait]_E
RED~return	EMPH	again	3.SG-IRR	fishing

'Daddy told us that he would go fishing.'

(NIN [9])

b.   *É   Bill ki   **warai**   kanak   mara*

é	Bill	k-i	**war-ai**	[Ø]_O	[kanak	mara(u)
ART:PROP	PN	FOC-3.SG	**speak-TR**		COMP	1.DU.EX

kél'an.

k-é-l=(in)an]_E
FOC-3.SG-IRR=go

'Bill said that we should go.'

(KÈP [38])

c.   *Dirau **warai**   tar dit ma   tó'gau   an lakman*

[dirau]_A	**war-ai**	tar	[dit]_O	ma	t-ó(ng)=gau	an lakman
3.DU	**speak-TR**	PRF	3.PL	TRANS	LOC-*back*=there	at village

an   Kingén.

an	Kingén	[Ø]_E
at	PN	

'The two told them at Kingén village.'

(LAM [13])

d.   *Ma na kél   parai   ép   pakan ap*

ma	na	k-é-l	par-ai	ép	pakan	ap
but	REL	FOC-3.SG-IRR	move-across-TR	ART:CO1	leaf	and

*amat   él   **warai**.*

[amat]_A	é-l	**war-ai**	[Ø]_O	[Ø]_E
2.PL	3.SG-IRR	**speak-TR**		

'When its leaves pop out you will tell (us).'

(LAM [15])

In all cases, the omitted argument must be inferable from the context. This is even the case in (303d) where two arguments have been omitted. In the context of the narrative, it is clear that the addressees are coreferent with the referent represented by the A

argument, the content of the indirect speech that is supposed to be represented by the E argument is implied by the initial clause of the utterance ('when its leaves pop out').

7.1.5   Atransitivity / Zero-transitivity

Atransitive or *zero-transitive* (the term atransitive will be used here) constructions are rare and restricted to a very small subset of verbs. The defining property of an atransitive construction is the absence of any core argument (Matthews 1996: 103). Since many of the world's languages require the presence of a subject at least on the syntactic level, expletive (or '*dummy*') subjects are added in such cases.

In the case of Siar, there only seems to be one verb *nós* 'look; seem' which can be used in atransitive constructions. Consider the following example:

(304)   *I   nós.*
        [i]$_{EXPL.S}$ [nós]$_{PR}$
        3.SG   look

        'It seems (so).'

Similar to the English equivalent English construction *It seems*, the subject pronoun *i* in (304) is a syntactic *dummy*. Evidence for the non-referentiality of this pronoun includes the fact that the subject pronoun in the above example cannot be emphasized like other pronouns, neither by a repetition of the pronoun itself (305a) nor by explicitly mentioning the full subject NP (305b) and then that it cannot be replaced by a referential subject pronoun without resulting in a different meaning (305c):

(305)   a.   **I,   i   nós.*
            i   [i]$_{EXPL.S}$ [nós]$_{PR}$
            3.SG   3.SG   look

       b.   **Ép   baran   i   nós.*
            ép   baran   [i]$_{EXPL.S}$ [nós]$_{PR}$
            ART:CO1   thing   3.SG   look

c.　*I　　nós.*
[i]_S　[nós]_PR
3.SG　look

'He/She/It looked.'

Nós 'look; seem' is not a strictly atransitive verb, it can also be used in intransitive constructions (as in (305) above) and transitive constructions such as the following:

(306)　a.　*I　　nós　　sur　　ép　　　kinbalin.*
[i]_A　nós　　sur　　[ép　　　kinbali-n]_O
3.SG　look　　GOAL　ART:CO1　friend-3.SG.POSS

'He looked for his friend.'

(RTK [13])

b.　*Ép　　　kaptan　ki　　　nós　　nak　　na　　ki*
[ép　　　kaptan]_A　k-i　　　nós　　[nak　　na　　k-i
ART:CO1　stem　　FOC-3.SG　look　　COMP　REL　FOC-3.SG

rarakai.
rarakai]_O
strong

'The stem looked as if it were strong.'

(LAM [34])

Since *nós* 'look, seem' can thus be used atransitively, intransitively and transitively, it is an A=S=Ø ambitransitive (Ø representing the dummy subject).

In many languages, meteorological verbs (or *weather verbs*) also tend to be atransitive. This is not the case in Siar, as the following examples illustrate:

(307)　a.　*Ép　　　bat　ki　　　pung.*
[ép　　　bat]_S　k-i　　　[pung]_PR
ART:CO1　rain　FOC-3.SG　fall

'It is raining.' (lit. *the rain is falling*)

b.　* *Ki　　　bat.*
k-[i]_EXPL.S　bat
FOC-3.SG　rain

(308) a. *Ép*   *bat*   *ki*   *kamis.*
        [ép   bat]$_S$ k-i   [kamis]$_{PR}$
        ART:CO1 rain   FOC-3.SG   sun

        'It is sunny.' (lit. *The rain is sunny.*)

    b. * *Ki*   *kamis.*
        k-[i]$_{EXPL.S}$ [kamis]$_{PR}$
        FOC-3.SG   sun

(309) a. *Ép*   *parar*   *ki*   *pugur.*
        [ép   parar]$_S$ k-i   [pugur]$_{PR}$
        ART:CO1 thunder FOC-3.SG   explode

        'It is thundering.' (lit. *The thunder is exploding.*)

    b. *Ki*   *pugur*   / *parar.*
        k-[i]$_{EXPL.S}$ [pugur]$_{PR}$ [parar]$_{PR}$
        FOC-3.SG   explode   thunder

In all cases, a full subject NP in S function has to be employed for meteorological verbs.

We can therefore conclude that with the exception of *nós* 'look, seem', there are no atransitive verbs/predicates in Siar.

7.2 Valency-decreasing mechanisms

Siar has four valency-decreasing mechanisms that are introduced in the following sections. All these mechanisms typically derive an intransitive construction from a transitive construction by deleting an argument and by promoting or demoting arguments to specific roles (A, O, S) in the predicate.

7.2.1 Anticausative *ta(k)-*

The first valency-decreasing mechanism discussed here is the anticausative. As opposed to causative constructions (see section §7.3.1) which add a new agent in A function to the derived event, anticausative constructions delete an A argument from the underived predicate and promote the O argument in the underived predicate to the S argument of the derived predicate. This results in intransitive predicates that have a passive-like or middle-like reading. As opposed to passives, anticausatives are

understood as forms which *"[…] have inanimate patients and no implied agent; passives, on the other hand, have implied agents."* (Rice 2000: 185). Structurally also, anticausative constructions are very similar to passives. Dixon & Aikhenvald (2000: 8) point out that passives, *"[…] indicate that the original O (derived S) came into a certain state because of the involvement of an agent (original A). In contrast, the anticausative implies that it came into the state spontaneously. (The anticausative is like an [ambitransitive] S=O pair, except that here an explicit derivation is involved.)"*

In Siar, an anticausative construction is formed by attaching the prefix *ta(k)-* to a transitive (or ambitransitive) verb. The verb itself must be transitive so that an O argument is available to be promoted to the S argument in the derived construction. The derived verb is always stative. Some examples of verbs that appear in their anticausative form can be seen below:

(310)	*pagal*	'split'	***ta**-pagal*	'be split'
	kutus	'cut'	***ta**-kutus*	'be cut'
	palas	'wake up'	***ta**-palas*	'be opened'[101]
	rikis	'turn'	***ta**-rikis*	'be turned'
	règèh	'destroy'	***ta**-règèh*	'be destroyed'
	kubat	'tear apart'	***ta**-kubat*	'be torn apart'
	silir	'tear apart'	***tak**-silir*	'be torn apart'
	wér	'pour; spill'	***tak**-wér*	'be poured; be spilled'

As can be seen in the examples given above, the anticausative prefix has two allomorphs *ta-* and *tak-*[102]. The data in the corpus (which is limited partially due to the rareness of such anticausative forms) do not allow us to be certain whether the choice of the allomorph is phonologically or lexically conditioned. From a phonological point of view, the allomorph *ta-* is attached if the verb root starts with a stop or the liquid /ɾ/, whereas *tak-* attaches to roots with an initial sibilant or glide. It could also be

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[101] Note the semantic change of the verb which is presumably related to the opening of the eyes in the morning.

[102] The latter allophone seems to be an innovation since only *ta-* has been reconstructed for Proto-Oceanic (cf. Pawley 1972).

argued that the choice of the allomorph is lexically conditioned, in which case the appropriate prefix would have to be learnt together with the verb, similarly to the transitivizer suffix -(V)*i* (cf. §7.3.2).

Some example sentences with anticausative verbs are given below. (311) shows a non-anticausative / anticausative pair with the verb *rikis* 'change', (311) shows a pair with the verb *wér* 'spill, pour':

(311)   a.   *I*   **rikis**   *tar*   *i*   *ma*   *ép*   *fat*   *ning*.

[i]$_A$ **rikis**   tar   [i]$_O$ ma   ép   fat   n-ing

she   **turn**   PRF   3.SG   TRANS   ART:CO1 stone   DEM.[-SG]-ANA

'She had turned around that stone.'

(MAT [x])

b.   *Ép*   *warwar*   *Siar*   *i*   **tarikis**.

ép   war~war   Siar   [i]$_S$ **ta-rikis**

ART:CO1   RED~speak   PN   3.SG   **ACAUS-turn**

'The Siar language is changing (lit. *turning*).'

(SIA [0])

(312)   a.   *U*   **wér**   *ép*   *sósópen*   *rais*   *t'an*

[u]$_A$ **wér**   [ép]   (só)sópen   rais]$_O$ t(-a)=an

2.SG   **pour**   ART:CO1   [pot   rice]$_{TP}$ LOC-PROX=at

lón.

ló-n

mouth-3.SG.POSS

'You pour the pot with rice into it.'

(KU [8])

b.   *Ép*   *silik*   *ón*   *i*   **takwér**   *ap*   *n'an*

ép   silik   ó-n   [i]$_S$ **tak-wér**   ap   n(a)=an

ART:CO1   blood   OBL-3.SG.POSS   3.SG   **ACAUS-spill**   and   REL=at

mur   *i*   *mat*.

mur   i   mat

follow   3.SG   die

'His blood was spilt and then he died.'

(FAK [x])

The verb *rikis* 'turn' in (311a) is strictly transitive. The construction contains an agent in A function (the woman) and a patient in O function (the stone). The anticausative construction in (311b) lacks the subject from the underlying construction, and it is not recoverable from the context. As a result, we do not know who or what is responsible for the changing the language. The changed entity (the argument in O function of the underlying construction) has been promoted to the S function in the derived anticausative construction, and no other core argument is present.

A similar observation can be made for the construction with the derivation with the allomorph *tak-* in (312). The verb *wér* in (312a) is strictly transitive, and both an agentive subject in A function (the person pouring) and a patient in O function (the poured rice). In the anticausativized construction, the object of the underlying construction has been promoted to S function (in this case the blood), and the original A argument has been deleted and cannot be recovered from the context (we do not know who or what is responsible for spilling the blood).

(313) below shows an unusual case of an anticausative:

(313) *Siling   sòu   tar   ép   ran   ap   di*
       siling   sòu   tar   ép   ran   ap   di
       light.earth.oven off   PRF   ART:CO1   earth.oven   and IND

       nangnang i   sa   na   ki   takès.
       nang~nang i   sa   na   k-[i]$_S$ ta-kès
       RED~wait   3.SG RESTR REL   FOC-3.SG   ACAUS-sit

       '(They) light the fire in the earth oven and wait until the flame has settled
       down.'
                                                                    (YAU [15])

The verb *kès* 'sit; dwell' is strictly intransitive, but in this example is still prefixed with *ta-*. It is likely that *kès* was a transitive or ambitransitive verb at an earlier stage in which it could have the anticausative prefix *ta-* attached to it, but that it has become a fixed expression that is morphologically simple.

While the examples in (311-312) are straightforward in their analyses, there are also some cases in which a verb-initial *ta-* cannot be interpreted as the anticausative prefix. In the following examples, the verb is not anticausative, even if it appears to have the anticausative prefix attached. In these cases, the verb should be analysed as monomorphemic. In (314) below, the verb cannot be anticausative since both an A

argument and an O argument are present. In addition, there is no unprefixed verb form
gar:

(314) *A*　　*inan*　*kawas*　*ap*　*a*　***tagar***　*ép*　　　*mata*　*rumai.*
　　　　a　　inan　kawas　ap　[a]_A　**tagar**　[ép　　mata　rumai]_O
　　　　1.SG　go　move.up　and　1.SG　**close**　ART:CO1　eye　house

　　　　'I went inside and closed the door.'
<p style="text-align:right">(BÒN [x])</p>

Anticausatives may be part of serial verb constructions. As shown in (§6.4), serial
verb constructions may be made up of verbs with different transitivity values. In the
following example, an intransitive anticausative verb is accompanied by a transitive
verb which provides the argument in O function:

(315) *Dit*　***tapagal***　　　　***kabas***　　*tar*　*ép*　　　*Kamrai.*
　　　　[dit]_A　[**ta-pagal**　　　**kabas**]_{SVC}　tar　[ép　　Kamrai]_O
　　　　3.PL　**ACAUS-break.apart**　**leave**　PRF　ART:CO1　PN

　　　　'They broke off the Kamrai (clan).'
<p style="text-align:right">(CLA [54])</p>

An anticausative verb may also be the basis for nominalization, in which case the
anticausative is preceded by an article:

(316) *... ép*　　*kirai*　*na*　***ép***　　　***tapagal***　　　*kaptikén*
　　　　ép　　　kirai　na　**ép**　　　**ta-pagal**　　kaptikén
　　　　ART:CO1　time　REL　**ART:CO1**　**ACAUS-break.apart**　beginning

　　　　tim　　　　*gali*　*an*　*Yat.*
　　　　t-im　　　　gali　an　Yat
　　　　LOC-*down*　above　at　PN

　　　　'the time when the first breaking up of the clans happened down there at Yat'
<p style="text-align:right">(CLA [3])</p>

Note that this process is not accompanied by reduplication of the verb, as is the case
for many verbs that undergo nominalization. Like other verbs an anticausative verb
may well be reduplicated, but the derived form then need not necessarily be a noun. In
the following example, the anticausative remains a verb even after the reduplication

process, this is indicated by the preceding subject marker *i* and the following perfect aspect marker *tar*:

(317)   *Tó*   *mangis* *na*   *ana*   *sén*   *i*
        tó   mangis   na   a-n-a   sén   [i]ₛ
        ART:[-ANIM].PL clan   REL   DEX-DEM.[-SG]-PROX   EMPH   3.SG

        tatapagal   *tar*.
        ta~ta-pagal   tar
        RED~ACAUS-break.apart   PRF

'These clans here are still separated.'

(CLA [75])

Reduplication here expresses distributivity. Note also that reduplication must have occurred *after* attaching the anticausative prefix. This is consistent with the fact that **tapapagal* is ungrammatical. There is also a reduplicated form *papagal*, which is the nominalised form of the verb.

As mentioned earlier, anticausative verbs are relatively rare in Siar, and the anticausative prefix only attaches to a limited set of verbs, all of which need to be potentially transitive (i.e. transitive or ambitransitive), hence the ungrammticality of derivations of intransitive verbs such as *mat* 'die' (**ta(k)-mat*) or *inan* 'go; walk' (**ta(k)-inan*). The *ta-* prefix is a common morpheme in many Oceanic languages, but its function is sometimes interpreted differently (cf. Evans & Ross 2001, Evans 2003: 295). Pawley (1972: 39) identifies the Proto-Oceanic "*'spontaneity' prefix *ta-* […] *indicating a condition which arises spontaneously, without an agent [… It] is a semi-productive affix which derives stative verbs from active verbs.*" Pawley later (1972: 45) refers to it as *stative derivative*. Margetts (1999: 199) prefers the label *resultative prefix* for Saliba (Western Oceanic, Papuan Tip Cluster). In other languages, the simple notion *detransitivizer* is used. The main reason why the term anticausative is used here is that most of the alternative notions do not take into account the change in valency. The notion detransitivizer which does make reference to valency is too general because there are also other detransitivizing processes in Siar, some of which are discussed in the following sections.

7.2.2 Noun stripping

Noun stripping and noun incorporation are two processes that are very similar, but only the former can be said to occur in Siar. For a proper analysis of the phenomenon it is necessary to clarify the key characteristics of both processes and to verify if and to which extent they apply in the case of Siar.

Noun incorporation is a grammatical feature that is frequently discussed in Oceanic linguistics, and this is often done controversially. In what follows, we will assume the following most general features of noun incorporation (some of which are subject to discussion in the cross-linguistic literature more generally):

1. A core argument (usually a noun) of an underlying transitive predicate is assimilated (or compounded, according to some approaches) into the verb.
2. The resulting predicate is detransitivized (and hence usually intransitive).
3. The incorporated noun is semantically backgrounded, but it further specifies the event denoted by the verb.
4. The resulting verb complex serves two functions, that of a predicate and and that of an argument of the clause (Gerdts 1998: 99).

The processes 2 and 4 are the main reasons why noun incorporation should not be confused with compounding.

Mithun (1984) analyses noun incorporation as underlyingly a morphological process that acts at the morphosyntax interface (*"Noun incorporation is perhaps the most nearly syntactic of all morphological processes"* (ibid. 847)). This definition makes it difficult to apply noun incorporation to languages such as Siar which only have little morphology. Consider the following examples:

(318) a. *Dit   kèp   ép   fin.*
           [dit]$_A$ kèp   [ép   fin]$_O$
           3.PL   get   ART:CO1   fruit

       'They gathered the fruits.'

                                                              (LAM [47])

b.   * *Dit   kèp.*
       [dit]_S kèp
       3.PL   get

Kèp 'get, gather' in (318a) is a strictly transitive verb, its core argument in O function cannot be left out (318b). In this light, the following construction looks somewhat unusual:

(319)   *Mara   kèp   kabu.*
          mara(u) [kep$_V$ kabu$_N$]$_{VC}$
          1.DU.EX gathered river.snails

          'We two gathered river snails.'

                                                (KAB [2])

The verb *kèp* is followed by the noun *kabu* 'river snail', but note that the article is missing. All NPs must have an article preceding the noun. It follows that *kabu* 'river snail' does not head an NP in this construction. In addition, no further core argument may be specified in this construction:

(320)   * *Mara   kèp   kabu   ép   kabu.*
          mara(u) [kep$_V$ kabu$_N$]$_{VC}$ [ép   kabu]$_O$
          1.DU.EX gathered river.snails   ART:CO1   river.snail

Note that the ungrammaticality of (320) is not due to the semantics of the O argument, any other additional NP would also be ungrammatical in this construction. Since *kabu* without an article is not an NP and a full NP cannot occur, the clause (320) above is clearly intransitive. It thus seems that *kabu* has been incorporated into the verb *kèp*, resulting in a new verb complex. Further evidence for such an analysis comes from the fact that only the whole verb complex can be marked for aspect, not just the verb itself. In the following example, the perfective marker *pas* follows the whole verb complex, indicating that *kèp kabu* forms a constituent (which will henceforth be referred to as a verb complex). A full object NP would instead follow the perfective marker:

(321)　　　*Mara kèp*　　　*kabu*　　**pas**.
　　　　　　mara(u)=[kèp_V　kabu_N]_{VC}　**pas**
　　　　　　1.DU.EX=get　　river.snail　**PFV**

　　　　　　'We two finished gathering river snails.'

This type of noun incorporation is described by Mithun as composition (by juxtaposition), a type that is said to be *"prevalent in Oceania"* (ibid. 849) and in languages with *"relatively analytic and […] fairly fixed, case based word-order[s]"* (such as Siar).

　　　　Gerdts talks about such cases in a slightly different way and draws a useful distinction between noun incorporation and noun stripping:

```
"Incorporation is morphological: the two elements involved are
part of the same word in surface structure. In noun stripping,
the two elements remain as separate words according to
phonological criteria such as stress placement. However,
surface adjacency of the noun and verb is required. […] Noun
stripping is very much like incorporation, particularly
compounding incorporation. The sole difference is that in true
incorporation the noun and verb are a single word. Noun
stripping can thus be seen as a precursor of noun
incorporation."
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```
                                          (Gerdts 1998: 93-94)
```

This definition nicely applies to (319). *Kèp* 'get' and *kabu* 'river snail' are two separate phonological words, but together they form a single grammatical word.

　　　　Other examples of noun stripping can be seen below:

Simple transitive construction		Noun stripping	
[*kawas*]ᵥ [*ép lamas*]ₙₚ	'climb a coconut tree'	[*kawas*ᵥ *lamas*ₙ]ᵥ꜀	'to coconut-climb'
[*riri*]ᵥ [*ép laka*]ₙₚ	'find a Tahitian chestnut'	[*riri*ᵥ *laka*ₙ]ᵥ꜀	'to Tahitian-chestnut-gather'
[*pul*]ᵥ [*ép tòh*]ₙₚ	'cut a sugarcane'	[*pul*ᵥ *tòh*ₙ]ᵥ꜀	'to sugarcane-cut'

Table 39: Other cases of noun stripping in Siar

Each case is structurally identical to (319). Note also that in each case, the stripped noun is semantically backgrounded. It does not refer to a specific entity anymore but rather specifies the event denoted by the verb.

Independent evidence to show that *pul tòh* 'cut sugarcane' should also be treated as a single constituent can also been found in the Siar data. Consider the following example:

(322)   **Pul   tòh   is   pas   ap   kaptur sòu.**
         [[**pul**ᵥ **tòh**ₙ]ᵥ꜀   **is**]ₛᵥ꜀   **pas**   ap   kaptur sòu
         cutᵥ   **sugarcane**ₙ   **return**   **PFV**   and   take.off   off

     '(I) came back to cut some sugarcanes and then took off.'

                                                               (TÒH [6])

Example (321) shows that the verb and the stripped noun may also be part of a serial verb complex in which they count as single verb. The verb complex here consists of a serial verb construction with two verbs, *pul* 'cut' and *is* 'return'. Note that both verbs are separated by *tòh* 'sugarcane' which is a noun that has been incorporated by *pul*. Note also the perfective aspect marker *pas* which follows the whole serial verb complex and has scope over the whole SVC (including the stripped noun).

All these examples can be said to be clear cases of noun stripping and not noun incorporation in the sense of Mithun (1984). There are also a few cases which resemble these processes but differ in at least one important feature. The following example is noteworthy for two reasons: a switched constituent order to N-V and the option of an additional noun phrase in O function:

(323)   *Dit*   *él*   *yai*   *kèp*   *(i)*   *ma.*
          [dit]$_A$ é-l   [yai$_N$ kep$_V$]$_{VC}$ [i]$_O$ ma
          3.PL   3.SG-IRR stick   get   3.SG TRANS

          'They will pole-carry (it) now.'

                                                           (AMP [7])

The stripped noun *yai* 'tree, branch, pole' cannot be an independent noun phrase for three reasons. First, it is not preceded by an article which is obligatory for noun phrases. Second, it is immediately preceded by a modal pronoun (*él*) which always introduces verb phrases. Third, core arguments that are not in subject function always follow the verb in Siar. This postverbal slot is already occupied by the object pronoun *i*. The option of having a core argument in O function means this construction is unlikely to be a case of noun stripping in the sense of Gerdts because,

```
"[…] noun stripping does more than simply delete the case
marking or determiners of the noun phrase; the valence of
clauses with noun stripping is also decreased."
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                                                            (1998: 94)

In the case of Siar, we are therefore led to conclude that either we have to work with a broader definition of noun stripping which does not necessarily involve detransitivization, or that the verb complex *yai kèp* 'to pole-carry' has been lexicalized and reinterpreted to the extent that additional noun phrases may be added. The change in word order clearly indicates additional factors at play.

     The examples in (324b) and (325b) below are similar to the case of (319), the difference being that there is also a phonological bond between the verb and the stripped or incorporated noun:

(324)   a.   *É*   *langai* *ép*   **balan**   *i*   **kut.**
              é   langai   [ép   **bala-n**]$_S$ i   **kut**
              ART:PROP prawn   ART:CO1 **stomach-3.SG.POSS**   3.SG **be.closed**

              'The prawn was angry (lit. *its stomach was closed*).'

                                                                (SEL [x])

b. *É*   *Alwin*   *i*   ***balkut***   *(matò).*
    é   Alwin   [i]ₐ   [**bal(a)=kut**]ᵥ   [matò(l)]ₒ
    ART:PROP   PN   3.SG   **stomach=be.closed**   1.PAU.EX

'Alwin was angry (with us).'

(KUK [10])

(325) a. *A*   *matak*   *bèl*   *ma*   *i*   ***ngis***.
           a   mata-k   bèl   ma   [i]ₛ   ngis
           ART:CO2   eye-1.SG.POSS NEG   TRANS   3.SG   **be.blessed**

'One of my eyes did not look good.'

(Toyson [x])

b. *Él'an*   *ón*   *ép*   ***balngis***.
    é-l=(in)an   ó-n   [ép   [**bal(a)=ngis**]ᵥ]_NP
    3.SG-IRR=go   OBL-POSS   ART:CO1   **stomach=be.blessed**

'He will go satisfied (lit. with his stomach being blessed).'

(KÈS [x])

Noun stripping does not seem to apply here because *balkut* and *balngis* are both single phonological words since the reduced nominal *bal=* (if analysed as a clitic) cannot occur on its own. *Balkut* 'be angry' in (324b) and *balngis* 'be satisfied' in (325b) both share features of noun stripping or noun incorporation, but there are also other features to consider. We can clearly see the semantic complexity of *balkut*[103], but the structural analysis is more difficult. It could be said that the nominal root *bala-* 'stomach' has been reduced to *bal*, and that the verb *kut* 'be closed' has been attached to it as an enclitic. It appears then that this verb complex has been lexicalized. The ambitransitive status of this verb is also somewhat unexpected of a noun incorporation analysis. The same is true for *balngis* 'be satisfied' in (325b), the only difference being that the verb complex has been nominalised by putting it into an NP slot.

Another verb complex that is very common in Siar involves the verb *amrai* 'bring' and the noun *pòl* 'dog':

---

[103] In many Oceanic languages and Tok Pisin, the stomach is the seat of somebody's emotions and feelings. Compare also Tok Pisin *bèl i hat* 'be angry (lit. *stomach is hot*)', *bèl i hevi* 'be upset (lit. *stomach is heavy*)' etc.

(326)   a.   *I*   *amrai*   *ép*   *pòl.*
             [i]$_A$ amrai   [ép   pòl]$_O$
             3.SG bring   ART:CO1 dog

             'He brought the dog.'

       b.   *I*   *amrai*   *pòl*   *(pas).*
             [i]$_S$ [amrai$_V$ pòl$_N$]$_{VC}$ pas
             3.SG bring   dog   PFV

             'He went hunting pigs (and finished).'

While the verb *amrai* 'bring' itself is strictly transitive (326a), the verb complex *amrai pòl* 'hunt pigs (lit. 'bring dogs') in (326b) is ambitransitive. A free NP may optionally be added in the O argument slot that follows the verb complex (and the perfective marker *pas*):

(327)   *I*   *amrai* *pòl*   *(pas)* *ép*   *bòròi.*
        [i]$_A$ [amrai$_V$ pòl$_N$]$_{VC}$ pas [ép   bòròi]$_O$
        3.SG bring   dog   PFV ART:CO1 pig

        'He (finished) hunting the pig.'

The resulting verb complex has also undergone a significant semantic shift. While it is clear that bringing a dog is an important characteristic of a pig-hunt in the Siar area, the verb complex *amrai pòl* may also refer to a pig-hunting event which does not involve a dog. Such a semantic shift is somewhat stronger than those found in usual processes of noun incorporation or noun stripping. It therefore seems to be the case that *amrai pòl* also has been fully lexicalized, and this complex should therefore not be analysed as a case of productive noun stripping, at least not synchronically. Evidence for lexicalization may also be drawn from the fact that pig hunts are very common and very often talked about by Siar speakers. Lexicalized sequences often refer to culturally important events or events (François 2003: 12)[104] that refer to the obtaining or preparation of food (as is the case in Siar).

     The few cases discussed in this section illustrate that noun stripping (or noun incorporation, depending on the analysis) is not as productive as in other Oceanic

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[104] *"Le phénomène de l'incorporation […] ne concerne que certains activités coutumières (chasse, pêche, consummation de kava, etc.)."*

languages (see e.g. Dixon 1988, Lee 1989, Margetts 1999, Van Der Mark 2007, Du 2010).

7.2.3 Detransitivization through reduplication

Reduplication is a very common process in many Oceanic languages and is often used for detransitivization processes. As the literature often indicates, reduplication is also typically a distinctive feature distinguishing active and stative verbs (Lichtenberk 1983, Mosel 1984, Margetts 1999). Active (or dynamic) verbs tend to be the only verbs types that can be reduplicated. While this holds true in many cases in Siar, there are also a number of exceptions which suggest that there are other circumstances which allow for reduplication (e.g. *nang~nang* 'wait', *mung~mung* 'lead', *ra-rak* 'want').

As discussed in section §3.1.4, reduplication has various functions, with the following four functions relating to verbs: nominalization of verbs, marking of iterative aspect, deriving adjectival modifiers from verbs and detransitivization of transitive verbs. The syntactic environment of the verb is useful in determining the function of reduplication.

In the following example, the verb *raut* 'pile up' occurs in its simple form and its reduplicated form.

(328) | *Matò* | ***raraut*** | *ap* | *matò* | ***raraut*** | *ap* | *matò* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [matò(l)]ₛ | **ra~raut** | ap | [matò(l)]ₛ | **ra~raut** | ap | [matò(l)]ₐ |
| 1.PAU.EX | **RED~pile.up** | and | 1.PAU.EX | **RED~pile.up** | and | 1.PAU.EX |

raut	*sòi*	*tar*	*i*	*tik*	*ép*	*mar*	*ón*
raut	sòi	tar	[i	tik	ép	mar	ó-n
pile.up	away	PRF	3.SG	one	ART:CO1	hundred	OBL-POSS

tó	*plastik.*
tó	plastik]ₒ
ART:[-ANIM].PL	[plastic.bag]ₜₚ

'We filled and filled (bags) until we had filled one hundred plastic bags.'

(PIU [2])

Note that both reduplicated forms *raraut* make up intransitive predicates since there is no O argument. The simple form *raut*, on the other hand, selects an argument in O function that is obligatory. Both verbs only differ from the root *raut* with regard to

their transitivity, which suggests that reduplication here can only serve a detransitivization purpose. It is interesting to note that since reduplication can also encode iterativity (see section §10.2.2), this may also be implied in this example. The fact that the reduplicated forms do not select an object whereas the unreduplicated form does strongly suggests though that if the reduplicant has only a single function, then it must be that of a detransitivizer.

Tun 'cook' in (329a) is a strictly transitive verb. In (329b), the verb form is reduplicated and there is no O argument present:

(329) a. *Diat* ***tun*** *i* *ap* *diat* *yan* *i.*
           [diat]_A **tun** [i]_O ap diat yan i
           3.PAU **cook** 3.SG and 3.PAU eat.TR 3.SG

           'They cooked it and they ate it.'

                                                            (CLA [37])

       b. *N'i* ***tutun*** *ap* *ya'ka* *wòt.*
           n(a)=[i]_S **tu~tun** ap ya(u)=k-a wòt
           REL=3.SG **RED~cook** and 1.SG=FOC-1.SG come

           'When he was cooking I came.'

                                                            (GAL [13])

The event denoted by the reduplicated verb in (329b) does seem to have a connotation of ongoing activity, as is also reflected by the English translation. This reading could arguably result from other elements in the sentence, especially the semantics of the relational marker *na*, which in this case translates as '(the time) when'. Here, the event denoted by the reduplicated form in the restrictive clause must be analysed as having already been in progress when the event in the non-restrictive clause started. In other approaches, e.g. Van Der Mark (2007: 140) for Vinitiri, more than one feature (e.g. durative aspect and detransitivization) can simultaneously be encoded in the reduplicant.

As is shown in §7.4, not all verbs can be reduplicated in order to be detransitivized. This process is restricted to a small class of verbs. Some verbs may employ suppletive forms, or a distinction may be drawn with the transitivizer suffix *-(V)i*. Other verbs cannot be placed in a predicate with incompatible transitivity.

7.2.4   Reciprocal constructions

7.2.4.1   Form and syntax

A typical feature of Austronesian languages in general, and Siar in particular, is the lack of dedicated affixes or pronouns for reflexive constructions (see section §6.5). Instead, dedicated morphology is only found for reciprocals (Bril 2005: 32). As is shown in the section §7.2.4.2, the Siar reciprocal affix encodes reciprocal relations and also *collective* or *chaining* relations. Syntactically, there is no difference between reciprocal events and collective or chained events.

In Siar, there are two mechanisms that can be applied to derive a construction that represents an event that involves a reciprocal or similar relation.

1.   Forming a serial verb construction in which the second verb is *a-is* (CAUS-return):

    yan   'eat'

    [*yan **a-is***]$_{SVC}$ 'eat each other'

2.   Attaching the reciprocal prefix *ar-* to the verb:

    um   'hit'

    ar-*um*   'hit each other'

A-is 'CAUS-return' in a serial verb construction in most cases refers to a change of location of the O argument referent in the predicate (e.g. *parai a-is* put CAUS-return 'put back') or to the repetition of an event (e.g. *yauh a-is* cook CAUS-return 'warm up (food)'), but in very few instances it can also encode reciprocity. The only two other forms with a reciprocal interpretation signalled by *ais* have been found in the Siar data:

(330)   a.   *mahlai ais*   'laugh at each other'

          b.   *nangan ais*   'help each other'

Of these three verbs, only *nangan* 'help' can alternatively take the reciprocal prefix (*ar-nangan* REC-help 'help each other') while the others cannot (**ar-yan*, **ar-mahlai*).

The prefix *ar-* is more productive and attaches to both active verbs and stative verbs:

(331) a. **Active verbs**

kapsur	'chase'	**ar-***kapsur*	'chase each other'
nangan	'help'	**ar-***nangan*	'help each other'
warai	'tell'	**ar-***warai*	'discuss' (lit. *tell each other*)
um	'hit'	**ar-***um*	'fight' (lit. *hit each other*)
kabah	'ask'	**ar-***kabah*	'ask each other'

 b. **Stative verbs**

balkut	'be angry'	**ar-***balkut*	'be angry at each other'
lar	'be like'	**ar-***lar*	'resemble'
			(lit. *be like each other*)

Derived active verbs are much more frequent than derived statives. Typical examples for each type of verb are given below. Active verbs shown in (332) while a stative verb is shown in (333):

(332) a.

I	*ru*	*ru*	*nanat*	*dira*	***arum***.
i	ru	ru	nanat	[dira=]ₛ	**ar-um**
3.SG	two	ART:CO1.DU	children	3.DU	**REC-hit**

'The children hit each other.'

 b.

Dit	*él*	***arnangan***	*ón*	*tó*
[dit]ₛ	é-l	**ar-nangan**	ó-n	tó
3.PL	3.SG-IRR	**REC-help**	OBL-POSS	ART:[-ANIM].PL

kirai	*róp.*
kirai	róp
day	finish

'They would help each other all the time.'

(TIN [x])

(333)　*Bèl a*　*rak*　*sur*　*dara*　*sin*　*él*　***arbalkut***.
bèl=a　rak　sur　[dara(u)　sin]$_S$　é-l　**ar-balkut**
NEG=1.SG　want　GOAL　1.DU.INC sibling　3.SG-IRR　**REC-angry**

'I don't want us to be angry at each other.'

<div align="right">(MAT [x])</div>

The dual subject marker *dira* in (332a) indicates that there are two participants involved in the cover event *ar-nangan* 'help each other' and therefore represents both participants at the same time. Cover events themselves are usually (but not always, see §7.2.4.2) made up of two or more subevents in which each participant acts individually, for example:

Cover event:	Children	HIT.EACH.OTHER	Children
Subevent 1:	[Child$_1$]$_{Ag}$	HIT	[Child$_2$]$_{Pt}$
Subevent 2:	[Child$_2$]$_{Ag}$	HIT	[Child$_1$]$_{Pt}$

The HELP event in (332b) implies that in each subevent denoted by the verb there is at least one helping participant (an agent) in A function and one helped participant (a beneficiary) in O function. Since the reciprocal construction (i.e. the cover event) is intransitive, each participant is syntactically represented by the subject marker in S function. Similarly, the two participants in the stative event in (333) are represented together using the dual subject pronoun *dara(u)* in the cover event.

Reciprocals may also be part of a serial verb construction in which they may be the first (334a) or second verb (334b):

(334)　a.　*I*　*wakak*　*dar'él*　***arkèlès***　*is*　*sén*　*alò*.
　　　i　wakak　[dar(au)]$_S$=é-l　[**ar-kèlès**　is]$_{SVC}$ sén　alò
　　　3.SG　good　1.DU.EX=3.SG-IRR **REC-change**　return EMPH　again

'It would be good if we switched places again.'

<div align="right">(TAM [12])</div>

b.   *Mèt*   *kès*   ***armuri***   *tar.*
        [mèt]ₛ   [kès   **ar-mur-i**]ₛᵥᴄ   tar
        1.PL.EX sit   **REC-follow-TR**   PRF

    'We were sitting in a row.'
    (lit. *We were sitting following each other*.)

<div align="right">(TOW [x])</div>

Verbs with the reciprocal prefix *ar-* may also be nominalised. In my corpus, the noun *f-ar-um* (NOM-REC-hit) 'war' (lit. *the hitting of each other*) is a frequent representative of this type.

    As with reflexive constructions, some reciprocal constructions that are typically and overtly expressed in English need not be overtly reciprocal in Siar, i.e. the verb need not be prefixed with *ar-* for a reciprocal reading. In (335) below, the subject in A function *dira* is coreferential with the pronoun in the complement clause of the goal preposition *sur*. Reciprocity can here be said to be a logical implication of the coreference between the object pronoun and the preceding subject marker *dira*.

(335)   *John*   *ap*   *é*   *Beka*   ***dira***   *rak*   *sur*   ***dirau***.
        John   ap   é   Beka   **[dira(u)]**ₐ rak [sur   **dirau**]ᴄᴏᴍᴘ
        PN   and   ART:PROP PN   **3.DU**   want GOAL   **3.DU**

    'John and Beka love each other (lit. *want for the two*).'

<div align="right">(elicited)</div>

As noted above, the causative verb *a-is* 'CAUS-return' is employed together with a transitive verb within an SVC to encode reciprocal relations:

(336)   a.   *Uring*   *uring*   *sén*   *kai*   *tutubun*
            uring   uring   sén   [kai   tu~tubu-n
            ago   ago   EMPH ART:ANIM.PL RED~grandparents-POSS

            dat   *dit*   *rèrè*   ***yan***   ***ais***   *dit.*
            dat]ₐ₌ₒ dit   rèrè   **[yan   a-is**]ₛᵥᴄ [dit]ₒ₌ₐ
            1.PL.INC 3.PL   HAB   **eat.TR** **CAUS-return** 3.PL

    'Long long ago our ancestors used to eat each other.'
    (lit. *eat made return them*)

<div align="right">(YAN [1])</div>

b.　*Matò*　　*ki*　　**mahlai**　**ais**　　*matòl.*
　　[matò(l)]~A=O~　k-i　　**[mahlai**　**a-is]**~SVC~　[matòl]~O=A~
　　1.PAU.EX　FOC-3.SG　**laugh.TR**　**CAUS-return**　1.PAU.EX

'We were laughing at each other.'

<div align="right">(POU [17])</div>

From a semantic point of view, these types of events, although not specified by *ar-*, must still be considered reciprocal. Reasons for this are given in the following section.

The transitivity status of reciprocals can differ cross-linguistically. As Evans, Gaby & Nordlinger (2004: 2) point out, *"Though it is clear that semantically there are two participant roles […], it is less clear how many syntactic arguments there are […], and in fact some languages treat reciprocal constructions as straightforwardly transitive while others treat them straightforwardly intransitive. […] There are also many languages where the various tests for transitivity contradict one another just in the case of reciprocal constructions […]".*

In Siar, the prefix *ar-* attaches to both intransitive and transitive verbs, deriving both intransitive and transitive reciprocals respectively. Prefixation to intransitive roots is very rare; this is due to the transitive nature of reciprocal events. The only case that have been observed in Siar is *ar-balkut* 'be angry at each other'.

As has been shown, reciprocal constructions are morphologically marked, while reflexive constructions have no dedicated marking, hence there is no separate grammatical category of reflexivity (see section §6.5). This distribution is a common feature of Oceanic languages (see e.g. Lichtenberk 2000). Diachronically, the reciprocal prefix *-ar* can be said to derive from Proto-Oceanic **paRi*-verb-*i* (Pawley 1973: 152). Pawley characterizes the basic meaning of this affix as indicating, "[…] *combined or repeated action by a plurality of actors, or affecting a plurality of entities, normally but not invariably those denoted by the subject of the verb.*" To what extent this can also be claimed for the Siar prefix is discussed in the following section.

7.2.4.2　Semantics

Reflexive constructions are closely related to reciprocal constructions. The difference between both constructions is mainly of a semantic nature and is usually drawn as follows.

Reflexive constructions represent a single event. The subject participant (usually an agent) is also the object participant (usually a theme or patient) in this event (A=O). In English, such events are typically specified by reflexive pronouns such as *himself*, *yourself* etc.

Canonical *reciprocal constructions* represent events that are made up of `n!` subevents (where `n` is the number of participants in the event) in which each participant is the agentive and patientive participant at least once, but never simultaneously[105]. Such events are typically specified by reciprocal pronouns such as *each other* or *one another* in English. Events with three or more participants are usually also regarded as reciprocal if some participants do not act as agent or patient in a subevent. This is for example the case if entities A, B and C are said to hit each other. If every entity really hits every other entity, with the exception that entity B does not hit entity C, then this would still be considered a reciprocal construction in the literature on reciprocals.

The meanings of the verbs prefixed with *ar-*, are not homogeneous and cannot always be defined in a coherent way. Without a context, it can be difficult to determine the exact semantics of the event(s). For example, *ar-um* 'fight each other' can apply to two participants that each are in A and O function once (X_A fights Y_O and Y_X fights X_O). However, this verb could also refer to a "*situation in which the action is carried out jointly by two or more participants, rather than as separate ('distributive') actions*." (Kemmer 2008: 1). Such a context would for example be two clans (consisting of several individuals) fighting each other in war. Note that here it is not a necessary condition to have everybody fight exactly everybody (and vice versa). The collective reading can therefore not be treated as a typical reciprocal construction. Rather than a reciprocal event, this event should be considered a collective event.

Lichtenberk (2000) also accounts for the semantic diversity of what has usually been subsumed under the notion 'reciprocal constructions'. He distinguishes the following types, of *reciprocal constructions* (and the label is also given to one of the specific construction types, i.e. the prototypical one):

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[105] In constructions such as English *They bumped into each other*, the subevents do happen at the same time, but as will be shown later, such events are not regarded as canonical reciprocals here, but rather as *collective* events.

	Type of reciprocal	Semantic specification	# of subevents (n = number of participants, x = frequency of a (sub)event)	Siar?
a)	Reciprocal situations	each participant is the agent in at least one subevent	$n!$	☑
b)	Chaining situations	W affects X in the same way as X affects Y and Y affects Z etc	$n-1$	☑
c)	Collective situations	more than one agent who are usually simultaneously involved in the same event	no subevents, only one collective event	☑
d)	Situations where the participants are in a converse relation to each other	Subject and object cannot be identified, no reciprocal relation, no collective relation, participants stand in a converse relation to each other	no subevents, only one general event	☑
e)	Distributed situations	locality or directionality of one subevent is not the same as that of another subevent	$[1 < x < n]$	☑
f)	Repetitive function	event occurs repeatedly	$[1 < x \leq \infty]$	☑
g)	Depatientive function (Geniušienė 1987: "*absolute reflexive*")	event is detransitivized, the direct object is backgrounded. Typical for Oceanic languages.	$[1 < x \leq \infty]$	☑
h)	Noun-based derivations	nominal relations that equally apply to entities in a converse relation, e.g. kinship. Feature of some Oceanic languages.	$n!$	☑
i)	Middle uses	event is rendered intransitive and takes on reflexive sense	$[1 < x \leq \infty]$	☒

Table 40: Semantic range of 'reciprocal' constructions in Oceanic languages (Lichtenberk 2000)[106]

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[106] Semantic specifications and the number of subevents are my own addition.

All types except for type (i) can be observed in Siar. Types (a-h) are investigated in the following sections. See Lichtenberk (2000) for an analysis of the rare constructions of type (i) in another Oceanic language.

7.2.4.2.1   Reciprocal situations

The first type of reciprocal that can also be found in Siar is the prototypical one: reciprocal situations. As indicated in **Table 40**, reciprocal situations are typically comprised of `n` participants and `n!` subevents. As we noted above, an important feature of these reciprocal situations is that in each subevent there is only one agent. In addition, each participant must be agent and patient (in A and O function) in at least one subevent. Participants may never simultaneously be in agent and patient role since then they would make up a reflexive subevent rather than a reciprocal one. Prototypically reciprocal constructions can usually be translated to English using reciprocal pronouns such as *each other* or *one another.*[107] Two example sentences for Siar reciprocals are shown below:

(337) a. *John   ap   é   Wiken   dira   **arum***.
           John   ap   é   Wiken   [dira(u)]$_S$ **ar-um**
           PN   and   ART:PROP   PN   3.DU   **REC-hit**

           'John and Wiken hit each other.'

      b. *Dira   **arpastat**   tóng   an   Kavieng.*
          [dira(u)]$_S$ **ar-pastat**   t-óng   an   Kavieng
          3.DU   **REC-find**   LOC-*back*   at   PN

          'The two met (lit. *found each other*) up at Kavieng.'

                                                                  (MAT [x])

The reciprocal event in (337a) is comprised of two subevents: one in which John$_A$ hits Wiken$_O$ and one in which Wiken$_A$ hits John$_O$. In the reciprocal cover event (i.e. on the syntactic level), however, John and Wiken are in neither A nor in O function because intransitive reciprocal constructions only allow for a single S argument which comprises agent and patient. The obligatory S argument, represented by the third

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[107] English also allows reciprocal constructions without using reciprocal pronouns, e.g. in *John and Mary kissed*. In such cases, reciprocity can be argued to be an inherent property of the verb. Note that the default reading in this case does not imply kissing other people.

person dual subject marker *dira* 'the two' equally represents both participants simultaneously.

A similar case can be observed in (337b). The reciprocal FIND event is made up of two subevents in which each participant functions as agent and patient exactly once (X finds Y and Y finds X). The participants are again both represented by the S argument *dira* 'the two' in the S function of the reciprocal (cover) event.

Note that reciprocal constructions may consist of more than two participants. In order to remain a canonical reciprocal event, however, each participant must be both agent and patient in at least one subevent. The total number of participants in a reciprocal events also determines the overall number of subevents which is `n!` (e.g. four participants lead to `4!` = 24 subevents).

7.2.4.2.2 Chaining situations

The second event type represented by the prefix *ar-* is an event in which '[…] *participant A stands in a certain relation to participant B, participant B stand in the same relation to participant C, C to D, etc* […]' (Lichtenberk 2000: 35). This type is rare in Siar, and only one such construction appears in the data:

(338)	*Mèt*	*kès*	***armuri***	*tar.*
	[mèt]ₛ	kès	**ar-mur-i**	tar
	1.PL.EX	sit	**REC-follow-TR**	PRF

'We were sitting in a row (lit. *sitting following each other*).'

(TOW [x])

All the participants that make up the event are represented by the first person plural exclusive pronoun *mèt*. This example nicely illustrates the chaining situation since participant A is sitting in front of participant B, participant B is sitting in front of participant C, C in front of D etc (thus making up a *chain*). The cover event is made up of `n-1` subevents (e.g. four participants lead to three subevents).

A striking feature of the reciprocal verb in the example is that the transitivizer suffix -(V)*i* has been attached. Note, however, that the construction itself is strictly intransitive since there is no O argument available or allowed. The transitivizer might relate to the internal event structure in which each subevent is transitive. This suffix

therefore seems to have functions beyond that of marking transitivity on the surface (cf. §7.3.2).

7.2.4.2.3   Collective situations

The third construction type which is specified by *ar-* is that of *collective* events. As opposed to reciprocal events, collective events are not comprised of several subevents. Rather, there is only one general event. In addition, all participants in the collective event are simultaneously involved as agents. Consider the following example:

(339) | *Matò* | ***arsóng*** | *ma* | *(main* | *ép* | *tarai* | *na* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [matò(l)]ₛ | **ar-sóng** | ma | mai-n | ép | tarai | na |
| 1.PAU.EX | **REC-meet** | TRANS | COM-POSS | ART:CO1 | men | REL |

dit	*sól*	*tar).*
dit	sól	tar
3.PL	stroll.around	PRF

'We met with the people (who were strolling around).'

(SOL [29])

While on the syntactic level it is clear that the predicate subject *matò* is the argument in S function, the roles of the participants in the semantics of the MEET event cannot be determined as easily. It is a logical consequence that if participant A meets participant B, participant B simultaneously meets participant A. This type of event is therefore quite distinct from reciprocal events such as HIT because in case of a HIT event one would have `n!` subevents whereas collective events only consist of one event experienced simultaneously by all participants.

It is difficult to estimate the frequency of collective events in Siar because the prefix *ar-* as such covers a wide range of event types, and the internal semantics of the event must be examined closely to determine the event type. Often one can argue that an event that has been analysed as collective appears truly reciprocal in another light. It seems, however, that establishing an event as collective rather than reciprocal is more difficult and therefore occurs less frequently, and hence that collective events represented by *ar-* are not as frequent as true reciprocals in Siar.

7.2.4.2.4   Converse relations

The fourth construction type that is represented by the prefix *ar-* has been referred to as a *converse relation* (Lichtenberk 2000: 37). Constructions with converse relations are characterised by not allowing the identification of which argument is in A or O function. That is, semantically speaking, they do not indicate who is the agent and who is the patient in the event. Converse relations are established within just one general event, there are no subevents involved. Consider the following example:

(340)   *Dira   ki   **arkapsur;**   ép   wakin   ki   liu,*
        [dira(u)]$_S$ k-i   **ar-kapsur**   ép   wakin   k-i   liu
        3.DU   FOC-3.SG   **REC-chase**   ART:CO1   wallaby FOC-3.SG   run

        ép   pòl   i   duk   pas   ma   an   murun.
        ép   pòl   i   duk   pas   ma   an   muru-n
        ART:CO1   dog   3.SG chase PFV   TRANS   at   back-3.SG.POSS

        'The two were involved in an activity of chasing; the wallaby was running and the dog was after him.'

                                             (KAR [x])

On the syntactic level, the subject argument in S function is represented by the dual pronoun *dira(u)*. Syntactically speaking, both participants in the event are interpreted as agentive subjects (i.e. they are chasing one another). However, as was also the case in previous sections, the internal semantics of the event are not that straightforward. In the narrative, the reciprocal construction is elaborated in an additional clause which specifies who is chasing whom (the dog chases the wallaby and *not* vice versa). Note also that a canonical CHASE event only makes sense if the chasee is moving *away* from the chaser.

7.2.4.2.5   Distributed situations

The fifth event type represented by *ar-* is that of *distributed situations*. Such situations are made up of at least two and maximally n subevents. The important feature of such constructions is that locality or directionality of the subevents are not always the same. Lichtenberk (2000: 39-40) gives examples for *dispersive* (emitting from a central point), *reversive* (in opposing direction) and *unspecified* distributions. Two distributive events in Siar are shown below:

(341)   **Dispersive**

Dit	*kèp*	*ép*	*fin*	*ap*	*dit*	*artamrai*	*ma*
dit	kèp	ép	fin	ap	[dit]$_S$	**ar-tamr-ai**	ma
3.PL	get	ART:CO1	fruit	and	3.PL	**REC-share**	TRANS

ón	*dit.*
ó-n	dit
OBL-POSS	3.PL

'They gathered the fruits and they shared them.'

(LAM [48])

(342)   **Reversive**

Kinbalik,	*darau*	*él*	*arkèlès.*
kinbali-k	[darau]$_S$	é-l	**ar-kèlès**
friend-1.SG.POSS	1.DU.INC	3.SG-IRR	**REC-change**

'My friend, let us switch (places).'

(TAM [5])

In the case of (341) there are two conceivable event scenarios that could be analysed as *dispersive*. In the first scenario, the fruits are taken from the tree and then directly distributed to the participants, with the tree that the fruits are taken from being the centre of dispersal. In the second scenario, the fruits are taken from the tree by one or more participants and are then distributed by the participants, in which case the participants are the centre of dispersal. Within the context of the narrative, both scenarios are conceivable.

The CHANGE event in (342) is *reversive*. On the syntactic level, there is only one argument in S function (*darau*) which represents the two participants in the event. This sentence by itself would have a reading in which the participants change themselves (i.e. their character). In the context of the narrative, however, the two participants change the places they are sitting.

7.2.4.2.6   Repetitive function

The sixth type of construction marked with *ar-* is that of *repetitive* events. Repetitive events are made up of at least two subevents. The special circumstance here is that the subevents are essentially all the same and they usually involve the same participants. An example for a repetitive event in Siar is given below:

(343)　*I'an*　*ap*　*i*　***arkam***　*panai*　*tar.*
　　　　i=(in)an　ap　[i]_S　**ar-kam**　panai　tar
　　　　3.SG=go　and　3.SG　**REC-call**　in.vain　PRF

'He went and repeatedly called (him) in vain.'

(FAT [x])

The construction in the above example is strictly intransitive with only a subject argument in S function present. The CALL event itself is usually transitive, but in this case, the reciprocal prefix has detransitivized the construction. Native speakers interpret the sentence as denoting an event that happens repeatedly.

The following example is more complex because of a metaphorical reading of the reciprocal verb:

(344)　*Dit*　***ardat***　*i*　*i*　*ding*　*ép*　*risén*
　　　　[dit]_A　**ar-dat**　[i]_O　i　d-ing　ép　risé-n
　　　　3.PL　**REC-pull**　3.SG　3.SG　DEM.SG-ANA　ART:CO1　name-POSS

　　　　baran　*di*　*warai*　*ép*　*Kórói*　*ón.*
　　　　baran　di　war-ai　ép　Kórói　ó-n
　　　　thing　IND　speak-TR　ART:CO1　PN　OBL-3.SG.POSS

'They are (still) confusing (lit. *repeatedly pulling*) that thing called the Kórói.'
(CLA [71])

The PULL event in (344) is syntactically transitive since A and O argument are both present and obligatory. Strictly speaking, therefore, the use of the *ar-* prefix is not a detransitivizing process at all in this case. Note also that the verb *dat* 'pull' is used in a metaphorical sense here, a sense that is not available for the unaffixed verb form *dat* 'pull'. A typical reciprocal reading must again be ruled out in this case because the subject participants are not acting on each other. They are rather all acting on the argument in O function (the clan name). The number of participants and hence the number of subevents can in theory be infinite and cannot be determined from the context. The reciprocal prefix does not seem to specify a relation between agent and patient of the PULL event. Rather, it expresses a repeated action and is interpreted as such by native speakers.

7.2.4.2.7   Depatientive function

Lichtenberk (2000: 42) defines the depatientive function as a subtype of the repetitive function in which *"transitive verbs are made syntactically intransitive […] there is no direct object. The Endpoint participant encoded as the direct object of the source verb is backgrounded, not expressed. However, even though no endpoint participant is expressed, there is one implied. Typically, the implied Endpoint participant is general, nonspecific, and the situation is a habitual or general one."* The depatientive construction is said to be found in a number of Oceanic languages, and can also be observed in Siar. In the following two examples, the depatientive reciprocal has a metaphorical meaning:

(345)   *N'a*   *gang pas*   *i*   *ap*   *ka*   *kilang*
n(a)=a   gang pas   i   ap   k-a   kilang
REL=1.SG   drink PFV   3.SG   and   FOC-1.SG   feel

m'ép   *matak*   *ki*   *ròrònmòn ma,*
m(a)=ép   mata-k   k-i   rò~rònmòn ma
TRANS=ART:CO1   eye-1.SG.POSS   FOC-1.SG   RED~dark   TRANS

marasin   *ning*   *i*   **arum**.
[marasin   n-ing]$_S$ i   **ar-um**
medicine$_{TP}$ DEM.[-SG]-ANA   3.SG   **REC-hit**

'When I had drunk it (the medicine) I felt it was getting dark before my eyes, but the medicine was fighting (it).'

(MAR [18])

(346)   *Na*   *ép*   *farum*   *ki*   *rarakai, ap*   *dit*
na   ép   f-ar-um   k-i   rarakai   ap   [dit]$_S$
REL   ART:CO1   REC-hit   FOC-3.SG   strong   and   3.PL

ki   **arkèlès**.
k-i   **ar-kèlès**
FOC-3.SG   **REC-change**

'When the war was getting worse, they were (also) changing.'

(FAR [x])

Since *um* 'hit' is a strictly transitive verb in Siar (e.g. [*Dias*]$_A$ *i um* [*yau*]$_O$ 'Dias hit me'), it is then also clear that the event specifier prefix *ar-* in (345) has a detransitivizing function because at the syntactic level, the predicate is intransitive since there is only a subject in S function and no O argument is available or allowed.

The medicine is the syntactic subject (in a non-proto agentive or instrumental role) but the entity that is being fought by the medicine (the disease) has been backgrounded and is not directly expressed within this predicate (but it can be inferred from the context). There is also no reciprocal relation between the medicine and any other entity which leads us to assume that the *ar-* prefix encodes a function beyond that of indicating a relation between participants in the event. The Siar verb *um* 'hit' is by far the most frequent verb that fuses with the event specifier prefix *-ar*. The fact that the prefixation of *um* may result in different event types is indicative of the semantic diversity of the reciprocal prefix.

In (346) the event specifier prefix has been attached to the transitive verb *kèlès* 'change'. In canonical constructions, *kèlès* requires an agentive subject (an entity that causes the change) and an object (an entity that undergoes the change). As is the case in English, there is a reciprocal reading of CHANGE in which causer and undergoer are coreferential or in which undergoer and causer are at least meronymically related, e.g. in *John changed* (his character). The same can be said about (346) in which causer and undergoer are the same participant, although the participant can only be inferred from the context here (it is the soldiers who changed when the war was getting worse). This is the alternative reading of *ar-kèlès* that was mentioned in the case of the reversive reading in (342).

7.2.4.2.8   Noun-based derivations

Noun-based derivations involve the prefixation of the event specifier *ar-* to a noun, a process that has already been observed in other Oceanic languages. As Lichtenberk (2000: 44 ff.) points out, kinship terms and terms that denote social relations (e.g. *friendship*, *partner* etc) are most likely to undergo this type of derivation. From the syntactic point of view, these constructions do not directly involve an event represented by a verb. Hence there cannot be an underlying transitive construction or a detransitivizing process. Still, when considering the Siar data, an event (or more than one if interpreted reciprocally) is implied. The only seemingly reciprocal form in the Siar corpus that seems to qualify for an analysis based on the noun-based derivation approach is *arlémén* 'friendship':

(347) *Dara* ***arlémén*** *akak,* *dara* *póróman* *akak,*
       dara(u) [ar-lémén]_N (w)akak dara(u) [p(ó)róman_{TP}]_N (w)akak
       1.DU.INC **REC-friends** good 1.DU.INC friends good

       dara *sin,* *ap* *dara* *tarai* *sin* *akak.*
       dara [sin]_N ap dara(u) [tarai sin]_{NP} (w)akak
       1.DU.INC sibling and 1.DU.INC men sibling good

       'We two are good friends, we are good friends, we are brothers and we are
       good brothers.'

                                                                          (KAR [x])

In (347), the word *arlémén* is coreferential with other nominal expressions referring to
friendship or family relations, including *póróman* 'friend' (< Tok Pisin *proman 'twin;
friend'*), *sin* 'sibling' and *tarai sin* 'brother (lit. *men sibling*)'. This shows that *arlémén*
is treated like a noun phrase. Since there are no overt copulas in Siar (see also section
§11), we could assume *Dara arlémén akak* 'We two are good friends' is a verbless
clause with an NP in predicative function. Note that the reciprocal noun *arlémén* could
easily be replaced by any other semantically compatible NP that is not reciprocal (as is
the case for all the other NPs in the example above). Note also that there is no
unprefixed form **lémén* in Siar, either as verb or as noun. While this might indicate
that the form in (347) is morphologically simple from a synchronic perspective, the
reciprocal relation in *arlémén* can clearly be seen from a diachronic point of view.

    Arlémén also occurs in its nominalised form *farlémén*:

(348) *Ép* ***farlémén*** *anun* *main* *dirau*
       ép **ar-lémén** anu-n mai-n dirau
       ART:CO1 **REC-friendship** CL:GEN-3.SG.POSS COM-POSS 3.DU

       i *takutus.*
       i ta-kutus
       3.SG ACAUS-cut

       'His friendship with the two broke.'

                                                                          (FAK [x])

Arlémén is the only noun-based derivation of this type in Siar. There are no examples
involving kinship terms. It thus appears that noun-based derivations involving *ar-* are
not productive in Siar. Note also that there is a nominal root *kinbali-* which means
'friend', but which never occurs with the reciprocal prefix:

(349)　a.　*Dirau　kinbalin　akak.*
　　　　　dirau　　kinbali-n　　(w)akak
　　　　　3.DU　　friend-POSS　good

　　　　'The two were good friends.'

　　　b.　* *Dirau　arkinbali(n).*
　　　　　dirau　　ar-kinbali(-n)
　　　　　3.DU　　REC-friend(-POSS)

7.3　Valency-increasing mechanisms

The preceding sections all involved a decrease of the valency of the verb. In the following sections, we will consider mechanisms that derive verbs with higher valency. Two such mechanisms can be found in Siar: the causative prefix *a-* (§7.3.1) and the transitivizer suffix -(V)*i* (§7.3.2).

7.3.1　Causatives

7.3.1.1　Form and syntax

Causatives are applied to intransitive or ambitransitive constructions and introduce an additional A argument (a causer). The original S argument of an intransitive verb becomes the O argument while in the case of transitive verbs, the A argument becomes an O argument and the original O argument becomes an optional adjunct.

In Siar, causatives are formed by adding the causative prefix *a-*[108] to the verb. The causative prefix can be attached to stative intransitive verbs (350), to active intransitive verbs (351) as well as to active ambitransitive verbs (352). The results of both prefixation processes are causative monotransitive verbs.

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[108] Proto-Oceanic **pa(ka)-* (Lynch et al. 2002: 83). It is possible that the initial /p/ in this prefix has remained as the agentive nominalizer prefix *f-* that can only be attached to causativized verbs (this prefix will be discussed later in this section).

(350) **Intransitive verb (stative)** → **Transitive verb (causative)**

lalapang	'be hot'	***a**-lalapang*	'make hot'
kór	'be boiling'	***a**-kór*	'boil'
balkut	'be angry'	***a**-balkut*	'make angry'
tòstòs	'be correct; be straight'	***a**-tòstòs*	'correct; straighten'
mònòng	'be busy'	***a**-mònòng*	'make busy; distract'

(351) **Intransitive verb (active)** → **Transitive verb (causative)**

bòrbòr	'sleep'	***a**-bòrbòr*	'put to sleep'
kès	'sit'	***a**-kès*	'trap; fix (e.g. date)'
mat	'die'	***a**-mat*	'kill'
is	'return'	***a**-is*	'bring back'
kaptur	'take off; leave; get up'	***a**-kaptur*	'start (e.g. engine)'

It is interesting to note that even though the verbs in (351) are all active, they are not typical agentive verbs.

(352) **(Ambi)transitive verb (active)** → **Transitive verb (causative)**

par	'step over'	***a**-par*	'make sb. cross (e.g. river)'
gang	'drink'	***a**-gang*	'make sb. drink'
rè	'see'	***a**-rè*	'make sb. see; teach'
pirim	'move down; exit'	***a**-pirim*	'make sb. leave'

Example sentences for the first type of derivation are given below:

(353)   **Intransitive verb (stative)**   →   **Transitive verb (causative)**

  a.   *Ép*   *malum*   *i*   ***kór.***
       [ép   malum]ₛ   i   **kór**
       ART:CO1   fresh.water 3.SG   **be.boiling**

       'The water is boiling.'

  b.   *Al*   ***akór***   *i.*
       [a]ₐ-l   **a-kór**   [i]ₒ
       1.SG-IRR   **CAUS-boil**   3.SG

       'I will make it boil.'

                                                    (KUK 2 [10])

The argument in S function in the underlying predicate (*ép malum* 'water') becomes the O argument in the derived transitive predicate, and a new causer is introduced in A function (here the first person singular pronoun *a*).

   Example (354) below shows an example for the derivation of active intransitive verbs:

(354)   **Intransitive verb (active)**   →   **Transitive verb (causative)**

  a.   *Matò*   *kaptur*   *tar*   *ón*   *ép*   *rah.*
       [matò(l)]ₛ   kaptur   tar   ó-n   ép   rah
       1.PAU.EX   take.off   PRF   OBL-POSS ART:CO1   afternoon

       'We took off in the afternoon.'

                                                    (AMP 2 [3])

  b.   *Ép*   *operator*   *i*   ***akaptur***   *a*   *masin.*
       [ép   operatorₑₙG]ₐ   i   **a-kaptur**   [a   masinₜₚ]ₒ
       ART:CO1   operator   3.SG   **CAUS-start**   ART:CO2   engine

       'The operator started (lit. *made take off*) the engine.'

                                                    (ARS [13])

The verb *kaptur* 'take off' in (354a) is strictly intransitive and the PP *ón ép rah* 'in the afternoon' is optional. The derived causative form in (354b) on the other hand is transitive. Note the presence of the O argument *a masin* 'engine' which cannot be left out.

Causativized intransitives differ from causativized transitives in relation to valency-changing. While causativized intransitives become transitives (thus increasing their valency), causativized transitives do not become ditransitive. Rather, they maintain their monotransitive status, which means that there is actually no valency-changing process involved. As Aikhenvald (2007: 3) points out, the choice of transitive verbs in these cases is very restricted. Ingestive verbs (such as EAT and DRINK) are typical candidates for a causative derivation.

A predicate may consist of more than one causative. A serial verb construction may be made up of two (355a) or, in very rare cases, even three causative forms (355b):

(355)   a.   *Na*   *matò*   **akór**   **amènèr**   *tar*   *i*   …
             na   matò(l)   [a-kór   a-mènèr]$_{SVC}$ tar   i
             REL   1.PAU.EX **CAUS-boil** **CAUS-cooked** PRF   3.SG

'When we had boiled it so that it was done …'
                                                          (BIW [20])

        b.   *Matò*   **atòstòs**   **aróp**   **ais**   *tar*   *i.*
             [matò(l)]$_A$ [a-tòstòs   a-róp   a-is]$_{SVC}$ tar   [i]$_O$
             1.PAU.EX   **CAUS-correct** **CAUS-complete** **CAUS-return** PRF   3.SG

'We completely repaired it.'
(lit. *made correct made complete made return it*)
                                                          (KAL 2 [13])

The above examples seem to be exceptions to the tendency described by Dixon (2000: 59) who observes that "*[double causatives are] not reported for the 'two verbs in one predicate'* [i.e. a serial verb] *construction […]*". The following evidence suggests that the causative forms in both examples are nevertheless components of a single predicate:

a)   there is only one subject marker (which is obligatory in every VP[109]);

b)   the causatives within the SVC refer to the same event;

c)   the objects are shared by all SVC components; and

d)   in both cases in (355), the postverbal perfective marker *tar* specifies the whole SVC and hence each component inside of it

There are restrictions on the order in which causer and causee occur. All causative constructions in the data have the causer (A) in a position that precedes the causative verb, and they have the causee (O) in a position that follows the causative verb. The order of the constituents cannot be swapped without a concomitant change in meaning, which is not suprising for an AVO language:

(356)   a.   ***Ép***   ***pól***   *i*   *ngas* *amat*   ***ép***
             [ép   pól]$_{CAUSER(A)}$ i   [ngas a-mat]$_{SVC}$ [ép
             ART:CO1   **dog**   3.SG   bite   CAUS-die   **ART:CO1**

             kailam.
             kailam]$_{CAUSEE(O)}$
             lizard

             'The dog bit the lizard dead (lit. *bit made die the lizard*).'

        b.   ***Ép***   ***kailam***   *i*   *ngas* *amat*   ***ép***
             [ép   kailam]$_{CAUSER(A)}$ i   [ngas a-mat]$_{SVC}$ [ép
             ART:CO1   **lizard**   3.SG   bite   CAUS-die   **ART:CO1**

             pòl.
             pòl]$_{CAUSEE(O)}$
             dog

             'The lizard bit the dog dead (lit. *bit made die the dog*).'

Causative verbs can also be nominalised, yielding occupational nouns or nouns referring to entities that do something habitually. In these cases, the nominalizer prefix *f-* (which is also used for reciprocal nominalizations) is attached to the causative verb. The resulting complex must then be located in a nominal syntactic position, such as the O slot in the following example:

---

[109] Imperatives are an exception to this rule as they do not require subject markers if the intended subject.

(357)   *A rak   al   usrai   ép   fakès.*
      a=rak   a-l   usrai   [ép   fa-kès]$_O$
      1.SG=want   1.SG-IRR   tell.story ART:CO1   CAUS-sit

      'I want to talk about the creation (of earth).'
      (lit. *I want to talk about the cause-to-sitting*)

      (FAK [1])

Causativization is not restricted to native Siar words. There are also few cases of borrowings from Tok Pisin or English that have causative *a-* attached to them:

(358)   *Dit   was   aróng   pas   tó   kirai.*
      [dit]$_A$ [was   a-[róng]$_{TP}$]$_{SVC}$ pas   [tó   kirai]$_O$
      3.PL   read   CAUS-wrong   PFV   ART:[-ANIM].PL   day

      'They got the days (for the feast) wrong.'
      (lit. *They read caused to be wrong the day*.)

      (CLA [19])

7.3.1.2   Semantics

The causative prefix frequently attaches to verbs within serial verb constructions which can be of the symmetrical type or the asymmetrical type. It has mostly been observed on the second verb in such sequences, where it usually specifies the final state of the SVC's object (the causee). It follows that SVCs with a causative verb in second position usually reflect the temporal arrangement of the subevents that make up the SVC (the subevent represented by the first verb occurs first, the subevent represented by the second/causativized verb occurs after).

(359)   a.   *Ép   kailam sa   i   yan   aróp   pas*
          [ép   kailam]$_A$ sa   i   [yan   a-róp]$_{SVC}$ pas
          ART:CO1   lizard   RESTR   3.SG eat   CAUS-finish   PFV

          ép   bòròi.
          [ép   bòròi]$_O$
          ART:CO1   pig

          'The lizard had eaten the pig all by himself.'
          (lit. *The lizard had eaten and caused the pig to be finished*.)

          (RTK [7])

b. *Dit   ngas **amat**   i.*
    [dit]_A [ngas **a-mat**]_{SVC}   [i]_O
    3.PL   bite   **CAUS-die**   3.SG

'They bit it (the pig) to death.'

(SOL [21])

The causative form *aróp* in (359a) specifies that the lizard had *completely* eaten up the pig. In (359b), the causative form *amat* refers to the fact that that the pig is dead as a result of the biting.

As the translations of some example sentences in this section might suggest (e.g. *make something happen* vs. *cause something to happen*), causative events may differ from each other semantically. Dixon (2000: 62 ff.) establishes the following nine parameters that specify the semantic properties of causative events. Languages may differ with regard to if and how a verb can be causativized. Each parameter will be defined and checked for Siar in the remainder of this section.

Parameter	Relating to …
1. State or event	Relating to the semantics of the verb
2. Transitivity	
3. Control	Relating to the causee (original S or A)
4. Volition	
5. Affectedness	
6. Directness	Relating to the cause(r) (in A function in the causative construction)
7. Intention	
8. Naturalness	
9. Involvement	

Table 41: Nine semantic parameters for causative constructions
(Dixon 2000: 62)

As for parameter one, the causative prefix can equally be attached to both stative verbs and active verbs. In the following example, the SVC consists of a derived stative verb in initial position and a derived active verb in second position:

(360) I   *atòstòs*   *ais*   *pas*   *i.*
      [i]$_A$ [a-tòstòs   a-is]$_{SVC}$ pas   [i]$_O$
      3.SG   CAUS-straight   **CAUS-return**   PFV   3.SG

      'He repaired it.'

                                                                               (PAL [15])

Also, there do not seem to be restrictions on the transitivity status of the causativized verb (parameter 2). Both intransitive and transitive verbs can take the causative prefix. In the following example, the serial verb construction consists of the derived transitive verb *atin* 'light (fire)' in initial position and the derived transitive verb *ais* 'return' in second position:

(361) A   *atin*   *ais*   *ép*   *yah*   *ting*   *an*
      [a]$_A$ [a-tin   a-is]$_{SVC}$ [ép   yah]$_O$ t-ing   an
      1.SG   **CAUS-to.light** **CAUS-return**   ART:CO1   fire   LOC-ANA   at

      lón   *ép*   *daram.*
      ló-n   ép   d(a)ram$_{TP}$
      mouth-POSS   ART:CO1   drum

      'I lit another fire inside the drum.'
      (lit. *I made light made return the fire.*)

                                                                                 (TUN [7])

According to Dixon, the semantics of causative verbs may also differ with regard to whether or not the causee is in control of the activity. [CONTROL] (parameter 3) of the causee is not a requirement in Siar. The causer in the causative event in (362a) can be said to have control over the event while this is not the case for the causative event in (362b):

(362) a. I   *atòstòs*   *akak*   *pas*   *i.*
          i   **a-tòstòs**   (w)akak   pas   i
          3.SG   **CAUS-correct**   good   PFV   3.SG

          'He repaired it well.'

                                                                              (PAL [16])

b. *Ép*   *bat*   *ki*   ***atur***   *i*
    [ép   bat]   k-i   **a-tur**   [i]
    ART:CO1   rain   FOC-3.SG   **CAUS-stand**   3.SG

    tóng   *is.*
    t-óng   is
    LOC-*back*   return

'The rain started (lit. *made stand*) to come up.'

(BAB [19])

The subject in (362a) is human, and as a human entity is potentially able to have control over an event as is clearly the case here. *Bat* 'rain' in (362b) is inanimate and can never have control over an event.

The fourth parameter, which is closely related to that of [CONTROL], is [VOLITION]. Volition implies that the causee is *willing* to initiate the event the causer causes to happen. Volition is independent from the [CONTROL] setting because an event that is desired may or may now be in control of the causee. The only restriction that applies to volitional referents is that they must be animate. A causative construction with the causee specified for [+VOLITION] is given in (363a), a causee specified for [-VOLITION] is given in (363b):

(363) a. *Dit*   *inan* *kasai*   *an*   *lakman* *ap*   *dit*   ***apar***
           dit   inan   ka-Ø-sai   an   lakman   ap   [dit]_A   **a-par**
           3.PL   go   ALL-(LOC-)DIST   at   village   and   3.PL   **CAUS-cross**

           tar   *ép*   *operator.*
           tar   [ép   operator]_O
           PRF   ART:CO1   operator_{ENG}

           'They went to the village and dropped off the operator.'

(ARS [18])

b. *Marau*   *pas*   ***ainòi***   *pas*   *i*   *tik*   *ép*   *sósópen.*
    [marau]_A   [pas   **a-inòi**]_{SVC}   pas   [i   tik   ép   só~sópen_{TP}]_O
    1.DU.EX   step   **CAUS-full**   PFV   3.SG   one   ART:CO1   RED~pot

    'We filled one pot.'

(KAB [6])

In the narrative that example sentence (363a) belongs to, the operator leaves the boat willingly. Volition also requires animacy of the referent. This is not the case in (363b) where the causee (the pot) is inanimate and where it can therefore not be volitional.

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Volitional causees occur much less frequently in the data. Some statistics relating to the frequency of each parameter setting are given at the end of this section.

The fifth parameter Dixon establishes is [AFFECTEDNESS]. This parameter has only been observed in Tariana (Arawakan, Brazil (Aikhenvald 2003)) and it determines whether the causee is only *partially affected* or *completely affected* by the caused event. As opposed to Tariana, no such distinction is drawn in Siar. In Siar causatives, the causee is in most cases completely affected. A very typical example is a serial verb construction which contains the causative form *aróp* which translates as *cause to finish* or *completely*:

(364) | *Ép* | *kailam* | *sa* | *i* | *yan* | ***aróp*** | *pas* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [ép | kailam]$_A$ | sa | i | [yan | **a-róp**]$_{SVC}$ | pas |
| ART:CO1 | lizard | RESTR | 3.SG | eat | **CAUS-finish** | PFV |

ép	*bòròi.*
[ép	bòròi]$_O$
ART:CO1	pig

'The lizard had eaten the pig all by himself.'

(RTK [7])

Parameter six is [DIRECTNESS]. This parameter as well as parameters seven to nine are all causer-related. [DIRECTNESS] considers whether the causer acts *directly* or *indirectly*. This means this parameter is established *"according to whether the causer physically manipulates the causee in bringing about the caused event or not"* (Haspelmath 2001: 892). Both types of causer can be found in Siar causative constructions. A direct causer is shown in (365a), an indirect causer can be seen in (365b):

(365) a. | *Dit* | *um* | ***amat*** | *é* | *Tagórman.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| [dit]$_A$ | [um | **a-mat**]$_{SVC}$ | [é | Tagórman]$_O$ |
| 3.PL | hit | **CAUS-die** | ART:PROP | PN |

'They killed (lit. *hit caused to die*) Tagórman.'

(ASA [9])

b.

I	*sing*	*i*	*kasai*		*an*	*mas*	*ap*	*i*
i	sing	i	ka-Ø-sai		an	mas	ap	[i]$_A$
3.SG	bring	3.SG	ALL-(LOC-)DIST		at	dry	and	3.SG

apar	*tar*	*i*	*sai*	*an*	*mas.*
a-par	tar	[i]$_O$	Ø-sai	an	mas
CAUS-cross	PRF	3.SG	(LOC-)DIST	at	dry

'It (the turtle) brought him to the shore and dropped him off (lit. *made cross him*).'

(TAM [25])

All causers in (365) are animate, no causatives with inanimate causers have been found in the data. The only exception to this is the case of (362b) in which the rain is inanimate. This could suggest that it is generally possible (albeit rare) to have inanimate causers or that the rain is regarded as an agentive (i.e. animate) entity in this case, as may be done in figurative speech. A third option would be that *atur* is not a causative form at all but in incomplex verb form. This, however, is less likely because the unprefixed verb form *tur* 'to stand' also appears in the expression *tur pas* 'to start', with *pas* being a lexicalized use of the perfective marker (cf. section §10.2.3.1).

Parameter seven is [INTENTION]. This parameter is determined by the question whether or not the causer *accidentally* or *intentionally* causes the event to happen. Both parameter settings can be observed in Siar causative constructions. An accidentally caused event is shown in (366a), an intentionally caused event is shown in (366b):

(366)   a.

Dit	*was*	***aróng***	*pas*	*tó*	*kirai.*
[dit]$_A$	[was	**a-róng**$_{TP}$]$_{SVC}$	pas	[tó	kirai]$_O$
3.PL	read	**CAUS-wrong**	PFV	ART:[-ANIM].PL	day

'They got the days (for the feast) wrong.'

(CLA [19])

b. *Matò*   *parai*   **ais**   *ép*   *puklun*
[matò(l)]_A   [par-ai   **a-is**]_SVC   [ép   puklu-n
1.PAU.EX   move-across-TR   **CAUS-return**   ART:CO1   head-POSS

rumai.
rumai]_O
house

'We put the roof back (on top of the house).'

(KAL 2 [12])

A causer that is specified for [+INTENTION] must be animate, a causer specified for [-INTENTION] can be either animate or inanimate.

Parameter eight is [NATURALNESS]. According to Dixon (ibid. 71), naturalness is determined by examining *"whether the activity happens fairly naturally (the causer just initiating a natural process) or is achieved only with effort (perhaps, with violence)"*. Both types of causers can be found in Siar causative constructions. A naturally caused event is shown in (367a), an unnaturally caused event is shown in (367b):

(367)   a.   *Dit*   *pòsòn*   **aróng**   *pas*   *tar*   *i.*
[dit]_A   [pòsòn   **a-róng**_TP]_SVC   pas   tar   [i]_O
3.PL   tie.knot   **CAUS-wrong**   PFV   PRF   3.SG

'They planned (lit. tied the knot) for the wrong day.'

(CLA [20])

b.   *Ép*   *operator*   *i*   **akaptur**   *a*   *masin.*
ép   operator_ENG   [i]_A   **a-kaptur**   [a   masin_TP]_O
ART:CO1   operator   3.SG   **CAUS-get.up**   ART:CO2   engine

'The operator started (lit. *caused to get up*) the engine.'

(ARS [13])

The causative event in (367a) cannot be said to have developed by force because in the context of the narrative, it was never the intention to plan for the wrong day. Hence it is a naturally occurring event. The opposite applies to the causative form in (367b) in which the GET.UP event is a result of the application of direct effort, which is the pulling of the engine cord.

The ninth and final parameter proposed by Dixon is [INVOLVEMENT]. This parameter determines whether or not the causer is *involved* in the caused event (in

addition to the causee). In the following example, both options are realized by two causative verbs within the same serial verb construction:

(368) | *I* | *atòstòs* | *ais* | *pas* | *i.* |
| [i]$_A$ | [a-tòstòs | a-is]$_{SVC}$ | pas | [i]$_O$ |
| 3.SG | **CAUS-straight** | **CAUS-return** | PFV | 3.SG |

'He repaired it.'

(PAL [15])

When regarding the SVC as a whole, it is clear that the subject is involved. This is because the whole REPAIR event denoted by the SVC requires an animate and volitional subject in A function. The components of the SVC themselves, however, differ in this respect. Just like the whole SVC complex, the REPAIR event has to involve an animate and volitional subject in A function (the repairer). This does not apply to the RETURN event because here, the returning is not directly initiated by the subject. It is rather an immediate (or natural) result of the REPAIR event.

As the analysis of Dixon's nine semantic parameters of the semantics of causative events illustrates, the causative prefix *a-* does not impose many restrictions on causative events and the participants involved in them. Siar seems to be able to equally handle all types of causative constructions discussed in this section without having to apply any changes in structure. The question of which NP is the causer and which is the causee can easily be answered by syntactic placement: the causer always precedes the causativized verb while the causee follows it.

Some parameters seem to have default values in Siar that can probably also be applied cross-linguistically. A set of 20 random causative forms have been investigated and checked which of the parameters apply to them:[110]

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[110] In those cases where the number of checked causative forms does not equal 20, at least one causative form has been excluded from the analysis because the parameter setting was ambiguous or not easy to determine.

Parameter no.	Parameter setting	Percentage	Parameter setting	Percentage
1	[STATE]	33.3%	**[ACTION]**	**66.7%**
2	**[-TRANSITIVE]**	**65.2%**	[+TRANSITIVE]	34.8%
3	**[-CONTROL]**	**80.1%**	[+CONTROL]	19.9%
4	**[-VOLITION]**	**72.2%**	[+VOLITION]	27.8%
5	[PARTIAL AFFECTEDNESS]	3/18 = 16.7%	**[COMPLETE AFFECTEDNESS]**	**15/18 = 83.3%**
6	**[-DIRECTNESS]**	**7/7 = 100.0%**	[+DIRECTNESS]	0/7 = 0%
7	[-INTENTION]	6/19 + 31.6%	**[+INTENTION]**	**13/19 = 68.4%**
8	[-NATURALNESS]	8/16 = 50.0%	[+NATURALNESS]	8/16 = 50.0%
9	**[-INVOLVEMENT]**	**17/18 = 94.4%**	[+INVOLVEMENT]	1/18 = 5.6%

Table 42: Default settings for Dixon's parameters in Siar

This means that in Siar, typical causative constructions …

a)   consist of an intransitive action verb;

b)   have causees that do not have control over the event, perform the event without volition and are completely affected by the event;

c)   have causers that do not directly but still intentionally cause the event, and are normally not involved in it themselves; and

d)   may either show natural or unnatural causation.

Sometimes deriving a causative form also changes the semantics of the event considerably. Very often, Siar speakers' perceptions of events seem to be reflected by the derivation process:

(369)   *gòsgòs*   'dance'   ***a-gòsgòs***   'drown (lit. *cause to dance*)'

       mònòng   'be busy'   ***a-mònòng***   'distract (lit. *make busy*)'

       kès   'sit'   ***a-kès***   'fix (e.g. date), lit. *make sit*'

As was shown in section §7.2.4.1 on reciprocals, the causative form *ais* 'cause to return' is in some cases also employed in a reflexive (370a) or reciprocal sense (370b-c). Note that in such cases there is still an obligatory object pronoun following:

(370)   a.   *I raun ais i ap i atur ais*

[i]$_A$	[raun$_{TP}$	a-is]$_{SVC}$	[i]$_O$	ap	i	[a-tur	a-is]$_{SVC}$
3.SG	spin	CAUS-return	3.SG	and	3.SG	CAUS-stand	CAUS-return

tar	*i.*
tar	i
PRF	3.SG

      'It was spinning around (itself) and took it back.'

                                      (KAL [14])

    b.   *Uring uring sén kai tutubun*

Uring	*uring*	*sén*	*kai*	*tutubun*
uring	uring	sén	kai	tu~tubu-n
ago	ago	EMPH	ART:ANIM.PL	RED~ancestor-POSS

dat	*dit*	*rèrè*	***yan***	***ais***	*dit.*
dat	[dit]$_A$	rèrè	[yan	a-is]$_{SVC}$	[dit]$_O$
1.PL.INC	3.PL	HAB	eat.TR	CAUS-return	3.PL

      'Long, long ago our ancestors used to eat each other.'

                                        (YAN [1])

    c.   *Matò ki mahlai ais matòl ma.*

Matò	*ki*	***mahlai***	***ais***	*matòl*	*ma.*
[matò(l)]$_A$	k-i	[mahlai	a-is]$_{SVC}$	[matòl]$_O$	ma
1.PAU.EX	FOC-3.SG	laugh.TR	CAUS-return	1.PAU.EX	TRANS

      'We were laughing at each other.'

                                        (POU [17]

It may be argued that the object pronoun in each case is redundant from a semantic point of view since the argument in O function can be inferred from the semantics of *a-is* (i.e. A equals O). We might therefore conclude that the O argument primarily serves a formal role of maintaining the syntactic transitivity of the predicate.

7.3.2   Transitivizing -(V)*i*

As discussed in the section on monotransitivity (§7.1.2), the transitivizer suffix -(V)*i* triggers an increase in valency. The suffix is attached to intransitive verbs only, deriving a transitive verb. The choice of allomorph is lexically conditioned. Some roots may also undergo changes during derivation. Some typical and regular derivations are shown in (371-372) below:

(371)   **Regular derivation with -*i***

bas	'throw'	*bas-**i***	'throw sth.'
nuk	'think'	*nuk-**i***	'think sth.'
mur	'follow'	*mur-**i***	'follow sth.'
só	'spear'	*só-**i***	'spear sth.'
sak	'sing'	sak-**i**	'sing sth.'

(372)   **Regular derivation with -V*i***

suk	'pierce; stitch'	*suk-**ai***	'spear sth.'
par	'move across'	*par-**ai***	'put'
pas	'step'	*pas-**ai***	'step on sth.'
bók	'float'	*bók-**ói***	'set sth. afloat'
nós	'look'	*nós-**ói***	'look after sth.'

The roots *nuk* 'think' and *suk* 'pierce' are very similar in their phonetic form. However, the former selects the -*i* allomorph while the latter chooses one of the allomorphs with a -(V)*i* form (i.e. -*ai* or -*ói*). The appropriate allomorph must be determined with reference to the lexicon. The quality of the vowel (/a/ or /ɔ/) may have a phonological motivation since there is a progressive assimilation of the more retracted vowels for /ɔ/ (compared to more fronted /a/) in the root. This resembles derivations associated with vowel harmony in other languages, but exceptions can also be found in the data.

    There are also some irregular derivations which all involve the allomorph -*ai*:

(373)   **Irregular derivation with -*ai***

a.   **Deletion of the final vowel in the disyllabic root**
      (CV.CV̠C → CVC.C-*ai*)

papa̠s	'move carefully'	*paps-**ai***	'fix trap'
masi̠k	'alone; (an)other'	*mask-**ai***	'different'
pala̠s	'get up'	*pals-**ai***	'fem. animal parent'
yawa̠s	'paddle'	*yaus-**ai***	'paddle sth.'

b.   **Consonant epenthesis in the suffix (-C*ai*)**

lóng	'listen'	*lóng-**ra̠i***	'hear sth.'
sing	'bring'	*sing-**la̠i***	'raise; erect'

c.   **Other irregular derivations**

mung	'lead'	*mug-**ai***	'lead sb.'
nang	'wait'	*nan-**ai***	'wait for sth.'
rak	'want'	*rag-**ai***	'want sth.'
wut	'blow'	*us-**ai***	'blow sth.'

Since there are no obvious phonological reasons for the deletion of the vowel, consonant epenthesis and the other irregular derivations are applied in order to derive the transitive form (forms such as **papas-(a)i*, **lóng-(a)i* or **mung(a)i* would all be perfectly compatible with Siar phonotactics), it appears that the derived forms are also lexically determined. The choice of the consonant in the cases of (373b) does not seem to be predictable, but this may be a result of the rarity of such derivations.

Some approaches in other Oceanic languages (e.g. Saliba [Oceanic, Papuan Tip Cluster], Margetts 1999: 146) suggest that *-i* and *-ai* are two distinct morphemes which function as transitivizer and applicativizer respectively. The transitivizer morpheme selects arguments that are more like direct objects (e.g. patients, targets, stimuli of psychological verbs), as opposed to applicative arguments that denote

instrument, location, cause or beneficiary. Pawley & Reid (1980) reconstruct the two Proto-Oceanic forms *-i* and *-aki(ni)* which had functions very similar to transitivizer and applicativizer respectively.

This dichotomy does not always match with the Siar data. As shown in Table 43, the verbs concerned do not always match this pattern:

Suffix	Verb form		Role of O argument	Mismatch
-i	*bas-i*	'throw sth.'	PATIENT	
	nuk-i	'think sth.'	STIMULUS	
	balkut-i	'be angry at sb.'	STIMULUS	
	mur-i	'follow sb.'	TARGET	
-V*i*	*war-ai*	'tell sth.'	TARGET	☑
	par-ai	'put sth.'	PATIENT	☑
	sak-ai	'ruin sth.'	TARGET	☑
Other forms	*yausai*	'paddle sth./sb.'	PATIENT / BENEFIC.	(BENEFICIARY ☑)
	lóng-rai	'hear sth.'	STIMULUS	
	mug-ai	'lead sb.'	?	
	nan-ai	'wait for sb.'	BENEFICIARY	☑
	usai	'blow sth.'	PATIENT	☑

Table 43: Verbs that do not match the transitivizer/applicativizer dichotomy

Although it is still very likely that both Siar morphemes do go back to the Proto-Oceanic forms, they no longer map predictably onto the relevant semantics.

There are a considerable number of verbs that appear to be suffixed with the *-ai* allomorph but which do not seem to have underived roots, even though they are still transitive:

(374) *sumrai*   'push sth.'

      mahlai   'laugh at'   (*lagar* 'laugh.ITR')

      siai   'knock on sth.'

      amrai   'bring sth.'

      rusngai   'throw (weapon)'

      barlai   'shake off'

Presumably, these forms were diachronically transitive derivations that once had autonomous and independent underived forms.

A problem when transcribing Siar texts is that the final vowel /i/ in all of the allomorphs happens to be homophonous with the third person singular object pronoun *i*. Since both are very often in an adjacent position, they phonetically coalesce to a single but often lengthened /iː/. It is therefore sometimes difficult to tell if an object pronoun is present or not, and one has to make a speaker repeat the sentence carefully.

(375) *A **bókói**   i   ma   ap   katim   an   Kiau.*
     [a]$_A$=**bók-ói**   [i]$_O$ ma   ap   ka-t-im   an   Kiau
     1.SG=**float-TR** **3.SG** TRANS   and   ALL-LOC-down   at   PN

     'I floated it down to Kiau.'

                                                   (AMP 4 [16])

Constructions with a transitivized form may still be lacking an argument in the O slot, in which case it seems reasonable to assume ellipsis has occurred, assuming the argument is always recoverable from the context (cf. section §7.1.2 on monotransitivity):

(376) a. *Na   kél   parai   ép   pakan   ap   amat*
          na   k-é-l   par-ai   ép   pakan   ap   [amat]$_S$
          REL   FOC-3.SG-IRR move.across-TR ART:CO1   leaf   and   2.PL

          *él   **warai**.*
          é-l   **war-ai**   [Ø]$_O$
          3.SG-IRR   **speak-TR**

          'When its leaves shoot you will tell.'

                                                  (LAM [15])

b.　*A*　　*lain*　*tim*　　　*lakman*　*diat*　*ki*　　　　***lóngrai.***
　　a　　lain$_{TP}$　t-im　　　lakman　[diat]$_S$　k-i　　　lóng-rai
　　ART:CO2　clan　LOC-down　village　3.PAU　FOC-3.SG　listen-TR

'The clan down at the village heard (the boy cutting off the coconuts).'

(TNG [6])

In (376a) the verb *warai* appears in its transitive form, but the O argument remains unexpressed. However, it is still clear what is supposed to be told (*the fact that the leaves have shot*). Similarly in (376b), even though the O argument has been omitted, it is clear from the context what it is the villagers were hearing.

7.4　Transitivity classes of verbs

As shown in the previous sections, Siar verbs differ greatly with regard to their surface form after valency-changing processes have been applied. In most cases, a verb is associated with only one of the following seven transitivity classes (there are also some exceptions):
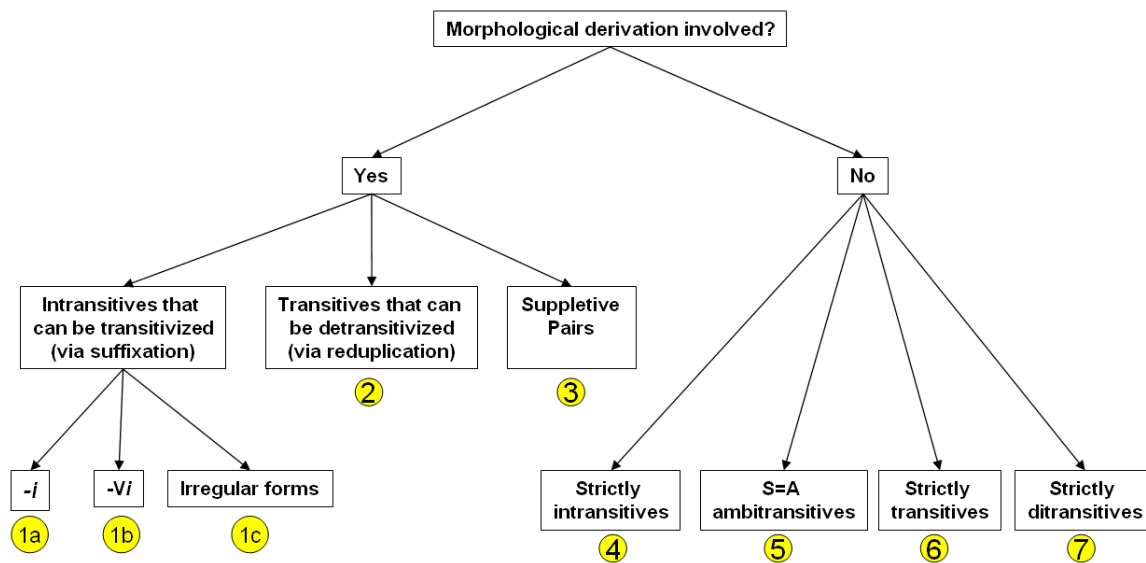
Figure 14: Transitivity classes of verbs in Siar[111]

Figure 14 above proposes a primary distinction between verbs that change their surface form during derivation and those that do not, and a secondary distinction with regard to which process is applied during derivation. While in most cases each verb

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[111] For the sake of simplicity, suppletion is in this diagram represented as morphological (not lexical) process.

can be associated with only one of those classes, there is a small number of verbs that may logically be associated with two. A case in point are suppletive pairs because each verb in the pair can also be analysed as strictly intransitive and strictly transitive respectively. However, there is still a significant difference to the other members of the strictly (in)transitive group because strictly (in)transitives do not have a counterpart with the opposing transitivity. For example, *angan* 'eat (itr.)' and *yan* 'eat (tr.)' are strictly intransitive and strictly transitive respectively, but a strictly intransitive verb such as *bòrbòr* 'sleep' does not have a transitive equivalent. It is therefore useful to analyse suppletive pairs as a group of their own. In addition, there are a few verbs that have a special status (e.g. *nòs* 'look' is an S=Ø ambitransitive verb [i.e. it can be atransitive and intransitive] and may also have the transitivizer suffix attached to it). The following tables show a sample of 94 verbs and the class they are associated with:

Class 1a: *nuk-i*   'think'

                bas-i   'throw'

                balkur-i 'be angry'

                mur-i   'follow'

Class 1b: *bók-ói*   '(set) (a)float'

                par-ai   'move across / put'

                nós-ói   'look / watch'[112]

                sak-ai   'be bad / ruin'

---

[112] *Nós* is an S=Ø ambitransitive.

Class 1c: *yawas / yaw-sai*   'paddle (sth.)'[113]

           lóng / lóng-rai   'listen / hear'[114]

           papas / pap-sai   'prepare trap'

           mung / mug-ai   'lead (sb.)'

           nang / nan-ai   'wait (for)'

           rak / rag-ai   'want'

           wut / us-ai   'blow (sth.)

---

[113] The form *yausai* is S=A ambitransitive.
[114] Despite the transitivizer suffix, *lóngrai* is an ambitransitive verb.

Class 2: *kèlès*   'change'

           bólós   'pass by'

           kaptur   'take off'

           was   'read; count'

           régéh   'destroy'

           gós   'wash'

           kar   'scratch'

           kèp   'get; gather'

           kinau   'steal'

           ngar   'squeak'

           raut   'fill container'

Class 3: *angan / yan*   'eat (sth.)'

           lagar / mahlai   'laugh (at)'

           mumun / wun   'hide (sth.)'

           yél / yélé   'swim (sth.)'[115]

           mis / mirsai   'hit with downward movement'

Class 4: *bòrbòr*   'sleep'

           liu   'run'

           mun   'dive down'

           babait   'fish'

           góm   'grow'

           kòkòi   'weed'

           mamam   'play'

           mórót   'be kidding'

           pèpèlè   'dither'

           pil   'sparkle'

           sòm   'bite (fish)'

           talba   'look around'

---

[115] One could also analyse *yélé* as *yél-é*, with *-é* being an allomorph of the suffix *-i*. Note however, that *yélé* is the only form in which this allomorph would appear. It is therefore easier and more convenient (but admittedly not more adequate) to regard the pair *yél / yélé* as suppletive form.

Class 5: *balkut* 'be angry'

              gang 'drink'

              kawas 'move up'

              dik 'shine light, fishing with torch'

              par 'step across'

              pirim 'exit; move down'

              rè 'see'

              kutus 'cut in two'

Class 6:

um	'hit'	*sipuk*	'remove shell'
lók	'bite (animals)'	*sirai*	'sell'
aim	'plant'	*só*	'spear'
asngai	'show'	*sòng*	'load; pack'
asóng	'fool; trick'	*sulai*	'wave at'
aut	'grab'	*tagar*	'close; block; lock up'
bing	'press; push'	*ta(n)gur*	'chop (tree)'
dòt	'tie up; fasten'	*ter*	'fill container with petrol'
kubat	'tear'	*tirai*	'search; look for'
laumai	**'visit'**	*tógói*	'line up; align'
mémér	'decorate'	*tólói*	'hold'
nangan	'help'	*tòh*	'try; test'
óngón	'wake sb. up'	*tòkòm*	'rent; pay fare for'
pòr	'bury'	*tòtòl*	'reach for'
róbói	'blow'	*tòl*	'do; make'
ròp	'be finished'	*wér*	'spill'
rówói	'carry in arms'	*wóng*	'check; verify'
ròh	'grab'	*wuk*	'put on hook'
siai	'knock with object'		

Class 7: *tar* 'give'

              atòng 'call'

              warai 'tell'

As can be seen below, some transitivity classes are more frequent than others.

Class 1a	Transitivization with -*i*	4/96	4.2%	
Class 1b	Transitivization with -V*i*	4/96	4.2%	} 15.7%
Class 1c	Irregular forms	7/96	7.3%	
Class 2	Detransitivization via reduplication	11/96		11.5%
Class 3	Suppletive pairs	10/96		10.4%
Class 4	Strictly intransitives	12/96		12.5%
Class 5	S=A ambitransitives	8/96		8.3%
Class 6	Strictly transitives	37/96		38.5%
Class 7	Strictly ditransitives	3/96		3.1%
		96/96[116]		**100%**

Table 44: Frequency of the Siar transitivity classes

The intention of **Table 44** is not to show how many verbs are transitive and how many are intransitive in Siar, but rather to illustrate in which ways and how often the various derivational processes are applied in order to change the transitivity of a verb (if they can be applied at all). The basis of this table are 96 verbs that were randomly selected from the Siar dictionary. The result should only be taken as a rough approximation since the total number of verbs in Siar will be much higher.

The following observations can be drawn from this table:

• the majority of verbs (60.7%) do not change their surface form during derivation [classes 4-7]

• the majority of verbs (63.9%) are restricted to a single type of transitivity (i.e. they are strictly intransitive, strictly (di)transitive or suppletive forms) [classes 3, 4, 6, 7]

• the most frequent type of verb is a strictly transitive verb that does not change in form

• ambitransitivity is very rare

• there is no predominance with regard to how verbs change their surface form during derivation. Suffixation, reduplication and suppletive forms occur with virtually the same frequency

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[116] Each verb in a suppletive pair is counted separately.

• transitivization with the -(V)*i* suffix is not very productive, and there does not seem to be a predominant allomorph

8   Demonstratives

Siar demonstratives are one of the most complex areas of Siar grammar in terms of morphological structure as well as in terms of semantic, but it is also one of the most interesting areas. There is a set of seven demonstrative roots that encode various directions, distances as well as other categories.

Section §8.1 investigates the seven demonstrative roots, their forms and their semantics. Section §8.2 presents the different types of words that involve such demonstrative roots. In section §8.2.1 we explore the various types of demonstratives with a locational or directional reading. Section §8.2.2 shows how the locational semantics are extended to refer to temporal concepts. Finally, section §8.2.3 examines other types of demonstratives in Siar.

8.1   Demonstrative roots

All Siar demonstratives contain one of the following demonstrative roots:

Demonstrative root	Meaning / Function	Glossing
-a	1. proximal / near speaker 2. proximal time (right now)	PROX
-è	indexical (usually with pointing gesture)	INDX (☞)
-ing	anaphoric	ANA
-óng	1. following the coast in clockwise direction 2. backward	+CLK

-im	1. following the coast in counterclockwise direction 2. downward 3. outside 4. seaward 5. towards New Ireland when outside New Ireland 6. towards Siar area when outside Siar area 7. towards the stern of a boat 8. downstream 9. future (*until*)	-CLK
-(i)sai	1. upward 2. forward 3. inside 4. away from New Ireland 5. towards the bow of a boat 6. upstream	DIST
-ah	interrogative	INT

Table 45: Demonstrative roots in Siar

While the morphology and syntax of demonstratives are fairly transparent, the roots involved differ with regard to what they mean, and especially with regard to how many meanings they can have. The number of meanings ranges from one to eight. The forms and paradigms associated with demonstratives are discussed in section §8.1.1, and the semantics of each root is investigated in section §8.1.2.

First attempts to analyze the structure and semantics of the Siar demonstratives were made by Ross (2002) and in slightly more detail by Rowe (2005). Both accounts show gaps in their analysis of the demonstrative system and also disagree with each other in relation to the semantics of demonstratives. However, given the complexity and sometimes seemingly opaque semantics involved this is not surprising.

8.1.1 Forms and paradigms

The following table lists all the demonstrative forms available in Siar:

Function	Root	Demonstrative determiners / Demonstrative pronouns / (Personal demonstratives)[117]		Demonstrative existentials		Demonstrative adverbs	
		+SG	**-SG**	**+SG**	**-SG**	**Locative adverb**	**Allative adverb**
Proximal	*-a*	*d-a* 'this'	*n-a* 'these'	*a-d-a* '(be) here [+SG]'	*a-n-a* '(be) here [-SG]'	*t-a* '(do x) here'	*ka-t-a* '(x moves[118]) here'
Indexical	*-è*	*d-è* 'that'	*n-è* 'those'	*a-d-è* '(be) there [+SG]'	*a-n-è* '(be) there [-SG]'	*t-è* '(do x) there'	*ka-t-è* '(x moves) there'
Anaphoric	*-ing*	*d-ing* 'that'	*n-ing* 'those'	*a-d-ing* '(be) there [+SG]'	*a-n-ing* '(be) there [-SG]'	*t-ing* '(do x) there'	*ka-t-ing* '(x moves) there'
Clockwise	*-óng*	*d-óng* 'that'	*n-óng* 'those'	*a-d-óng* '(be) there [+SG]'	*a-n-óng* '(be) there [-SG]'	*t-óng* '(do x) there'	*ka-t-óng* '(x moves) there'
Counter-clockwise	*-im*	*d-im* 'that'	*n-im* 'those'	*a-d-im* '(be) there [+SG]'	*a-n-im* '(be) there [-SG]'	*t-im* '(do x) there'	*ka-t-im* '(x moves) there'
Upward	*-(i)sai*	*d-isai* 'that'	*n-isai* 'those'	*a-d-isai* '(be) there [+SG]'	*a-n-isai* '(be) there [-SG]'	*Ø-sai* '(do x) there'	*ka-Ø-sai* '(x moves) there'
Interrogative	*-ah*	(*sah*) 'what?; which?'		*a-d-ah* '(be) where [+SG]?'	*a-n-ah* '(be) where [-SG]?'	*t-ah* '(do x) where?'	*ka-t-ah* '(x moves) where?'

Table 46: Siar demonstratives

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[117] All three types of demonstratives listed here refer to the forms listed below, but differ in their syntax. Demonstrative determiners introduce an NP, while demonstrative pronouns function as NPs themselves. In the case of the personal demonstratives, a special morpheme that is only used in personal demonstrative constructions (cf. section §8.2.1.3) precedes a demonstrative determiner.

[118] The notion MOVE may also refer to more abstract movement other than physical movement, such as moving forward or backward in time.

Morphemes that carry the locational or directional information are called demonstrative roots. This is because the demonstrative roots are the only morphemes that are always present. The other prefixes that can be observed in forming particular demonstratives include each of the following:

d-   singular demonstrative

n-   non-singular demonstrative

a-   demonstrative existential

t-, Ø- locative

k(a)-   allative

Except for demonstrative adverbs, Siar demonstratives vary depending on the grammatical number of the constituent they specify or modify. They only distinguish between singular referents (in which case the prefix *d-* is used, e.g. **d-***a* 'this') and non-singular referents (in which case the prefix *n-* is used, e.g. **n-***a* 'these').

The locative prefix *t-* has a zero allomorph that is used if the plosive /t/ would cause a syllable-internal consonant cluster. These clusters are not allowed by Siar phonotactics (cf. section §2.2). Such a scenario is only possible with locative demonstratives that involve the *upward* demonstrative root *-sai* because this is the only demonstrative root that starts with a consonant. The *upward* demonstrative allative adverb therefore surfaces as *ka-Ø-sai* rather than as **ka-t-sai*.

There are also potential consonant clusters involved with the demonstrative determiners, demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative existentials. In these cases, the *upward* form would also cause consonant clusters because the root attaches to the consonantal singular or non-singular demonstratives *d-* and *n-*. However, no zero allomorphy is involved here. Instead, the allomorph *-isai* of the *upward* root is used, which means then an epenthetic vowel /i/ breaks up the consonant cluster. The singular *upward* demonstrative pronoun, for example, therefore surfaces as *d-**i**sai* and not as the expected form **d-sai* (or *Ø-sai* which would have the same surface form as the *upward* locative adverb). The reason why vowel epenthesis is preferred over consonant deletion is that the morphemes *d-* and *n-* that precede the *upward* root have a higher functional load than the locative prefix *t-*. The locative prefix can be said to

be somewhat redundant in the case of allative adverbs (*ka-Ø-sai*) because the crucial functional information is provided by the allative prefix *k(a)-*.

Another irregularity in the paradigm involves the interrogative forms of the demonstrative determiners, demonstrative pronouns and personal demonstratives which collectively surface as the form *sah*. The forms which would be expected within this paradigm would be **d-ah* for the singular interrogative form and **n-ah* for the non-singular interrogative form. *Sah* is a morphologically simple form, even though it seems to contain the interrogative root *-ah*. There is no separate morpheme **s-* that could be said to attach to the interrogative root in these cases. It is likely though that the final *-ah* in *sah* and the interrogative demonstrative root *-ah* are diachronically related because many other kinds of words with an interrogative function or meaning also involve a final sequence of a vowel and the aspirant /h/ (e.g. *kaba**h*** 'ask', *sa**h*** 'what?; which?', *mó**h*** 'how; why').[119]

8.1.2   Semantics

8.1.2.1   Proximal *-a*

The proximal root *-a* relates an entity to the geographic location of the speaker or his immediate proximity and best translates to English as 'here' or 'hither'. The semantics of this form are straightforward and have also been identified as such by Ross (2002) and Rowe (2005). An example is shown below:

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[119] The phoneme /h/ in Siar correlates with the Proto-Oceanic plosive **/p/* (cf. section §2.1.1.4), and Lynch et al. (2002: 89) reconstruct the following interrogative words for Proto-Oceanic: **sapa* 'what', **pau* and **pia* 'where?; which?' and **pica* 'how many?'.

(377) *Kai*   *Kórói*   *na*   *dit*   *ana*   *dit*   *laun*
      kai   Kórói   na   dit   a-n-**a**   dit   laun
      ART:ANIM.PL   PN   REL   3.PL   DEX-DEM.[-SG]-**PROX**   3.PL   live

      t'an   *pótór*   *in*   *dat*   *bèl*   *i*   *tik*   *ép*
      t-**(a)**=an   pótór   in   dat   bèl   i   tik   ép
      LOC(-**PROX**)=at   middle   LIG   1.PL.INC   NEG   3.SG   one   ART:CO1

      Kórói.
      Kórói
      PN

      'The Kórói who are living among us are not all the same Kórói (clan).'

                                                       (CLA [73])

The non-singular demonstrative existential *ana* surfaces with the proximal demonstrative root *-a* attached. (377) contains another proximal demonstrative form *ta*, which is the locative adverb. This adverb modifies the verb *laun* 'live'. The proximal root *-a* in this case has coalesced with the initial /a/ of the following locative preposition *an* 'at'.

    The suffix *-a* can also have a temporal reading referring to the immediate (close) present or the present day. This is most typically the case with temporal demonstratives such as *misa n-a* 'today':

(378) *Misa* *na*   *an rah*   *al'an*   *al*   *babait.*
      misa   n-**a**   an rah   a-l=(in)an   a-l   babait
      today DEM.[-SG]-**PROX**   at afternoon 1.SG-IRR=go   1.SG-IRR   fishing

      'As for me, I'll go fishing this afternoon.'
                                                     (UÒ [44-L])

8.1.2.2   Indexical *-è*

The indexical demonstrative root *-è* can be thought of as the *pointing-demonstrative* because it occurs with a pointing gesture (represented as ☞ in the translations and glosses). A direct pointing gesture involves the speaker using parts of his body (usually a finger or arm) or tools (such as a stick) to signal the location or direction of an entity. Indirect pointing gestures are not immediately visible but can be implied through other means of communication. The most typical example here is a context in

which a Siar speaker asks a person to follow him. The direction then relates to the direction the speaker takes.

An example of a direct pointing gesture is given below:

(379)   *Oh*   *kinbalik,*   *ép*   *palang* *nè*   *a*
        oh   kinbali-k   ép   palang$_{TP}$ n-**è**   a
        INJ   friend-1.SG.POSS   ART:CO1   plank   DEM.[-SG]-**INDX**   1.SG

        kès   *ón*   *i*   *bibing*   *kòl.*
        kès   ó-n   i   bi~bing   kòl
        sit   OBL-3.SG.POSS   3.SG   RED~press   very

        'Oh my friend, this (☞) plank I am sitting on presses very much.'
                                                          (TAM [11])

Ross (2002: 416) does not identify the demonstrative root *-è*, and Rowe (2005: 25) interprets it as a demonstrative that either means 'farther away from the speaker' (like a 'remote proximal') or 'close to speaker but distant from addressee'. However, the indexical root *-è* can also be used in contexts where a location is close to the addressee but more remote to the speaker. Referring to the root as 'indexical' (and implying a pointing gesture of some sort) therefore provides a more straightforward definition. This is illustrated in the following example:

(380)   *Amtò*   *usrai*   *lik*   *sén'òt,*   *góng*   *di*   *wès*   *tar*
        amtò(l)   usrai   lik   sén=(w)òt   góng   di   wès$_{ENG}$ tar
        1.PAU.EX   story   TEMP   EMPH=come   PROH   IND   waste   PRF

        ép   *baran*   *nè*.
        ép   baran   n-**è**
        ART:CO1   thing   DEM.[-SG]-**INDX**

        'Talk a bit, don't waste that (☞) thing.'
                                                          (UÒ [117-A])

The sentence in (380) was uttered while I was recording casual speech. At one point in the conversation, the speakers did not know what to say next, and one of them asked the others to keep on talking in order not to waste the cassette. The speakers were located equally distant from the recorder (around a square table), but on different sides of it.

The indexical root is the least common demonstrative root due to its fairly specific semantics. These semantics can extend to a temporal meaning, in which case the speaker 'points' (refers) to a different time, in relation to the time of the utterance.

It should be noted that the term indexical is sometimes also used as a synonym for deictic terms (Lyons 1977: 105 ff., 637) or as a subtype of deictic terms in contrast to demonstratives (Akmajian et al. 2001: 255). By indexical we here refer to the (direct or indirect) physical act of pointing instead, that is to indexicality in its original sense.

There is an interesting correlation between the verb *tè* 'take somebody by the hand' and the indexical locative adverb *tè* 'there ☞'.

(381) *É* *Tata* *i* ***tè*** *pas* *yau* *ma.*
  é Tata i **tè** pas yau ma
  ART:PROP Daddy 3.SG **take.by.hand** perv 1.SG TRANS

'Daddy took me by the hand (and we went).'

(KÓK [5])

We have said that the indexical root *-è* is often used in contexts where somebody is leading the way and asks the addressee to follow him. This suggests that there could be a relationship between *tè* 'take by hand' and the indexical demonstrative root *-è*, or even the indexical locative adverb *t-è*, such that the verb may have grammaticalized to the demonstrative root. This is also further evidence for the assumption that this demonstrative root should be labelled 'indexical'.

8.1.2.3 Clockwise/backward *-óng*

The demonstrative root *-óng* also has fairly restricted semantics. This is because it has only been observed with a geographical reading, and no temporal extension of the semantics can be observed in the data. Erdman (1992) and Rowe (2005) gloss demonstratives that involve the demonstrative root *-óng* as 'north', but it will be shown here that this is not always adequate. The root *-óng* refers to a location that can be reached by roughly following the coastline in clockwise motion (or by walking parallel to it). Two clockwise forms are shown in the following example:

(382) *Dira   inan   s'an   Lamassa   katóng   an   Kingén*
       dira(u) inan   Ø-s(ai)=an   Lamassa   ka-t-**óng**   an   Kingén
       3.DU   go   (LOC-)DIST=at   PN   ALL-LOC-***back*** at   PN

       sur   katóng   an   Kabóman.
       sur   ka-t-**óng**   an   Kabóman
       INTENT   ALL-LOC-***back*** at   PN

       'The two went from Lamassa to Kingén in order to go to Kabóman.'

                                                      (LAM [5])

This movement is shown on the following map of the Siar-speaking area:

Map 5: Moving in counterclockwise motion along the coast (on the west coast)

From the starting point on Lamassa Island in the south, the subjects in above example go first to Kingén north of it and then to Kabóman even further north. Given the roughly oval shape of the area around Cape St George they follow the oval in clockwise motion.

    Clockwise *-óng* is also used on the east coast. Consider the following example:

(383) *Mara   sòi   tar   **tóng**   an   Malum Pirau labòng.*
        mara(u) sòi   tar   t-**óng**   an   Malum Pirau labòng
        1.DU.EX move.away PRF   LOC-**back** at   PN   yesterday

'The two of us took off from Malum Pirau yesterday (which is located in clockwise direction, and went to Silur).'

(uttered in Silur further north on the east coast)

(INA [1])

The above sentence was uttered in Silur village, as shown on the following map:
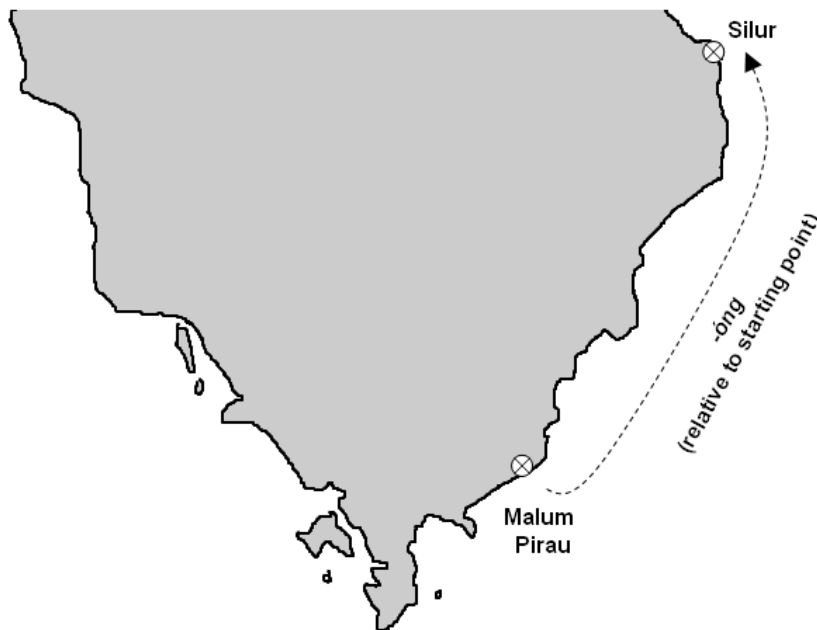
Map 6: Moving in counterclockwise motion along the coast (on the east coast)

A difference to the previous example is that opposed to the allative movement in the previous example, the clockwise demonstrative is here encoded in the locative adverb *t-óng* that specifies the starting point, rather than the destination of the movement. This is why even though the arrow in the above map follows the coast in counterclockwise motion, the clockwise demonstrative root *-óng* is used. In both instances, it does not matter if the path is followed on land or on sea.

The clockwise analysis works everywhere in the Siar-speaking area as far north as Namatanai town in central New Ireland Province.
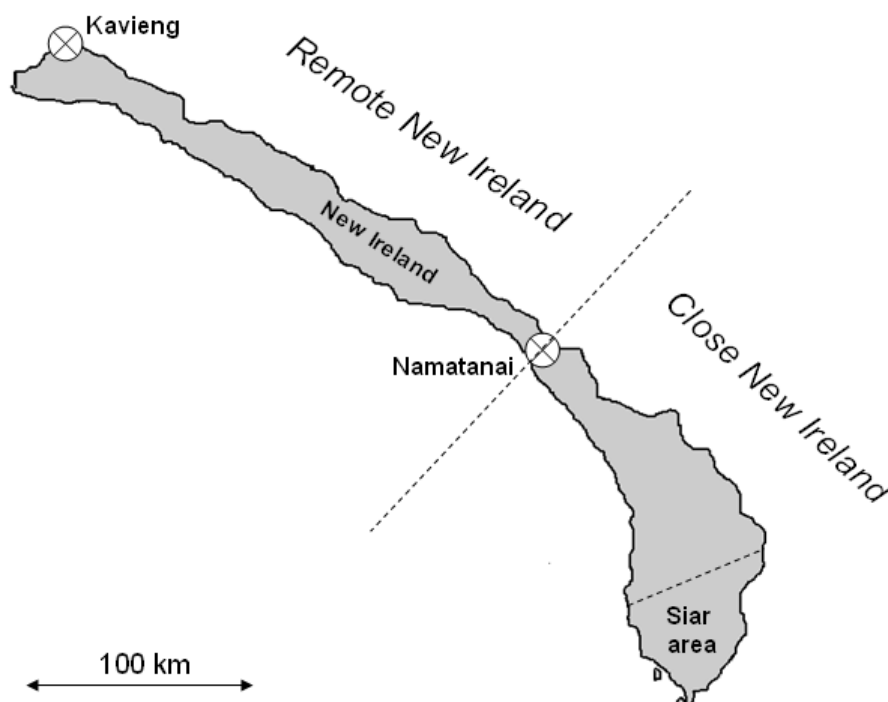
Map 7: Close and Remote New Ireland

Beyond Namatanai, as well as in other more remote areas such as East New Britain to the west, the use of the demonstrative root *-óng* becomes very inconsistent and cannot be predicted anymore. A reason for this might be that Siar speakers are less familiar with the geographical layout of the area. However, there are also inconsistencies in the use of the demonstratives when movement in a certain direction is illustrated to Siar speakers by pointing on a map.[120] It is likely that Cape St George, the southernmost point of the Siar-speaking area and of New Ireland province as a whole plays a crucial role in the use of these demonstratives. Since this reference point is less applicable (or not applicable at all) outside the area, this would explain why the (counter)clockwise demonstrative forms are used inconsistently elsewhere. The area between Cape St George and Namatanai, in which the (counter)clockwise distinction applies everywhere can therefore be referred to as Close New Ireland, and the area beyond Namatanai can be referred to as Remote New Ireland (as shown in Map 7).

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[120] I showed Siar speakers a map of the Australian continent which roughly has an oval shape and thus works well to elicit the use of the demonstrative system outside the Siar area. Even though I was clearly illustrating motion along the coast in either clockwise direction (e.g. from Melbourne to Adelaide) or counterclockwise motion (e.g. from Melbourne to Sydney), Siar speakers used different demonstrative roots, sometimes even including the distal demonstrative root *-(i)sai* (presumably because of the away-from-New-Ireland reading, cf. section §8.1.2.5).

Interestingly, the designated Close New Ireland area correlates exactly with the area in which all languages of the Patpatar-Tolai family on New Ireland are spoken.[121] This may well be a coincidence, but it may be that the border relates to cultural and/or linguistic factors. Another explanation for the border is that in Namatanai, the island becomes very narrow, and the two coasts are close to one another, so that they are less relevant for the demonstrative system than in the Siar area.

It is likely that the clockwise demonstrative (and the counterclockwise demonstrative, cf. section §8.1.2.4) derive from Proto-Oceanic demonstratives that referred to the direction or origin of the prevailing winds (François 2004, Ross 2007). The Proto-Oceanic form *toŋa* 'southeasterly quadrant, southeast wind' (Dempwolff 1938, Ross 2007) is the most likely candidate here. With the migration of the speakers of Proto-Oceanic and with the settlement of new areas, speakers had to adjust the existing system depending on local geographical and/or meteorological particularities, which often resulted in the loss of the original meaning relating to the winds (Palmer 2002).[122] The (counter)clockwise opposition in the demonstrative paradigm is a fairly recent development that was triggered by the migration of the Siar people from the east coast to the west coast; an area not originally inhabited by Siar speakers (Frowein 2011).

The only semantic extension of *-óng* is the meaning 'backward'. This includes contexts such as flipping back through pages of a book (as opposed to flipping forward which would employ the counterclockwise demonstrative root *-im*)[123]. The anaphoric interrogative demonstrative *-ing* has also been observed in such contexts. In the following example, *-óng* is used for referring to movement back inside a house:

(384) *Matò*   *lós*   *sópen*   *katóng*   **sup**.
       matò(l)   lós   sópen$_{TP}$ ka-t-**óng**   **sup**
       1.PAU.EX   carry   pot   ALL-LOC-*back*   **inside**

'We brought the pots back inside.'

(DIK [35])

---

[121] In New Ireland these include (from north to south) Patpatar, Sursurunga, Konomala, Tangga (which is spoken on islands further east of New Ireland as well as in a few villages in southeast New Ireland), Kandas, Lambel and Siar.

[122] See also Bennardo (2002) and Senft (2004) for an overview over several Oceanic languages

[123] It may be stated that flipping back pages of a book combines both geographical semantics and temporal semantics, as flipping back pages usually also means going back to a page that was read at an earlier point in time.

Normally, the *upward* demonstrative root *-(i)sai* is used when referring to movement inside a house (cf. section §8.1.2.5). In the above case, the speaker wants to emphasize that the pots are returned to the place they came from, which is why the clockwise/backward root *-óng* is preferred over the *upward* root *-(i)sai*.

It is interesting to note that (counter)clockwise oppositions in the demonstrative paradigm are rather unusual, even in the larger family of Oceanic languages which tend to be spoken in coastal areas and on islands. Other such oppositions have been found in Manam (Lichtenberk 1983), Boumaa Fijian (Dixon 1988) and Makian Taba (Bowden 2001), but this is a fairly exhaustive list with regard to that distinction.

8.1.2.4   Counterclockwise/downward *-im*

The counterpart to clockwise *-óng* is the counterclockwise demonstrative root *-im*. This demonstrative refers to movement in counterclockwise motion along the coast or parallel to it, on the land or on the sea. This demonstrative is not identified by Ross (2002); Erdman (1992) gloss it 'south'; and Rowe (2005: 25) translates it as *"down, to the south or to the east"*.[124]

An example is shown below:

(385)   *Dat   él   kaptur   s'an   lakman   katim*
         dat   é-l   kaptur   Ø-s(ai)=an   lakman   ka-t-**im**
         1.PL.INC   3.SG-IRR   take.off   (LOC-)DIST=at   village   ALL-LOC-***down***

         an   Lambóm,   katim   an   Bakók,
         an   Lambóm   ka-t-**im**   an   Bakók
         at   PN   ALL-LOC-***down***   at   PN

         katim   an   Matkamlagir.
         ka-t-**im**   an   Matkamlagir
         ALL-LOC-***down***   at   PN

'We will take off from the village (on Lamassa Island and go) to Lambóm, to Bakók, to Matkamlagir.'

(UÒ [124-L])

This path is shown on the following map:

---

[124] The corresponding glossing can be explained by the fact that both were based on Lambóm Island, where *-im* can indeed mean 'south', as opposed to the east coast area where it typically means north.
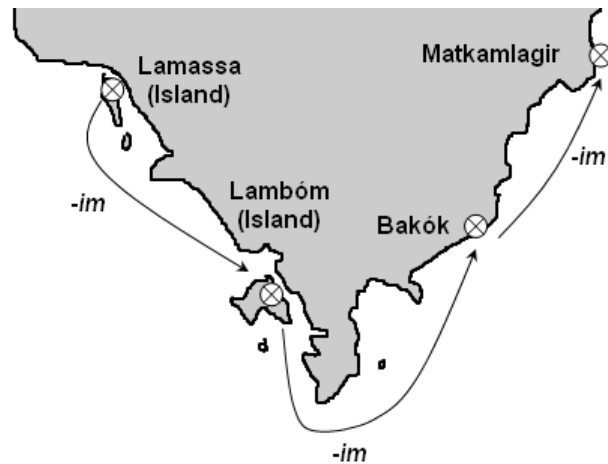
Map 8: Tracing the path around Cape St George in the above example

Note how on the west coast, *-im* is used for movement in a south-east direction while on the east coast, *-im* refers to movement in northeast direction. In the very south around Cape St George, *-im* encodes movement around Cape St George. Like its clockwise counterpart, *-im* is used consistently inside the Siar-speaking area and Close New Ireland, but used inconsistently and unpredictably outside this area.

The demonstrative root *-im* has the greatest number of meanings of all the demonstrative roots, and the counterclockwise reading is only one of them. A list of all functions and meanings of demonstrative roots was given in section §8.1 and is repeated below:

1. following the coast in counterclockwise direction
2. downward
3. outside
4. seaward
5. towards New Ireland when outside New Ireland
6. towards Siar area when outside Siar area
7. towards the stern of a boat
8. downstream
9. future (*until*)

The reason why the root *-im* is labelled counterclockwise (as opposed to any of the other functions) is that it enter into a paradigmatic contrast with clockwise *-óng*.

An example for the counterclockwise reading was given in (385). *-im* is also used to refer to downward movement, i.e. movement along the vertical axis:

(386) | *I* | *ru* | *ra* | | *purpur* | *dira* | *ki* | | *pung* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| i | ru | ra | | purpur | dira(u) | k-i | | pung |
| 3.SG | two | ART:CO2.DU | | flower | 3.DU | FOC-3.SG | | fall |

sai		*gali*	*an*	*lakan*	*ép*		*yai*	*katim*
Ø-sai		gali	an	laka-n	ép		yai	ka-t-**im**
(LOC-)DIST		above	at	top-POSS	ART:CO1		tree	ALL-LOC-**down**

ané.
ané
below

'Two flowers fell down from top of tree.'

(URI [8])

Another meaning of *-im* is 'outside'. This meaning has emerged from the fact that in the Siar area, houses are usually built on stilts (except for cooking houses). When leaving the house, therefore, one has to go down (the stairs). This contrasts with the semantics of the upward demonstrative root *-(i)sai* which can be used when entering a house, hence going up (stairs).

(387) | *É* | *Isiah'dim* | | *s'an* | *piu* | *i* | *mamam* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| é | Isiah=(a-)d-**im** | | s(a)=an | piu | i | mamam |
| ART:PROP | PN=(DEX-)DEM.SG-**down** | | RESTR=at | ground | 3.SG | play |

nangnang	*yau.*
nang~nang	yau
RED~wait	1.SG

'Isiah was outside on the ground, playing and waiting for me.'

(TUN [16])

It is interesting to note that the upward/downward correlation with entering and leaving houses also applies to kitchen houses which are not built on stilts. This illustrates that going inside and going outside are established readings for the two demonstratives.

The seaward reading is a semantic extension of the downward reading because when going in seaward direction one usually goes downhill. An example for this can be seen below:

(388) *Dira   lós   i   kat**im**   an   bòn   an   lón*
      dira(u)   lós   i   ka-t-**im**   an   bòn   an   ló-n
      3.DU   carry 3.SG ALL-LOC-**down** at   sea   at   mouth-POSS

      ép   wang.
      ép   wang
      ART:CO1 canoe

      'The two carried it down to the beach inside the canoe.'

                                                                   (AKA [36])

Another context in which the demonstrative root *-im* is used is when referring to movement towards Close New Ireland coming from Remote New Ireland (as outlined on Map 7).

(389) *Sang   sòi   ép   bókès   ngasin   i   kón   lós*
      sang   sòi   ép   bókès$_{TP}$ ngasi-n   i   kón   lós
      prepare away ART:CO1 box   CL:CONT-3.SG.POSS 3.SG for   carry

      *sòi   kat**im**   an   Matkamlagir,*
      sòi   ka-t-**im**   an   Matkamlagir
      move.away ALL-LOC-**down** at   PN

      '(They) prepared the coffin to bring it (from Kavieng in the north) to Matkamlagir.'

                                                                     (KÈL [81])

The starting point in this example is the province capital Kavieng in the north to Matkamlagir on the east coast of the Siar area (Map 8), and movement goes from Remote New Ireland to Close New Ireland, hence the use of the demonstrative root *-im*.

Another locational reading of *-im* involves movement from anywhere away from New Ireland towards New Ireland. 'Anywhere away from New Ireland' also includes the nearby islands Lamassa and Lambóm in the Siar area which can be reached from the mainland in a canoe within just 10 minutes (see Map 8).

(390) *Matò*   *inan* *sai*   *an*   *Kokopo* *katim*   *an*
       matò(l)   inan   Ø-sai   an   Kokopo   ka-t-**im**   an
       1.PAU.EX   go   (LOC-)DIST at   PN   ALL-LOC-**down** at

Matkamlagir.
Matkamlagir
PN

'We went from Kokopo to Matkamlagir.'

Movement from more remote areas such as Kokopo in East New Britain in the above example towards one of the islands in the Siar area also involves the form -*im*. This is because even though the islands are not considered a part of New Ireland, the direction towards New Ireland still applies.

The deictic centre can also be a boat on open sea. No matter in which direction the boat is pointing or heading, movement towards or location at the stern of the boat is referred to by -*im*:
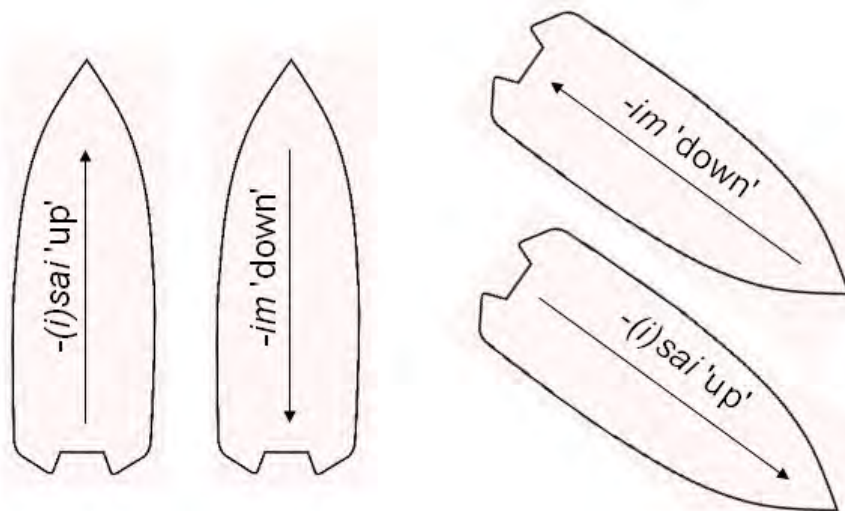
Figure 15: Boats as deictic centres

An example for this can be seen below:

(391) *Ép   rèrèh   bèl   i   nap   al   parai*
      ép   rèrèh   bèl   i   nap_TP   a-l   par-ai
      ART:CO1   fishing.line NEG 3.SG enough   1.SG-IRR move.across-TR

      *kati**m**   **an** **mur**, *bóbólós*   *al*   *parai*
      ka-t-**im**   **an** **mur**   bó~bólós   a-l   par-ai
      ALL-LOC-**down**   **at** **follow** RED~pass.by 1.SG-IRR   move.across-TR

      *ép   rèrèh   **kasai**   **an** **mung**.*
      ép   rèrèh   **ka-Ø-sai**   **an** **mung**
      ART:CO1   fishing.line **ALL-(LOC-)DIST** **at** **lead**

      'The fishing lines I never put at the back, I always put them at the front
      (of the canoe).'

                                                              (KABÈ [10])

Note that the *upward* demonstrative root *-(i)sai* (cf. section §8.1.2.5) is used to refer to the front of the boat. A reason for this interpretation may be that when quick boats (such as dinghies) are in motion in full speed, the bow is slightly elevated. However, if we follow this analysis, this interpretation must be a very recent one since older or traditional boats such as canoes do not have elevated bows when moving.

    -im is also used to refer to downstream movement along a river, a context where it also contrasts with *upward -(i)sai*:

(392) *Mara   dat   sòi   kati'pirim   an*
      mara(u) dat   sòi   ka-t-**i(m)**=pirim   an
      1.DU.EX pull   move.away ALL-LOC-**down**=move.down at

      lón   malum.
      ló-n   malum
      mouth-POSS   fresh.water

      'We pulled it down the river.'

                                                              (KÉH [11])

Finally, there is also a semantic extension of *-im* with a temporal reading. This is shown in the following example:

(393)   *Ép*   *bat*   *i*   *pung*   *pas*   *ón*   *ép*

ép	bat	i	pung	pas	ó-n	ép
ART:CO1	rain	3.SG	fall	PFV	OBL-POSS	ART:CO1

       kirai   *kòbòt*   *sén*   *ka**tim***   *ón*

kirai	kòbòt	sén	ka-t-**im**	ó-n
day	morning	EMPH	ALL-LOC-**down**	OBL-POSS

       ép   *rah.*

ép	rah
ART:CO1	afternoon

'The rain was falling all the time, from the early morning until afternoon.'

                                                      (KAW [5])

Literally, such temporal constructions therefore translate to English as 'down to the time x'.

The origin of the demonstrative root *-im* is unclear. It could be a derivative of Proto-Oceanic **timuR* '(south or east) wind (bringing rain)', but another option would be to assume that it is related to the present-day Siar verb *pirim* 'move down; descend'. It may also be the case that the Siar verb *pirim* is related to the Proto-Oceanic form.[125]

8.1.2.5   Upward *-(i)sai*

The *upward* demonstrative root *-(i)sai* is another form restricted to expressing locational relations. One of its two meanings refers to upward movement or location, which may be short (such as jumping up or climbing a tree) or long in distance (such as a plane taking off or a star in the sky):

(394)   *Matò'an*   *ka**sai***   *gali*   *an*   *lakan*   *ép*

matò(l)=(in)an	ka-Ø-**sai**	gali	an	laka-n	ép
1.PAU.EX=go	ALL(-LOC)-**DIST**	above	at	top-POSS	ART:CO1

       rumai

rumai
house

'We went on top of the house.'

                                                     (KAL 2 [12])

The root *-(i)sai* is also used for movement *inside* a certain location.

---

[125] see also Dempwolff (1938), Zorc (1994), Ross (2007). Frowein (2011) discusses other possible sources.

(395) *Ón*   *ép*   *kirai*   *ti'ga'**sai***   ***sup*** *an*
     ó-n   ép   kirai   t-i(ng)=ga(u)=(∅-)**sai**   **sup** an
     OBL-POSS   ART:CO1   time   LOC-ANA=(t)here=(LOC-)**DIST** **inside** at

     lón   *ép*   *matamatam*   *ning* …
     ló-n   ép   mata~matam   n-ing
     mouth-POSS   ART:CO1   RED~eye   DEM.[-SG]-ANA

     'While I was having that vision …'
     (lit. 'At the time I was inside that vision …')

                                            (KÈL [60])

This inside-meaning of the upward-demonstrative *-(i)sai* correlates nicely with the outside-meaning of the downward-demonstrative *-im*. Since the doors of local houses do not all point in the same direction, we can safely assume that there is no correlation with the movement towards or away from the sea.

    Another locational reading of *-(i)sai* refers to movement away from New Ireland in any direction, and from any location on New Ireland. This movement need not be far because as soon as one's feet touch the water at the beach, that person has gone in *-(i)sai* direction, as shown on the following map:
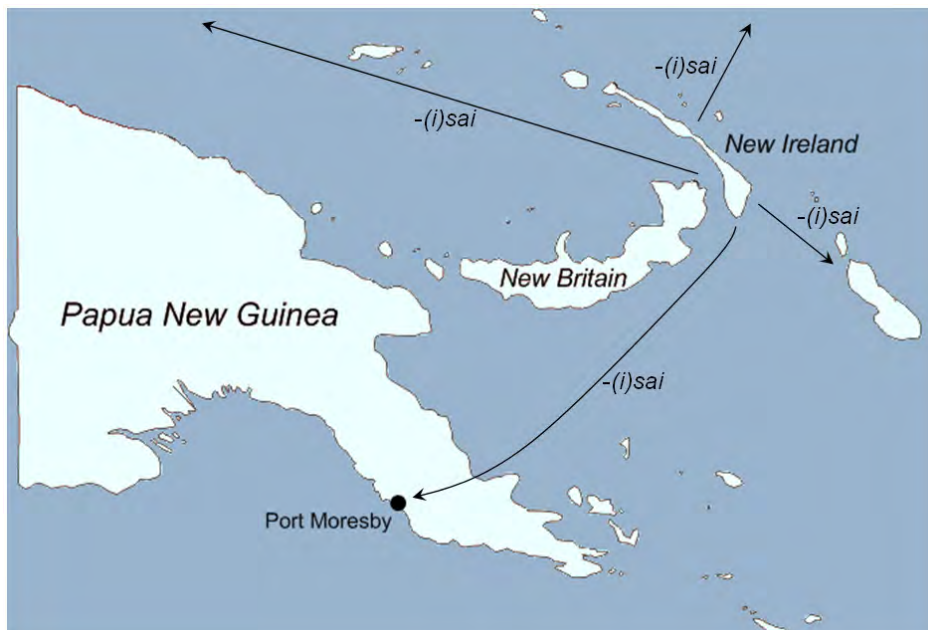
Map 9: The *upward* demonstrative root *-(i)sai*

An example for this can be seen below:

(396) *A wól   sur   al   isis   kasai*
       a=wól   sur   a-l   is~is   ka-Ø-**sai**
       1.SG=plan INTENT   1.SG-IRR   RED~return ALL-(LOC-)**DIST**

       an   Óstérélia.
       an   Óstérélia
       at   PN

       'I am planning to return to Australia.'

(MUR [3])

When moving towards Lamassa Island and Lambóm Island in the southwest (Map 8), *-(i)sai* is only used for movement from the opposite coast on the mainland. When coming from other more remote areas, the clockwise or counterclockwise form that best describes the direction towards the island would be employed.
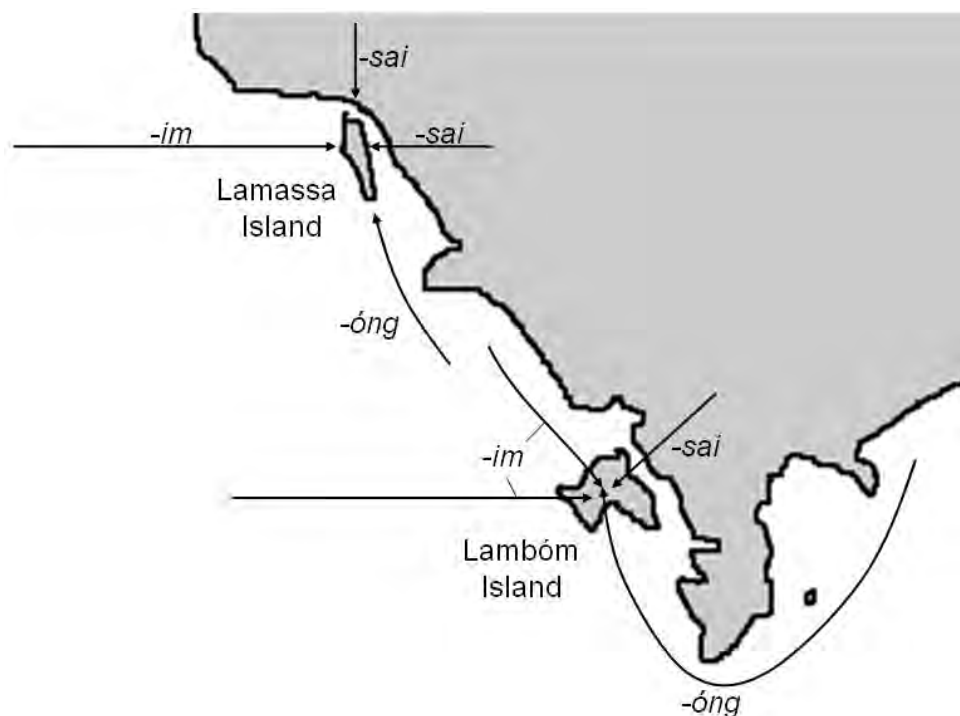
Map 10: Movement towards Lamassa and Lambóm Island

Ross (2002) identifies *seaward* as one of the meanings of *-(i)sai*'s meanings (which is true for seaward movement starting on the coast only, not from inland), and Rowe (2005) correctly identifies the *upward* meaning as well as the distal meaning. Like

Erdman (1992) she also proposes the meaning *west*, but this meaning does not always hold.[126]

The *upward* root *-(i)sai* also makes an opposing pair with the counterclockwise/downward root *-im* when referring to downstream and upstream movement along a river:

(397) *Diat'an   kasai   kawas   an   lón   malum.*
        diat=(in)an   ka-Ø-**sai**   kawas   an   ló-n   malum
        3.PAU=go   ALL-(LOC-)**DIST**   move.up   at   mouth-POSS   fresh.water

'They went upstream in the river.'

(LAT [43])

Upstream movement naturally involves uphill movement, which suggests that the 'upstream' reading has emerged from the 'upward' reading.

As mentioned earlier, *-(i)sai* is also used to refer to location at or movement towards the stern of a boat, no matter in which direction the boat is pointing or heading. This contrasts with the downward/counterclockwise root *-im* which refers to the opposite location and direction.

The demonstrative root *-sai* goes back to Proto-Oceanic **sake* (Dempwolff 1938), and surfaces in similar forms in other Oceanic languages.[127] If we assume that demonstrative root *-(i)sai* has emerged from a Siar word, then the verbs *kawas* 'move up; climb' or its transitive form *kausai* come to mind as potential sources. An alternative source pair would be *yawas* 'paddle.ITR' and *yausai* 'paddle.TR' because movement away from New Ireland is only possible in a canoe or boat. It is also possible that there is a diachronic relation between the Siar words and the Proto-Oceanic etymon.

---

[126] The reason for Erdman's and Rowe's analysis of *-sai* as 'west' is that from their base on Lambóm Island, movement away from New Ireland (which is usually towards Kokopo and Rabaul in the west) happens to be movement to the west. They did not consider the fact that on the east coast, *-sai* movement away from New Ireland goes to the east.

[127] Banoni (Meso-Melanesian Cluster) and Tami (North New Guinea Cluster) also have the form *-sai*. Mono-Alu (Meso-Melanesian Cluster), Saliba (Papuan Tip Cluster) and Mussau (Admiralties Family) use the form (-)*sae*, and the form *-sa* occurs in Mangap, Takia, Yabem and other languages of the Northern New Guinea cluster. See Ross (2007) for a more detailed list.

8.1.2.6 Anaphoric *-ing*

The anaphoric demonstrative root *-ing* relates to geographical locations or points in time that have already been established in the context, and can hence be thought of as the *aforementioned-place-or-time-demonstrative*. An example with a locational meaning is given in (398a), while (398b) shows the use of *-ing* with a temporal reference:

(398) a. *Dira   inan   dira   yayauh   s'alò   **ting**   dira*
           dira(u)   inan   dira(u)   ya~yauh   s(én)=alò   t-**ing**   dira(u)
           3.DU   go   3.DU   RED~mumu   EMPH=again   LOC-**ANA**   3.DU

           yayauh   tar   gau.
           ya~yauh   tar   gau
           RED~mumu   PRF   place

           'The two went and mumued[128] a pig at the same place.'

                                                                        (RTK [9])

       b. ***Kati'****gau*   *ap*   *ki*   *parai*   *ép*   *gòlòh*
           ka-t-i(ng)=gau   ap   k-i   parai   ép   gòlòh
           ALL-LOC-ANA=there and   FOC-3.SG   put   ART:CO1   young.coconut

           ón   ép   fin.
           ó-n   ép   fin
           OBL-POSS   ART:CO1   fruit

           'From then on it bore little coconuts as fruits.'

                                                                        (LAM [31])

In (398a), the anaphoric demonstrative refers back to a location that was mentioned previously in the narrative (the place where the two previously mumued the first pig). In (398b), *-ing* has a temporal sense, and it connects to a previous point in time which is also clear from the context.

The anaphoric demonstrative is quite common in narratives. Ross (2004: 179) points out that there is evidence that suggests that an anaphoric demonstrative was already present in Proto-Oceanic. In Ross (2002) and Ross (2004) he labels the Siar form *-ing* 'intermediate' instead (instead of 'anaphoric'). According to Rowe (2005), *-ing* refers to a location or direction that is even further away than the one represented by indexical *-é*, but still within sight. She also notices its common use in narratives.

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[128] "Mumuing" refers to cooking in an earth oven.

While the latter is certainly true, I have found no evidence that suggests that *-ing* refers to a specific visible direction or distance.

-ing can also be used in contexts where the location encoded in the demonstrative root is irrelevant because it is specified elsewhere in the clause, in which case *-ing* functions as a default demonstrative.

(399) *Dit   él   liu   kòl   ngasik   na   dit   kél*
       dit   é-l   liu   kòl   ngasi-k   na   dit   k-é-l
       3.PL 3.SG-IRR run   very CL:CONT-1.SG.POSS REL   3.PL FOC-3.SG-IRR

       rè   pas   yau, na   kal   malik'an'òt   ting
       rè   pas   yau   na   k-a-l   malik=(in)an=(w)òt t-**ing**
       see PFV   1.SG REL FOC-1.SG-IRR REP=go=come   LOC-**ANA**

       a'risa'dit.
       a(n)=risa(-n)=dit
       at=side(-POSS)=3.PL

       'They quickly run away from me every time they see me coming in their direction.'

                                               (KÈL [151])

(399) encodes a habitual event with changing locations (they would run away from the subject no matter where the subject would encounter them), there is no point in encoding upward, downward or clockwise motion etc. Hence use of the unspecified demonstrative *-ing*.

8.1.2.7   Interrogative *-ah*

The interrogative root *-ah* is only used in interrogative contexts. There are also no temporal extensions of the semantics of this form because the unrelated temporal interrogative *langsing* 'when?' is mostly used in order to query temporal relations. The interrogative demonstrative is not identified in any previous work on Siar. Interrogative contexts here refer to constructions with an interrogative mood setting (400a) as well as sentences with indefinite locations (400b).

(400)   a.   *Adah*   *sa*   *ép*   *pun*
             a-d-**ah**   sa   ép   pun
             DEX-DEM.SG-**INT**   RESTR   ART:CO1   turtle

             nga'mtòl   *i?*
             nga(-n)=(a)mtòl   i
             CL:FOOD(-POSS)=2.PAU   3.SG

             'Where is your turtle (to be eaten) now?'
                                                                      (TAM [34])

        b.   *Ap* *i* *tuk* *na* *misana*   *bèl* *dat* *tasim* *ón*
             ap   i   tuk   na   misan-a   bèl   dat   tasim   ó-n
             and   3.SG over   REL   today-PROX   NEG   1.PL   know   OBL-POSS

             ép   *sip*   *adah*.
             ép   sip_{TP} a-d-**ah**
             ART:CO1   ship   DEX-DEM.SG-**INT**

             'And even today we do not know where that ship is.'
                                                                      (MAT 2 [71])

As noted in section §4.3.4, final aspiration is a feature of many morphemes with an interrogative function (e.g. *kaba**h*** 'ask', *sa**h*** 'what?; which?', *mó**h*** 'how?').

8.2   Derived demonstratives

The demonstrative roots discussed in the previous section cannot occur by themselves because they are bound morphemes. They therefore need to combined with other morphology, denoting values such as number in order to form autonomous demonstratives. Derived demonstratives can be separated into three groups: locational demonstratives (§8.2.1), temporal demonstratives (§8.2.2) as well as other types of demonstratives (§8.2.3).

8.2.1   Locational demonstratives

The following sections will explore the six different types of locational demonstratives that exist in Siar:

8.2.1.1   Demonstrative determiners

Demonstrative determiners specify NP referents in terms of location. They can occur in both pre-head and post-head position. Their general structure can be represented as follows:

Prenominal:

Singular: [*i* *d*-**DEM**   + NP-head]$_{NP}$

Non-singular: [*i* *n*-**DEM**   + NP-head]$_{NP}$

Postnominal:

All numbers: [NP-head + *n*-**DEM**]$_{NP}$

In pre-head position, a demonstrative determiner usually needs to be preceded by a third person singular subject marker:[129]

(401)   a.   *Mèt*   *ki*   *lalagar*   *laulau*   *tar*   *ón*
             mèt   k-i   la~lagar   laulau   tar   ó-n
             1.PAU.EX   FOC-3.SG   RED~laugh   bad   PRF   OBL-POSS

             i   ***ding***   *ép*   *kirai.*
             [i   **d-ing**   ép   kirai]$_{NP}$
             3.SG   **DEM.SG-ANA**   ART:CO1   time

             'We were laughing badly at that moment.'
                                                                    (PÒU [14])

---

[129] In all instances in my data, the third person singular marker is the unmarked form *i*, and I have not found any occurrences of a subject maker marked for event focus (*ki*) or irrealis (*él*) when accompanying demonstrative determiners. Further elicitation is required to determine whether such forms are grammatical.

b. | *Ól* | *ari* | *sur* | *ól* | *rè* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| ó-l | ari | sur | ó-l | rè |
| 2.SG-IRR | BEN | INTENT | 2.SG-IRR | see |

i	*da*	*a*	*pukun!*
[i	**d-**a	a	pukun]$_{NP}$
3.SG	**DEM.SG-PROX**	ART:CO2	place

'Come here and see this place!'

(ÈRB [12])

Ross (2004: 179-180) suggests that the preceding subject marker *i* could be a remnant of the Proto-Oceanic preposition **i* that has come to be reanalysed as the third person singular subject marker. A candidate that is more likely to be the origin of *i* is the Proto-Malayo-Polynesian demonstrative base **ti* that Ross also reconstructs for Proto-Oceanic (ibid. 178). The analysis of Siar *i* as a fossilized reflex of Proto-Oceanic **ti* would account nicely for the fact that it is never replaced by any other of the subject markers, and that it is usually not modified by the event focus and irrealis affixes.

The examples above all have a singular referent, which is why the singular demonstrative pronominal prefix *d-* is attached to the demonstrative root. In contexts with a non-singular referent, the prefix *n-* is used instead:

(402) | *I* | *ning* | *ru* | *tarai* | *kawan* | *ru* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| [i | **n-**ing | ru | tarai | kawan]$_{NP}$ | ru |
| **3.SG** | **DEM.[-SG]-ANA** | ART:CO1.DU | men | cousin | ART:CO1.DU |

risén	*dirau*	*é*	*Solomon*	*dirau*	*é*	*Chris.*
rise-n	dirau	é	Solomon	dirau	é	Chris
name-POSS	3.DU	ART:PROP	PN	3.DU	ART:PROP	PN

'The names of those two cousins are Solomon and Chris.'

(KAW [7])

Ross (2004: 179) reconstructs the post-head position for Proto-Oceanic, but also notes that there are exceptions in a number of modern Oceanic languages. In Siar also, non-singular demonstratives can occur in post-head position. In this position the third person singular subject marker is not required:

(403) a. *A*   *palang*   ***nè***   *i*   *bibing*   *kòl.*
          [a   palang~TP~   **n-è**]~NP~   i   bi~bing   kòl
          ART:CO2   plank   **DEM.[-SG]-INDX**   3.SG   RED~press   very

'This plank here (which I'm sitting on) presses very much.'

(TAM [16])

b. *A sósó*   *i*   *a*   *kutun*   *talai*   ***ning.***
    a=só~só   i   [a   kutun   talai   **n-ing**]~NP~
    1.SG=RED~to.spear   3.SG   ART:CO2   school   herring   **DEM.[-SG]-ANA**

'I speared that school of herrings.'

(BÈL [4])

In a few constructions, an NP can have both a pre-head demonstrative determiner and a post-head demonstrative determiner:

(404) *A rak*   *sur*   *i*   ***d'ép***   *dèh*   *cassette*
       a=rak   sur   [i   **d(-a)=ép**   dèh   cassette~ENG~
       1.SG=want   GOAL   3.SG   **DEM.SG(-PROX)=ART:CO1**   side   cassette

na   *él*   *róp*   *sòu.*
n-a]~NP~   é-l   róp   sòu
DEM.[-SG]-PROX   3.SG-IRR   finish   off

'I want this side of the cassette to be full.'

(UÒ [118-A])

8.2.1.2   Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns have the same form as the demonstrative determiners, but their syntax is different.

Singular: [***d*-DEM**]~NP~

Non-singular: [***n*-DEM**]~NP~

Demonstrative determiners only specify NPs, whereas demonstrative pronouns head their own NP. (405a) shows a singular demonstrative pronoun, and a non-singular demonstrative pronoun is given in (405b):

(405) a. *Ma*   ***ding***   *él*   *dat*   *pas*   *ti*
            ma   [d-ing]_{NP}   é-l   dat   pas   ti
            TRANS   **DEM.[-SG]-ANA**   3.SG-IRR   pull   PFV   ART:CO1.IND

            urit.
            (f)urit
            octopus

            'This one will pull out an octopus.'

                                                                   (UÒ [47-N])

       b. *Ma*   *matòl*   *ma*   ***ning***.
            ma   matòl   ma   [n-ing]_{NP}
            TRANS   1.PAU.EX   TRANS   **DEM.[-SG]-ANA**

            'Those (women) were us.'

                                                                   (PÒU [24])

Ding in (405a) is a subject pronoun and *ning* in (405b) functions as a verbless clause complement. Demonstrative pronouns are never preceded by the third person singular subject marker *i*.

8.2.1.3   Personal demonstrative constructions

As described in section §4.1Personal demonstrative constructions translate to English as 'this/these person/people (t)here'. The general structure can be represented as follows:

Singular**:**   [*é ma* + **DEM.DET**]_{NP}   'this/that person'

Dual**:**   [*é sira* + **DEM.DET**]_{NP}   'these/those two people'

Paucal**:**   [*é siat* + **DEM.DET**]_{NP}   'this/that group of people'

Plural**:**   [*é sit* + **DEM.DET**]_{NP}   'these/those people'

Together with the different demonstrative roots these can be combined to the following forms:

Demonstrative root		Singular ART:PROP+*ma*+DEM	Dual ART:PROP+*sira*+DEM	Paucal ART:PROP+*siat*+DEM	Plural ART:PROP+*sit*+ DEM
Proximal	*-a*	*é **ma d**-a* 'this person here'	*é **sira n**-a* 'these two people here'	*é **siat n**-a* 'this group here'	*é **sit n**-a* 'these people here'
Indexical	*-è*	*é **ma d**-è* 'this person here'	*é **sira n**-è* 'these two people here'	*é **siat n**-è* 'this group here'	*é **sit n**-è* 'these people here'
Anaphoric	*-ing*	*é **ma d**-ing* 'that person there'	*é **sira n**-ing* 'those two people there'	*é **siat n**-ing* 'that group there'	*é **sit n**-ing* 'those people there'
Clockwise	*-óng*	*é **ma d**-óng* 'that person there'	*é **sira n**-óng* 'those two people there'	*é **siat n**-óng* 'that group there'	*é **sit n**-óng* 'those people there'
Counterclockwise	*-im*	*é **ma d**-im* 'that person there'	*é **sira n**-im* 'those two people there'	*é **siat n**-im* 'that group there'	*é **sit n**-im* 'those people there'
Upward	*-(i)sai*	*é **ma d**-isai* 'that person there'	*é **sira n**-isai* 'those two people there'	*é **siat n**-isai* 'that group there'	*é **sit n**-isai* 'those people there'
Interrogative	*-ah*	---	---	---	---

Table 47: Personal demonstratives

The unique components of this kind of demonstrative construction are the morphemes that follow the proper article *é*.[130] Except for the singular form, these forms strongly resemble the third person pronouns:

Free pronoun		**Personal demonstrative**	
i	3.SG	*ma*	'this/that person'
dira(u)	3.DU	*sira*	'these/those two people'
diat	3.PAU	*siat*	'this/that group of people'
dit	3.PL	*sit*	'these/those people'

An example for each grammatical number is given below:

(406) a. **Singular referent**

Ép	*natun*	*nang*	*ning*		*dat*	*warai*
ép	natu-n	nang	n-ing		dat	war-ai
ART:CO1	child-POSS	wait	DEM.[-SG]-ANA		1.PL.INC	speak-TR

é	*ma*	*da*		*na*	*bèl*	*tók*
é	**ma**	**d-a**		na	bèl	tók
NPM:PROP	**PERS.DEM.SG**	**DEM.SG-PROX**		REL	NEG	ART:[-COUNT]

tan	*dit*	*ap*	*tók*	*taman.*
ta-n	dit	ap	tók	tama-n
mother-POSS	3.PL	and	ART:[-COUNT]	father-POSS

'This one is called an orphan, someone who does not have a mother and a father.'

(TÓMÓL [14])

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[130] The proper article is sometimes omitted in casual Siar. This is not a specific characteristic of personal demonstratives, but can also be frequently observed with other types of NPs.

b.   **Dual referent**

É	*sira*	*ning*	*dira*	*ting*
é	sira	n-ing	dira(u)	ting
ART:PROP	PERS.DEM.DU	DEM.[-SG]-ANA	3.DU	cut.off

tar	*tó*	*un*	*ngan*	*é*	*móksón.*
tar	tó	(f)un	nga-n	é	móksón
PRF	ART:[-ANIM].PL	banana	CL:FOOD-POSS	ART:PROP	spouse

'Those two persons had cut off the bananas of her husband.'

(TóWa [x])

c.   **Paucal referent**

Ka	*warai*	*i*	*é*	*siat*
k-a	war-ai	i	é	siat
FOC-1.SG	speak-TR	**3.SG**	**ART:PROP**	**PERS.DEM.PAU**

ning	*na*	*matò*	*pirat.*
n-ing	na	matò(l)	pirat
DEM.[-SG]-ANA	REL	1.PAU	slash.bush

'I told the others that we would slash the bush.'

(PIR [14])

d.   **Plural referent**

É	*sit*	*ning*	*dit*	*ki*
é	sit	n-ing	dit	k-i
ART:PROP	PERS.DEM.PL	DEM.[-SG]-ANA	3.PL	FOC-3.SG

léhléh	*i*	*sén*	*alò*	*i*	*a*	*mani*
léh~léh	i	sén	alò	i	a	mani
RED~admire	3.SG	EMPH	again	3.SG	ART:CO2	bird

ti'gau	*an*	*pótór.*
t-i(ng)=gau	an	pótór
LOC-ANA=(t)here	at	middle

'Those people were again admiring the bird that was in the middle.'

(TAM [15])

For singular personal demonstrative constructions, the form *ma* is used. It is unclear whether this form is related to the event transition marker *ma* (cf. section §10.2.3.6) or if it is a separate form altogether.

Rowe signals an adequate analysis when she says that,

```
"The forms emada and emading are found as proforms derived from
demonstratives.  The  derivation  is  unclear.  If  they  are
contracted from i ma da and i ma ding (the demonstrative and
third person singular pronoun), with an intervening particle ma
the initial e is unexplained."
```
<div align="right">Rowe (2005: 97)</div>

There is no obvious reason while it is present only with singular referents and not with non-singular referents (e.g. *é ma siat ning*). In addition, the event transition marker is always an optional element, whereas *ma* is obligatory in singular personal demonstrative constructions. The two are treated as homophones in this analysis. However, one could think of contexts in which the personal demonstrative emerged from a construction in which it was used as the event transition marker.

It is also possible to have 'kinship personal demonstratives', similar to the complex pronominals involving kinship terms (cf. section §4.3.2.5). In such cases, a kinship term is inserted between the personal demonstrative and the demonstrative determiner. In the following example, the noun *sin* 'sibling' modifies the personal demonstrative construction:

(407) | ***É*** | ***sira*** | ***sin*** | ***ning*** | *dira* | *kès* | *lik* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| é | sira | sin | n-ing | dira(u) | kès | lik |
| **ART:PROP** | **PERS.DEM.DU** | **siblings** | **DEM.[-SG]-ANA** | 3.DU | sit | TEMP |

ma	*an*	*lakan*	*ép*	*lóng.*
ma	an	laka-n	ép	lóng
TRANS	at	top-POSS	ART:CO1	bench

'Those two brothers were sitting on the bench for a while.'
<div align="right">(MAT 2 [16])</div>

All of the non-singular personal demonstratives strongly resemble the equivalent free pronouns, but they differ in that they replace the initial consonants with /s/ (*dira* → *sira*, *diat* → *siat*, *dit* → *sit*). This leads us consider the possibility that the initial /s/ is a remnant of another word that preceded the free pronoun at an earlier stage (or that is still doing so in contemporary Siar). The most likely candidate would be the restrictive

marker *sa* which also tends to cliticize in many other contexts. It may be possible that originally the restrictive marker in constructions like this was used to individuate the set of people referred to from all the other people. However, we would then expect the restrictive marker to follow the pronoun rather than to precede it because *sa* is always postposed to the constituent it modifies. This suggests that the initial /s/ is a fixed part of each non-singular personal demonstrative rather than a clitic.

8.2.1.4   Demonstrative existentials

Demonstrative existentials[131] are always used predicatively. They roughly translate to English as 'be (t)here'. Their forms can be represented as follows:

Singular: [***a-d*-DEM**]**PRED**

First person singular + non-singular: [***a-n*-DEM**]**PRED**

A demonstrative existential with a singular subject is shown in (408a), and in (408b) the subject is marked for non-singular:

(408)   a.   *Ép*   *wang*   ***adisai***   *ma*   *an*
               ép   wang   **a-d-isai**   ma   an
               ART:CO1   canoe   **DEX-DEM.SG-DIST**   TRANS   at

               lón   *bòn.*
               ló-n   bòn
               mouth-POSS   sea

               'The canoe was out on the sea.'
                                                                              (PÒU [7])

         b.   *Bar*   *lóklók*   *róp*   *dit*   ***aning***
               bar   lóklók   róp   dit   **a-n-ing**
               ART:HUM.PL   important.man   complete   3.PL   **DEX-DEM.[-SG]-ANA**

               ma.
               ma
               TRANS

               'All the important men were there now.'
                                                                              (KÈL [27])

---

[131] Rowe (2005: 72) refers to them as locative existential (clauses).

Demonstrative existentials need not be introduced by a subject marker, pronoun or a full NP. In fact, they can make up a complete clause by themselves. This is possible because the subject is in most cases identifiable via the demonstrative pronominal (*d-* or *n-*) in the existential (409a). If the subject changes or is emphasized, then a subject pronominal or full NP may precede the existential (409b).

(409)   a.   *Na   i   wòt   sai   an Ningin ap*
              na   i   wòt   Ø-sai   an Ningin ap   **Ø**SUBJ
              REL 3.SG arrive (LOC-)DIST at PN   and

              adisai   *gau ma.*
              a-d-isai   gau ma
              DEX-DEM.SG-DIST there TRANS

              'When he arrived at Ningin he stayed there.'

                                                          (PAL [4])

       b.   *Na   dit   wòt   rak'a'na   mèt*
              na   dit   wòt   rak=(l)a(r)=n-a   [**mèt**]SUBJ
              REL 3.PL come want=like=DEM.[-SG]-PROX **1.PL.EX**

              ani'ga'ma.
              a-n-i(ng)=ga(u)=ma
              DEX-DEM.[-SG]-ANA=there=TRANS

              'When they came we were there.'

                                                          (TAL [8])

We have said that the demonstrative pronominal *d-* is used in singular contexts whereas the form *n-* is used in non-singular contexts. In the case of demonstrative existentials there is an exception that if the subject is first person singular, the plural form is used:

(410) a. ***Aning***   *sén*   *lón*   *bòn* *ap*
           a-n-ing   sén   ló-n   bòn   ap
           DEX-DEM.[-SG]-ANA EMPH   mouth-POSS   sea   and

           a yélé   *ép*   *wang*   *katim*   *an*   *mas.*
           a=yélé   ép   wang   ka-t-im   an   mas
           1.SG=swim.TR   ART:CO1   canoe   ALL-LOC-down at   shore

           'I was there in the sea and I swam to the beach with the canoe.'
                                                              (BIW [13])

       b. ***Ani'ga'm'a***   *kès* *lik,* *a atin*   *lik*
           a-n-i(ng)=ga(u)=m(a)=a   kès   lik   a=atin   lik
           DEX.DEM[-SG]-ANA=(t)here=TRANS=1.SG sit   TEMP   1.SG=light TEMP

           i   *m'ép*   *yah.*
           i   m(a)=ép   yah
           3.SG   TRANS=ART:CO1 fire

           'I was there sitting a bit, I lit a fire.'
                                                              (MASMAS [47])

In section §6.4.1.7 we argued that demonstrative existentials cannot be part of serial verb constructions. They may well be situated right next to another verb, but the fact that aspectual markers may be inserted between them shows that the two verbs are discontinuous constituents.

(411) *É*   *Tata**'dóng***   *ma*   *is*
       é   Tata=**(a-)d-óng**   **ma**   **is**
       ART:PROP   Daddy=**(DEX-)DEM.SG-CLK**   **TRANS** **return**

       'Daddy was there now returning.'
                                                              (NIN [15])

The verb *is* 'return' functions like a modifier to the demonstrative existential. This is similar to the modified demonstrative adverbs that are discussed in section §8.2.1.5.3).

    The modality setting of demonstrative existentials can be modified, although this is only rarely done. In the following example, the existential is specified for both event focus (*k-*) and irrealis (*-l*):

(412) *Ép   fain   na   kél*
      ép   fain   n-a   k-é-l
      ART:CO1 woman   DEM.[-SG]-PROX **FOC-3.SG-IRR**

      adi'ga'ma.
      a-d-i(ng)=ga(u)=ma
      DEX-DEM.SG-ANA=place=TRANS

      'Then this woman will be there now.'

<div align="right">(TIN [110])</div>

The above construction shows the typical behaviour of demonstrative existentials that contain the anaphoric root *-ing*. In spoken Siar, the anaphoric demonstrative existential *ading gau* is often contracted to *adi'gau* (or *adi'ga'*), with the demonstrative existential *a-d-i-* becoming a proclitic. The function of *gau* is unclear. It does have locational semantics of some sort and can always be translated to English as 'there'. It can also be used with temporal demonstratives (cf. section §8.2.2). However, it does not contain any specific location information in contrast to the demonstrative roots. *Gau* is not associated with a specific words class. It can also be observed with locative adverbs, but does not occur with demonstratives in nominal environments. This suggests that there are no separate proforms *adiga(u)* and *aniga(u)*, as proposed by Rowe (2005: 73).

Often the initial *a-*[132] of the demonstrative existential is also omitted, even though this results in a potential formal ambiguity with the forms of the demonstrative determiners and demonstrative pronouns. Still, in such cases the syntactic environment usually makes it clear when the demonstrative determiner, the demonstrative pronoun or the demonstrative existential (with the omitted initial *a-*) is used. The initial *a-* can only be omitted when the demonstrative existential is preceded by a word that ends in a vowel, presumably to avoid a hiatus:

(413) ***Matò'nim***   *ma   matò   kès   lik.*
      matò=(a-)n-im   ma   matò(l) kès   lik
      1.PAU.EX=(DEX-)DEM.[-SG]-down TRANS 1.PAU.EX sit   TEMP

      'We were down there now sitting around a bit.'

<div align="right">(GAL [24])</div>

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[132] Proto-Oceanic **qa-* (Ross 2004: 179)

<div align="right">367</div>

8.2.1.5   Demonstrative adverbs

There are two types of demonstrative adverbs in Siar: locative adverbs (§8.2.1.5.1) and allative adverbs (§8.2.1.5.2).

8.2.1.5.1   Locative adverbs

Locative adverbs operate on the clause level. Syntactically they are adjuncts because they can easily be omitted without a loss of grammaticality, and because they follow all the postverbal aspectual markers that also modify the verb (cf. section §10.2.3). The syntactic environment of locative adverbs can be represented as follows:

Non-*upward***:**   [VP + *t*-**DEM** (+PP)]$_{VP}$

*Upward***:**   [VP + **Ø-DEM** (+PP)]$_{VP}$

An example for each case is given below:

(414)   a.   *Nana   diat   inan   ma   **tim**   talang   an   mas.*
                nana   diat   inan   ma   **t-im**   talang   an   mas
                mummy   3.PAU   go   TRANS   **LOC-down**   along   at   dry

              'Mummy and the others were going along the beach.'
                                                                                    (NIN [9])

        b.   *Marau   sòt   tar   **sai**   an   Ningin.*
                mara(u)   sòt   tar   **Ø-sai**   an   Ningin
                1.DU.EX   land.on.shore   PRF   **(LOC-)DIST**   at   PN

              'We landed (the canoe) over at Ningin (island).'
                                                                                    (FRI [6])

The reason for the two types of forms (one with the initial locative prefix *t-* and one without it) is the fact that in the case of *upward* locative adverbs, the consonantal locative prefix *t-* is disallowed with the initial fricative */s/* of the demonstrative root -*sai* since Siar phonotactics do not allow for syllable-internal consonant clusters, the cluster must be broken up.

        Locative adverbs differ from allative adverbs in that allative adverbs refer to the direction of a motion event whereas locative adverbs refer to a location. Locative

adverbs can also specify the starting point of motion event. This is shown in (382), which is repeated below:

(415) *Dira*   *inan* *s'an*   *Lamassa*   *katóng*   *an* *Kingén*
       dira(u) inan   **Ø-s(ai)=an** Lamassa   ka-t-óng   an   Kingén
       3.DU   go   **(LOC-)DIST=**at PN   ALL-LOC-*back* at   PN

       sur   *katóng*   *an*   *Kabóman.*
       sur   ka-t-óng   an   Kabóman
       INTENT   ALL-LOC-*back* at   PN

'The two went from Lamassa to Kingén in order to go to Kabóman.'

(LAM [5])

Here, the starting point is Lamassa Island. The starting point is represented by the distal/*upward* form because the utterance was made on the mainland of New Ireland, from which Lamassa Island is in distal/upward (*-sai*) direction because it is away from New Ireland. The motion events are all represented by allative adverbs.

A locative adverb need not be specified by a PP that represents the location of the event as is the case in all the above examples. In the following example, the locative adverb *tóng* remains unspecified, although there is always a location implied from the context:

(416) *Dirau*   *ki*   *sipuk*   *lamas*   ***tóng.***
       dira(u)   k-i   sipuk   lamas   **t-óng**   [Ø]_{PP}
       3.DU   FOC-3.SG   peel   coconut   **LOC-*back***

'The two peeled of the skin of coconuts there.'

(IR [7])

When people meet on a path, they usually do not ask *U inan katah*? 'Where are you going (allative)?', but rather *U inan tah?* 'Where are you coming from (locative)?'. This suggests that the locative forms also include an ablative (source) meaning. There is no separate morpheme expressing an ablative category in Siar. Van Der Mark (p.c.) also observes the use of locative forms in ablative contexts in the closely related language Vinitiri, but argues that this is because people are usually expected to explain what they have been up to, rather than to explain what they are about to do.

8.2.1.5.2   **Allative adverbs**

Allative adverbs are similar to locative adverbs, but they differ in their form and semantics. Their morphosyntax can be generalized as follows:

Non-*upward*:   VP + **ka-t-DEM** (+PP)

Upward: VP + **ka-Ø-DEM** (+PP)

An example for each case is shown below:

(417)   a.   *Di   dat   i   **katim**   pirim   ané.*
             di   dat   i   **ka-t-im**   pirim   ané
             IND   pull   3.SG **ALL-LOC-down**   move.down   below

'They pull it down.'

(YAU [8])

b.   *A kawas   **kasai**   gali   an   lakan   ép*
     a=kawas   **ka-Ø-sai**   gali   an   laka-n   ép
     1.SG=move.up **ALL-(LOC-)DIST** above   at   top-POSS   ART:CO1

lamas.
lamas
coconut

'I climb up on top of the tree.'

(KAWAS [8])

It is here assumed that the allative prefix *k(a)-* attaches to the locative form of the demonstrative which is prefixed by the locative prefix *t-* (e.g. *ka-t-a* 'hither'). An alternative analysis would be to say that the consonant /t/ is part of the allative prefix (e.g. *kat-a* LOC-PROX). Counterevidence for this assumption comes from the observation that the allative prefix also attaches to some prepositions which start with an initial vowel /a/, in which case the vowel in the prefix is omitted. Prepositions that start with other vowels do not require the vowel in the prefix to be deleted (e.g. *ka-ó-n* ALL-OBL-POSS). The locative prefix *t-* is never present (*k-an* ALL-at, *k-ari-n* ALL-BEN-POSS).

Like locative adverbs, allative adverbs need not be specified by a PP that represents the destination of the motion event:

(418) *Matò*   *inan* **katim**.
       matò(l)   inan   **ka-t-im**   [Ø]$_{PP}$
       1.PAU.EX   go   **ALL-LOC-down**

'We went downward.'

<div align="right">(GAL [3])</div>

There is also a demonstrative form *ga-* that seems to be a variant of *k(a)-*, and it may be a dialectal variant since it occurs most frequently on the east coast. The dialect analysis is over simplistic though because in a number of constructions, a demonstrative with the prefix *ga-* has a locative reading.

(419) a. *Kók*   *usrai* *i*   *tuk*   *s'alò*   **gating**.
           kók   usrai   i   tuk   s(én)=alò   **ga-t-ing**
           ART:DIM   story   3.SG   be.over EMPH=again   **ALL?-LOC-ANA**

'This little story also ends there.'

<div align="right">(RUMAI [73])</div>

       b. *Mèt*   *él*   *aróp*   *sòi*   *sén*
           mèt   é-l   a-róp   sòi   sén
           1.PL.EX   3.SG-IRR   CAUS-finish move.away   EMPH

           gata   *i*   *a*   *ngisén*   *liwan*
           ga-t-a   i   a   ngisé-n   liwan
           ALL?-LOC-PROX 3.SG   ART:CO2   tooth-POSS   knife

           ning.
           n-ing
           DEM.[-SG]-ANA

'We will treat your cut here.'

<div align="right">(AMP 5 [98])</div>

Both the BE OVER event in (419a) and the CURE event in (419b) do not have an allative reading, and if a standard demonstrative form were used, it should be the locative demonstrative, not the allative demonstrative. This suggests that *ga-* is not a variant of *k(a)-* because its function and meaning are more similar to the locative forms.

Further evidence comes from the observation that *k(a)-* and *ga-* can co-occur:

(420) a. *A inan* ***kagating***   *ép*   *sis*   *kès*   *gau.*
           a=inan   **ka-ga-t-ing**   ép   sis   kès   gau
           1.SG=go   **ALL-ALL?-LOC-ANA** ART:CO1   fish   sit   there

           'I went to where all the fish live.'

(ÉP FAR [19])

       b. *I'an*   *sai*   *pirim*   ***kagata***   *an*   *lakman*
           i=(in)an Ø-sai   pirim   **ka-ga-t-a**   an   lakman
           3.SG=go   (LOC-)DIST move.down   **ALL-ALL?-LOC-PROX** at   village

           sur   *na*   *dit*   *rè*   *ép*   *sah*   *sai*   *talang.*
           sur   na   dit   rè   ép   sah   Ø-sai   talang
           INTENT   REL   3.PL   see   ART:CO1 what   (LOC-)DIST   along

           'He came down to the village so they would know what was up there.'

(FAR [35])

The COME DOWN event is allative, and both the *k(a)-* prefix and the *ga-* prefix are present, and the prosody of the words suggests that it is not a case of self-correction. Further research is needed in order to distinguish *ga-* from *t-*.

The use of *ga-* is less common, and cases such as the one above where *ga-* and *k(a)-* co-occur are especially rare (they are in fact the only two cases in my data).

8.2.1.5.3   Modified demonstrative adverbs

In many cases, demonstrative adverbs are further specified by a motion verb or a locational adverb. In such cases, the motion verb or locational adverb always follows the demonstrative adverb. Some of these combinations are fixed expressions and refer to a specific direction or a specific starting point. Consider the following example:

(421) *Ól'an*   *tóng*   *is,*   *ól'an*   *tim*
       ó-l=(in)an   **t-óng**   **is**   ó-l=(in)an   **t-im**
       2.SG-IRR=go   **LOC-*back***   **return**   2.SG-IRR=go   **LOC-down**

       is,   *ól'an*   *sai*   *pirim,*   *ól an*
       is   ó-l=(in)an   **Ø-sai**   **pirim**   ó-l=(in)an
       return   2.SG-IRR=go   **(LOC-)DIST**   **move.down**   2.SG-IRR=go

       tim'òt   *sur*   *dat*   *él*   *tur kiòm.*
       t-im=(w)òt   sur   dat   é-l   tur kiòm
       LOC-down=come   INTENT   1.PL.INC   3.SG-IRR   stand together

'You will come from the north, you will come from the south, you will come down from the mountains, you will come from the sea so that we can stand together.'

(BÒN [3])

This construction is part of a religious song (the second person subject referring to God) that was sung on the west coast. All the directions in this construction are illustrated on the following map:
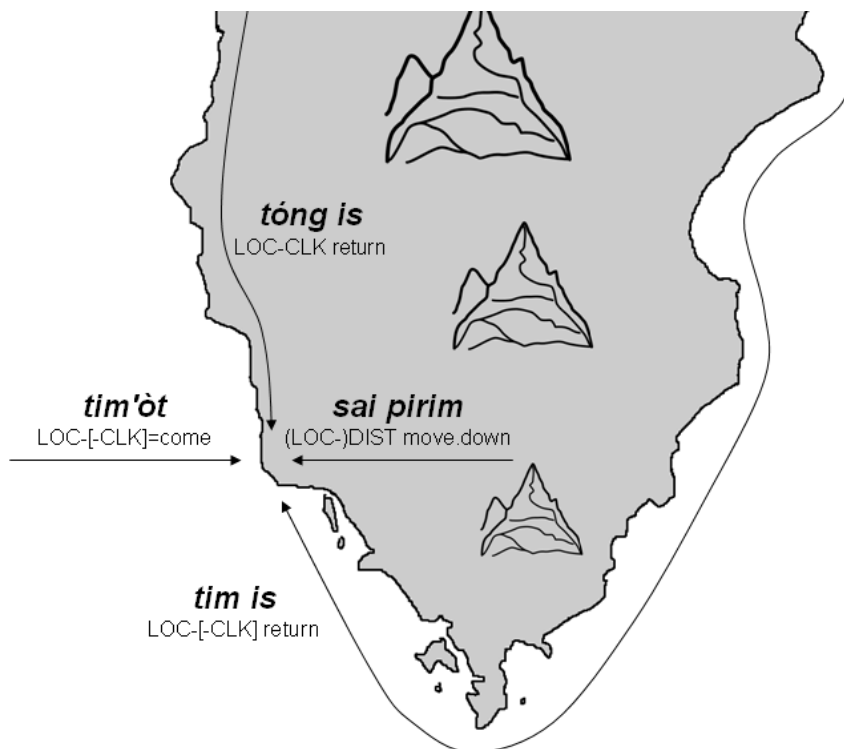
Map 11: Directions mentioned in (421), as perceived on the west coast

The expressions are analysed and glossed as shown below:

(422) a. *tóng*   *is*
           t-óng   is
           LOC-*back*   return

           'coming from a point located along the coast in clockwise direction, back to the village'

       b. *tim*   *is*
           t-im   is
           LOC-*down*   return

           'coming from a point located along the coast in counterclockwise direction, back to the village'

       c. *sai*   *pirim*
           Ø-sai   pirim
           (LOC-)DIST/up move.down

           'coming down from the mountains, towards the village'

       d. *tim'òt*
           t-im=(w)òt
           LOC-down=come

           'coming from the sea, towards the village / New Ireland'

The initial demonstrative adverb in these cases encodes the starting point of the motion event and the following verb specifies the destination. The use of the expressions referring to the geographical starting points is transparent in (422a-c), but unexpected in (422d) because here one would expect the use of the demonstrative root *-sai* which refers to locations away from New Ireland, the starting point of the motion event. The expected form *sai'òt*, however, is not used. As for the motion verbs, note that the verb *is* 'return' is used for movement on land or on water, following the coastline. In (422c) the verb *pirim* 'move down; descend' is used, even though the destination is exactly the same. The constructions *sai is* or *sai'òt* would not be used in this context. To make the example even more complex, the motion verb in (422d) is *(w)òt* 'come; arrive' is also different, and the constructions *tim is* and *tim pirim* are not used here.[133] In the case of (422c) we can say that the verb *pirim* stresses the fact that a mountain is descended, as opposed to the motion events in (422a-b) which are more

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[133] They are still grammatical and can be used in other contexts.

general. Coming from the sea in (422d) is also fairly specific event (because it involves a sea vessel), but still the motion verb is the more general verb *(w)òt*. The form *tim is* would also be plausible in this case, but note that this construction is already reserved for the context in (422b). All these observations suggest that the combinations of the demonstrative adverbs and the motion verbs have been conventionalized.

When the song is sung on the east coast, the directions need to be represented differently:
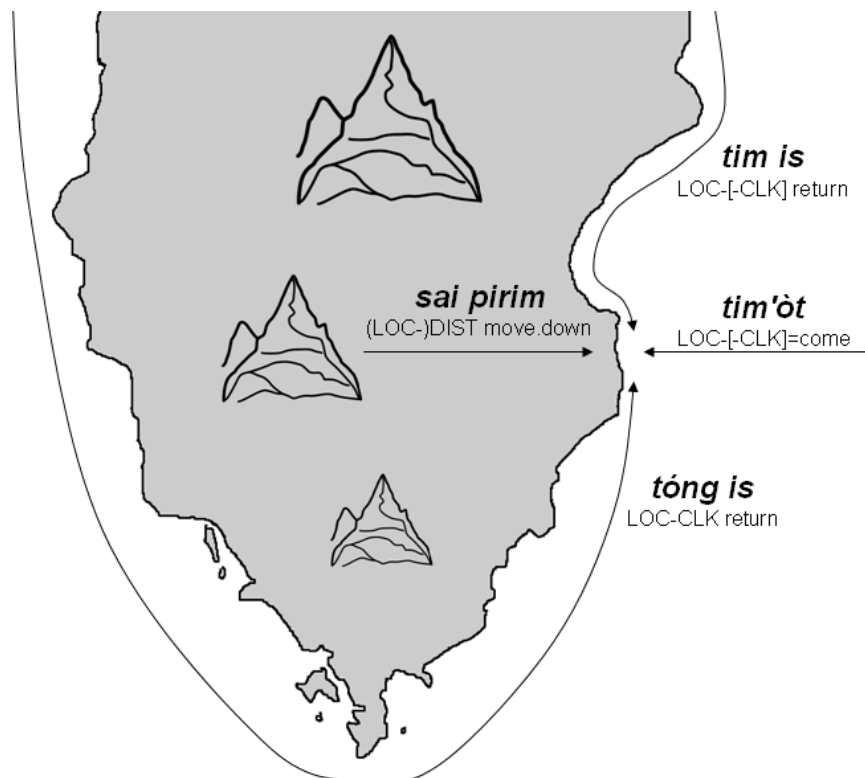
Map 12: Directions mentioned in (421), as perceived on the east coast

Note that all four expressions point into the exact opposite direction than on the west coast.

In some constructions, both the starting point and the destination of the event are specified by a demonstrative adverb and a motion verb or location adverb:

(423)   *Di*   *atalilis*   *a*   *butón,*   *di*   *dat*   *sòi*
      di   a-talilis   a   butón$_{TP}$ di   dat   sòi
      IND   CAUS-turn.around   ART:CO2   navel   IND   pull   away

      kati'pirim   ***katim***   ***ané***.
      ka-t-i(m?)=pirim   **ka-t-im**   **ané**
      ALL-LOC-down=move.down   **ALL-LOC-down**   **below**

      'They make (the knife go) around the navel and they pull it down.'

                                                      (YAU [6])

The above sentence was uttered by a person who was explaining how a pig is cut open to be gutted and prepared for the earth oven. Note that there are two sequences of demonstrative adverbs and directional modifiers here, and in both sequences, the initial motion verb also represents the starting point and the final motion verb and modifier specify the destination.

It also possible to have three or more sequences, which then get a 'hence and forth' reading:

(424)   *Diat*   *ataltal*   *lar*   *ép*   *sòi,*
      diat   a-tal~tal   lar   ép   sòi
      3.PAU   CAUS-RED~walk.around   like   ART:CO1 snake

      katóng   ***talang,*** ***kati'pukus,***
      ka-t-óng   **talang** **ka-t-i(m)=pukus**
      ALL-LOC-*back*   **along** **ALL-LOC-*down*=towards.east.coast**

      kasai   ***wòt***.
      ka-Ø-sai   **wòt**
      ALL-(LOC-)DIST   **come**

      'They chased it around like a snake, hence and forth.'

                                                         (SÓL [15])

The status of the locational adverb *pukus* in above example is not completely clear. In terms of semantics, it seems to refer to the east coast, starting at the southern tip of New Ireland at Cape St George, or it can refer to the direction towards that area.[134] *Pukus* seems to form a contrastive pair with *talang*, which seems to refer to the opposite area and direction. In many contexts, *talang* literally translates as 'opposite'. The following example shows *pukus* and *talang* in opposition:

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[134] Graebner & Stephan (1907: 12) provide a map in which they refer to the whole Siar-speaking area as 'Pugusch', which is very likely to be the same word.

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(425) *Mara, mara isis **katóng** **talang**, diat*
mara(u) mara(u) is~is **ka-t-óng** **talang** diat
1.DU.EX 1.DU.EX RED~return **ALL-LOC-*back*** **towards.west.coast** 3.PAU

*isis **kati'pukus**.*
is~is **ka-t-i(m)=pukus**
RED~return **ALL-LOC-*down*=towards.east.coast**

'As for us, we went north (along the coast) and they went south (along the coast).' (uttered on the west coast)

(FRI [19])

8.2.2   Uses of temporal demonstratives

As noted in section §8.2.1 a number of locational demonstratives have temporal readings. For example, the allative demonstrative adverb *ka-t-im* 'downward' also translates as 'until'. An example for this is shown in (393) below:

(426) *Ép bat i pung pas ón ép*
ép bat i pung pas ó-n ép
ART:CO1 rain 3.SG fall PFV OBL-POSS ART:CO1

*kirai kòbòt sén **kat**im ón*
kirai kòbòt sén **ka-t-im** ó-n
day morning EMPH ALL-LOC-**down** OBL-POSS

ép rah.
ép rah
ART:CO1 afternoon

'The rain was falling all the time, from the early morning until afternoon.'

(KAW [5])

Another case is the anaphoric allative demonstrative adverb *ka-t-ing*, which translates as 'from that time on':

(427) ***Kati'****gau*   *ap*   *ki*   *parai*   *ép*   *gòlòh*
       ka-t-i(ng)=gau   ap   k-i   parai   ép   gòlòh
       ALL-LOC-ANA=there and   FOC-3.SG   move.across-TR ART:CO1   young.coconut

       ón   *ép*   *fin.*
       ó-n   ép   fin
       OBL-POSS   ART:CO1   fruit

'From then on it beared little coconuts as fruits.'

(LAM [31])

It is semantically transparent to use the anaphoric demonstrative root *-ing* to refer to a specific point in time that is clear from the context.

There are three other types of temporal expressions that involve a demonstrative root. These are represented in the following table:

Demonstrative root		Relative time 1	Relative time 2	Day-based
		na ón n-	*ón sa n-*	*misa n-*
Proximal	*-a*	*na ón n-a* 'at the time that is now'	*ón sa n-a* 'at the time that is now'	*misa n-a* 'today'
Indexical	*-è*	*na ón n-è* 'at the time that is now (as opposed to the past)'	*ón sa n-è* 'at the time that is now (as opposed to the past)'	*misa n-è* 'today (as opposed to another day)'
Anaphoric	*-ing*	*na ón n-ing* 'at that time (anaphoric)'	*ón sa n-ing* 'at that time (anaphoric)'	*misa n-ing* 'that day'
Clockwise	*-óng*	*na ón n-óng* 'at that time, in clockwise direction/location '	*ón sa n-óng* 'at that time, in clockwise direction/location'	*misa n-óng* 'that day, in clockws. direction/location '
Counter- clockwise	*-im*	*na ón n-im* 'at that time, in counterclockwise direction/location '	*ón sa n-im* 'at that time, in counterclockwise direction/location '	*misa n-im* 'that day, in counterclockwise direction/location '
Upward	*-(i)sai*	*na ón n-isai* 'at that time, away from New Ireland or upward'	*ón sa n-isai* 'at that time, away from New Ireland or upward'	*misa n-isai* 'that day (in the future)'

Table 48: Temporal demonstratives

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These constructions should not be considered subtypes of demonstratives per se because the demonstrative components they involve (i.e. the demonstrative pronominal and the demonstrative root) are simple demonstrative pronouns (cf. section §8.2.1.2).

The Relative Time 1 construction *na ón n-* can be generalized as follows:

(428) **na   ó-n   n-   X**
       REL   OBL-POSS   DEM.[-SG]-   DEM root

The precise meaning of *na ón n-* is difficult to pin down, but a translation that works in many cases is 'at the time x'. The semantics change depending on which demonstrative root is attached to the demonstrative pronominal *n-*. All of the demonstrative roots except for the interrogative root *-ah* can be attached here. Two examples with different demonstrative roots are shown below:

(429) a.   ***Na   ón   na   al   ana***
            na   ó-n   n-a   a-l   a-n-a
            REL   OBL-POSS   DEM.[-SG]-PROX 1.SG-IRR DEX-DEM.[-SG]-PROX

            basa an   lakman ap   al   wur   ningan tó
            basa   an   lakman ap   a-l   wur   ningan tó
            first at   village and   1.SG-IRR   work   some   ART:[-ANIM].PL

            wuwur   kón   nangan tó   lótu
            wu~wur   kón   nangan tó   lótu
            RED~work   PURP   help   ART:[-ANIM].PL   worship

            'I will stay here first (lit. *at this time*) to help with the church work.'
                                                                    (MUR [2])

       b.   *Na   dit   inan'òt   rak'a'na   ap   na*
            na   dit   inan=(w)òt rak=(l)a(r)=n-a   ap   na
            REL   3.PL   go=come   want=like=DEM.[-SG]-PROX and   REL

            ón   ning   dit   tasim   tar   ón.
            ó-n   n-ing   dit   tasim   tar   ó-n
            OBL-POSS   DEM.[-SG]-ANA   3.PL   know   PRF   OBL-POSS

            'When they came they had already known about them (at that time).'
                                                                    (FAR [50])

In (429a), the temporal demonstrative construction *na ón na* cannot translate as 'today' because the speaker talks about the job he is doing every day, a better translation into

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English is 'now'. In (429b) the proximal demonstrative root *-a* co-occurs, with the meaning of the temporal demonstrative construction changing to 'then; at that time'.

The following example shows how the indexical demonstrative root *-é* is used to refer to the present, as opposed to the future:

(430) | *Latu,* | *darau* | *él'an* | *kasai* | | *an lakman* | *ma* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| latu | darau | é-l=(in)an | ka-Ø-sai | | an lakman | ma |
| tomorrow | 1.DU.INC | 3.SG-IRR=go | ALL-(LOC-)DIST | | at village | TRANS |

na	*ó'nè*		*dara*	*kès*	*sa.*
na	ó(-n)=n-è		dara(u)	kès	sa
REL	OBL(-POSS)=DEM.[-SG]-INDX		1.DU.INC	sit	RESTR

'Tomorrow we will go to the village, but now we just sit.'

(elicited)

The first event (going to the village) is marked by the speaker as being located in the future (by using the temporal adverbial *latu* 'tomorrow'. Then the sitting event is introduced, and in order to signal that the time referred to is different and located in the present, the speaker uses the indexical Relative Time 1 construction *na ón nè*. This means that the speaker is indirectly pointing to the present time.

The demonstrative roots *-óng* (clockwise) and *-im* (counterclockwise) also add a locational component to the temporal demonstrative construction. An example with *-óng* is shown below:

(431) | *Ap* | *na* | *ó'na,* | | *ép* | *sah* | *m'i* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ap | na | ó(-n)=n-a | | ép | sah | m(a)=i |
| and | REL | OBL(-POSS)=DEM.[-SG]-PROX | | ART:CO1 | INT | TRANS=3.SG |

nóng		*i*	*tòl*	*i*	*na*	*ó'nóng?*
n-óng		i	tòl	i	na	ó(-n)=n-óng
DEM.[-SG]-CLK		3.SG	do	3.SG	na	OBL(-POSS)=DEM.[-SG]-CLK

'And now, what is this one (in clockwise direction) going to do now (there in clockwise direction)?'

(UÒ [7-L])

The first temporal demonstrative construction is modified by the proximal demonstrative root *-a*, thus referring to the present (i.e. the time of the utterance). Then a new referent is introduced which is represented by the demonstrative pronoun *i nóng* 'that person in clockwise direction'. Note how the following temporal

demonstrative construction is also specified by the clockwise demonstrative. The demonstrative construction *na ó-nóng* still has a temporal reading 'now', but it also refers to a specific location somewhere in clockwise direction ('now, in clockwise direction').

Another type of temporal demonstrative construction is *ón sa n-*, which is glossed as follows:

ón	***sa***	***n-***	**-**
ó-n	sa	n-	-
OBL-POSS	**RESTR**	**DEM.[-SG]-**	**DEM. root**

This construction, which is here simply labelled Relative Time 2, has very similar semantics to the previous construction, and they have been translated in the same way in Table 48. The exact difference in meaning is currently unclear to me. What is clear is that, as is the case for the previous kind of temporal demonstrative, the resulting meaning is dependent on the choice of the demonstrative root that attaches at the end. The following example shows a construction with the proximal demonstrative root *-a*:

(432) | ***Ón*** | ***sa*** | ***na*** | ***bèl*** | ***m'i*** | ***arlar.*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ó-n | sa | n-a | bèl | m(a)=i | ar-lar |
| **OBL-POSS** | **RESTR** | **DEM.[-SG]-PROX** | NEG | TRANS=3.SG | REC-like |

'Now it's not the same (anymore).'

(MAT 2 [53])

I have not found any Relative Time 2 constructions with demonstrative roots other than proximal *-a* in my data, but Siar speakers have pointed out that it would be possible to replace *-a* with any of the other demonstrative roots, except for interrogative *-ah*. When translating them, my consultants were inconsistent by sometimes translating them as 'today' and sometimes as 'now' or 'then'.

Ón sa can also occur by itself without the final demonstrative form:

(433)   **M'ón**   **sa**   *bèl* *dit* *tasim* *ón*   *ép*   *pipilai*

m(a)=**ó-n**   **sa**   bèl dit tasim ó-n   ép   pipilai

but=**OBL-POSS RESTR** NEG 3.PL know   OBL-POSS ART:CO1 meaning

ón   *é*   *Lamassa* *ép*   *sah.*

ó-n   é   Lamassa ép   sah

OBL-POSS ART:PROP PN   ART:CO1 what

'But now they do not know what the meaning of (the name) Lamassa is.'

(LAM [3])

There is no demonstrative form present in this case, but the possessive suffix *-n* which has been attached to the oblique prepositional root *ó-* takes over some of its semantics here (see also sections §9.2 and §9.3 on parallel uses of possessive suffixes and prepositions).

Rowe (2005: 81) notes that it is possible to replace the restrictive marker *sa* in this construction with the emphatic marker *sén*, which seems to change the meaning of the construction to 'right at the time x'.

The third type of temporal demonstrative construction is *misa n-*. Constructions with this expression refer to the day as a whole. This construction always has a demonstrative root attached. The demonstrative root encodes different kinds of temporal relations related to the current day depending on which root is chosen. Two examples are shown below:

(434) a. *Ap* *na* **misa** **na**   *matak* *i* *laulau,*

        ap na **misa** **n-a**   mata-k i laulau

        and REL **today** **DEM.[-SG]-PROX** eye-1.SG.POSS 3.SG bad

tó   *baran* *róp* *a suah* *sòi* *i.*

tó   baran róp a=suah sòi i

ART:[-ANIM].PL thing finish 1.SG=stop away 3.SG

'And today my eye is bad, and I've stopped doing everything.'

(GÒTÒ [23])

b. **Misa   nè**   *bèl   al   ma,*
    misa   n-è   bèl   al   ma
    today   DEM.[-SG]-INDX   NEG   some TRANS

    m'ani'ga'sa   *ma   a kès   it.*
    m(a)=a-n-i(ng)=ga(u)=sa   ma   a=kès   it
    TRANS=DEX-DEM.[-SG]-ANA=there=RESTR   TRANS   1.SG=sit DURA

    'Today there is no more of that, but I'm just sitting around.'

                                                           (GÒTÒ [28])

These two utterances are taken from the same narrative. The speaker told a story about how he lost his eye in an accident, and how today he is not capable of working anymore, as opposed to how the time before the accident he did all kinds of things. It is important to note that these forms should in principle translate as 'today' and not as 'now', even though 'now' would be more adequate for translation to English in (434a).[135] The concept 'now' is represented by the Relative Time Constructions 1+2.

Further evidence that *misa n-* does not translate as 'now' or 'then' comes from examples such as the following:

(435)   *A warai   kanak   na   **misa na**   **an   rah***
        a=war-ai   kanak   na   misa n-a   an   rah
        1.SG=speak-TR COMP   REL   **today DEM.[-SG]-PROX** at   **afternoon**

        yau   sén   al an   kasai   gali.
        yau   sén   a-l=(in)an   ka-Ø-sai   gali
        1.SG EMPH   1.SG-IRR=go   ALL-(LOC-)DIST above

        'I said that this afternoon I myself will go up there.'

                                                                  (PIR [41])

The specification 'this afternoon' is less compatible with 'now' and more compatible with 'today'.

Rowe (2005: 81) represents *misa na* as a single word *misana*, arguing that it derives from *ma i sa n-a* (TRANS 3.SG RESTR DEM.[-SG]-PROX). This is plausible, especially given the fact that the event transition marker *ma* tends to become a proclitic when it is followed by a word with an initial vowel (*m(a)=i sa na*). In addition, *ma i sa na* is a syntactically well-formed construction. However, here only *misa* is analysed as a single word since the restrictive marker *sa* which is optional in all other contexts cannot be deleted from this construction. Another reason why not to

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[135] Rowe (2005: 81) mentions that *misa na* can translate as both 'now' and 'today'.

analyse *misa* as complex is that it in careful pronunciation the form remains *misa* and does not become *ma i sa*.

Siar speakers pointed out to me that *misa n-* can be accompanied by all of the demonstrative roots except for the interrogative root *-ah*. In my data, only the proximal forms and the indexical forms occur, and the proximal form *misa na* occurs far more often than the indexical form *misa nè* (434b).

8.2.3   Other types of demonstratives

There is another type of demonstrative complex that is very common in Siar. It is comprised of the verb *rak* 'want; be alike', the preposition *lar* 'like' and a demonstrative pronoun. The most frequent form is *rak lar na*, which translates to English as 'like this' or sometimes as 'thus' and 'so'. This kind of construction only rarely occurs in its fully articulated form though and tends to undergo strong cliticization in spoken language, in which it surfaces as *rak'a'n-*:

(436)   a.   *Diat   yan   i   ap   diat   yan   i   ap   na   diat   yan*
        diat   yan   i   ap   diat   yan   i   ap   na   diat   yan
        3.PAU   eat   3.SG   and   3.PAU   eat   3.SG   and   REL   3.PAU   eat

aróp   sòi   rak'a'na   ap   diat
a-róp   sòi   rak=(l)a(r)=n-a   ap   diat
CAUS-complete   away   **want=like=DEM.[-SG]-PROX**   and   3.PAU

ki   warai   ma,   "Èh,   i   wakak."
k-i   war-ai   ma   èh   i   wakak
FOC-3.SG   speak-TR   TRANS   INJ   3.SG   good

'They ate it and ate it and when they had eaten it up like that they said, *"Eh, it was good."* '

(CLA [38])

b.   *A rèrè   wól   i   sur   dit   él   lili   él*
        a=rèrè   wól   i   sur   dit   é-l   li(u)~li(u) é-l
        1.SG=HAB   plan   3.SG   INTENT   3.PL   3.SG-IRR RED~run   3.SG-IRR

rak'a'ning.
rak=(l)a(r)=n-ing
want=like=DEM.[-SG]-ANA

'I usually want them to follow this plan like that.'

(WÓL [15])

The above examples show that *rak'a'n-* has a consequential reading. As is the case with other demonstrative constructions, the choice of the demonstrative determines the precise meaning of the construction. The only other demonstrative roots I have observed in this case are the indexical root *-è*, (resulting in the construction *rak lar nè*) and the anaphoric root *-ing* (resulting in the form *rak'a'ning*, as shown in (436b) above). The meaning is essentially the same as for *rak lar na* 'like this' and *rak lar ning* 'like that', but the use of the indexical demonstrative root emphasizes that the speaker provides the information how the event comes about (which roughly translates as 'like I am saying').

Erdman (1991: 34), Erdman & Goring (1992: 114) and Rowe (2005: 77) transcribe *rak lar na* as a single word *rakana*, and their glossing suggests that it is a morphologically simple form. It is clear though that *rak lar na* is a complex, and there also other morphemes that may be inserted, such as the restrictive marker *sa* in the complex *rak sa lar na* 'just like this'.

Rak lar n- is so common in spoken Siar that it has taken on pragmatic functions. Consider the following two sentences which are subsequent sentences from the same narrative:

(437) a. *Na   diat   kamrai kès   tar   ón   i   a*
           na   diat   kamrai kès   tar   ó-n   i   a
           REL   3.PAU   together sit   PRF OBL-POSS 3.SG ART:CO2

           rakan   yai   ning   rak'a'na,
           rakan   yai   n-ing   rak=(l)a(r)=n-a
           branch   tree   DEM.[-SG]-ANA   want=like=DEM.[-SG]-PROX

           a   rakan   yai   ning   i   takal   sòu
           a   rakan   yai   n-ing   i   ta-kal   sòu
           ART:CO2   branch   tree   DEM.[-SG]-ANA   3.SG ACAUS-break off

           pas   ón   diat   rak'a'na.
           pas   ó-n   diat   rak=(l)a(r)=n-a
           PFV   OBL-POSS   3.PAU   want=like=DEM.[-SG]-PROX

           'When they were all sitting on the branch of that tree like this, the
           branch broke off under them like that.'

b.
Ap	*diat*	*kamrai*	*pung*	*pirim*	***rak'a'na***
ap	diat	kamrai	pung	pirim	**rak=(l)a(r)=n-a**
and	3.PAU	together	fall	move.down	**want=like=DEM.[-SG]-PROX**

katim	*g'ané*	*karisan*	*i*	*a*
ka-t-im	g(au)=ané	ka-risa-n	i	a
ALL-LOC-down	(t)here=below	ALL-side-POSS	3.SG	ART:CO2

kuk	*ning*	***rak'a'na***.
kuk	n-ing	**rak=(l)a(r)=n-a**
crab	DEM.[-SG]-ANA	**want=like=DEM.[-SG]-PROX**

'And they all fell down like this, right next to that crab (like this).'

(LÓB [25-26])

Note that there are four such constructions in the two utterances alone. Especially the cliticized proximal form *rak'a'na* seems to have a pragmatic function. It is mostly accompanied by rising intonation, and it therefore often functions as a construction that avoids turn-taking so that the speaker can keep on talking. Further research is needed here to verify this hypothesis.

9   Prepositions

Three types of prepositions or prepositional constructions can be distinguished in Siar: simple prepositions (section §9.1), prepositional pronouns (section §9.2) and relational nouns in prepositional function (section §9.3). Their general structure can be represented as follows:

Simple prepositions   [(ALL-) PREP + NP]$_{PP}$

(e.g. ***an*** *Lamassa* 'at Lamassa (village)'

Prepositional pronouns

Singular: [(ALL-) PREP[-POSS]$_{NP}$ (+NP)]$_{PP}$

(e.g. ***ari-k*** 'for me')

Non-singular: [(ALL-) PREP-POSS + NP/PRO]$_{PP}$

(e.g. ***ari-n dit*** 'for them')

Relational nouns   [(ALL-) *an* [+REL.NOUN-POSS]$_{REL.N}$ (+NP)]$_{PP}$
in prepositional function   (e.g. ***an laka-n*** *ép yai* 'on the tree')

Prepositional forms with an initial vowel can be introduced by an optional allative prefix *k-* which adds a certain degree of motion and direction to the semantics of the prepositional form. There are no postpositions in Siar.

9.1   Simple prepositions

Simple prepositions are morphologically simple forms that make up a closed class. They head a prepositional phrase in which they take an NP complement. The preposition establishes locational, temporal and other semantic relations.

Siar has the following set of simple prepositions:

Preposition	Meaning[136]	Translation	Section
an	Locative	'at; to'	§9.1.1
sur	Goal	'(want) for'	§9.1.2
kón	Refective	'for (the purpose of)'	§9.1.3
lar	Similative	'like; similar to'	§9.1.4
nam	Comitative	'(together) with'	§9.1.5

Table 49: Simple prepositions

Their syntactic context can be represented as follows:

[(ALL-) PREP + NP]$_{PP}$

9.1.1 Locative (*an*)

The locative preposition *an* is the most common simple preposition. In most cases, it translates to English as 'at'. Locative *an* can precede NPs with a locative meaning (438a) or NPs with a temporal reading (438b):

(438) a.
Matò	*mung*	*kasai*	***an***	***Vunapope***.
matò(l)	mung	ka-Ø-sai	[**an**	[**Vunapope**]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
1.PAU.EX	lead	ALL-(LOC-)DIST	**at**	**PN**

'We first went to Vunapope.'

(WAI [98])

b.
Dat	*ki*	*yan*	*i*	*na*	*misa*	*na*
dat	k-i	yan	i	na	misa	n-a
1.PL.INC	FOC-3.SG	eat	3.SG	REL	today	DEM.[-SG]-PROX

an	***rah***.
[**an**	[**rah**]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
at	**afternoon**

'We ate it this afternoon.'

(SARUN [1])

---

[136] Note that many of these terms (and many of those terms used in the following sections) are usually used for grammatical case systems or semantic roles. We use those labels here because it allows us to summarize prepositions with more than one meaning under a single label.

Simple prepositions select NP complements that are otherwise introduced by an obligatory article. No article is seen in the two examples above. In a few instances, the article may optionally surface within the NP. This is illustrated in the following example pair:

(439)　a.　*Dira'an*　　*pas*　　*tim*　　**an**　　　　**Yalui**.
　　　　dira(u)=(in)an　pas　　t-im　　[an [　Ø　　Yalui]_{NP}]_{PP}
　　　　3.DU=go　　PFV　　LOC-down　**at**　(ART)　PN

　　　　'The two first went down to the Yalui (River).'
<div align="right">(WUWUR [x])</div>

　　　b.　*Matò*　　*inan*　*ap*　*matò*　　*inan*　*ap*　*katim*
　　　　matò(l)　inan　ap　matò(l)　inan　ap　ka-t-im
　　　　1.PAU.EX　go　　and　1.PAU.EX　go　and　ALL-LOC-down

　　　　ón　　*i*　　*tik*　*ép*　　　*malum,*　　*tim*
　　　　ó-n　　i　　tik　ép　　　malum　　t-im
　　　　OBL-POSS　3.SG　one　ART:CO1　fresh.water　LOC-down

　　　　an　*é*　　　**Yalui**.
　　　　[an　[é　　　Yalui]_{NP}]_{PP}
　　　　at　ART:PROP　PN

　　　　'We went and went down a river, down the Yalui River.'
<div align="right">(WAI [9])</div>

The noun *Yalui* 'Yalui (River)' is not preceded by the proper article *é* in (439a) above (the unmarked case), but is preceded by it in (439b) (the marked case).

　　In some constructions, there may be two or more juxtaposed PPs:

(440)　*Matò*　　*inan*　*pirim*　　*katim*　　**an**　**bòn**
　　　matò(l)　inan　pirim　　ka-t-im　　[an　[bòn]_{NP}]_{PP}
　　　1.PAU.EX　go　move.down　ALL-LOC-down　**at**　sea

　　an　**Yalui**.
　　[an　[Yalui]_{NP}]_{PP}
　　at　PN

　　'We went to the beach near the Yalui (river).'
<div align="right">(PÒU [6])</div>

These two PPs are both adjuncts of the clause. There is no syntactic limit to the number of juxtaposed PPs, only a pragmatic limit.

In some constructions, a preposition appears to be stranded:

(441) *Bèl   ta   pukun   kón   mumun   arik*
       bèl   ta   pukun   kón   mu~mun   ari-k
       NEG   ART:CO2.IND   place   for   RED~hide   BEN-1.SG.POSS

       aning   sa   an   lón   bòn
       a-n-ing   sa   an   ló-n   bòn
       DEX-DEM.[-SG]-ANA RESTR   at   mouth-POSS sea

       a yayawas'an.
       a=ya~yawas=**(in)an**   [Ø]$_{NP}$
       1.SG=RED~paddle=**at**

       'There was no place to hide for me on the open sea I was trawling on.'
                                                                   (BÈL [7])

This example shows that it is important to distinguish the locative preposition *an* from the cliticized version of the verb *inan* 'go' which surfaces as *=an*. Even though we can translate the above utterance to English using a construction with a stranded preposition, the construction in (441) does not involve preposition stranding. Rather, *=an* is the cliticized form of the verb *inan* which is the minor verb in a serial verb construction with the verb *yayawas* 'trawl'. The other prepositions also can never be stranded and require the presence of an overt NP associated with them.

Like all prepositions that start with a vowel, locative *an* can also take the allative prefix *k(a)-* (resulting in the form *kan*). However, *k(a)-* is only attached to *an* when *an* is part of a phrasal prepositional pronoun (§9.2) and followed by a relational noun (cf. section §9.3), hence the ungrammaticality of e.g. **kan ép rumai* (*rumai* 'house').

9.1.2   Goal (*sur*)

Another simple preposition is the preposition *sur*.[137] This preposition introduces NPs with a GOAL role. Like the other simple prepositions, *sur* heads the PP and take the desired NP as their argument:

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[137] *Sur* is very likely to go back to Proto-Oceanic **suRi*, which Lynch et al. (2002: 87) label 'allative'.

(442)   a.   *Na*   *di*   *rak*   **sur**   *a*   **paplau**,   *di*   *kòt*
           na   di   rak   [sur   [a   paplau]ₙₚ]ₚₚ di   kòt
           REL   IND   want   **GOAL**   **ART:CO2**   **bowels**   IND   cut.with.knife

           pas   *a*   *paplau*   *ap*   *di*   *gós=akak*   *pas*   *i.*
           pas   a   paplau   ap   di   gós=(w)akak   pas   i
           PFV   ART:CO2   bowels   and   IND   wash=good   PFV   3.SG

           'When they want the bowels they cut them out and clean them well first.'

                                              (YAU [13])

      b.   *Matò*   *bòrbòr,*   *bòrbòr*   *i'an*   *sén,*   *bòrbòr*   *papalas*
           matò(l)   bòrbòr   bòrbòr   i=(in)an   sén   bòrbòr   pa~palas
           1.PAU.EX   sleep   sleep   3.SG=go   EMPH   sleep   RED~get.up

           sur   **ép**   **kirai.**
           [sur   [ép   kirai]ₙₚ]ₚₚ
           GOAL   **ART:CO1**   **day**

           'We were sleeping and sleeping, waiting to get up with the (new) day.'
                                              (AMP 2 [6])

The argument with the GOAL role need not be typically spatial but can also refer to an entity towards which an action is directed.

     The preposition *sur* can also select finite clauses as arguments.

(443)   *Matò*   *inan*   *tar*   **sur**   *matòl*   *él*   *amrai*   *pòl.*
        matò(l)   inan   tar   [sur   matòl   é-l   amrai   pòl]
        1.PAU.EX   go   PRF   **INTENT**   1.PAU.EX   3.SG-IRR   bring   dog

        'We went in order to hunt pigs.'

With clauses as arguments of the preposition there is usually a slight change of semantics involved because the clausal argument tends to get an intentional reading (this is discussed in more detail in section §12.1.3.1.). Both categories (GOAL and intention) are very closely related because an intention usually has the aim of obtaining a goal. The following example shows both a prepositional phrase headed by the preposition *sur* and an intentive clause headed by the intentive subordinator *sur*:

(444) I *nós* **sur** **ép** **kinbalin**
       i nós **sur** [ép kinbali-n]~NP~]~PP~
       3.SG look **GOAL** **ART:CO1** **friend-3.SG.POSS**

       sur **dira** **él** **munmun**.
       [sur dira(u) é-l mun~mun]~INTENT~
       INTENT **3.DU** **3.SG-IRR** **RED~dive.down**

       'He looked for his friend so the two of them could go bathing.'

       (RTK [13])

The GOAL preposition *sur* can also co-occur with the refective preposition *kón*. Such cases are discussed in section §9.1.3.

It is likely that the verb *sur* 'obtain' is related to the preposition. It is less often heard in spoken language because it is usually replaced by the more frequent verbs *kèp* 'to get' or *lós* 'to carry' which can usually be used in similar contexts. An example of the verb *sur* 'obtain' is shown below:

(445) *A sur* *pas* *ép* *lai suan.*
       a=sur pas ép lai suan
       1.SG=obtained PFV ART:CO1 k.o.liana

       'I obtained a liana.'

       (LAU [12])

Evidence that *sur* is a verb here includes the fact that it occurs in a typically verbal slot following the subject marker and preceding the aspect marker *pas* and the object NP.

9.1.3 Refective (*kón*)

The refective preposition *kón* encodes that the specified participant is *"[…] typically a stimulus (source, cause, reason or beneficiary)"* (Harrison 1982: 189-190).[138] Refective participants usually occur *"[…] with a verb expressing a psychological state or action (e.g. John in He thought about John)"* Ross (1988: 417).

The syntactic distribution is the same as for the other simple prepositions, the preposition heads a PP and selects an NP argument:

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[138] *Kón* is likely to go back to Proto-Oceanic **[ki]ni*, which Lynch et al. (2002: 87) also refer to as *"instrumental, refective [verbal preposition]"*.

(446) a.   *Diat*   *yawas*   ***kón***   ***i***   ***tik***   ***ép***   ***fanu***.
             diat   yawas   **[kón**   **[i**   **tik**   **ép**   **fanu]**_{NP}]_{PP}
             3.PAU   paddle   **REFCT**   **3.SG**   **one**   **ART:CO1**   **town**

         'They paddled to a certain town.'

                                       (TAM [8])

      b.   *Mèt*   *él*   *tar*   *kiòm*   ***kón***   ***tók***
            mèt   é-l   tar   kiòm   **[kón**   **tók**
            1.PAU.EX   3.SG-IRR   give   together   **REFCT**   **ART:[-COUNT]**

            bensin.
            [bensin_{ENG}**]**_{NP}]_{PP}
            petrol

         'We put together some money for some petrol.'

                                       (PIK [1])

Like the GOAL preposition *sur*, *kón* can also select clausal arguments, the difference to sur being that kón only selects non-finite clauses (cf. section §12.1.3.2). An example for such a non-finite clause is given below:

(447) *a*   *kai*   *lik*   ***kón***   ***kakar***   ***ép***   ***pas***
      a   kai   lik   **[kón**   **ka~kar**   **ép**   **pas]**_{PurpCl}
      ART:CO2   scraper   little   **PURP**   **RED~scrape**   **ART:CO1**   **taro**

    'a little scraper for scraping taro'

                                       (KAR [11])

It would also be possible to analyse such 'purposive clauses' as nominalizations (i.e. 'a little scraper for the scraping of taro'). In such cases, however, we would expect an article to precede the nominalised clause, and none is ever present.

    Similarly to the case of the GOAL/intentive preposition *sur* it is here proposed to provide different labels for the two types of arguments. Constructions with *kón* that involve an NP argument are referred to as refective whereas constructions that involve a clausal argument are referred to as purposive (following Harrison's and Ross' definitions).

    Rowe (2005: 83) glosses *kón* as a morphologically complex form *kó-n*, thus analysing it as a prepositional pronoun (with the suffix *-n* being the third person singular possessive suffix). The reason why this analysis is not appropriate is that it is not possible to attach the first and second person possessive suffixes to *kó-* (*kó-k,

*kó-m), as would be expected for a prepositional pronoun. *Kón* must therefore be a morphologically simple form.

9.1.4 Similative (*lar*)

The similative preposition *lar* expresses that the NP referent that the preposition selects resembles the subject or another entity in the clause.

(448) a.   *Dit   rè   dit   kanak   na   bèl   dit   rak*

dit	rè	dit	kanak	na	bèl	dit	rak
3.PL	see	3.PL	COMP	REL	NEG	3.PL	want

        lar   ép   falinó'dit,   *bèl   i   durdur.*

[lar	**[ép**	**falinó(-n)=dit**]NP]PP	bèl	i	durdur
like	**ART:CO1**	**body(-POSS)=3.PL**	NEG	3.SG	black

'They saw that those peoples' body was not like theirs, it was not black.'

                                                                                                  (TING [11])

  b.   *Kai   pòl   diat   kèp   pas   i   ép   bòròi,*

kai	pòl	diat	kèp	pas	i	ép	bòròi
ART:[+ANIM].PL	dog	3.PAU	get	PFV	3.SG	ART:CO1	pig

        *bòròi   kuntan   in   **lar   ép   rumai   na**.*

bòròi	kuntan	in	**[lar**	**[ép**	**rumai**	**n-a**]NP]PP
pig	huge	LIG	**like**	**ART:CO1**	**house**	**DEM.[-SG]-PROX**

'The dogs traced a pig, a pig as big as a house.'

                                                                                       (MAT [127])

In the above examples, the preposition *lar* selects an NP argument with an initial article. In those cases where the preposition selects a pronominal demonstrative, no article is present:

(449) *I   rak   sa   **lar   ning**.*

i	rak	sa	**[lar**	**[n-ing**]NP]PP
3.SG	be.alike	RESTR	**like**	**DEM.[-SG]-ANA**

'It's just like that.'

                                                                                       (MAT 2 [34])

Constructions with a demonstrative pronoun as head of the NP are much more common than those with a non-demonstrative NP head. The PPs *lar na* 'like this (proximal)' and *lar ning* 'like that (anaphoric)' are observed very frequently.

In some constructions, *lar* better translates to English as 'such as':

(450) | *Él* | *wók* | *tar* | *tik* | *ti* | | *baran* | *an* | *lakan* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| é-l | wók_TP | tar | tik | ti | | baran | an | laka-n |
| 3.SG-IRR | make | PRF | one | ART:CO1.INC | | thing | at | top-3.SG.POSS |

él	*rak,*	***lar***	***i***	***tik***	***ép***	***tan***	***ngasa.***
é-l	rak	**[lar**	**[i**	**tik**	**ép**	**ta-n**	**ngasa]_NP]_PP**
3.SG-IRR	want	**like**	**3.SG**	**one**	**ART:CO1**	**mother-POSS**	**feast**

'He will do something on her behalf, such as a huge feast.'

(KÈL [71])

In such cases, the preposition does not really encode a strictly similative relation, and the 'such as' reading is better characterized as a semantic extension of the similative.

Lar can also be affixed with reciprocal prefix *ar-* (451a) which suggests that *lar* also functions as a verb. However, a PP headed by *lar* cannot be used predicatively. In these cases, the verb *rak* 'be alike' or another compatible verb needs to precede the PP (451b):

(451) a. | *Ón* | *sa* | *na* | *bèl* | *m'i* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ó-n | sa | n-a | bèl | m(a)=i |
| OBL-POSS | RESTR | DEM.[-SG]-PROX | NEG | TRANS=3.SG |

arlar.
ar-lar
REC-like

'It's not the same anymore.'

(MAT 2 [53])

b. | *I* | ***rak*** | ***lar*** | *a* | *ngélngél.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| i | **rak** | **[lar** | **[a** | ngélngél]_NP]_PP |
| 3.SG | **want** | **like** | ART:CO2 | sweet.potato |

'It is like a sweet potato.'

(UÒ (110-L])

9.1.5 Comitative 2 (*nam*)

The comitative 2 preposition *nam* is very uncommon in Siar, and I have only found six instances in my data. It expresses that the NP referent that it introduces participates in the same event as another entity in the context (usually the subject). *Nam* contrasts with the comitative 1 prepositional root *mai-* which is the more common way of expressing comitative relations (cf. section §9.2.1). Two examples for *nam* are shown below:

(452) a.
Labòng	*mara*	***nam***	*é*	***Naiwen***	*mara*
labòng	mara(u)	**[nam**	**[é**	**Naiwen]**NP]PP	mara(u)
yesterday	1.DU.EX	**COM2**	**ART:PROP**	**PN**	1.DU.EX

usrai	*lik*	*ma.*
usrai	lik	ma
story	TEMP	TRANS

'Yesterday Naiwen and I were telling stories for a while.'

(KUN [1])

b.
É	*taman*	*é*	*Niel*	*dira*	***nam***
é	tama-n	é	Niel	dira(u)	**[nam**
ART:PROP	father-3.SG.POSS	ART:PROP	PN	3.DU	**COM2**

é	***Wesley***	*dira*	*ki*	*sang."*
[é	**Wesley]**NP]PP	dira(u)	k-i	sang
ART:PROP	**PN**	3.DU	FOC-3.SG	prepare

'Niel's father and Wesley were preparing.'

(KÈL [80])

It is noteworthy that *nam* only occurs when the NP that precedes it is a pronoun, and when the specified NP is a proper noun, and further research is required to determine whether *nam* can be replaced by *mai-* in the above examples without a change of semantics or loss of grammaticality.

9.2 Prepositional pronouns

Siar also has a set of five prepositional pronouns, that is bound prepositions that must combine with a pronominal suffix:

Prepositional root	Meaning/ Function	Translation	Section
mai-	Comitative 1	'(together) with x'	§9.2.1
ari-	Benefactive	'for (the benefit of) x'	§9.2.2
ó-	**Oblique** Comparative	'than x'	§9.2.3
	Instrumental	'with x'	
	Location	'at x'	
	Reason	'because of x'	
	Topic	'about x'	
	Temporal	'at the time x'	
	Numeral	'(numeral) of x'	
	Associative	'associated with x'	
	Applicative	'on x; over x; to x'	
ané-	Subessive	'below x; under x; underneath x'	§9.2.4

Table 50: Prepositional pronouns

Prepositional pronouns have the same function as simple prepositions, but they differ from them in the NP complement that is attached to them in the form of a possessive suffix. These suffixes need to be accompanied by another free pronoun or full NP for non-singular referents. Prepositional pronouns are therefore bound morphemes, and we can refer to the prepositional part as prepositional root.[139] Syntactically, prepositional pronouns are possessive constructions, with the prepositional roots sharing similar properties to inalienably possessed nouns, but semantically there is no possession involved. For the sake of convenience and consistency, we will still refer to the suffixed pronominals as possessive suffixes.

The general structure of a construction with a prepositional pronoun can be represented as follows:

Singular referents: **PREP.ROOT-POSS   (+NP)**
Non-singular referents: **PREP.ROOT-*n*   +PRO/NP**

---

[139] The prepositional roots *ari-* and *ané-* may also occur as free forms, but these are exceptional cases.

By using the label 'prepositional pronoun' we follow the tradition of referring to similar forms in languages of the Celtic family (see e.g. The Christian Brothers 1995 for the case of Irish).[140] Similar forms are also found in languages closer related to Siar. Du (2010: 184) refers to them as portmanteau prepositions in the case of Barok, but she analyses them as sequences of prepositions and object enclitics instead. The Barok forms are also different because they always take a third person singular object, as opposed to the Siar forms which can take arguments of all grammatical persons and numbers.

9.2.1   Comitative 1 (*mai-*)

The comitative prepositional root *mai-* indicates that the NP referent it specifies participates in the same event as another entity in the context (usually the subject), and is semantically similar to comitative 2 constructions with *nam*. In cases with a singular referent, the specified NP is represented by a pronominal suffix on the prepositional root (453a). For third person singular referents, an additional NP may be added if a new referent is introduced in discourse (453b).

(453)   a.   *Bèl   ma   tik   kón   warwar   **maik**.*
bèl   ma   tik   kón   war~war   **[mai-[k]NP]PP**
NEG   TRANS   one   PURP   RED~speak   **COM-1.SG.POSS**

'There was nobody for me to speak with.'

(BÒN [52])

b.   *Ma   i   **main**   é   **Esty**   dirau*
ma   i   **[mai-n**   **[é**   **Esty]NP]PP**   dirau
but   3.SG   **COM-POSS**   **ART:PROP**   **PN**   3.DU

él'an.
é-l=(in)an
3.SG-IRR=go

'But he and Esty would go (together).'

(TUN [2])

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[140] In some descriptions of Celtic languages, prepositional pronouns are referred to as conjugated prepositions or inflected prepositions (MacAulay 1992, Ball & Fife 1993). Ó Dochartaigh (1992: 81) notes that, *"The prepositional system of Irish includes a set of fifteen prepositions which show personal endings, traditionally referred to in Irish grammars as prepositional pronouns, though it would seem preferable to consider them simply as prepositional phrases in which the governed noun-phrase element is marked for person, number and […] gender."* There are also constructions in languages such as Spanish that are referred to as prepositional pronouns (e.g. *con él* 'for him'), but these differ from prepositional pronouns in Gaelic languages and from Siar in that they are separate words.

When the referent is non-singular, the third person possessive suffix *-n* is only a dummy, and the NP complement is represented by a free pronoun or a full NP:

(454) | *I* | *sing* | *pas* | *ép* | *minat* | ***main*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| i | sing | pas | ép | m\<in\>at | **[mai-n** |
| 3.SG | transport | PFV | ART:CO1 | die-NOM-die | **COM-POSS** |

ningan	***sén***	***alò***	***ép***	***tarai***.
[ningan	**sén**	**alò**	**ép**	**tarai]_{NP}]_{PP}**
some	**EMPH**	**again**	**ART:CO1**	**men**

'He transported the corpse together with some other people.'

(KÈP [13])

Prepositional pronouns therefore show the same morphosyntactic behaviour as inalienably possessed nouns. This means that in those cases where the referent is specified by a full NP or a pronoun, the possessive suffix does not function as a pronominal and is therefore not part of the NP. This is the case in (453b) and (454) above, whereas in (453a) the possessive suffix *-k* is clearly referential and hence represents the NP.

A comitative event need not be an event in which the participants act towards a common goal, i.e. they can be involuntary or accidental participants in an event. In the following example, the comitative is used in a fighting event, which clearly has no such common goal:

(455) | *Mara* | *ki* | *arum* | ***main*** | ***ép*** | ***wai***. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| mara(u) | k-i | ar-um | **[mai-n** | **[ép** | **wai]_{NP}]_{PP}** |
| 1.DU.EX | FOC-3.SG | REC-hit | **COM-POSS** | **ART:CO1** | **crocodile** |

'We two were fighting with the crocodile.'

(WAI [24])

A comitative context need not even contain animate referents. In the following example, the spears and the fire that are both prepared by the subjects are considered to take part in the PREPARE event together:

(456) *Dit*   *él*   *sang*   *pas*   ***tó***   ***turai***
      dit   é-l   sang   pas   **tó**   **turai**
      3.PL   3.SG-IRR   prepare   PFV   **ART:[-ANIM].PL**   **spear**

      main   ***ép***   ***yah***.
      [mai-n   **[ép**   **yah]**_{NP}]_{PP}
      COM-POSS   **ART:CO1**   **fire**

'They will prepare the spears and the fire.'

                                                                    (AMP [1])

Such constructions look like instrumental constructions at first sight, and the specified NP referents may indeed be used as instruments and tools in many cases, but the standard way of introducing instruments is to use the prepositional root *ó-* (cf. section §9.2.3).

9.2.2   Benefactive / recipient (*ari-*)

Generally speaking, the benefactive prepositional root *ari-* indicates that the NP referent is the recipient of an entity or the beneficiary participant in an event.[141] An example for each case is shown below:

(457)   a.   *A warai*   *é*   *Gibson*   *sur*   *él*   *tar*
               a=war-ai   é   Gibson   sur   é-l   tar
               1.SG=speak-TR   ART:PROP   PN   INTENT   3.SG-IRR   give

               ép   *galas*   ***arik***.
               ép   galas_{TP}   **[ari-[k]**_{NP}]_{PP}
               ART:CO1   goggles   **BEN-1.SG.POSS**

               'I told Gibson to give me the diving goggles.'

                                                                 (KAB [3])

       b.   *I*   *tólói*   *i*   *ma*   ***arin***   *ti'gau.*
            i   tólói   i   ma   **[ari-[n]**_{NP}]_{PP}   t-i(ng)=gau
            3.SG   hold   3.SG   TRANS   **BEN-3.SG.POSS**   LOC-ANA=(t)here

            'He was holding it (the speared pig) for him there.'

                                                                 (SÓ [10])

Benefactive *ari-* most typically occurs with the verb *tar* 'give' as in (457a), where the pronominal suffix on the prepositional pronoun represents the recipient. The event in

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[141] Rowe (2005: 82) defines this prepositional root as "recipient or source".

(457b) is somewhat different because there is no transfer of goods, but the entity represented by the pronominal suffix *-n* still benefits from the subject's holding of the speared pig (so the beneficiary had his hands free to tie it up).

When followed by the proper article *é*, *arin* often becomes a proclitic to the article in spoken Siar, resulting in the form *ar=é* (orthographically represented as *a'ré*). This form can always be replaced by the full form *arin é*.

(458) *A tar   i   ar'é   Nobart*
    a=tar   i   [ar(i-n)=[é   Nobart]_{NP}]_{PP}
    1.SG=give   3.SG   **BEN(-POSS)=ART:PROP**   PN

    'I give it to Nobart.'

                    (AMP 4 [13])

A beneficiary prepositional pronoun may also be used in negated sentences, i.e. in contexts in which the entity that was originally supposed to be the beneficiary does not become a beneficiary because the event did not take place:

(459)   *Yau, bèl   a lóng   arin.*
      yau   bèl   a=lóng   [ari-[n]_{NP}]_{PP}
      1.SG   **NEG**   1.SG=listen **BEN-3.SG.POSS**

      'As for me, I did not listen to him.'

                    (MAR [17])

In the positive context (i.e. in the context in which the listening event takes place), the speaker would be considered the beneficiary because the addressee is listening to him. But even though the event is negated and hence did not take place, the potential beneficiary is still marked as such.

Like all prepositions that start with an initial vowel, *ari-* can also be prefixed with the allative prefix *k(a)-*:

(460) a.   *Na   él   wòt tar ap al   warwar*
              na   é-l   wòt tar ap a-l   war~war
              REL 3.SG-IRR come PRF and 1.SG-IRR   RED~speak

              kari-n.
              [k-ari-[n]~NP~**]**~PP~
              ALL-BEN-3.SG.POSS

              'When he comes I will let him know.'

                                                        (elicited)

    b.   *Dit arsulai   tar ma   **kari'mèt**.*
              dit   ar-sulai   tar ma   **[k-ari(-n)=[mèt]**~NP~**]**~PP~
              3.PL REC-bring   PRF TRANS **ALL-BEN(-POSS)=1.PAU.EX**

              'They brought them to us.'

                                                           (ARS [17])

A exact semantic change that is involved with the use of the allative is sometimes difficult to define. Further elicitation is necessary to determine whether the allative prefix can be left out without a loss of grammaticality.

       The prepositional root *ari-* is the only form that can also surface as a free form and function as a predicate head:

(461)   *Ól   **ari**   sur   ól   rè   i*
             ó-l   **ari**   sur   ó-l   rè   i
             2.SG-IRR **BEN**   INTENT 2.SG-IRR   see 3.SG

             da   a   pukun!"
             d-a   a   pukun
             DEM.SG-PROX ART:CO2   place

             'Come to me so you can see this place!

                                                        (ÈRB [12])

In such cases, there is always a first person singular beneficiary implied, i.e. the speaker is always supposed to be the beneficiary. In the following example, the benefactive prepositional pronoun is used to express a command (in the sense of 'come to me'), and the first person singular beneficiary (the speaker) is represented by the pronominal suffix *-k*:

(462) ***Arik,***   *kawas!*
    [ari-[k]_{NP}]_{PP}   kawas
    BEN-1.SG.POSS   move.up

'Come, climb (on my back)!'

There are also contexts in which the use of the benefactive/recipient is unexpected:

(463) a.   *Anu'matòl*   *tó*   *baran*   *bèl*   *i*
      anu(-n)=matòl   tò   baran   bèl   i
      CL:GEN-POSS=1.PAU.EX   ART:[-ANIM].PL   thing   NEG   3.SG

      busbus ***arin***   ***ép***   ***bat.***
      bus~bus **[ari-n**   **[ép**   **bat]_{NP}]_{PP}**
      RED~wet **BEN-POSS**   **ART:CO1**   **rain**

      'Our things did not get wet in the rain.'

    b.   *Matò*   *lili*   *katóng*   ***arin***   *é*   *Pasta.*
      matò(l)   li(u)~li(u) ka-t-óng   **[ari-n**   **[é**   **Pasta]_{NP}]_{PP}**
      1.PAU.EX   RED~run ALL-LOC-*back*   **BEN-POSS**   **ART:PROP** pastor

      'We ran back to the Pastor.'

Neither of these examples is readily associated with a benefactive reading although in both cases movement towards the NP complements of the preposition is clearly implied.

9.2.3   Oblique (*ó-*)

The oblique prepositional root *ó-* has the greatest number of functions and meanings of all words in the prepositional pronoun paradigm. In fact, its polysemy is so great that it could be referred to as *"[…]colorless (or abstract or empty)"* preposition (Kurzon 2006: 65), or we might even consider the option that *ó-* is a default preposition. The following meanings and functions can be observed:

Oblique *ó-*

Comparative	'than x'
Instrumental	'with x'
Direction	'toward x'
Reason	'because of x'
Topic	'about x'
Temporal	'at the time x'
Numeral	'(numeral) of x'
Associative	'associated with x'

We use the label oblique preposition here to refer to all these meanings collectively.

A first meaning of *ó-* is the comparative. Two comparative constructions are shown in the following example:

(464) *Ma   u   a   burun   barsan   lik   ók,*
       ma   u   a   burun   barsan   lik   **[ó-[k]ₙₚ]ₚₚ**
       but   2.SG ART:CO2   small   man   little **OBL-1.SG.POSS**

       a   murmur   lik   sa   ók   u.
       a   mur~mur   lik   sa   **[ó-[k]ₙₚ]ₚₚ**   u
       ART:CO2   RED~follow little RESTR   **OBL-1.SG.POSS** 2.SG

'But you, you are smaller than me, you were born after me.'

(MAT [118])

The two objects of comparison are the speaker (functioning as the standard NP) and the addressee (the comparee NP).[142] In all comparative constructions, the standard NP is represented by the pronominal suffix on the prepositional root, or by the additional pronoun or NP in case of non-singular standard NPs:

(465) *a   burun   barsan   lik   ón   dat*
       a   burun   barsan   lik   ó-n   **dat**
       ART:CO2   little   man   smaller   OBL-POSS   **1.PL.INC**

'a little man smaller man than us'

The following examples show cases of other meanings of *ó-*:

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[142] Standard NP and Comparee NP are labels used by Stassen (2006: 686).

(466) a. **Instrumental**

Bèl	*dit*	*rèrè*	*arum*	*ón*	*a*	*liwan*.
bèl	dit	rèrè	ar-um	**[ó-n**	**[a**	**liwan]_{NP}]_{PP}**
NEG	3.PL	HAB	REC-hit	**OBL-POSS**	**ART:CO2**	**knife**

'They did not use to fight with knives.'

(TÓMÓL [8])

b. **Direction**

Mèt	*kél'an*	*ma*	*kasai*	*gali*
mèt	k-é-l=(in)an	ma	ka-Ø-sai	gali
1.PAU.EX	FOC-3.SG-IRR=go	TRANS	ALL-(LOC-)DIST	above

ón	*ép*	*rumai*	*sasam*.
[ó-n	**[ép**	**rumai**	**sa~sam]_{NP}]_{PP}**
OBL-POSS	**ART:CO1**	**house**	**RED~sick**

'We were about to go to the hospital.'

(WAI [88])

c. **Reason**

Bèl	*ép*	*falinók*	*i*	*pèlpèl*	*tar*	*ón*
bèl	ép	falinó-k	i	pèlpèl	tar	**[ó-n**
NEG	ART:CO1	body-1.SG.POSS	3.SG	weak	PRF	**OBL-POSS**

ép	*limak*	*na*	*ki*	*takutus*
[ép	**lima-k**	**na**	**k-i**	**ta-kutus**
ART:CO1	**hand-1.SG.POSS**	**REL**	**FOC-3.SG**	**ACAUS-cut.in.two**

tar.
tar]_{NP}]_{PP}
PRF

'My body was not weak because of my arm that had been bitten off.'

(WAI [107])

d. **Topic**[143]

Dira	*akès*	*tar*	*dit*	***ón***	***a***	*in*	*lamas*
dira(u)	a-kès	tar	dit	**[ó-n**	**[a**	(f)in	lamas
3.DU	CAUS-sit	PRF	3.PL	**OBL-POSS**	**ART:CO2**	fruit	coconut

ning.
n-ing]_{NP}]_{PP}
DEM.[-SG]-ANA

'The two informed them about that coconut.'

<div align="right">(LAM [13])</div>

e. **Temporal**

Ón	*i*	*dè*	*ép*	*kirai*	*ning*
[ó-n	[i	d-è	ép	kirai	n-ing]_{NP}]_{PP}
OBL-POSS	3.SG	DEM.SG-INDX	ART:CO1	time	DEM.[-SG]-ANA

mara	*inan*	*ti'ga'talang.*
mara(u)	inan	t-i(ng)=ga(u)=talang
1.DU.EX	go	LOC-ANA=there=along

'At that (☞) time we went along (the river).'

<div align="right">(WAI [48])</div>

f. **Enumerative**

ép	*murmur*	*ma*	***ón***	*i*	*lim*	*a*
ép	mur~mur	ma	**[ó-n**	[i	lim	a
ART:CO1	RED~follow	TRANS	**OBL-POSS**	3.SG	five	ART:CO2

natuk.
natu-k]_{NP}]_{PP}
child-1.SG.POSS

'the lastborn of my five children'

<div align="right">(WAI [4])</div>

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[143] This is not to be confused with the category topic (or theme) that is in opposition with comment (or rheme or focus).

g.   **Associative**

Ép	*tarai*	*ón*	*ép*	*barsan*	*dit*	*él*
ép	tarai	[ó-n	[ép	barsan]ₙₚ]ₚₚ	dit	é-l
ART:CO1	men	**OBL-POSS**	**ART:CO1**	**man**	3.PL	3.SG-IRR

awakak	*sén*	*alò*	*ép*	*tarai*	*ón*
a-wakak	sén	alò	ép	tarai	[ó-n
CAUS-good	EMPH	again	ART:CO1	men	**OBL-POSS**

ép	*fain.*
[ép	fain]ₙₚ]ₚₚ
ART:CO1	**woman**

'The relation between the relatives of the husband and the relatives of the wife will improve.'

(TIN [x])

The oblique prepositional root may be preceded by the allative prefix *ka-*, resulting in the form *kaó-*. This provides a sense of motion, similar to an applicative. However, such forms are very rare:

(467)	*Ép*	*kamis*	*i*	*saisai*	*kaón.*
	ép	kamis	i	sai~sai	[ka-ó-[n]ₙₚ]ₚₚ
	ART:CO1	sun	3.SG	RED~shine	**ALL-OBL-3.SG.POSS**

'The sun was shining on him.'

(MAN [27])

Some oblique arguments are also introduced by *ó-*. This is especially true for verbs such as *tasim* 'know', in which case the prepositional root gets the topic reading as in (466d) above. The resulting sequence *tasim ó-* is so common that it has conventionalized to the extent that the prepositional pronoun becomes an enclitic to the verb (*tasim=ó-*). This means that it loses its status as a phonological word, but it still retains its status of a grammatical word. Evidence for the clitic analysis comes from the observation that the stress moves from the final syllable of *tasim* to the prepositional pronoun (because Siar words are always stressed on the final syllable):

(468)   *Bél'a   tasim'ón.*
     bél=a   tasim=ó-n
     NEG=1.SG   know=OBL-3.SG.POSS

     'I do not know (about it).'

<div align="right">(MAT 2 [17])</div>

The vowel /i/ in the verb is also shortened. In careful speech, *tasim ón* is uttered as two phonological words [ta.ˈsiːm ˈɔn], but in casual speech, *tasim ón* becomes *tasim'ón* [ˌta.si.ˈmɔn].

9.2.4   Subessive (*ané-*)

The subessive prepositional root indicates that some other referent (usually the subject) is located below the referent represented by the pronominal suffix or the following pronoun or NP. *Ané-* therefore translates to English as 'under x; below x; underneath x'. Two examples are shown below:

(469)   a.   *A suah   tar   ép   wang   ap   a kinaupòl*
            a=suah   tar   ép   wang   ap   a=kinaupòl
            1.SG=stop   PRF   ART:CO1 canoe   and   1.SG=dive.horizontally

            *tim   **anén   ép   wang.***
            t-im   [ané-n   [ép   wang]NP]PP
            LOC-down   **below-POSS ART:CO1   canoe**

            'I left the canoe and I dived underneath it.'

<div align="right">(BÈL [13])</div>

     b.   *A parai   tar   i   s'**anén   rumai.***
            a=par-ai   tar   i   s(a)=[ané-n   [rumai]NP]PP
            1.SG=move.across-TR   PRF   3.SG   RESTR=**below-POSS   house**

            'I put it under the house.'

<div align="right">(BIW [17])</div>

The above examples also illustrate that the NP argument of the preposition is not always preceded by an article, in (469a) it is present whereas in (469b) it is not. This kind of behaviour was also observed with the preposition *an* 'at'.

     There are some problems with the prepositional pronoun analysis in the case of *ané-*. Like benefactive *ari-*, subessive *ané-* can occur as a free morpheme, and frequently does so, as in the following example:

(470)   *I   pung katim   **ané**.*
          i   pung ka-t-im   **ané**
          3.SG fall   ALL-LOC-down **below**

          'He fell down.'

However, *ané* cannot be used predicatively as *ari-* can.

It is also possible to make a different analysis for *ané-*. This becomes clear by looking at cases such as the following where the initial vowel /a/ in *ané-n* is dropped:

(471)   a.   *Kasai   ap   diat akarai   yau   kató'gali*
                ka-Ø-sai   ap   diat   a-karai   yau   ka-t-ó(ng)=gali
                ALL-(LOC-)DIST and   they CAUS-move 1.SG ALL-LOC-*back*=above

                ***nén**   ép   kaswai.*
                [**(a)né-n**   [ép   kaswai]ₙₚ]ₚₚ
                below-POSS ART:CO1   mango

                'Up there they moved me under a mango tree.'

          b.   *Dira   asal   ma   ón   ép*
                dira(u)   asal   ma   ó-n   ép
                3.DU   follow.beach TRANS   OBL-POSS   ART:CO1

                ***nén**   bòn**.*
                nén   bòn
                underside sea

                'They were walking along the beach.'

It could be argued that *nén* in (471a) is simply a clitic form of *ané-n*. However, *nén* is always a separate phonological word in such constructions. This is especially audible when used in the compound *nén bòn* 'beach' as in (471b). Another option to explain the form *nén* is to say that *nén* is a dialectal variant of *ané-n*. And indeed, the only cases of *nén* in my data that are used as prepositional root were recorded on the east coast. But this does then not account for constructions such as (471b) in which the word *nén* has become a part of a nominal compound, which is also frequently used in the west coast dialect.

9.3   Relational nouns in prepositional function

Relational nouns have similar characteristics to prepositional pronouns, the difference being that relational nouns have nominal referents, whereas prepositional roots only have 'prepositional meaning' (i.e. a locative or purposive reading etc). The general structure for relational nouns in prepositional function can be represented as follows:

[(*k-*)*an*   [relational noun-POSS]_{NP}   (+NP/PRO)_{NP}]_{PP}

Relational nouns provide a bridging context for the presence of the possessive pronoun suffixes within the prepositional pronoun paradigm.

The following types of relation nouns can be observed:

(ALL-)PREP	Relational noun	Meaning	Translation	Section
(k-)an	*ló-*	Inessive	'in(side) x'	§9.3.1
(k-)an	*muru-*		'behind x'	§9.3.2
a *k-a* *k-am* *an k-am*	*risa-* *risa-*	Apudessive 1	'next to x'	§9.3.3
---	*risa-*	Apudessive 2	'next to x'	§9.3.4
an	*kabala-*		(next to person or animal) 'with him'	§9.3.5
(k)-an	*laka-*	Superessive	'on top of x' 'on behalf of x' 'because of x'	§9.3.6

Table 51: Relational nouns in prepositional function

Each type of relational noun construction is discussed in the following sections.

9.3.1   Inessive (*an ló-*)

An inessive relation is established using the relational noun *an ló-* 'in(side) of'. The noun *ló-* is inalienably possessed and also means 'mouth'. Inessive constructions therefore literally translate as 'at the mouth of'. Two examples are shown below:

(472)   a.   *I   tik   ép   sòi   adi'ga'an   **lón***
               i   tik   ép   sòi   a-d-i(ng)=ga(u)=[**an**   **ló-n**
               3.SG   one   ART:CO1 snake   DEX-DEM.SG-ANA=there**=at**   **mouth-POSS**

               ép   malum   ning
               [ép   malum   n-ing]ₙₚ]ₚₚ
               ART:CO1   fresh.water DEM.[-SG]-ANA

               'There was a snake in that river.'

                                                              (BUBULUT [7])

         b.   *A inan   ap   kasai   gali **an** **lón**   ngas.*
               a=inan   ap   ka-Ø-sai   gali [**a** **ló-n**   [ngas]ₙₚ]ₚₚ
               1.SG=go and   ALL-(LOC-)DIST   above **at** **mouth-POSS** path

               'I went up to the path.'

                                                              (SÒW [x])

Note how in (472b), being located *on a path* is expressed as *an lón ngas* 'inside a path' in Siar. Note also that the article in the NP has been omitted. This is quite common with relational nouns.

In some constructions, the preposition *an* is omitted:

(473)   *Dit   rèrè   bas   i   kating   **lón**   bòn.*
         dit   rèrè   bas   i   ka-t-ing   Ø   **ló-n**   bòn
         3.PL HAB   throw 3.SG   ALL-LOC-ANA   (at) **mouth-POSS** sea

         'They used to throw it into the sea.'

                                                              (BAB 2 [9])

A sequence of the preposition *an* and the noun *ló-* need not always have a relational meaning, and it can also simply mean 'in the mouth'.

9.3.2   Behind x (*an muru-*)

The relational noun *an muru-* 'behind' is a semantic extension of the noun *muru-* 'back (of the body)', which in turn is related to the verb *mur* 'follow; be behind'. Both the verb and the relational noun can be seen in the following example:

(474)   *Yau*   ***a mur***   *pas*   *m'alò*   ***an***   ***murun***   *é*
            yau   **a=mur**   pas   m(a)=alò   [**an**   **muru-n**   [é
            1.SG   **1.SG=follow**   PFV   TRANS=again   **at**   **behind-POSS**   ART:PROP

           Naomi.
           Naomi]_{NP}]_{PP}
           PN

           'I followed Naomi again.'
                                                              (KUK [8])

An muru- does not only have a locational reading but can also have a supportive reading:

(475)   *Bèl*   *ma*   *tik*   *ana*   ***an***   ***muruk***   *su'kón*
            bèl   ma   tik   a-n-a   [**an**   **muru-[k]**_{NP}]_{PP}   su(r)=kón
            NEG   TRANS   one   DEX.[-SG]-ANA   **at**   **back-1.SG.POSS**   INTENT=PURP

           nangan yau.
           nangan   yau
           help   1.SG

           'There is nobody behind me to help me.'
                                                            (LAL [9])

Like some other relational nouns, the preposition *an* that precedes *muru-* is sometimes omitted:

(476)   *Dira*   *lili*   ***murun***   ***dit***.
            dira(u)   lili   [**Ø**   **muru-n**   [**dit**]_{NP}]_{PP}
            3.DU   run   **back-POSS**   **3.PL**

           'The two ran after them.'
                                                            (DAK [12])

9.3.3 Apudessive 1 (*a'risa-, kan risa-, kam risa-, an kam risa-*)

The apudessive[144] relational noun *an risa-* translates to English as 'right next to'. However, *an risa-* never occurs in this fully pronounced form in my data, which causes problems with the analysis and allows for different explanations. The initial locative preposition *an* always becomes a proclitic to the relational noun, resulting in the form *a'risa-*:

(477)   *Diat   kamrai pung   pirim   katim*
           diat   kamrai pung   pirim   ka-t-im
           3.PAU   together fall   move.down   ALL-LOC-down

           *g'ané   **a'risan**   i   a   kuk   ning*
           g(au)=ané   **[a(n)=risa-n** [i   a   kuk   n-ing]_{NP}]_{PP}
           (t)here=below **at-side-POSS** 3.SG ART:CO2 crab DEM.[-SG]-ANA

           'They fell down right next to that crab.'

                                                         (LÓB [26])

One reason for the cliticization is that this type of relational noun is very frequent in Siar. The fact that the preposition *an* is never fully articulated suggests that it has been completely conventionalized. This allows for the prediction that it is going to grammaticalize to a prepositional pronoun *arisa-* of which the initial vowel /a/ is a fixed component.

      The form *a'risa-* also appears with the allative prefix *k-* attached to it, resulting in the form *ka'risa-*:

(478)   *Matò   inan   katim   **ka'risan**   ép   wang.*
           matò(l)   inan   ka-t-im   **[k-a(n)=risa-n** [ép   wang]_{NP}]_{PP}
           1.PAU.EX go   ALL-LOC-down **ALL-at=side.of-POSS** ART:CO1 canoe

           'We went back next to the canoe.'

                                                          (DIK [11])

Interestingly, this form also never surfaces with the final apico-alveolar nasal /n/ in the locative preposition *an* (?*kan risan*). In some contexts however, the nasal surfaces again as a bilabial /m/. In such cases, the preposition *an* is not a clitic anymore:

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[144] This term is used by Seiler (1999: 112) for the case of Ancient Greek *pará*.

(479) | *Tim* | ***kam*** | ***risan*** | *ép* | *malum* | *kata* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| t-im | [k-am | risa-n | [ép | malum]_{NP}]_{PP} | ka-t-a |
| LOC-down | **ALL-at** | **side-POSS** | ART:CO1 | fresh.water | ALL-LOC-PROX |

òt	*a tógói*	*i*	*kabas*	*ép*	*malum.*
(w)òt	a=tógói	i	kabas	ép	malum
come	1.SG=line.up	3.SG	leave	ART:CO1	fresh.water

'I went here from the river to line up (the firewood), away from the river (so that it would not get wet).'

(KAL [5])

The change of the nasal needs to be accounted for. A syntactic approach that could be applied here is that the initial *kam* in *kam risan* is actually the 'group; set of' article (cf. section §4.2.5.3), an analysis which is also proposed by Rowe (2005: 12)[145]. The problem with this assumption is that relational nouns are never preceded by an article when used as prepositional constituents.[146] A phonological approach would be to assume that the final nasal /n/ in the locative preposition *an* has assimilated to another adjacent phone. The problem with this assumption is that there is no obvious reason why such a dissimilation should have taken place here since the final nasal /n/ in the preposition and the initial tap /ɾ/ are homorganic already, and there is no other plausible reason why the nasal should dissimilate. One explanation could be that it is done for the ease of perception by Siar speakers The counterevidence for the first (syntactic) approach is much stronger than for the second (phonological) approach, which is why we should consider dissimilation as the underling process that is responsible for the presence of the nasal /m/. We should therefore conclude that in the cliticized form *ka'risa-*, the nasal /n/ is deleted, whereas in the uncliticized form *kam risa-* it surfaces as /m/.

Kam risan can also be preceded by the locative preposition *an*:

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[145] Rowe (2005: 20) does not define *kam* as an article but glosses it as 'group'.
[146] However, they may be preceded by an article in non-prepositional contexts, e.g. *ép lón* 'his/her mouth'.

(480) a. *N'a*   *lili*   *tim*   *kawas*
           n(a)=a   li(u)~li(u)   t-im   kawas
           REL=1.SG   RED~run   LOC-*down*   move.up

           an   ***kam***   ***risan***   *malum ...*
           [an   k-am   risa-n   [malum]~NP~]~PP~
           at   **ALL-at**   **side-POSS**   fresh.water

           'When I ran up next to the river ...'

                                                                    (SÓ [7])

       b. *A atur*   *aróp*   *tar* *i,* *t'an*
           a=a-tur   a-róp   tar   i   t(-a)=[an
           1.SG=CAUS-stand CAUS-finish   PRF   3.SG LOC(-PROX)=**at**

           kam   ***risan****.*
           k-am   risa-[n]~NP~]~PP~
           ALL-at   **next.to-POSS**

           'I set up all (of the walls), next to it.'

                                                                    (RUMAI [30])

It is clear that further research is required here. There may be free variation involved here, or it may be the case the some of the forms are grammaticalizing and therefore co-occurring with other forms.

9.3.4   Apudessive 2 (*risa-*)

The apudessive 2 is represented by the prepositional root *risa-*, which derives from the inalienably possessed noun *risa-* 'side (of)'. This form translates to English as 'next to'. The use of *risa-* as an autonomous prepositional pronoun is very rare, and I have only found one instance in my data:

(481) *I*   *wòt*   *ti'gau*   *ma*   ***risa'dirau****.*
       i   wòt   t-i(ng)=gau   ma   [risa(-n)=[dirau]~NP~]~PP~
       3.SG   come   LOC-ANA=(t)here TRANS   **side(-POSS)=3.DU**

       'He came right next to them.'

                                                                    (ASA [7])

Usually, *risa-* needs to be preceded by the locative adverb *an* or one of its different surface manifestations (cf. section §9.3.3). The fact that it has been omitted here suggests that *risa-* is undergoing a process of grammaticalization, in which it becomes independent of the locative pronoun like all the other prepositional roots are and in

which it functions as a preposition by itself. It cannot be interpreted as the noun *risa-* 'side (of)' itself because it cannot be preceded by an article in this construction:

(482) * *I*   *wòt*   *ti'gau*   *ma*   *ép*   ***risa'dirau***.
           i   wòt   t-i(ng)=gau   ma   ép   **[risa(-n)=[dirau]_{NP}]_{PP}**
           3.SG   come   LOC-ANA=(t)here   TRANS   ART:CL1   **side(-POSS)=3.DU**

9.3.5   Adessive (*an kabala-*)

The semantics of the adessive construction *an kabala-* are not easy to define. In many instances, it has been translated by Siar speakers as 'next to' or 'beside'. The following example illustrates the 'next to' or 'beside' reading:

(483) *I*   *bal*   *tar*   *sa*   *ma*   *i*   *tik*   *ép*
           i   bal   tar   sa   ma   i   tik   ép
           3.SG   seek.shelter   PRF   RESTR   TRANS   3.SG   one   ART:CO1

           yai   *ti'gau*   ***an***   ***kabalan***   *i*   *ép*
           yai   t-i(ng)=gau   [**an**   **kabala-n**   [i   ép
           tree   LOC-ANA=(t)here   **at**   **amongst-POSS**   3.SG   ART:CO1

           tan   *yai.*
           ta-n   yai]_{NP}]_{PP}
           mother-POSS   tree

           'He sought shelter near a big tree.'

                                                                                (AMP 2 [29])

It is clear though that the semantics of this construction extend beyond this. In the context of (484) below, the dog was hiding under the bed in the wallabies' house, spying on them. When the dog was noticed by the wallabies he started running away, churning up the dust at the location where he was hiding.

(484) | *Na* | *i* | *sósókdar* | *pas* | *ti'g'anén* | | *ép* |
       | na | i | sósókdar | pas | t-i(ng)=g(au)=ané-n | | ép |
       | REL | 3.SG | race | PFV | LOC-ANA=there=below-POSS | | ART:CO1 |

       | *lóng,* | *sakrai* | *sòi* | *tar* | *ép* | *das* | *ti'g'an* | *kabalan* |
       | lóng | sakrai | sòi | tar | ép | das_{TP} | t-i(ng)=g(au)=[**an** | **kabala-n** |
       | bed | churn | away | PRF | ART:CO1 | dust | there=there=**at** | **below-POSS** |

       diat.
       [diat]_{NP}]_{PP}
       them

'When he raced off from under the bed, he churned up the dust next to them (the wallabies).'

(NAÓL [23])

The relational noun here relates to the location of the wallabies, not to the location of the dog. The dog is therefore not really churning up the dust which is located next to the wallabies, but rather the dust next to itself. This could suggest that a 'near' or 'close to' reading is more appropriate in this case.

In the following example, *an kabala-* has a 'with x' or 'amongst x' meaning:

(485) | *Bèl* | *ma* | *tik* | *ana* |
       | bèl | ma | tik | a-n-a |
       | NEG | TRANS | one | DEX-DEM.[-SG]-PROX |

       | *an* | *kabala'matòl* | | *na* | *matò* | *ki* | *wuwur.* |
       | [**an** | **kabala(-n)**=[matòl]_{NP}]_{PP} | | na | matò(l) | k-i | wu~wur |
       | **at** | **amongst(-POSS)**=1.PAU.EX | | REL | 1.PAU.EX | FOC-3.SG | RED~work |

'There is nobody amongst us when we are working (to help us).'

(LAL [11])

It is difficult to find a common semantic concept that would include all of the three cases discussed in this section, and that is distinct from the semantics of the apudessive prepositions whose meaning is very similar. More data with *an kabala-* constructions need to be elicited for a more appropriate analysis.

9.3.6   Superessive (*an laka-*)

The final relational noun is the superessive form *an laka-*, which in the great majority of cases translates to English as 'on; on top of':

(486) a. *Dat   él   kakawas   **an   lakan***
           dat   é-l   ka~kawas   [an   laka-n
           1.PL.INC 3.SG-IRR   RED~move.up   at   top-POSS

           tó   atatat   tintin
           [tó   (f)at~at~at   tin~tin]_{NP}]_{PP}
           ART:[-ANIM].PL   stone~RED~RED   RED~big

           'We will climb on top of the big stones.'

                                                        (UÒ [96-A])

       b. *Dira   kès   lik   ma   **an   lakan**   ép   lóng.*
           dira(u) kès   lik   ma   [an   laka-n   [ép   lóng]_{NP}]_{PP}
           3.DU   sit   TEMP TRANS   at   top-POSS   ART:CO1   bed

           'The two were sitting on the bed.'

                                                        (MAT 2 [16])

There are also two semantic extensions. One of them translates as 'on behalf of', as is the case in the following example:

(487) *Dit   ki   wur   tar   sén   ép   baran   angan*
       dit   k-i   wur   tar   sén   ép   baran   angan
       3.PL FOC-3.SG   work   PRF   EMPH   ART:CO1   thing   eat

       an   lakan.
       [an   laka-[n]_{NP}]_{PP}
       at   top-3.SG.POSS

       'They had already prepared a feast on her behalf.'

                                                        (WÓWÓ [22])

The other extension is used to express a reason. Two examples for this can be seen below:

(488) a. *Dira   arum   tar   s'an   lakan   ép   bòròi*
           dira(u) ar-um   tar   Ø-s(ai)=**an**   laka-n   [ép   bòròi
           3.DU   REC-hit PRF   (LOC-)DIST=at   top-POSS   ART:CO1   pig

           ning.
           n-ing]_{NP}]_{PP}
           DEM.[-SG]-ANA

           'They were fighting over that pig.'

                                                        (KINAU [x])

b. *A yòwòn   pas   **an   lakan   ép   yahyah***
    a=yòwòn   pas   **an   laka-n   [ép   yah~yah**
    1.SG-sweat PFV   **at   top-POSS ART:CO1 RED~fire**

ning.
n-ing]ₙₚ]ₚₚ
DEM.[-SG]-ANA

'I was sweating a lot because of the slash-and-burning.'

(PURAK [12])

The superessive relational noun can also be specified by the allative prefix *k-*, and can then also undergo phonetic adjustments similar to those we discussed with *an kamrisa-*, resulting in the forms *kan laka-* (489a) and *kam laka-* (489b):

(489) a. *Matò   kél   wól   i   **kan   lakam***.
           matò(l)   k-é-l   wól   i   **[k-an   laka-[m]ₙₚ]ₚₚ**
           1.DU.EX   FOC-3.SG-IRR   custom 3.SG **ALL-at   top-2.SG.POSS**

       'We will certainly celebrate on your behalf.

(KÈL [73])

b. *U   parai   tók   un   **kam   lakan***.
    u   par-ai   tók   (f)un   **[k-am   laka-[n]ₙₚ]ₚₚ**
    2.SG move.across-TR   ART:[-COUNT] banana   **ALL-at   top-3.SG.POSS**

'You put some coconuts on top (of the earth oven).'

(KU [3])

Note that the context of the sentence in (489a) is very similar to the context in (487), and there is no obvious reason why the allative prefix *k-* is present only in the latter case. The above pair also illustrates again that the choice of the forms *kan* and *kam* is not grammatically or phonetically conditioned. We can observe that the final alveolar /n/ in *ka**n*** dissimilates for the alveolar liquid /l/ in the preposition ***laka***, but as was also the case with some of the apudessive 1 constructions, there is no obvious phonological reason for this dissimilation.

10   The predicate

10.1   Mood and polarity

Mood and modality are grammatical categories that express *"the degree or kind of reality of a proposition, as perceived by the speaker"* (Trask 1993: 174). These features can be expressed in various ways in Siar. The following sections will focus on mood which is a feature of the predicate, as opposed to modality which is a feature of the VP (cf. section §6.2.

10.1.1   Declarative

The declarative is the default or unmarked mood in Siar and does not make any qualifying statement about the attitude of the speaker with regard to the reality of the proposition. Two examples of declarative statements are shown below:

(490)   a.   *Diat   bus   pas   i   ép   gòtò   ón*
             diat   bus   pas   i   ép   gòtò   ó-n
             3.PAU   cut   PFV   3.SG   ART:CO1   bamboo   OBL-POSS

             ép   fakamis.
             ép   fakamis
             ART:CO1   midday

             'They finished cutting the bamboo on midday.'

             (MAT 2 [92])

        b.   *Bèl   tók   arbalkut   an   pótór   in   dit.*
             bèl   tók   ar-balkut   an   pótór   in   dit
             NEG   ART:[-COUNT]   REC-angry   at   middle   LIG   3.PL

             'There is no anger between them.'

             (TIN [x])

10.1.2   Types of commands

Three types of commands can be distinguished in Siar: imperatives (section §10.1.2.1), hortatives (section §10.1.2.2) and prohibitives (section §10.1.2.3).

10.1.2.1 Imperative

Imperative constructions are used for commands and requests addressed to second person referents.[147] The most straightforward way to form an imperative construction is to simply omit the subject (i.e. the addressee of the command or request), which is usually the subject marker. This may result in single-word utterances if no additional specifications are made (491a), but an imperative may also be modified to provide additional information about the command or request (491b).

(491)   a.   *Inan!*

        [Ø]_{SUBJ}   go

      '(You.SG) Go!'

    b.   *Inan kasai   sup an lón*

        [Ø]_{SUBJ}   inan ka-Ø-sai   sup an ló-n

                  go   ALL-(LOC-)DIST inside at   mouth-POSS

        ép   rumai!

        ép   rumai

        ART:CO1   house

      '(You.SG) Go up inside the house!'

Note that the subject marker slot in both constructions is empty. When the subject is omitted, then it is always implied that the command or request is issued to the addressee or addressees. The second person singular subject marker *u* may be inserted to disambiguate with regard to who is actually being referred to (e.g. *U inan!* 'You go!').

     For non-singular second person subjects, the full pronoun also needs to be present:

(492)   a.   *Amrau inan!*

        amrau   inan

        2.DU   go

      'You (dual), go!'

---

[147] It may, in theory, also be possible to form a first person singular imperative because as will be shown in section §10.1.2.3, there are also first person singular prohibitives. Naturally, such first person singular imperatives usually do not occur frequently in spoken language.

b. *Amat   inan!*
    amat   inan
    2.PL   go

    'You (plural), go!'

The force of the imperative can be made stronger. This can be done in two ways. One way is to add the event transition marker *ma* to the imperative VP (493a). *Ma* often best translates to English as 'now' (cf. section §10.2.3.6). Another, less common way (at least in singular contexts) is to modify the modality setting of the imperative by specifying it for irrealis (493b). Optionally, the imperative may also be specified for event focus (in addition to the irrealis), resulting in an immediate future reading which makes the imperative even stronger (493c):

(493)   a. **Strong force**

        Inan ma!
        inan   ma
        go   TRANS

        'Go now!'

        b. **Stronger force**

        Ól   inan!
        ó-l   inan
        2.SG-IRR   go

        'You might (better) go.'

        c. **Strongest force**

        Kól   inan!
        k-ó-l   inan
        FOC-2.SG-IRR   go

        'You are about to go.' or 'You will certainly go.'

All the above mechanisms can also be combined to an utterance such as *Kól inan ma!*, although the force of the imperative does not get stronger in these cases. Such combinations can also be used for non-singular subjects, the difference being that

there the free pronoun also needs to be specified (e.g. ***Amat (kél) inan ma***! 'You (PL) go now!).

10.1.2.2   Hortative

Hortatives are similar to imperatives, but they differ in that they make an encouraging or urging proposition, which makes them propositions with less force than imperatives. In addition, not only the addressees are supposed to be in control of the desired event (as is the case for imperatives), but the speaker is also included in the proposition (Van Der Auwera et al. 2005: 294). In the case of Siar, this applies to all first person non-singular referents to which such a proposition is made. Consider the following example:

(494)   *Datòl*   *kèl*   *inan!*
        datòl   k-é-l   inan
        1.PAU.INC   FOC-3.SG-IRR   go

        'Let's go!'

Here, the use of the inclusive pronoun *datòl* indicates that the speaker includes himself in the proposition.

Note that the above construction differs from the imperative construction in (493c) only in the presence of the (inclusive) free pronoun, the different grammatical person of the subject marker is not relevant here because it is a dummy pronoun in any case (cf. section §6.2).

It is also possible to use a verbless clause as a hortative. This is the case in the following example:

(495)   *Ap* *é*   *Rodney* *i*   *warai,*   ***"Datòl***   ***ma!"***
        ap   é   Rodney   i   war-ai   **datòl**   **ma**
        and   ART:PROP   PN   3.SG   speak-TR   **1.PAU.INC** **TRANS**

        'And Rodney said, *"Let's go!"* (lit. *We now!*)'

                                                                            (PAP [4])

Verbless constructions are only used in *Let's go!* contexts (which suggests that a GO event is considered a default for such constructions), and they only involve an inclusive free pronoun and the event transition marker *ma*. It is not possible to specify

verbless hortatives with event focus or irrealis because this would require the presence of a verb.[148]

Hortatives that contain a full verb must be specified for irrealis. In this respect, hortatives differ from imperatives which optionally allow for the presence of the irrealis suffix.

10.1.2.3 Prohibitive (*góng*)

Prohibitives can best be thought of as negative imperatives or negative hortatives. Prohibitives may have subjects of all grammatical persons and numbers. They are formed by using the dedicated prohibitive marker *góng* 'don't x; let's not x' in clause-initial position. The presence of a subject is always required in prohibitives. In (496a) below the subject is represented by the subject marker *u*, in (496b) it is represented by the free pronoun *datòl*:

(496) a. ***Góng   u   matutut!***
          góng   u   ma<tu>tut
          PROH   2.SG   be.afraid<RED>be.afraid

      'Don't be afraid!'

                                  (AIN [21])

  b. ***Góng   datòl   mumun   tar!***
          góng   datòl   mu~mun   tar
          PROH   1.PAU.INC   RED~dive.down   PRF

      'Let us not hide!'

                                  (BAL [13])

The construction in (496a) resembles an imperative construction in that only the addressee is included in the proposition, whereas the construction in (496b) is more like a hortative because of the inclusive pronoun, which means that the speaker himself is also included in the proposition.

It is interesting to note that first person singular prohibitives are also possible in Siar. Consider the following example:

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[148] This is not to say that verbless clauses are never specified for saliency or irrealis, cf. section §11.

(497) *Ép   nuknuk   anuk   i   i   rèrè*
       ép   nuk~nuk   anu-k   i   i   rè~rè
       ART:CO1   RED~think CL:GEN-1.SG.POSS   3.SG 3.SG HAB

       warai   yau   kanak   na   góng a   numan   tar   él   tik
       war-ai   yau   kanak   na   **góng=a**   numan   tar   é-l   tik
       speak-TR   1.SG COMP   REL   **PROH=1.SG** forget PRF   3.SG-IRR   one

       ti   baran.
       ti   baran
       ART:CO1.INC   thing

       'I would always remember not to forget anything.'
       (lit. *My mind used to tell me that don't I forget anything.*)

                                                                          (WÓL [4])

Prohibitive *góng* can also be used predicatively, and it can in fact make up a full utterance (*Góng*! 'Don't (do it)!'). The following example shows a non-predicative and a predicative use of *góng* in the same utterance:

(498) ***Góng***   *u*   *warai*   *tar*   *kam*   *gurar,*   *kai*   *tarai,* ***"góng"!***
       góng   u   war-ai   tar   kam   gurar   kai   tarai   **góng**
       PROH   2.SG   speak-TR   PRF   group   women   ART:ANIM.PL   men   **PROH**

       "Don't you tell the women (or) the men, 'don't!' "
                                                                          (AKA [22])

When prohibitive *góng* is used predicatively and no other event is specified, then there must always be one implied in the context.

Prohibitive constructions may be modified by other aspectual markers. When combined with the perfect aspect marker *tar*, the prohibition gets an additional sense of immediate relevance, as is the case in the first prohibitive in (498) above. When combined with the event transition marker *ma*, the prohibition also remains valid for the nearer future:

(499) **Prohibition that remains valid for the nearer future**

Diat	*ki*	*warwar,*	*"Góng*	*ma*	*dira sin*
diat	k-i	war~war	**góng**	**ma**	dira(u)=sin
1.PAU.EX	FOC-3.SG	RED~speak	**PROH**	**TRANS**	3.DU=siblings

tólói	*akès*	*kiòm*	*ép*	*tarai tè."*
tólói	a-kès	kiòm	ép	tarai t-è
hold	CAUS-sit	together	ART:CO1	men LOC-INDX

'They said, "Don't let us keep the people here." '

(MAT 2 [103])

Prohibitive events may also be modified by restrictive *sa*, which decreases the force of the prohibitive and makes it more polite. This is illustrated in the sequential sentences in (500). Such constructions are frequently used when one is being offered something but wants to reject politely:

(500) **Polite prohibition**

a.
Ma	*ya*	*bèl*	*al*	*sara*	*pas*
ma	ya(u)	bèl	a-l	sara	pas
but	1.SG	NEG	1.SG-IRR	accept	PFV

anu'mra	*ép*	*sar.*
anu(-n)=(a)mra(u)	ép	sar
CL:GEN(-POSS)=2.DU	ART:CO1	shell.money

'But me, I will not accept your shell money.'

(AKA [25])

b.
Góng	*sa*,	*i*	*wakak*	*sa.*
góng	**sa**	i	wakak	sa
PROH	**RESTR**	3.SG	be.good	RESTR

'(Just) Don't, it's okay.'

(AKA [26])

Another important observation to be made in relation to prohibitive constructions is that they are never marked for irrealis (e.g. **Góng ól inan*), just like negative clauses (e.g. **Bèl él inan*. 'He won't go.').

10.1.3 Interrogative

Syntactically, interrogative clauses do not differ from clauses marked for other grammatical moods. Interrogative mood always comes with a raising pitch with the utterance of the interrogative word, which may be located at the beginning (501a) or the end of the clause (501b). For polar interrogatives, the interrogative mood is signalled only through prosody (502).[149]

(501)   **Interrogative mood via interrogative word**

    a.   ***As***   *i*   *wòt?*
           as   i   wòt
           who   3.SG   come

           'Who came?'

    b.   *Ól*   *wòt*   ***langsing?***
           ó-l   wót   **langsing**
           2.SG-IRR   come   **when**

           'When are you going to come?'

(502)   **Interrogative mood via prosody only[150]**

    a.

           Ép   *pòl*   *i*   *inan.*
           ép   pòl   i   inan
           ART:CO1   dog   3.SG   go

           'The dog went.'

---

[149] An exception are question tags in which the question tag itself functions as an interrogative form (cf. section §2.5).

[150] Note that the timing of the pitch does not map precisely with the words as they are represented below the curve.

b.

Ép	*pòl*	*i*	*inan?*
ép	pòl	i	inan
ART:CO1	dog	3.SG	go

'The dog went?'

10.1.4 Negation

There are various types of verbal negators in Siar, and they are all related to the negator *bèl* 'not'.[151] The negator *bèl* is always the first constituent of the predicate. Two examples can be seen below:

(503) a. **Bèl** *u* *tasim* *ón?*

bèl	u	tasim	ó-n
NEG	2.SG	know	OBL-3.SG.POSS

'Don't you know it?'

(UÒ [108-A])

b. *Ép* *bat* **bèl** *i* *pung* *kòl.*

ép	bat	**bèl**	i	pung	kòl
ART:CO1	rain	**NEG**	3.SG	fall	very

'The rain was not falling strongly.'

(AMP 2 [30])

Bèl can also be used predicatively. Note how in the final clause of the following example there are only the negator and the event transition marker *ma* present:

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[151] Proto-Oceanic $*b^wa(li)$ (Lynch et al. 2002: 88)

(504) *Mara   inan katim   an   bòn sur   mar'él*
        mara(u) inan ka-t-im   an   bòn sur   mar(au)=é-l
        1.DU.EX go   ALL-LOC-down   at   sea INTENT   1.DU.EX=3.SG-IRR

        *pultòh   ap   **bèl   ma**.*
        pultòh   ap   **bèl   ma**.
        cut.sugarcane and **NEG   TRANS**

        'We went to the sea in order to cut sugarcane and (we did) not.'
                                                       (TALTAL [x])

The event transition marker could even be left out, in which case the negator *bèl* would be the only predicative constituent in the clause.

       A negated event cannot be specified for event focus, hence the ungrammaticality of clauses such as **Bèl **ki** inan* 'He is not going'. It may be marked for irrealis though if the negated event is located in the future:

(505) *Ma   ya   **bèl   al**   **sara** pas   anu'mra*
        ma   ya(u) **bèl   a-l**   **sara** pas   anu(-n)=(a)mra(u)
        but 1.SG **NEG   1.SG-IRR** **accept** PFV   CL:GEN(-POSS)=2.DU

        ép   sar.
        ép   sar
        ART:CO1   shell.money

        'But I will not accept your shell money.'
                                                       (AKA [25])

Negations are not always specified for irrealis in Siar. Generally, languages with an irrealis category may differ with regard to whether negated events obligatorily need to be marked for irrealis (Elliot 2000: 67). Note how in the following example, the negated event remains unmarked for both event focus and irrealis:

(506) ***Bèl   i***   *warai   manlar akak   i.*
        bèl   i   war-ai   manlar (w)akak   i
        NEG   3.SG speak-TR   light good   3.SG

        'He did not say it clearly.'
                                                        (UÒ [126-L])

The negator *bèl* may also be nominalised, resulting in a noun meaning 'no-man's-land':

(507) Na   misana   sén   dit   él   um   amat   datòl
       na   misan-a sén   dit   é-l   um   a-mat   datòl
       REL   now-PROX EMPH   3.PL   3.SG-IRR hit CAUS-die 1.PAU.INC

       ta   is   an   **bèl**.
       t-a   is   an   **bèl**
       LOC-PROX   return at   **NEG**

'They are going to kill us right away here in no-man's-land.'

(BAL [10])

Rowe (2005: 89) lists the form *bèlal* as another negator in Siar. This form actually consists of two separate words, the negator *bèl* and the quantifier *al* 'some' (cf. section §4.6). The two words can make up one phonological string though [bẹːˈlal] (508a). Note, however, that in constructions such as (508b) *al* is clearly syntactically (and phonetically) disjoint from *bèl*.

(508) a. ***Bèl al***   *tók*   *yah.*
           bèl al   tók   yah
           NEG some ART:[-COUNT] fire

       'There was no fire.'

(ARAT [9])

       b. ***Bèl*** *a lóngrai*   ***al***   *tók*   *agaya.*
           bèl   a=lóng-rai   **al**   tók   agaya
           NEG   1.SG=listen-TR **some**   ART:[-COUNT] noise

       'I did not hear any noise.'

(FÓN [7])

A similar case is the negative expression *bi'sén* 'not yet' which Rowe also analyzes as a simple form. Like *bèl al*, *bi'sén* also surfaces as single phonological string, but it is made up of two grammatical words, the negator *bèl* and the emphatic marker *sén* (cf. section §10.4). Note that this construction also involves a vowel change from /ẹ/ to /i/, as well as an elision of the lateral /l/ in the negator. The omission of this lateral makes the negator a clitic here. In careful pronunciation, *bi'sèn* is pronounced as two separate words. The following sentence gives an example of its use:

(509) **Bi'sén**   *ép*   *wawas*   *i*   *róp.*
       bè(l)=sén   ép   wa~was   i   róp
       NEG=EMPH   ART:CO1   RED~count   3.SG   complete

'The counting has not yet finished.'

(UÒ [23-L])

Another negator that is related to *bèl* is *bali* 'is/are not there'.[152] *Bali* is the negative counterpart of a demonstrative existential, although it is formally very different because it contains neither a demonstrative morpheme, nor does it change its form depending on the grammatical number of the referent as demonstrative existentials do (cf. section §8.2.1.4). An example can be seen below:

(510) *Mara*   *nósnós*   *s'è*   *Alwin*   *diat*   *ap*
       mara(u)   nós~nós   s(a)=è   Alwin   diat   ap
       1.DU.EX   RED~search RESTR=ART:PROP   PN   3.PAU   and

       bali   *diat*   *ma.*
       bali   diat   ma
       not.there   3.PAU   TRANS

'The two of us looked for Alwin and the others but they were not there.'

(TALTAL [x])

Note that *bali* is used predicatively here. It is unusual to have the predicative constituent in a pre-subject position, and *bali* is the only Siar word that allows for this option.

Finally, the negator *bèl* can be reduplicated to the form *bèlbèl*. In terms of semantics, *bèlbèl* is similar to *bali* but more strongly implies a plural referent:

(511) *Ép*   *yah*   *s'adisai*   *ma*   **bèlbèl**   *ma.*
       ép   yah   s(a)=a-d-isai   ma   **bèl~bèl**   ma
       ART:CO1   fire   RESTR=DEX-DEM.SG-DIST   but   **RED~NEG**   TRANS

'There was a fire up there, but nobody was there.'

(BÒN [37])

---

[152] The form *bali* is the form that looks the most similar to the negator *$b^w a(li)$* reconstructed for Proto-Oceanic.

Note that this negator is also used predicatively in (511). Another interesting feature or *bèlbèl* is that it is the only predicative word in Siar that never allows for a subject (together with all second person singular imperatives).

10.2   Aspect and Aktionsart

Aspect and Aktionsart provide information about the internal temporal structure of an event. Information of this type occurs in three positions of the predicate: the slot that immediately precedes the verb complex (section §10.2.1), the (verbal) predicate itself (section §10.2.2) and in slots that follow the verb complex (section §10.2.3).

10.2.1   Preverbal aspectual modifiers

Ross (1982: 178) notes that *"the pre-head verb phrase structure in all New Ireland groups is:*

subject-marker (+aspect) + verb"

He also points out that this pattern *"[…] was the Proto-New Ireland pattern"* (ibid. 179). As will be shown in the following sections, it is plausible to assume that there are actually no preverbal aspect markers in Siar. However, there is a syntactic slot preceding the verb complex which allows for only four words, all of which could be said to have an aspectual reading. They differ in their distribution, which is why it is difficult to establish them as a separate syntactic class, and this makes it plausible to just speak of an aspectual modifier slot that precedes the verb complex.

The preverbal constituent order is illustrated in the table below:

EMPH / NP	NEG	SM	ASP	Verb complex
Yau	*bèl*	*a*	*rèrè*	*inan.*
1.SG	NEG	1.SG=	HAB	go
'I usually don't go.'				

Table 52: Preverbal slots in Siar

The four markers which can occupy the aspectual modifier slot are:

Habitual	*rèrè*	(section §10.2.1.1)
Prospective	*bòt*	(section §10.2.1.2)
Repetitive	*malik*	(section §10.2.1.3)
Inchoative/ingressive	*són*	(section §10.2.1.4)

Each of these forms is discussed in the following sections.

10.2.1.1 Habitual (*rèrè*)

The habitual marker *rèrè* is a reduplication of the verb *rè* 'to see'. Rowe (2005: 69) considers that *rèrè* is the first (minor) verb in a serial verb construction together with the verb that represents the habitual event. Two examples are shown below:

(512) a.

Bóbólós	*tó*		*kap kirai kòbòt*	*róp*	*dit*	***rèrè***
bó~bólós	tó		kap kirai kòbòt	róp	dit	[**rèrè**
RED~pass.by	ART:[-DIM].PL	[morning	]	finish	3.PL	**HAB**

inan	*dit*	*wóng*	*tim*	*an*	*matmat.*
inan]_{SVC}	dit	wóng	t-im	an	mat~mat
go	3.PL	check	LOC-down	at	RED~die

'Always, every morning, they used to go and check the graveyard.'

(TÓMÓL [21])

b.

Kai		*Siar*	*bèl*	*dit*	***rèrè***	*arum*	*ón*
kai		Siar	bèl	dit	**rèrè**	ar-um	ó-n
ART:ANIM.PL	PN	NEG	3.PL	**HAB**	REC-hit	OBL-POSS

a		*liwan*	*ó*	*a*		*lamròt.*
a		liwan	ó	a		lamròt
ART:CO2	knife	or	ART:CO2	spear

'The Siar did not use to fight with knives or spears.'

(TÓMÓL [8])

It is problematic to assume that habitual *rèrè* is part of a serial verb construction. One reason for this is that the form *rèrè* with its habitualizing semantics cannot be a full verb itself. There is, however, a full verb *rèrè* which means 'to learn' or 'to look after (repeatedly)', depending on the context. In addition, *rèrè* (HAB) is in complementary distribution with the three other preverbal aspectual modifiers, some of which are not autonomous verbs either and which hence also cannot be part of a serial verb construction. It therefore makes more sense to associate the habitual marker *rèrè* with

the aspectual modifier slot that precedes the verb complex rather than the verb complex itself.

The form *bóbólós* 'always', which is a reduplication of the verb *bólós* 'to pass by' has very similar semantics to the habitual verb *rèrè*, and it is also possible to refer to habitual events with *bóbólós* instead of *rèrè*. In such cases, *bóbólós* is not part of a serial verb construction either but functions as clause-level adverbial which is placed in a slot that precedes the subject marker.

We here use the label 'habitual' in the sense of Comrie (1976) and assume that the habitual differs from iterativity in that it

```
"[…] is characteristic of an extended period of time, so
extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not
as an incidental property of the moment but, precisely, as a
characteristic feature of a whole period. If the individual
situation is one that can be protracted indefinitely in time,
then there is no need for iterativity to be involved […]"
```

```
                                        (Comrie 1976: 27-28)
```

This applies to all habitual constructions with *rèrè*.

The Siar habitual can be used equally for both present events (513a) and past events (513b):

(513)   a.   **Present habitual**

Ép	*bakòi*	*ki*	*warai,*	*"Aòh, yau*	*bèl a*
ép	bakòi	k-i	war-ai	Aòh	yau	bèl=a
ART:CO1	shark	FOC-3.SG	speak-TR	INJ	1.SG	NEG=1.SG

rèrè	*inan*	*sai*	*an*	*mas."*
rèrè	inan	Ø-sai	an	mas
HAB	go	(LOC-)DIST	at	dry

"The shark said, *'No, I usually do not go to the shore.'* "

                                                       (TAM [21])

b. **Past habitual**

Uring	*uring*	*sén*	*kai*	*tutubun*
uring	uring	sén	kai	tu~tubu-n
ago	ago	EMPH	ART:ANIM.PL	RED~ancestor-POSS

dat	*dit*	***rèrè***	*yan*	*ais*	*dit.*
dat	dit	**rèrè**	yan	a-is	dit
1.PL.INC	3.PL	**HAB**	eat	CAUS-return	3.PL

'Long long ago our ancestors used to eat each other.'

(YAN [1])

10.2.1.2   Prospective (*bòt*)

The prospective modifier *bòt* translates best to English as 'later (on)' and it indicates that an event is beginning at an unspecified time after the time of reference (which is usually the time of the utterance). Two examples are shown below:

(514)	a.	*Dat*	*él*	***bòt***	*inan*	*ma*	*kasai*	*kawas.*
		dat	é-l	**bòt**	inan	ma	ka-Ø-sai	kawas
		1.PL.INC	3.SG-IRR	**later**	go	TRANS	ALL(-LOC)-DIST	move.up

'Let us go away later.'

(MAT [104])

	b.	*Ól*	***bòt***	*rè*	*lélé*	*an*	*mur.*
		ó-l	**bòt**	rè	lélé	an	mur
		2.SG-IRR	**later**	see	recognize	at	follow

'You will realize later.'

(ÉP FAR [73])

Bòt in (514a) signals that the going away event takes place at an indefinite point of time following the time of the utterance. In (514b) prospectivity is encoded twice: once by the aspectual modifier *bòt* and once by the optional adverbial phrase *an mur* 'later' that follows the verb complex.

However, *bòt* can also be observed in other slots in the sentence. It also occurs in a postverbal position like in the following example:

(515) *I   mas   **bòt**.*
       i   mas   **bòt**
       3.SG   dry   **later**

       'It drained off later.'

<div align="right">(SUR [15])</div>

It is currently unclear which of the postverbal slots *bòt* occupies because it has not been observed with other postverbal markers or with object pronouns. Instead of assuming a separate postverbal slot for *bòt* it is more feasible to assume that it simply occupies the postverbal adjunct slot.

    Bòt may also be used in nominal contexts:

(516) *Ap   tari,   tik   **bòt**   s'ép   kirai ...*
       ap   tari   [tik   **bòt**   s(a)=ép   kirai]$_{NP}$
       and   maybe   one   **later**   RESTR=ART:CO1 day

       'And maybe, some later day …'

<div align="right">(KÈL [77])</div>

Bòt is therefore not a dedicated aspectual marker as many of the postverbal markers are (cf. section §10.2.3), but the observation that it is one of only four words that may occur in the preverbal aspectual modifier slot is still worth making.

10.2.1.3 Repetitive (*malik*)

The repetitive marker *malik* 'again' can also be located in the preverbal aspectual marker slot:

(517) a. *É   wan   Suilik   i   **malik**   yayauh*
           é   wan   Suilik   i   **malik**   ya~yauh
           ART:PROP   grandmother PN   3.SG **REP**   RED~cook

           ngan   diat.
           nga-n   diat
           CL:FOOD-POSS   3.PAU

           'Suilik's grandmother cooked food for them again.'

<div align="right">(MAT [22])</div>

b.   *A*   *nat*   *lik*   *ning*   ***malik***   *pus'òt.*
         a   nat   lik   n-ing   **malik**   pus'òt
         ART:CO2   child   little   DEM.[-SG]-ANA   **REP**   come.out=arrive

'That little child came out again.'

(TÓMÓL [x])

Malik in both cases encodes that the specified event happens again, which presupposes that it has already happened at least once in the past. Repetitive *malik* differs from both the habitualizer *rèrè* and iterative reduplication (cf. section §10.2.2) in that it only reiterates an event exactly once, whereas the other markers reiterate more often.

     Malik has some semantic extensions that appear to have a different meaning than 'again':

(518)   a.   *Na*   *ép*   *farum*   *i'an'òt,*   *tó*   *mani*
            na   ép   far-um   i=(in)an=(w)òt   tó   mani
            REL   ART:CO1   REC-hit   3.SG=go=come   ART:[-ANIM].PL   bird

            dit   ***malik***   *wòt.*
            dit   **malik**   wòt
            3.PL   **REP**   come

'When the war came, the planes also came.'

(FAR [25])

     b.   *Warwar,*   *yau*   *al*   *bas*   ***malik***   *kès*   *pas.*
            war~war   yau   a-l   bas   **malik**   kès   pas
            RED~speak   1.SG   1.SG-IRR must   **REP**   sit   PFV

'Talk now, I have to sit down first.'

(UÒ [77-L])

The utterance in (518a) refers to the beginning of the World War II and the first arrival of fighter planes. It may be the case that planes were already known to the Siar people before that time (which would allow for the *again*-reading of *malik*), but in the context of the narrative, *malik* specifies an event that happens for the first time, and therefore it rather translates to English as 'also'. However, *malik* is not always used as the word meaning 'also', and there is also the word *alò* 'also' (and more often its

emphasized variant *sén alò*) with the same meaning, which suggests that the *again*-reading is more prototypical.[153]

In (518b) it looks as if *malik* is located in the postverbal position of the modal verb *bas* 'have to', but as was pointed out in section §12.1.2.1.1, the complement-taking modal verb and the lexical verb it accompanies make up two separate verb phrases. *Malik* is therefore located in the preverbal slot of the lexical verb *kès* 'sit' here. Like in the preceding case, it also does not translate to English as 'again' here because the speaker of the utterance is sitting down for the first time in the context of the conversation. *Malik* is optional here (as in all other constructions), and it appears that it has further discursive functions which may be related to the relative ordering of events, similar to some of the postverbal aspect marker that will be discussed later. Such an interpretation could be implied in the example in (518), because the planes only arrived after the war had started.

10.2.1.4   Inchoative/ingressive (*són*)

The modifier *són* is the fourth word that may appear in the preverbal aspectual modifier slot. In most contexts, *són* best translates to English as 'starting to'. Two examples are shown below:

(519) a. *I   mun   pirim   ap   i   **són**   só   i,   i*
          i   mun   pirim   ap   i   **són**   só   i   i
          3.SG   dive.down move.down and   3.SG **INCHO**   spear 3.SG 3.SG

          só   i   ón   ép   liman.
          só   i   ó-n   ép   lima-n
          spear 3.SG OBL-POSS ART:CO1   hand-3.SG.POSS

          'He dived down and he started spearing it, he was spearing it with his hands.'

                                                                    (SÓ [10])

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[153] Lichtenberk (p.c.) pointed out to me that such an *also/again* polysemy is not unusual in Oceanic languages.

b. *N'i   apai   tar i   sa   ap   i   a*
   n(a)=i   apai   tar i   sa   ap   i   a
   REL=3.SG pretend.to.hit PRF 3.SG RESTR and 3.SG ART:CO2

   palang ning   i   són   nanar   lik.
   palang   n-ing   i   són   nanar   lik
   plank   DEM.[-SG].ANA 3.SG **INCHO** shake   TEMP

   'When he was pretending to hit the plank it would start to shake a little.'
   (TÓMÓL [x])

The event specified by *són* in (519a) above refers to the initial stage of the spearing. The spearing event in the following clause is taking place at a later point in time, which is why the second verb *só* 'spear' remains unmarked by *són*. The sentence in (519b) is taken from a fictional story in which a very strong man could cause a wooden plank to start shaking by just pretending to hit it.

     An interesting observation for *són* is that in constructions with reiterated verbs (i.e. reiteration by repetition of the verb), *són* only specifies the initial verb but is absent from the other repeated verbs. Two examples for this behaviour are shown below:

(520) a. *A són   pirat   ap a   pirat   ap a*
        a=**són**   pirat   ap=a   pirat   ap=a
        1.SG=**INCHO** slash.bush   and=1.SG   slash.bush   and=1.SG

        pirat   ap   ép   fók   ki   óngrón.
        pirat   ap   ép   fó-k   k-i   óngrón
        slash.bush   and   ART:CO1 skin-1.SG.POSS FOC-3.SG   lazy

        'I was slashing and slashing and slashing the bush and I was getting weak.'
        (PIR [4])

b.
Mara	***són***	*babait*	*ap*	*mara*	*babait*	*ap*	*mara*
mara(u)	**són**	babait	ap	mara(u)	babait	ap	mara(u)
1.DU.EX	**INCHO**	fishing	and	1.DU.EX	fishing	and	1.DU.EX

babait	*ap*	*ningan*	*dit*	*inan*	*tim*		*talang*	*anén*
babait	ap	ningan	dit	inan	t-im		talang	ané-n
fishing	and	some	3.PL	go	LOC-down		along	underside-POSS

bòn.
bòn
sea

'And we were fishing and fishing and fishing and some (of them) went along the beach.'

(BÒN [17])

This behaviour suggests that the semantics of *són* are more closely related to the onset of an event like an inchoative or ingressive. Evidence for this analysis can be drawn from the fact that *són* can also be used as a separate verb that translates as 'to start', as in the following example:

(521)
Rup	*sai*	*an*	*lón*	*ép*	*kabinuh*
rup	Ø-sai	an	ló-n	ép	kabinuh
enter	(LOC-)up	at	mouth-POSS	ART:CO1	earth.oven

ap	*i*	***són***	*i*	*yan*	*i*	*ép*	*bòròi*	*ning.*
ap	i	**són**	i	yan	i	ép	bòròi	n-ing
and	3.SG	**INCHO**	3.SG	eat	3.SG	ART:CO1	pig	DEM.[-SG]-ANA

'He went inside the earth oven and he started eating that pig.'

(PÉK [23])

The concept START can also be represented by the serial verb construction *tur pas* ('stand step'), which suggests that *són* does not mean START itself but relates to a different concept which focuses on a point in time that initiates an event, as is typically done by inchoatives and ingressives.

The above example also shows, contrary to what the examples in (520) suggest, that *són* is not the first verb in a serial verb construction. This is because of the intervening subject marker *i* between *són* and the verb *yan* 'eat'.

The event specified by *són* in all above examples are dynamic, but they may also be stative:

(522) | *Ép* | *lakman* | *na* | | *kél* | | *són* | *laulau* |
|-------|----------|--------|--|--------|--|--------|----------|
| ép | lakman | na | | k-é-l | | són | laulau |
| ART:CL1 | village | DEM.[-SG]-ANA | | FOC-3.SG-IRR | | INCHO | be.bad |
| *the* | *village* | *here* | | *it.will.certainly* | | *start.to* | *be.bad* |

róp	*tar.*
róp	tar
finish	PERF
completely	*have*

'This village here will soon start to be bad.'

(KÈL [86])

The inchoative analysis does not work in some instances. Consider the following two exceptional constructions:

(523) a. | *Matò* | *són* | *kan* | *i* | *matò* | *són* |
|--------|-------|-------|-----|--------|-------|
| matò(l) | **són** | kan | i | matò(l) | **són** |
| 1.PAU.EX | **INCHO** | remove.with.force | 3.SG | 1.PAU.EX | **INCHO** |

kan	*i.*
kan	i
remove.with.force	3.SG

'We were pulling and pulling it.'

(PÒI [53])

b. | *Kók* | | *pól* | *ning* | | *matò* | *gang* | *i,* |
|--------|--|------|--------|--|--------|--------|------|
| kók | | pól | n-ing | | matò(l) | gang | i |
| ART:DIM | | liquid | DEM.[-SG]-ANA | | 1.PAU.EX | drink | 3.SG |

matò	*són*	*gang*	*sòi*	*aróp*	*tar*	*i*	*sén.*
matò(l)	**són**	gang	sòi	a-róp	tar	i	sén
1.PAU.EX	**INCHO**	drink	away	CAUS-finish	PRF	3.SG	EMPH

'And that little amount of liquid, we drank it, we drank all of it.'

(BÒN [61])

Note how in (523a) the same event is represented twice, and both times it is specified by *són*. In the context of the narrative, the subjects were trying to pull a spear out of a tree. It would not make sense to assume that the subjects were starting twice to pull out the spear. Even if it took them several attempts, the inchoative period would be the event onset of the first pulling event, and not of the subsequent pulling events. The problem in (523b) is similar in that an event that has already been mentioned is taken up again and specified by *són*, and again it remains unclear why *són* is not used for the

first event. Of course, one could make up a context in which the sentence translates to English as "We drank it and then we started finishing it by drinking", but such a context would probably be too artificial here.

Són has been observed together with the perfect marker *tar* (cf. section §10.2.3.2), the event transition marker *ma* (cf. section §10.2.3.6) and the durative marker *ati* (cf. section §10.2.3.4). In addition, events modified by *són* can be marked for both event focus (cf. section §6.2.2) and irrealis (cf. section §6.2.1). The most noteworthy co-occurrence is with the durative marker *ati*. When *són* and *ati* co-occur, *són* encodes that the event is in its initial stage while *ati* specifies that the rest of the event remains ongoing. An example for this can be seen in the following construction:

(524)   *A **són***   *rè*   ***ati***   *ap a*   *rè*   ***ati***   *ap na*
       a=**són**   rè   **ati**   ap=a   rè   **ati**   ap   na
       1.SG=**INCHO**   see   **DURA**   and=1.SG   see   **DURA**   and   REL

          a rè   *aróp*   *tar ép*   *ngasin*   *ép*
          a=rè   a-róp   tar   ép   ngasi-n   ép
          1.SG=see   CAUS-finish   PRF   ART:CO1   CL:CONT-POSS   ART:CO1

          rumai   *ka*   *nuknuk.*
          rumai   k-a   nuk~nuk
          house   FOC-1.SG   RED~think

       'I start looking at it and I look and look and when I have looked at all the spots I start thinking.'

                                                  (RUMAI [17])

10.2.2   Verbal marking of Aktionsart (iterative)

The verb itself can be internally marked for iterative aspect by reduplication. Iterative aspect is similar to the habitual in that the event referred to happens more than once, but it differs in that iterative events cannot be protracted infinitely. Consider the following examples:

(525) a.   *Él*   *arèrè*   *dirau*   *kón*   **babasi**
            é-l   a-rè~rè   dirau   kón   **ba~bas-i**
            3.SG-IRR   CAUS-RED~see   3.DU   for   **RED~throw-TR**

            ép   *kéh*   *su'kón*   **kéhkéh**   *tarai.*
            ép   kéh   su(r)=kón   **kéh~kéh** tarai
            ART:CO1   net   INTENT=PURP   **RED~net** men

            'He would teach them how to (repeatedly) cast the net in order to
            catch people.'

                                                                    (NAT [5])

        b.   *N'a*   *palas*   *kòbòt*   *a inan*   *a* **kamkam**   *sòi*   *pas*
             n(a)=a   palas   kòbòt   a=inan   a=**kam~kam**   sòi   pas
             REL=1.SG   get.up   morning   1.SG=go   1.SG=**RED~call** away   PFV

             i   *tik*   *a*   *natun*   *pòl*   *lik.*
             i   tik   a   natu-n   pòl   lik
             3.SG   one   ART:CO2   child-POSS   dog   little

             'When I got up in the morning I went and (repeatedly) called the little
             puppy.'

                                                                    (AMP 3 [2])

In (525a) there are two iterative events: the throwing (*babasi*) and the catching with a net (*kéhkéh*). The verb *bas* 'throw' is intransitive, and it is here transitivized with the transitivizer suffix *-i*.[154] The throwing event is iterative because in order to catch people with a net, the net needs to be cast more than once. It is also clear that the throwing event is not habitual because the throwing event is bound to the boundaries of each hunting event. It can also not be durative because a throwing event is punctual (and hence the general ungrammaticality of the durative form **bas it*). The reduplicated form *kéhkéh* 'catch with net' is also iterative, although it differs from *babasi* in terms of finiteness (*kéhkéh tarai* is a non-finite predicate, as are all predicates introduced by refective *kón*, cf. section §12.1.3.2). *Kéhkéh* here is a cover event that comprises multiple iterations of the throwing events.

In the following example, an iterative event is also marked as habitual:

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[154] As was shown in section §7.2.3, another function of reduplication is the detransitivization of transitive verbs. In this case it is clear, however, that there is no detransitivization involved because both the transitivizer suffix and an object NP (*ép kéh* 'the/a net') are present. Hence, the resulting function of the reduplicant must be that of iterative Aktionsart

(526)

I	ding	ép	lakman	i	tik	sén	alò
i	d-ing	ép	lakman	i	tik	sén	alò
3.SG	DEM.SG-ANA	ART:CO1	village	3.SG	one	EMPH	again

ép	bòròi	i	**rèrè**	**yanyan**	ép	tarai.
ép	bòròi	i	**rèrè**	**yan~yan**	ép	tarai
ART:CO1	pig	3.SG	**HAB**	**RED~eat**	ART:CO1	men

'There was also a pig in that village which used to eat the people.'

(URI [2])

The eating event (*yanyan*) is iterative because there is always more than person that is eaten by the pig each time it comes to the village, hence the reduplicated form. The habitual marker encodes that the pig habitually comes to the village, i.e. it comes more than once. This matches with Comrie's observation that habitual events may well be iterative, although they need not be (1976: 31).

Habitual aspect is also compatible with durative aspect, and in section §10.2.3.4 we will see an example where the two aspect settings co-occur.

10.2.3   Postverbal aspect marking

Markers of aspect and Aktionsart markers can also be placed in postverbal position. The general postverbal structure is as follows:

0.   Verb complex

1.   Perfective aspect (*pas*)   §10.2.3.1

2.   Perfect aspect (*tar*) or temporarity (*lik*)   §10.2.3.2 and §10.2.3.3

3.   Progressive (*it / ati)*   §10.2.3.4

4.   object NP

5.   Restrictive/intensifying (*sa*)   §10.2.3.5

6.   Event transition (*ma*)   §10.2.3.6

7.   Adjuncts

Each of these postverbal morphemes is an optional component of the predicate. All forms are discussed in the following sections.

10.2.3.1   Perfective (*pas*)

The perfective marker *pas* occupies the first slot that follows the verb complex. It encodes perfectivity of the event, which means that the event is regarded as a whole. This is different from the perfect aspect marker *tar* (cf. section §10.2.3.2) because events specified by *tar* have consequences at the time of the utterance (usually the present), whereas the perfective does not.

Two examples for the perfective marker are shown below:

(527)   a.   *Darau   kél   munmun   **pas**   sur*
             darau   k-é-l   mun~mun   **pas**   sur
             1.DU.INC   FOC-3.SG-IRR   RED~dive.down **PFV**   INTENT

             dar'él   inan   dar'él   tatat."
             dar(au)=é-l   inan   dar(au)=é-l   ta~tat
             1.DU.INC=3.SG-IRR   go   1.DU.INC=3.SG-IRR   RED~find

             'Let us have a bath first before we go to uncover (the earth oven).'
                                                                        (RTK [15])

         b.   *I   atòstòs   akak **pas**   i   ap   i   sòi   sòu.*
              i   a-tòstòs   akak **pas**   i   ap   i   sòi   sòu
              3.SG CAUS-correct good **PFV**   3.SG and   3.SG away off

              'He repaired it well (first) and then he took off (with it).'
                                                                        (PAL [16])

In (527a), the bathing event is regarded as a whole, and it is implied that the bathing takes place before the event in which the earth oven is uncovered. Note also that the bathing event is specified for both event focus and irrealis. The event focus component provides a degree of certainty by the speaker, and the irrealis component moves the event to the future. This results in a future perfect reading. The utterance in (527b) is from a narrative in which the subject repairs a canoe in order to take off with it later. Of course, the repairing must be finished first in order for the canoe to be functional and in order for the taking-off event to take place.

Pas is also used with an emphatic sense in imperative constructions. Consider the following minimal pair:

(528)   a.   *Lós i   kata!*
           lós i   ka-t-a
           carry 3.SG ALL-LOC-PROX

           'Bring it here!'

      b.   *Lós **pas**   i   kata!*
           lós **pas** i   ka-t-a
           carry **PFV**   3.SG ALL-LOC-PROX

           'Bring it here (before you do anything else)!'

The use of *pas* in (528b) implies that the bringing event is intended to be regarded as a whole and complete already, even though this is not the case at the time of the utterance. This adds some additional force to the imperative, which is why we could also call it a prioritizer in some contexts.

     In some instances, it is difficult to link the presence of *pas* to perfective aspect. Consider the following example:

(529)   *Bar   lóklók   róp   dit   aning*
         bar   lóklók   róp   dit   a-n-ing
         ART:HUM.PL important.man   complete 3.PL DEX-DEM.[-SG]-ANA

         *ma   dit   tikai   gòsgòs nangnang **pas**   dit.*
         ma   dit   tik-ai   gòsgòs nang~nang **pas**   dit
         TRANS 3.PL continuously dance   RED~wait **PFV**   3.PL

         'All the important people were there dancing only and waiting for them.'
                                              (KÈL [27])

In this example, the dancing and waiting events are not completed yet, as the preceding event transition marker *ma* suggests.[155] Still, the event is marked with *pas*. It thus appears that *pas* has additional functions and meanings. If we analyse the marker *pas* as perfective, then we would expect there to be a degree of mutual exclusivity with the event transition marker *ma* which can be used to stress that an event is ongoing. In the following construction, *pas* and *ma* co-occur, and they are the only postverbal markers present:

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[155] The preceding event transition marker does not specify the dancing and waiting events but the 'being-there-event' represented by the demonstrative existential.

(530)   *Mara*   *inan*   ***pas***   ***ma****.*
           mara(u)   inan   **pas**   **ma**
           1.DU.EX   go   **PFV**   **TRANS**

        'We went.'

                                                     (KÈP [39])

One reason for the sometimes unclear semantics of *pas* is language contact with Tok Pisin. In some instances, Siar *pas* takes over the semantics of the Tok Pisin completive marker *pinis* (Mihalic 1971: 29). An additional meaning of Tok Pisin *pinis* is 'completely; utterly', and this use is also reflected by the use of *pas* in some Siar sentences such as the following:

(531)   a.   *A són*   *purak*   *ap*   *a purak*   *ap*
                 a=són   purak   ap   a=purak   ap
                 1.SG=INCHO   loosen.soil   and   1.SG=loosen.soil   and

                 a purak   *ap*   *a inan*   *ap*   *a yòwòn*   ***pas****.*
                 a=purak   ap   a=inan   ap   a=yòwòn   **pas**
                 1.SG=loosen.soil   and   1.SG=go   and   1.SG=sweat   **PFV**

                 'I was loosing the soil and loosing it and loosing it and I was completely sweaty.'

                                               (PURAK [11])

        b.   *É*   *langai*   *ép*   *balan*   *i*   *kut*
                 é   langai   ép   bala-n   i   kut
                 ART:PROP   prawn   ART:CO1   stomach-3.SG.POSS   3.SG   closed

                 pas*.*
                 pas
                 PFV

                 'The prawn was very angry (lit. *its stomach was completely closed*).'
                                               (SÉL [8])

In both instances, *pas* does not seem to encode perfectivity.

      Perfective *pas* has been observed to co-occur with every other postverbal aspectual marker except for the durative markers *it* and *ati*.

10.2.3.2   Perfect (*tar*)

The postverbal particle *tar* can best be labelled perfect aspect marker, although its functions and semantics extend beyond that. As shown in section §10.2.3, *tar* occupies

the second slot that follows the verb complex. The canonical context in which it is used is one in which it *"[…] indicates the continuing present relevance of a past situation"* (Comrie 1976: 52).

(532) a. *Ki*   *pèpèlè*   *an*   *lón*   *ép*   *sungut*

k-i	pèpèlè	an	ló-n	ép	sungut
FOC-3.SG	struggle	at	mouth-POSS	ART:CO1	trap

na   *ép*   *pòl*   *i*   *parai*   ***tar***   *i.*

na	ép	pòl	i	par-ai	**tar**	i
REL	ART:CO1	dog	3.SG	move.across-TR	**PRF**	3.SG

'He was struggling inside the trap the dog had placed there.'
                                                         (RTK [19])

b. *Mara*   *inan* *murun*   *m'alò*   *i*   *ru*   *ru*

mara(u)	inan	muru-n	m(a)=alò	i	ru	ru
1.DU.EX	go	back-POSS	TRANS=again	3.SG	two	ART:CO1.DU

anat   *na* *dira* *ki*   *bólós* ***tar*** *kasai*

(f)anat	na	dira	k-i	bólós	**tar**	ka-Ø-sai
child	REL	3.DU	FOC-3.SG	pass.by	**PRF**	ALL(-LOC)-DIST

kawas.

kawas
move.up

'The two of us followed the two children who had already gone away.'
                                                     (AMP 2 [41])

In (532a), the past situation (the placing of the trap) continues into the present (i.e. the time of the utterance) because the lizard gets trapped in it later. Similarly in (532b), the path of the two children continues to be relevant because the two subject referents follow it at a later point in time.

Such temporal ordering is also reflected in constructions like the ones shown below. Here, a preliminary event (PE) is established, then reiterated in a new sentence and specified with *tar* (to indicate that the preliminary event has finished), and then a new event (NE) is introduced.

(533) a.   *Mara   dòt   i.*
               [mara(u) dòt   i]$_{PE}$
               1.DU.EX tie.up   3.SG

'We tied it up.'

        b.   *Mara   dòt   **tar**   i,   ap   mara   lós   i*
               [mara(u) dòt   **tar** i]$_{PE}$ ap   [mara(u) lós   i
               1.DU.EX tie.up   **PRF** 3.SG and   1.DU.EX carry   3.SG

               katim   lón   a   lau.
               ka-t-im   ló-n   a   lau]$_{NE}$
               ALL-LOC-down   mouth-POSS ART:CO2   valley

'When we had tied it up we carried it into the valley.'

(534) *Dit bus pós,   dit bus pós róp **tar**, atur   pós,*
        [dit bus pós$_{TP}$]$_{NE}$ [dit bus pós$_{TP}$ róp **tar**]$_{PE}$ [a-tur   pós$_{TP}$]$_{NE}$
        3.PL saw post   3.PL saw post all   **PRF** CAUS-stand post

        *atur   pós róp **tar**, babat.*
        [a-tur   pós$_{TP}$ róp **tar**]$_{PE}$ [babat]$_{NE}$
        CAUS-stand post all   **PRF**   wall

'They sawed the posts, and when they had sawed all of the posts they erected them, and when they had erected the posts they (built the) walls.'

Tar could therefore also be analysed as a marker of anteriority.

      There are also other uses of *tar*. In some instances, it encodes immediate relevance, a transparent semantic extension of the perfect aspect.

(535) a.   *Góng u   kès kòt   lik   an   lakan   widò   lar*
               góng   u   kès kòt   lik   an   laka-n   wi(n)dò$_{TP}$ lar
               PROH   2.SG sit   cut   little at   top-POSS window like

               *ning,   ól   pung **tar**   ting   pirim!*
               n-ing   ó-l   pung **tar**   t-ing   pirim
               DEM.[-SG]-ANA 2.SG-IRR fall   **PRF** LOC-ANA down

'Don't sit on the windowsill like that, you will fall down!'

b.
É	*Pasta*	*adóng*		*ma*	*an*	*piu*	*i*
é	Pasta	a-d-óng		ma	an	piu	i
ART:PROP	pastor	DEX-DEM.SG-CLK		TRANS	at	ground	3.SG

tur	*tar,*	*ki*		*kòlòng*	*laulau*	*tar.*
tur	**tar**	k-i		kòlòng	laulau	**tar**
stand	**PRF**	FOC-3.SG		terrified	bad	**PRF**

'The Pastor was standing outside, he was terribly afraid.'

(KAL 2 [9])

In (535a) above, the person that is being referred to is about to fall off the windowsill, which is why the falling event is marked with *tar*. Similarly in (535b), *tar* emphasizes the present relevance of the pastor's standing outside and his being afraid.

Tar may optionally be specified for event focus (536a) and irrealis (536b). The use of the event focus marker emphasizes the relevance of the outcome while the irrealis can be used to form a future perfect:

(536) a.
Dit	*ki'an*	*tar*	*kasai*		*an*	*Rabaul.*
dit	**k-i**=(in)an	**tar**	ka-Ø-sai		an	Rabaul
3.PL	**FOC-**3.SG=go	**PRF**	ALL-(LOC-)DIST		at	PN

'They had gone to Rabaul (for good).'

(FAR [80])

b.
Na	*él*	*par*	*sòu*	*tar*	*ap*	*él*	*taltal*
na	é-l	par	sòu	**tar**	ap	é-l	taltal
REL	3.SG-IRR	move.across	off	**PRF**	ap	3.SG-IRR	wander.around

it.
it
DURA

'When he gets out (of prison) he will be walking around.'

(UÒ 9-L)

However, combinations of irrealis and *tar*, such as in (536b) only rarely result in a future perfect reading. Usually, *tar* stresses the relevance of an event that is located in the future, as is the case in the following example:

(537) *Amra* *tumarang* **tar** *i* *sak* *él* *lók* **tar**
      amra(u) tumarang **tar** i sak é-l lók **tar**
      2.DU careful **PRF** 3.SG ADVS 3.SG-IRR bite **PRF**

      ti *alin* *datòl!*
      ti (f)ali-n datòl
      ART:CO1.INC partner-POSS 1.PAU.INC

      'You two be careful, otherwise it will bite one of us!"

                   (LÓB [14])

Tar also seems to have discursive functions that extend beyond perfect aspect, relative ordering of events and immediate relevance. The following two similar sentences each are the very first utterance of the narratives they occur in. Note how in (538a) *tar* is present, whereas in (538b) it is not:

(538) a. *A rak* *al* *usrai* **tar** *i* *tik* *a* *usrai*
          a=rak a-l usrai **tar** i tik a usrai
          1.SG=want 1.SG-IRR story **PRF** 3.SG one ART:CO2 story

          lik *sa.*
          lik sa
          little RESTR

          'I only want to have told a little story.'

                   (KAW [2])

      b. *A rak* *al* *usrai* *i* *tik* *ép* *usrai*
          a=rak a-l usrai **Ø** i tik ép usrai
          1.SG=want 1.SG-IRR story **(PRF)** 3.SG one ART:CO1 story

          ón *datò* *sin.*
          ó-n datò(l) sin
          OBL-POSS 1.PAU.INC sibling

          'I want to tell a story about us brothers.'

                   (TÒK [1])

I have no explanation for the function and meaning of *tar* in this case. It is clear though that in this specific type of context, the presence of *tar* is clearly the marked case because *tar* tends not to occur in these sentences, of which there are many in my data.

    Tar may co-occur with every other postverbal marker, except for the durative markers (which do not co-occur with any the other postverbal markers either).

Diachronically, the perfect aspect marker (which we here assume to be the default function) *tar* derives from the verb *tar* 'to give'. This is cognitively transparent if we assume that in the case of perfect aspect, the preliminary event is regarded as a *given* event at the time of the utterance. Both the lexical verb *tar* 'give' and one of the grammaticalized markers can co-occur, a process typical for grammaticalization processes (see e.g. Heine et al. 1991). If they do co-occur, their syntax usually requires them to occur right next to each other, with the lexical verb preceding the grammaticalized form:

(539) | *É* | *David* | *i* | ***tar*** | ***tar*** | *i* | *tik* | *sa* |
       | é | David | i | **tar** | **tar** | i | tik | sa |
       | ART:PROP | PN | 3.SG | **give** | **PRF** | 3.SG | one | RESTR |

ngak	*a*	*din*	*mulis.*
nga-k	a	din	mulis
CL:FOOD-1.SG.POSS	ART:CO2	piece	pomelo

'David had given me just one piece of pomelo.'

(MAR [7])

Similar forms with similar functions have also been observed in other related languages, e.g. Condra (1989) refers to the form *ta(a)r* as action focus marker in the case of Patpatar (which is similar to the Siar immediate relevance form in form and function), Palmer (2007: 505) identifies a perfect aspect prefix *ta-* in Torau, and Van Der Mark (2007: 169 ff.) finds a perfect aspect marker *tári* in Vinitiri.

A further development of *tar* may be the adverbial *tari* 'maybe; perhaps'.

(540) | *Ma* | ***tari*** | *ép* | *tarai* | *babalkut* | *ma* | *dit* |
       | ma | **tari** | ép | tarai | ba~balkut | ma | dit |
       | but | **maybe** | ART:CO1 | men | RED~angry | TRANS | 3.PL |

| *ning!* |
| n-ing |
| DEM.[-SG]-ANA |

'But maybe these guys are troublemakers!'

(BAL [9])

The underlying morpheme here could have been the immediate relevance variant of *tar*, which is reanalysed as stressing the hypothetical statement that it introduces. The

final /i/ could be a coalesced third person singular object pronoun that followed *tar* at a previous stage (where *tar i* [taːɾ i] becomes *tari* [ta.ˈɾiː]).

10.2.3.3   Temporarity (*lik*)

The temporarity marker *lik* is in complementary distribution with the perfect aspect marker *tar*, which is why we here assume it to occupy the same syntactic slot. Two examples can be seen below:

(541)   a.   *Ép   bòng ma,   mèt   kès   **lik**   ma.*
             ép   bòng ma   mèt   kès   **lik**   ma
             ART:CO1   night TRANS   1.PL.EX sit   **TEMP**   TRANS

'It was night (and) we were sitting a bit.'

(TAL [2])

b.   *Na   mara   kakat sòi   tar   i   ap   matò*
     na   mara(u)   [kakat sòi]_SVC   tar   i   ap   matò(l)
     REL   1.DU.EX lift   move.away   PRF 3.SG and   1.PAU.EX

*pirim   ap   matò   manau **lik**   ma.*
pirim   ap   matò(l)   manau   **lik**   ma
move.down   and   1.PAU.EX   rest   **TEMP** TRANS

'When we had moved away (the bags), we went outside and rested a little.'

(RAU [8])

Lik is usually translated to English as 'a bit' or 'a while' by Siar speakers. A similar form can also be found in Tok Pisin, although Tok Pisin *liklik* 'a bit' usually occurs in the reduplicated form (Mihalic 1971: 122).[156] The Kuanua equivalent of Siar *lik* is *ikilik* (Mosel 1984: 196).[157] Since Kuanua is a major substratum language for Tok Pisin (Mihalic 1971: xiii) and since Siar is closely related to Kuanua, it is in many cases difficult to say if a specific Siar word is native, borrowed from Kuanua or borrowed from Tok Pisin. The fact that the unreduplicated form is so common in Siar makes it less likely that it has been borrowed from Tok Pisin, and the Kuanua form looks even more different. I therefore conclude that *lik* is a native Siar word.

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[156] Mihalic notes that the 'unreduplicated' form *lik* is reported only for New Hannover.
[157] Mihalic (1971: 121) lists the form *ikilik* as variant of *liklik* that is used on the Gazelle Peninsula of East New Britain.

When specifying a VP as in the above examples, *lik* could be said to function as a marker of temporarity. This means it encodes the specified event as not extending indefinitely into the future (i.e. it is a bounded event). It may be argued that *lik* is an adverbial, especially given the adverbial use of the cognate forms *liklik* in Tok Pisin and *ikilik* in Kuanua. But a simple adverbial function would not account for the fixed position in the postverbal non-adjunct slot where it occurs. For example, *lik* always precedes the durative markers *it* and *ati* as well as the other postverbal aspectual markers, and it always follows the perfective marker *pas*. Its complementary distribution with the perfect aspect marker *tar* also suggests that there is more to *lik* than just the quality of an adverbial. By referring to *lik* as an temporarity marker, this special characteristic would be accounted for. This would also account for the observation that *lik* often co-occurs with the restrictive marker *sa*, resulting in a meaning 'just a little bit'.

Lik is not only used to modify VPs, it can also modify NPs. This is shown in the following example:

(542) *A rak   al   usrai   tar   i   tik   a   usrai*
      a=rak   a-l   usrai   tar   i   tik   [a   usrai
      1.SG=want 1.SG-IRR story   PRF   3.SG one   ART:CO2 story

      lik   *sa.*
      lik]ₙₚ sa
      little   RESTR

'I want to tell just a little story.'

(KAW [2])

In such nominal contexts, *lik* is a true adjective (cf. section §5.2), and as such it can easily be replaced by another (e.g. *ép usrai lamtin* 'big story'). It makes sense to assume that one of the two forms has emerged from the other. In terms of grammaticalization theory, it is likely that the temporarity marker *lik* emerged from the adjective because it involves a certain degree of abstraction.

The label *temporarity marker* is accurate in most instances, but there are also constructions in which the postverbal marker *lik* does not seem to encode temporarity or the concept 'a bit'. Consider the following examples:

(543) a. *A nuki   nak   tik   masik   i   tat   **lik**   ép*
          a=nuk-i   nak   tik   masik   i   tat   **lik**   ép
          1.SG=think-TR COMPL one   other   3.SG find   **TEMP** ART:CO1

          ran   ngan   darau.
          ran   nga-n   darau
          earth.oven   CL:FOOD-POSS 1.DU.INC

          'I thought it was somebody else who had uncovered our earth oven.'
                                                                (RTK [21])

     b. *Dit   rè   tat   **lik**   i   ti'ga'an*
          dit   [rè   tat]ₛᵥ𝚌   **lik**   i   t-i(ng)=ga(u)=an
          3.PL see   uncover   **TEMP** 3.SG LOC-ANA=place=at

          lón.
          ló-n
          mouth-3.SG.POSS

          'They had spotted them from the inside.'
                                                                   (FAR [48])

It is difficult to think of the uncovering of the earth oven in (543a) as a temporary event because it is clear that the earth oven must have been uncovered completely in order to notice that the pig (that was inside in the context of the narrative) had gone. This also rules out the 'a bit' reading of *lik* here. In (543b), *lik* modifies the discovering of an entity. Here also it is difficult to interpret a discovery as a temporary event or as a discovery that happened "a little bit". These unexpected uses of *lik* suggest that there are further semantic extensions, ones that could be pragmatically conditioned.

10.2.3.4   Progressive (*it / ati*)

Rowe (2005: 57) identifies the suffix *-it* as *"[…] marking iterative or continuous action"*. In what follows I will try to show that *it* is not a suffix but a free morpheme, and that its semantics are restricted to durative (or continuous) events or states only. In addition, there is also a second form *ati*, which is used for transitive verbs, while *it* is used for intransitive verbs only. The form *atit* also occurs in my corpus once, with the same function as *ati*. This is likely to be a dialectal feature.[158]

    The durative markers occupy the third slot after the verb complex:

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[158] This form has been observed in the area around Siar village on the east coast.

(544)	*As*	*i*	*lailai*	**pas**	**ati**	**u**	*ép*	*mantékén*
as	i	lailai	**pas**	**ati**	**u**	ép	mantékén
who	3.SG	swear.at	**PFV**	**DURA**	**2.SG**	ART:CO1	bum

| *taprasang* | *surung?*
--- | --- | ---
| tap-rasang | suru-ng
| ACAUS-open? | bone-2.SG.POSS?

'Who was insulting you as an a..hole?[159]

Note that the durative marker *ati* follows the perfective aspect marker *pas* and precedes the object *u*. I have not found any instances in which a durative marker co-occurs with the perfect aspect marker *tar*.[160] This implies that they cannot be suffixes to the verb. In principle, we could also analyse the word *pas* as the verb that means 'to step', and which also occurs as a minor verb in serial verb constructions. There seems to be no reason though why the verb meaning 'to step' is used here, and as we pointed out for *pas* earlier, its meaning can also be extended, resulting in the meaning 'completely; utterly; strongly'.

In section §3.1.2 we showed that stress placement is also an important argument for a free morpheme analysis. When *it* is 'attached' to a verb, it does not attract stress, which would be expected for all other suffixes because stress in Siar always falls on the final syllable.

Two simple constructions with durative *it* are shown below:

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[159] I have not been able to gloss this expression adequately because my consultants would usually either burst out in laughter or say that "it doesn't mean anything". I assume that this expression translates to English as 'a…hole', but it is clear the component words also have other specific meanings. From what I could infer from the discussion, *taprasang* means 'wide open', and the noun *suru-* means 'bone'. The only word in this expression whose meaning is clear is *mantékén*, which means 'bum' or 'lower back of the body' (the upper back is called *muru-*, which derives from *mur* 'follow'). *Mantékén* by itself does not seem to be a swear word, which is why it is glossed here simply as 'bum'.

[160] Technically then, we would not be able to say if the durative marker occurs in the second slot following the verb complex (resulting in the sequence *it/ati tar*) or third slot (resulting in the sequence *tar it/ati*). Further elicitation is required here, and the assumption that the durative markers occupy the third slot is currently only based on my own intuitions.

(545)   a.   *I   yél   **it**   ma   sai   talang   an   lón*
             i   yél   **it**   ma   Ø-sai   talang   an   ló-n
             3.SG   swim **DURA**   TRANS (LOC-)DIST opposite at   mouth-POSS

             bòn.
             bòn
             sea

             'He was swimming over there in the sea.'

                                                              (KAW [12])

        b.   *Dira   asal   bòn   **it**.*
             dira(u) asal   bòn   **it**
             3.DU   walk.along sea   **DURA**

             'The two were following the beach.'

                                                              (LAM [8])

In (545a), *it* follows the intransitive verb *yél* 'to swim', encoding the swimming event as still being in progress and not finished. Note that the event transition marker *ma* is also present. This shows that durative aspect and event transition are not in complementary distribution.

All above constructions involve an active intransitive verb. Durative aspect can also be used with stative intransitive verbs:

(546)   *A kès   **it**.*
        a=kès   **it**
        1.SG=sit **DURA**

        'I am just sitting around.'

                                                              (YAUH [28])

The form *it* only occurs with intransitive verbs as in both the above cases. In transitive predicates, *it* is replaced by *ati*:

(547)   a.   *Dit*   **bókói**   **ati**   *ma*   *ép*   *wang tim*
             dit   **bók-ói**   **ati**   ma   ép   wang t-im
             3.PL   **float-TR** **DURA**   TRANS   ART:CO1   canoe LOC-down

             ga'talang   *an*   *bòn,* *an*   *lón*   *ón*
             ga(u)=talang   an   bòn   an   ló-n   ó-n
             there=opposite   at   sea   at   mouth-POSS   OBL-3.SG.POSS

             ép   *nén*   *bòn.*
             ép   nén   bòn
             ART:CO1   underside   sea

             'They pulled the canoe from the sea to the beach.'

                                                                    (KÈL [34])

        b.   *A yausai*   **ati**   *ap*   *a yausai*   **ati**   *ap*
             a=yausai   **ati**   ap   a=yausai   **ati**   ap
             1.SG=paddle.TR   **DURA**   and   1.SG=paddle.TR   **DURA**   and

             ép   *tan*   *bat*   *i*   *pung.*
             ép   ta-n   bat   i   pung
             ART:CO1   mother-of   rain   3.SG   fall

             'I was paddling and paddling (the canoe) and it was raining heavily.'

                                                                    (MASMAS [5])

Ati in (547a) is preceded by the transitive verb *bókói* 'set afloat; float something over the water', and the object NP *ép wang* 'the canoe' is provided as well. In (547b), *ati* is also preceded by a transitive verb *yausai* 'paddle something.'[161], but no object is specified here. There is one implied however, and it has been deleted in this construction because it can be recovered from the context (it is clear that it is a canoe that is being paddled).

      While *it* and *ati* themselves already provide information about the 'ongoingness' of an event, the specified verb and the durative marker may also be reiterated along with the verb to stress the ongoing even more.

---

[161] intransitive *yawas* 'to paddle'

(548) | *I* | *wur* | *ati* | *wur* | *ati* | *wur* | *ati* | *ap* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| i | wur | ati | wur | ati | wur | ati | ap |
| 3.SG | work | DURA | work | DURA | work | DURA | and |

wur	*aróp*	*pas*	*i.*
wur	a-róp	pas	i
work	CAUS-finish	finished	3.SG

'He was working and working and working on it and finished working on it.'

(MAT [89])

The verb *wur* 'work' is transitive, with the object indicated at the end of the sentence. This is different for its reduplicated intransitive counterpart *wuwur*.

The durative aspect can be combined with iterative Aktionsart, which is encoded by reduplication:

(549) | *A mumun* | *pas* | *ma* | *an* | *ép* | *wang* | *ap* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a=mu~mun | pas | ma | an | ép | wang | ap |
| 1.SG=RED~hide | PFV | TRANS | at | ART:CO1 | canoe | and |

*a **bóbókói***	***ati***	*ma*	*ép*	*wang*
a=bó~bók-ói	ati	ma	ép	wang
1.SG=RED~float-TR	DURA	TRANS	ART:CO1	canoe

'I hid (behind) the canoe and pushed it (to the beach) bit by bit.'

(BÈL [10])

In the context of the narrative, the subject in (549) above was paddling a canoe when he noticed a few pigs on the beach. Since he wanted to catch one of them, he jumped out of the canoe and slowly pushed it towards the beach while hiding behind it. He made short pauses in between in order not to scare away the pigs, which is why the event is iterative.

Progressive aspect is incompatible with some achievement verbs such as *mat* 'to die', hence the ungrammaticality of **mat it*.

The fact that the inchoative/ingressive aspectual marker *són* and the two postverbal durative markers *it* and *ati* have a very similar meaning poses a problem for our analysis, and we need to look deeper into the semantics of both types of words. This is a topic for further research.

10.2.3.5 Restrictive (*sa*)

The restrictive category is not an aspectual category itself, but the restrictive morpheme *sa* occupies a slot between the other postverbal aspectual markers (between durative *it/atil* and the object), which is why it also discussed in this subsection.

When modifying a verbal predicate, the restrictive marker *sa* expresses that the number of events is limited to the specified one.

(550)　a.　*I　　sa.*
　　　　　i　　**sa**
　　　　　3.SG　**RESTR**

　　　　　'That is all.'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(TAL [11])

　　　　b.　*I　wòt　tar　ma　sai　　　an Ningin, i　taltal*
　　　　　　i　wòt　tar　ma　Ø-sai　　an Ningin　i　tal~tal
　　　　　　3.SG　come　PRF　TRANS　(LOC-)DIST　at　PN　　3.SG　RED~walk.around

　　　　　　òròs　　　　　it　　sa.
　　　　　　òròs　　　　　it　　**sa**
　　　　　　without.purpose　DURA　**RESTR**

　　　　　　'He came to Ningin and he was just wandering around without purpose.'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(PAL [3])

The construction in (550a) is a verbless clause containing only a preceding subject marker. Utterances like this are very typical at the end of narratives. In (550b) we can see a restrictive construction with a lexical verb. Note that the *taltal* 'walk around' itself is iterative (encoded by its reduplicant), but the iterativity is an event-internal specification only, which means that the restrictive marker also encompass all subevents.

The restrictive marker *sa* seems to also have acquired the semantics of its Tok Pisin counterpart *tasol*, which Mihalic (1971: 32) labels 'intensifying'. This label is tricky to use for Siar because Siar has a dedicated emphatic marker *sén* (cf. section §10.4) and can also foreground an event to some extent using the event focus marker *k-* (cf. section §6.2.2). In addition, *sa* in Siar also has discursive function, similar to English *just* in its non-temporal and non-restrictive reading:

(551) *Góng*   ***sa**,*   *i*   *wakak*   ***sa**!*
       góng   **sa**   i   wakak   **sa**
       PROH   **RESTR** 3.SG be.good   **RESTR**

'Don't (do it), it's okay!'

<div align="right">(AKA [26])</div>

The initial *sa* here weakens the force of the prohibitive marker *góng*, the second *sa* implies that the situation is good *just* like it is.

10.2.3.6   Event transition (*ma*)

The event transition marker *ma* is a very common morpheme in Siar. Rowe (2005) glosses it as 'now', which usually works when translating Siar sentences into English.

The most typical function of *ma* is that it signals the transition of an event or state (or a series of such events and states) to another. Consider the following two examples:

(552) a. *Matò*   *tutun*   *pas*   *ap*   *na*   *matò*   *angan*   *pas*
           matò(l)   tu~tun   pas   ap   na   matò(l)   angan   pas
           1.PAU.EX   RED~cook PFV   and   REL   1.PAU.EX   eat.ITR PFV

           ap   *é*   *Tata*   *i'an*   ***ma***   *i*   *babait.*
           ap   é   tata   i=(in)an   **ma**   i   babait
           and   ART:PROP   daddy   3.SG=go   **TRANS**   3.SG fishing

       'We finished cooking and when we had eaten, Daddy went fishing.'
<div align="right">(NIN [6])</div>

b.

Matò	*bòrbòr,*	*ap*	*n'a*	*palas*	*ap*	*n'a*
matò(l)	bòrbòr	ap	n(a)=a	palas	ap	n(a)=a
1.PAU.EX	sleep	and	REL=1.SG	get.up	and	REL=1.SG

nós	*tar,*	*i*	*tik*	*ép*	*tan*	*bòròi*
nós	tar	i	tik	ép	ta-n	bòròi
look	PRF	3.SG	one	ART:CO1	mother-POSS	pig

ading		*ma,*	*i*	*tur*	*tar*	*sai*
a-d-ing		**ma**	i	tur	tar	Ø-sai
DEX-DEM.SG-ANA		**TRANS**	3.SG	stand	PRF	(LOC-)DIST

pirim	*an*	*kaptikén*	*ép*	*masan.*
pirim	an	kaptikén	ép	masan
move.down	at	base	ART:CO1	k.o.tree

'We slept, and when I got up I saw a huge pig there standing at the base of the tree.'

(NIN [13])

In (552a), there is a transition from the cooking and eating event to the father's leaving event, hence the marking of the verb *(in)an* 'to go'. Note that the fishing event remains unmarked here, which indicates that the speaker does not consider the fishing event to be disjunct from the leaving event (similar to the cooking and eating events). It would be perfectly grammatical to mark the fishing event with *ma*, but then one would expect a salient change of state or event to follow. In (552b), there is a transition between the sleeping and getting up event on the one hand and the discovery of the pig on the other, hence the marking of the demonstrative existential *ading* 'was there' which has predicate function. The event in which the pig is standing next to the tree is unmarked because it is not considered to be disjoint from the pig discovery event. The standing event could also be marked with *ma*, which would separate the standing event from the discovery event.

It is up to the speaker when to use *ma* and when to separate events. In the following example, almost all events are marked with *ma*:

(553) | *Yau* | *m'a* | | *tur* | *tar* | *sa* | *ma* | *ap* | *a sait* | *tar* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| yau | **m(a)=a** | | tur | tar | sa | **ma** | ap | a=sait_{TP} | tar |
| 1.SG | **TRANS=1.SG** | | stand | PRF | RESTR | **TRANS** | and | 1.SG=sait | PRF |

sa	*ma,*	*pèh,*	*sur*	*ép*	*bat*	*ma*	*i*
sa	**ma**	pèh	sur	ép	bat	**ma**	i
RESTR	**TRANS**	CONF	INTENT	ART:CO1	rain	**TRANS**	3.SG

laki	*tar*	*ma*	*ép*	*bat*	*bèl*	*i*	*pung*	*kòl.*
laki_{TP}	tar	**ma**	ép	bat	bèl	i	pung	kòl
lucky	PRF	**TRANS**	ART:CO1	rain	NEG	3.SG	fall	very

'I was standing there next to him, right, but I was lucky because the rain was not falling much.'

(AMP 2 [30])

Such heavy use is usually indicative of a narrative that is being told in a very spontaneous fashion without first thinking about the sequentiality of the events.

Ma does not require the new event to be mentioned, and a predicate may simply end with the event transition marker without any further statement being made. In such contexts, the old event gets a progressive like reading. Such cases are often found in final sentences of narratives such as in (554), but can appear in many other contexts as well. Resultative readings are also available.

(554) | *I* | *róp* | *ma* | *ti'gau.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| i | róp | **ma** | t-i(ng)=gau |
| 3.SG | finish | **TRANS** | LOC-ANA=(t)here |

'This is all for the moment.'

(KAWAS [21])

Ma can co-occur with every other preverbal and postverbal marker discussed in this chapter, apart from the fact that it has not been observed with the habitual marker *rèrè*.

There is also the subordinator *ma* 'but', which may have grammaticalized from the event transition marker or vice versa. The following example shows both uses of *ma*:

(555)   *Ép*   *yah*   *'disai*   ***ma****,*   ***ma***   *bèlbèl*   ***ma****.*
          ép   yah   (a-)d-isai   **ma**   **ma**   bèl~bèl   **ma**
          ART:CO1   fire   (DEX-)DEM.SG-DIST   **TRANS**   **but**   RED~NEG   **TRANS**

       'There was a fire up there, but nobody was there.'

                                                           (DAK [10])

It is currently not clear though if the event transition marker and the subordinator are related. Evans & Ross (2001) talk about the stative verb derivative **ma-* in Proto-Oceanic, which we here assume to have developed into the Siar event transition marker. Note that like a stative marker (or a durative marker), the event transition marker puts some emphasis on the ongoing nature of significance of the marked event. Another reconstruction for Proto-Oceanic is the coordinaitor **ma* (2002: 89), but a correlation between the two forms has not been noted. This could suggest that the event transition marker ma and the subordinator ma in Siar are not diachronically related.

10.3   Adverbials

Adverbials are modifiers that function on the clause level rather than the phrasal level. They usually occur clause-initially (556a) but can also be placed at the end of the clause if the speaker missed the opportunity to place them at the beginning (556b):

(556)   a.   *A rak*   *s'al*   *usrai*   *na*   ***labòng*** *a=inan=a*
               a=rak   s(a)=a-l   usrai   na   [**labòng**   a=inan=a
               1.SG=want   RESTR=1.SG-IRR   story   REL   **yesterday**   1.SG=go=1.SG

              amrai   *pòl.*
              amrai   pòl]_{Clause}
              bring   dog

              'I only want to tell a story about how I went pig hunting yesterday.'

                                                           (AMP 3 [1])

b.   *A rak*   *al*   *usrai*   *sa*   *na*   *mara* *sòi*   *tar*

a=rak	a-l	usrai	sa	na	[mara(u)	sòi	tar
1.SG=want	1.SG-IRR	story	RESTR	REL	1.DU.EX	move.away	PRF

       tóng   *an*   *Malum Pirau* **labòng***.*

t-óng	an	Malum Pirau	**labòng**]_{Clause}
LOC-*back*	at	PN	**yesterday**

'I just want to talk about how we took off from Malum Pirau yesterday.'

(INA [1])

The above examples show the use of the temporal adverbial *labòng* 'yesterday'. Another morphologically simple adverbial is *latu* 'tomorrow'. Other temporal adverbials are morphologically complex, e.g. the temporal demonstratives *misa n-a* 'now', *na ón 'n-a* 'nowadays', in which the demonstrative root may be changed to refer to a slightly different temporal setting (cf. section §8.2.2).

     The following example shows the use of the epistemic adverbial *tari* 'maybe; perhaps':

(557)   **Tari**   *ép*   *kónóm*   *in*   *dit,* *dit*   *ana*

tari	ép	kónóm	in	dit	dit	a-n-a
maybe	ART:CO1	many	LIG	3.PL	3.PL	DEX-DEM.[-SG]-PROX

       sa   *pukus*   *an*   *Lambóm.*

sa	pukus	an	Lambóm
RESTR	towards.Cape.St.George	at	PN

'Maybe most of them are now on Lambóm (Island).'

(CLA [46])

The overall number of adverbials is relatively limited, which suggests that it is a closed class.

10.4   Emphatic *sén*

The emphatic marker *sén* (Rowe 2005 refers to it as an intensifier) is used to put pragmatic emphasis on phrases or clauses (henceforth labelled as _{ES} for 'emphatic scope'). The emphasized constituents may be nominals or noun phrases (558a), verbs or verb phrases (558b) as well as modifying clauses such as temporal or locative expressions (558c,d):

(558)   a.   **Emphasized nominals / NPs**

Kap	*kirai*	*kòbòt*	*ning*	***sén***	*dit*	*sang*	*pas*
[kap	kirai	kòbòt	n-ing]ES	**sén**	dit	sang	pas
day	morning		DEM.[-SG]-ANA	**EMPH**	3.PL	prepare	PFV

i	*tó*		*baran*	*ning.*
i	tó		baran	n-ing
3.SG	ART:[-ANIM].PL		thing	DEM.[-SG]-ANA

'That particular morning they prepare those things.'

(AMP [2])

b.   **Emphasized VPs**

I	*inan*	*ap*	*mèt*	*ki*	*kakaptur*	***sén****.*
i	inan	ap	mèt	[k-i	ka~kaptur]ES	**sén**
3.SG	go	and	1.PL.EX	FOC-3.SG	RED~take.off	**EMPH**

'And then we finally took off.'

(AMP 2 [13])

c.   **Emphasized temporal expressions**

Kinbalik,	*langin*	***sén***	*u*	*inan*	*tar.*
kinbali-k	[langin]ES	**sén**	u	inan	tar
friend-1.SG.POSS	earlier	**EMPH**	2.SG	go	PRF

'My friend, you left long ago.'

(RTK [14])

d.   **Emphasized locative expressions**

I	*kinaupòl*	*katim*	***sén***	*ép*
i	kinaupól	[ka-t-im]ES	**sén**	[ép
3.SG	dive.horizontally	ALL-LOC-down	**EMPH**	ART:CO1

ran	*gau.*
ran	gau]LOC.NP
earth.oven	place

'He dived all the way back to the earth oven place.'

(RTK [17])

In the canonical cases in (558a-c), the emphatic marker *sén* follows the emphasized constituent. This is true for all constructions in Siar in which a nominal or noun phrase, a verb phrase or a temporal expression is emphasized. Locative constructions such as (558d) are unusual because the emphatic marker is inserted between the

locative adverb (*katim* in (558d)) and the locative NP (*ép ran gau* 'the earth oven place').[162]

In some instances, emphatic *sén* forms a tighter formal bond with the constituent that is emphasized. This applies in cases where *sén* has been cliticized to the emphasized element. The most typical of such forms is the form *s'alò* which is a contraction of emphatic *sén* and the adverb/quantifier *alò* 'again, also', resulting in a complex adverb meaning 'once again' (when specifying VPs) or 'yet another' (when specifying NPs. Note how in the following example the semantics of *s'alò* change depending on what kind of constituent is specified:[163]

(559)   *I*   *tik*   ***s'alò***   *ép*   *kirai*   *dira*   *ki*   *inan*
          i   tik   **s(én)=[alò]ₑₛ**   ép   kirai   dira(u)   k-i   inan
          3.SG   one   **EMPH=again**   ART:CO1   day   3.DU   FOC-3.SG   go

          s'alò   *dira*   *amrai*   *pòl*   *ap*   *dira*   *ki*   *um*
          s(én)=[alò]ₑₛ   dira(u)   amrai   pòl   ap   dira(u)   k-i   um
          EMPH=again   3.DU   bring   dog   and   3.DU   FOC-3.SG   hit

          pas   *i*   *tik*   ***s'alò***   *ép*   *bòròi.*
          pas   i   tik   **s(én)=[alò]ₑₛ**   ép   bòròi
          PRF   3.SG   one   **EMPH=again**   ART:CO1   pig

          'Another day the two went pig-hunting again and they caught another pig.'
                                                      (RTK [8])

The first and third case of *s'alò* in (559) specify the numeral *tik* 'one', resulting in a meaning that best translates as 'yet another'. Each of the two cases is followed by a full NP (*ép kirai* 'a day' and *ép bòròi* 'a pig') over which emphatic *sén* does not have scope. This is because the following NP can be omitted if it can be inferred from the context, leaving the numeral as the only emphasizable constituent. The second instance of *s'alò* emphasizes the clause *dira ki inan* 'the two went', which best translates as 'the two went once again'.

The example above suggests that emphatic *sén* is restricted to a single use per clause. The following example also shows an utterance with three emphatic markers, each of which can be said to occupy its own (verbless) clause:

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[162] The locative NP may also be a locative PP, e.g. [*katim*]ₐ_DV *sén* [*ané*]_PP 'right down below'.
[163] Rowe (2005: 91) analyses the form *s'alò* as a contraction of the restrictive marker *sa* and the adverb *alò* 'again'. However, my own data do not show any cases of uncontracted *sa alò (only of *sén alò*). It is therefore more likely that the initial *s* in *s'alò* represents emphatic *sén* rather than restrictive *sa*. Note also that the semantics of restrictive *sa* and *alò* with its 'another' reading are semantically incompatible.

(560) | *Langin* | *ma* | ***sén*** | *ép* | *isis* | *ma* | ***sén*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [langin | ma]_{ES} | **sén** | [ép | is~is | ma]_{ES} | **sén** |
| immediate | TRANS | **EMPH** | ART:CO1 | RED~return | TRANS | **EMPH** |

ép	*bòrbòr*	***sén***	*alò.*
[ép	bòrbòr	**sén**	[alò]_{ES}
ART:CO1	sleep	**EMPH**	again

'We went back immediately and slept again.'

(AMP2 [19])

The adverb/quantifier *masik* 'alone, another' is unusual because of its two different functions or meanings which is also reflected in instances in which this modifier is emphasized by *sén*. For the 'alone' reading, emphatic *sén* is preposed to *masik* (561a) whereas for the 'another' reading, *sén* is postposed to *masik* (561b).

(561) a. | *É* | *Roboam* | ***sén*** | ***masik*** | *i* | *kès* | *ting* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| é | Roboam | **sén** | [masik]_{ES} i | kès | t-ing |
| ART:PROP | PN | **EMPH** | **alone** | 3.SG | sit | LOC-ANA |

ón	*ép*	*lakman.*
ó-n	ép	lakman
OBL-POSS	ART:CO1	village

'Roboam lived alone in the village.'

(URI [4])

b. | *Dira* | *kiós* | *i* | *tik* | ***masik*** | ***sén*** | *ép* | *wang.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| dira(u) | kiós | i | tik | [masik]_{ES} | **sén** | ép | wang |
| 3.DU | cut.plank | 3.SG | one | **other** | **EMPH** | ART:CO1 | canoe |

'The two cut planks for yet another canoe.'

(TUNG [3])

Another interesting kind of emphatic construction involves the form *bi'sén*. *Bisén* is a lexicalized contraction of *bèl sén* (NEG EMPH), i.e. an emphatic negator which best translates as 'not yet'.[164] The reason for assuming that this form has lexicalized is that one only rarely hears the uncontracted (but grammatical) form *bèl sén* in spoken Siar.

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[164] The reason for the form *bi'sén* might be due to the fact that the two phonemic vowels *é* /ɛ/ and *è* /ɛ3/ which are disfavoured to occur in adjacent syllables (see section §2.1.2).

(562) | *Tó* | *mangis* | ***bi'sén*** | *i* | *wòt* | *kiòm* | *is.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| tó | mangis | ₑₛ[bè(l)=]sén | i | wòt | kiòm | is |
| ART:[-ANIM].PL | clan | **NEG=EMPH** | 3.SG | come | together | return |

'The clans have not yet come back together.'

(CLA [86])

Sén cannot emphasize subject markers (563a), even though subject markers are usually referential (see §4.3.1). However, *sén* may emphasize independent (strong) pronouns (563b):

(563) a. | * *Ap* ***a*** | ***sén*** | *ka* | *kaptur.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| ap=[a]ₑₛ **sén** | | k-a | kaptur |
| and=1.SG **EMPH** | | FOC-1.SG | take.off |

b. | *Ap* | ***yau*** | ***sén*** | *ka* | *kaptur.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ap | [yau]ₑₛ | sén | k-a | kaptur |
| and | **1.SG** | **EMPH** | FOC-1.SG | take.off |

'And me, I also took off.'

(AMP2 [15])

In (563b) therefore, the first person singular subject is emphasized twice: through the use of the independent pronoun *yau* (instead of the clitic form =*a*=) and also through the use of emphatic *sén*. *Sén* in (563b) is optional, and when left out the utterance translates as 'As for myself, I took off'.

The reason why (563a) is ungrammatical is not due to the fact that the subject clitic =*a*= is an unstressable constituent. In the following example, the bound possessive suffix -*k* which cannot occur by itself is also emphasized by *sén*:

(564) | *Kam* | *usrai* | *na* | *al* | *usrai* | *ók* | ***sén***. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| kam | usrai | na | a-l | usrai | ó-[k]ₑₛ | **sén** |
| ART:group | story | REL | 1.SG-IRR | story | OBL-1.SG.POSS | **EMPH** |

'The story I am about to tell is about myself.'

(AMP 2 [1])

It is useful to distinguish emphatic *sén* from the gradation particle *kòl* 'very, much, a lot' because the semantics differ slightly. Roughly speaking, emphatic *sén* specifies a quality whereas *kòl* denotes a quantity. In the following example pair, *sén* and *kòl* are interchanged, resulting in a different meaning:

(565)   a.   *I   gang   **kòl.***
            i   [gang]_{ES} **kòl**
            3.SG   drink   **very**

            'He drinks a lot.'

    b.   *I   gang   **sén**.*
            i   [gang]_{ES} **sén**
            3.SG   drink   **EMPH**

            'He drank indeed. / He certainly did drink. / Drink he certainly did.'

Sén and *kòl* may also co-occur, in which case *sén* always has to follow *kòl*. *Sén* therefore usually has backward scope over *kòl* (566a,b) and over most of the other emphasized constituents discussed so far:

(566)   a.   *Oh, ki   rarakai   **kòl sén**   ép   farum.*
            oh   k-i   [[ra~rakai]_{VP} **kòl**]_{ES} **sén**   ép   far-um
            INJ   FOC-3.SG RED~strong **very EMPH** ART:CO1 REC-hit

            'Oh, the war was very bad indeed.'
                                     (FAR [38])

    b.   *I   pung   **kòl sén**,   ép   bat   ning,*
            i   [[pung]_{VP} **kòl**]_{ES} **sén**   ép   bat   n-ing
            3.SG   fall   **very EMPH** ART:CO1 rain   DEM.[-SG]-ANA

            ón   ép   bòng.
            ó-n   ép   bòng
            OBL-POSS   ART:CO1 night

            'It was raining heavily indeed on that night.'
                                       (AKA [6])

Cases with forward scope (that is cases where the emphatic marker focuses on a following constituent rather than a preceding one) are the fixed expressions *sén alò* 'once again' and *sén masik* 'alone, by x-self' in (567a,b) where *sén* has scope over *alò* 'again, other' and *masik* 'alone' respectively:

(567) a. *tó*   *baran*   ***kòl*** ***sén*** *alò*

tó	baran	**kòl**	**sén**	[alò]_ES
ART:[-ANIM].PL	thing	**very**	**EMPH**	again
the	thing	**very**	**yet**	other

'many other things as well'

(TING [21])

b. *Ma* *ép*   *Kamgòi* ***sén*** *masik* *i*

ma	ép	Kamgòi	**sén**	[masik]_ES	i
but	ART:CO1	God	**EMPH**	alone	3.SG

angisngis   *tó*   *baran.*

a-ngis~ngis	tó	baran
CAUS-RED~beautiful	ART:[-ANIM].PL	thing

'But God blessed everything all by himself.'

(PID [16])

To summarize, emphatic *sén* covers the following semantics, depending on what kind of constituent is emphasized:[165]

NP / nominal				x *himself / herself*, *the very* x, x *as well*
VP		+ *sén*		=	*still*, *finally, yet*, emphatic *do, indeed*
temporal expression				*right at the time* x
(tik) masik				*yet another* x
bèl				*not yet* x
NP / nominal	+ *sén* +	*alò*		*also* x, *once again* x
VP		*alò*		*once again* x
NP / nominal		*masik*		*all by* x-*self*
locative directional		locative PP		*right (t)here (at* x*)*

Table 53: Meanings of the emphatic marker, depending on the context

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[165] See also Malmkjaer (2002) for a discussion of the semantics of the similar particle *jo* in Danish.

11   Verbless clauses

Verbless predicates are common in Siar. These constructions show only a subject and a complement in form of an NP, PP, adjectival modifier, demonstrative form, quantifier, numeral or only some postverbal markers. It will be assumed that the verb slot is filled by a zero-copula, and this zero form is the syntactic head of the predicate. The syntax of verbless predicates is discussed in section §11.1, their semantics are investigated in section §11.2.

11.1   Form and syntax

Languages differ with regard to how the relation between a subject and a verbless predicate is expressed. Some languages employ a dedicated copula verb while others only seem to juxtapose the subject and the predicate. Traditionally, it is assumed that in those languages that do not have a visible copula there is still a verb slot which is filled by a covert copula or zero-copula (Dryer 1992, Stassen 1997, Dixon 2010). This approach will also be taken here. Within the scope of this thesis assuming a zero-copula allows for a more transparent analysis. In particular, it makes the distinction between adjectives (§5.2) and adjectival modifiers (§5.3) easier. We will follow Dixon (2010) in labelling verbless clause subjects as VCS and verbless clause complements as VCC.

A very simple verbless clause with a nominal predicate is shown below:

(568)   *Matòl*   *a*   *gur.*
        [matòl]$_{VCS}$ **Ø**   [a   gur]$_{VCC}$
        1.PAU.EX   **(COP)**   ART:CO2   group

'We were a group.'

(KAS [4])

On the surface, this sentence is a simple juxtaposition of the subject *matòl* 'we' and the predicate *a gur* 'a group'. However, it makes sense to assume the presence of an unfilled verb slot between both constituents. One reason for this is the presence of a free subject pronoun such as *matòl* in the above example or a subject marker for singular referents (cf. section §4.3.1).[166]

Like verbal clauses, a verbless clause may also be specified for modality. In the following example, the predication is specified for irrealis and a subject marker is present in addition to the emphatic free pronoun:

(569) *An*   *mur,*   *yau*   *al*   *tan*   *ép*   *babait.*
      an   mur   yau   [a]$_{VCS}$-**l**   Ø   [tan   ép   babait]$_{VCC}$
      at   follow 1.SG   1.SG-**IRR** (COP) person   ART:CO1   fishing

      'I will be a fisherman later.'

There are also other factors that suggest the presence of a covert copula. Like verbal predicates, verbless predicates may be specified by some of the verbal particles. These include the event transition marker *ma* 'from now on' (570a) and the restrictive marker *sa* 'just; only' (570b).

(570) a. *Tó*   *baran*   *anuk*
             tó   baran   anu-k]$_{VCS}$ Ø
             ART:[-ANIM].PL   thing   CL:GEN-1.SG.POSS   (COP)

             anum   **ma.**
             [anu-m]$_{VCC}$ **ma**
             CL:GEN-2.SG.POSS   **TRANS**

             'My belongings are yours now.'

                                          (TNG [19])

      b. *Tari*   *i*   *sa*   *kam*   *usrai.*
             tari   [i]$_{VCS}$ Ø   [**sa**]$_{VCC}$ kam   usrai
             maybe   3.SG   (COP) **RESTR** kind.of story

             'Maybe this is that kind of story.'

                                          (BAB 2 [13])

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[166] Full NPs may of course also be subjects of verbless clauses.

Note that there are no subject markers present in possessive constructions such as (570a) (see also section §4.3.3), but the event transition marker *ma* still suggests the presence of a verbless predicate.

The event transition marker *ma* and the restrictive marker *sa* can sometimes be the only visible element in the predicate. This is the case for *sa* in (570b) above. Note that the following NP *kam usrai* 'kind of story' is optional and only provides additional information about the predicate. As for the event transition marker *ma*, there is also a semantically reduced phrase *I ma* 'That's it (now)'[167] which is often used as affirmative reply to statements or questions.

Verbless predicates are defective in some respects when compared to intransitive verbal predicates. The reason is that as opposed to verbal predicates, verbless predicates cannot be modified by the perfective marker *pas* or the durative marker *it*. This becomes plausible if we follow Dixon's assumption (Dixon 2010: 160) that verbless clauses express at least the following kinds of relations: identity, attribution, possession and benefaction. Note that these relations cannot easily be said to be complete (with or without their event affecting the present) or happening progressively, i.e. they tend to be stative.

So far, we have only been considering nominal predicates. Siar predicates may also be headed by adjectival modifiers (571a) and numerals (571b):

(571)   a.   *Ép*   *pòl*   *i*   ***durdur***.

          [ép   pòl]$_{VCS}$ i   Ø   **[durdur]**$_{VCC}$

          ART:CO1 dog   3.SG (COP) **black**

          'The dog is black.'

      b.   *Na* *él*   ***tik***   *él*   *kabah* *u …*

          na   [é]$_{VCS}$-l   Ø   **[tik]**$_{VCC}$ é-l   kabah   u

          REL 3.SG-IRR (COP) **one**   3.SG-IRR ask   2.SG

          'If somebody asks you …'
          (lit. *If it will be one he will ask you …*)

                                                        (UÒ 1a [119])

Assuming a covert copula has therefore an important implication for both adjectival modifiers and numerals: neither can be verbs themselves, even if they appear to be such on the surface level. This assumption is supported by the fact that they do not

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[167] This is equivalent to Tok Pisin *Em nau.*

show many of the features that are typical of verbs, such as accepting optional verbal affixes. Assuming the presence of a zero form is also an important criterion for distinguishing true adjectives (see section §5.2) and adjectival modifiers such as *durdur* in (571a) above (see also section §5.3).

In negated verbless clauses, the negator *bèl* is always the first constituent in the clause. This may be modified by the event transition marker *ma*, indicating that the negator can be the only visible constituent in the predicate. This is shown in the following example. Note that the final NP *tók téngék* 'whimpering' is optional. If it is not present, it needs to be inferred from the context:

(572) *Bèl   ma   (tók   téngék).*
       bèl   Ø   ma   [tók   téngék]ᵥCC
       NEG   COP TRANS ART:[-COUNT]   whimpering

       'There was none (no whimpering).'

                                                          (MAR [22])

The order VCS-VCC is unmarked, but these constituents may also be reversed for discursive or pragmatic reasons (such as emphasis or topicalization). In cases of a postposed VCS, the VCS cannot be a subject marker and thus cannot be specified for modality. A full subject pronoun must be used in this case.

(573) *Ép   tan   babait   yau.*
       [ép   tan   babait]ᵥCC   Ø   [yau]ᵥCS
       ART:CO1   person   fishing   COP   1.SG

       'I am a fisherman.'

                                                          (PID [2])

In this construction, the VCC argument has been emphasized by putting it in the topic slot. The reason why it cannot be the subject is that the subject marker and the optional modality markers cannot follow the VCC argument (e.g. *Ép tan babai **él** yau*). If the order of the VCC argument and the VCS argument were switched though, then the subject marker would be able to appear (*Yau **al** tan ép babait* 'I will be a fisherman'.

11.2   Semantics

There are some restrictions on what types of phrases and clauses can be VCS or VCC arguments, and the type of combination (e.g. NP as VCS, numeral as VCC) determines the semantic types of verbless predicate, each of which is discussed in further detail in the following section. Nine subtypes of verbless clauses can be found in Siar:

Relation	Verbless clause subject (VCS)	Verbless clause complement (VCC)	Section
1. Identity	NP	NP (generic)	§11.2.1
2. Equation	NP	NP (specific)	§11.2.2
3. Naming	NP (usually involving a demonstrative form)	NP (proper noun class)	§11.2.3
4. Possession	NP (possessee)	possessive classifier (possessor)	§11.2.4
5. Temporal	NP or zero	temporal expression	§11.2.5
6. Attributive	NP	true adjective or adjectival modifier	§11.2.6
7. Counting	dummy 3.SG subject marker	numeral	§11.2.7
8. Development	NP	NP, adjective, adjectival modifier	§11.2.8
9. Location	NP	PP (locational)	§11.2.9

Table 54: Types of verbless clauses

Dixon (2010: 160) introduced the verbless clause types identity, attribution, possession and benefaction. Of these, only the benefaction type is not found in Siar because clauses involving the benefactive prepositional root *ari-* always need to be accompanied by a lexical verb (for examples see section §9.2.2). Daguman (2004) finds a total of 11 subtypes of verbless clauses in Northern Subanen, most of which

are also represented in Table 54. It is here also proposed that there is another subtype "development" which can be observed in Siar.

Each of the other types is discussed below.

11.2.1   Identity

In verbless constructions with identificational meaning, both the VCS and the VCC are represented by NPs. The VCC is a generic entity that is attributed to the VCS. In many cases, the VCS in represented by a demonstrative NP (574b). The order of VCS and VCC depends on which argument is preposed and hence emphasized. In (574a), the VCS argument is preposed and emphasized, whereas in (574b) the VCC argument is preposed and emphasized:

(574) a.   *Bèl   dit   tòtòròt   óm*   *kanak   na   u*
            bèl   dit   tòtòròt   ó-m   kanak   na   [u]$_{VCS}$ Ø
            NEG   3.PL believe   OBL-2.SG.POSS   COMP   REL   2.SG   (COP)

            ép   fanat   Siar.
            [ép   fanat   Siar]$_{VCC}$
            ART:CL1 child   PN

            'Many will not believe you that you are a child of Siar.'

                                                                    (UÒ [120-L])

       b.   *A   in   ép   yai   i   da.*
            [a   (f)in   ép   yai]$_{VCC}$ i   Ø   [d-a]$_{VCS}$
            ART:CO2   fruit   ART:CO1   tree   3.SG   (COP) DEM.SG-PROX

            'This (is) the fruit of a tree.'

                                                                    (LAM [11])

11.2.2   Equation

A verbless clause may also express equational relations. Such constructions express the fact that the entity denoted by the VCS is the same as the entity denoted by the VCC, with the VCC argument usually specifying the VCS which tends to be more general semantically. The equational type therefore differs from the identity type in that the equational type involves a specific VCC whereas the VCC in the identity type is generic. The order of VCS and VCC may be switched for pragmatic effect. In (575a) the VCS is preposed, in (575b) it is postposed.

(575) a. *Amtòl   kai   Marnai   ma.*
          [amtòl]_{VCS}   Ø   [kai   Marnai]_{VCC} ma
          2.PAU   COP   ART:ANIM.PL PN   TRANS

          'You (are) the Marnai (clan) now.'

                                                              (CLA [40])

       b. *Ép   pusi anuk   tóng   an   lakman*
          [ép   pusi_{TP} anu-k   t-óng   an   lakman]_{VCC}
          ART:CO1   cat   CL:GEN-1.SG.POSS   LOC-*back*   at   village

          i   da.
          i   Ø   [d-a]_{VCS}
          3.SG (COP)   DEM.SG-PROX

          'This (is) my cat from the village.'[168]

                                                              (AMP [5])

11.2.3   Naming

In verbless constructions of the naming type, the VCC is represented by a proper NP which specifies the name of the VCS. Often times, the VCS is represented by the NP *ép risé-* 'name of x' (576a), but it need not be (576b). The proper NP which is usually represented by VCC must be introduced by the proper noun class marker *é*.

(576) a. *Paltètè ning   ép   risén   é*
          paltètè   n-ing   [ép   risé-n]_{VCS}   Ø   [é
          old.man   DEM.[-SG]-ANA   ART:CO1 name-POSS   COP   ART:PROP

          Suisui.
          Suisui]_{VCC}
          PN

          'The name of that old man (was) Suisui.'

                                                              (NINGIN [5])

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[168] Note that in this example, the zero copula is not part of the VCS. It has been included here because both the subject marker *i* and the demonstrative *da* make up a complex discontinuous VCS, with the copula being located in between.

b.   *I*   *ma*   *é*   *Tómól.*
            [i]_{VCS}   Ø   ma   [é   Tómól]_{VCC}
            3.SG   COP   TRANS   ART:PROP   PN

'That (was) Tómól.'

(TÓMÓL [2])

11.2.4   Possession

Some verbless constructions express a possessive relation. In such cases, the VCS represents the possessee and the VCC represents the possessor which surfaces as a possessive suffix in a singular context or as a sequence of possessive suffix and free pronoun in a non-singular context.

(577)   *Tó*   *baran*   *anuk*   *anum*
        [tó   baran   anu-k]_{VCS}   Ø   anu-[m]_{VCC}
        ART:[-ANIM].PL   thing   CL:GEN-1.SG.POSS   COP   CL:GEN-2.SG.POSS

        ma.
        ma
        TRANS

'My belongings (are) yours now.'

(TNG [12])

Verbless clauses of the possessive type are only possible with alienably possessed nouns. This is a natural consequence of inalienably possessed nouns, hence the ungrammaticality of sentences such as the following:

578)   **Ép*   *pukluk*   *puklum*   *ma.*
        ép   puklu-k   puklu-m   ma
        ART:CO1   head-1.SG.POSS   head-2.SG.POSS   TRANS

'My head is your head now.'

11.2.5   Temporal

In verbless clauses of the temporal type, the VCC argument is a temporal expression such as a temporal adverb. The VCS may remain unexpressed, although it must be reconstructable from the context, as is the case in the following example:

(579)   *Bèl   uring   kòl   sén.*
        bèl   [Ø]_{VCS}   Ø   [uring   kòl   sén]_{VCC}
        NEG   COP   ago   very   EMPH

        '(That was) not long ago.'

<div align="right">(WAH [4])</div>

The VCS would be expected in the position between the negator *bèl* and the zero-copula because in negated predicates with a visible verb it would be situated in the same position. Therefore it is also possible to add a VCS to above construction:

(580)   *Bèl ép   ngasa   uring   kòl   sén.*
        bèl   [ép   ngasa]_{VCS} Ø   [uring   kòl   sén]_{VCC}
        NEG   **ART:CO1   feast**   COP   ago   very   EMPH

        'The festivity (was) not long ago.'

11.2.6   Attributive

In verbless clauses of the attributive type, the VCS is modified by a true adjective (see section §5.2) or an adjectival modifier (see section §5.3) in the VCC slot. These modifiers are very common in Siar, and verbless clauses of the attributive type are very common. (581a) below shows an attributive clause with a true adjective (which cannot function as a verb), (581b) shows an attributive clause with an adjectival modifier (which can function as a verb).

(581)   *Ép   fain   ning   ki   lamtin.*
        [ép   fain   n-ing]_{VCS}   k-i   Ø   [lamtin]_{VCC}
        ART:CO1   woman   DEM.[-SG]-ANA   FOC-3.SG   (COP)   big

        'That woman is big.'

<div align="right">(TIN [46])</div>

11.2.7   Counting

In verbless constructions of the counting type, the VCS is the counted entity and the VCC is a numeral that specifies the quantity. In most instances, the VCS is only represented by the third person singular dummy subject marker *i*. In an irrealis setting it surfaces as the subject marker *é-* as in the following sentence:

(582) | *Bèl* | *él* | *tik* | *ti* | | *war* | *i* | *nap* | *kón* | *kèp* |
| bèl | [**é**]VCS-l | [tik]VCC | ti | | war | i | napTP | kón | kèp |
| NEG | **3.SG-**IRR | one | | ART:CO1.INC | spear | 3.SG | capable | REFCT | get |

i.
i
3.SG

'Not a single spear would hit him.'
(lit. *It was not one spear that was capable of getting him.*)

(TING [15])

Note that the above utterance is made up of three clauses: a verbless clause of the numeral type *(Bèl él tik ti war)*, an adverbial clause *(i nap)* and a subordinate clause *(kón kèp i)*. Verbless clauses of the numeral type may be much shorter, just being comprised of a subject marker and a numeral:

(583) | *Él* | | *tik.* |
| [é]VCS-l | Ø | [tik]VCC |
| 3.SG-IRR | COP | one |

'It will (be) one.' (e.g. as reply to *How many do you want?*)

The above utterance may be further modified by the event transition marker *ma* 'from now on', which results in a sentence that best translates as *And then it will be one*.

11.2.8 Development

Verbless clauses of the development type are neither observed by Dixon (2010) nor by Daguman (2004), but they seem to make up a separate class of verbless clause in Siar. This type is somewhat similar to the identity type in that the VCC denotes a generic class that characterizes the VCC, but differs in that the development type verbless clauses focuses on a state that the VCS noun phrase has reached over time, either voluntarily or involuntarily. This can typically be translated to English with the verb *become* as in the following construction:

(584) | *É* | *Nika* | *ki* | | *étrar* | *tar.* |
| [é | Nika]VCS | k-i | **Ø** | [étrar]VCC | tar |
| ART:PROP | PN | FOC-3.SG | **COP** | young.woman | PRF |

'Nika (has become) a young woman.'

Rowe (2005: 53)

These constructions often involve a event focus setting (represented by the event focus prefix k- on the subject marker) which stresses the new state.

11.2.9   Location

In verbless predicates of the locational type, the location of the VCS is represented by the VCC constituent which is a prepositional phrase headed by the preposition *an* 'at':

(585) *Na   in   róp   tó   atatat   ning*
       na   [in   róp   tó   (f)at~at~at   n-ing]$_{VCS}$ Ø
       REL   LIG   finish   ART:[-ANIM].PL   stone~RED~RED   DEM.[-SG]-ANA   (COP)

       ma   an   lakan   ép   bòròi
       ma   [an   laka-n   ép   bòròi]$_{VCC}$
       TRANS   at   top-POSS   ART:CO1   pig

       'When all the stones (are) on top of the pig …'

       (YAU [20])

The zero-copula slot in this example is assumed to be preceding the event transition marker *ma*, a position where other verbs are also frequently found. Note that in such constructions the VCS cannot be left out. This is good evidence that the prepositional phrase is an argument to the verbless clause rather than an optional constituent.

12   Interclausal relations

Clauses in Siar can be combined in different ways, and the relationships between combined clauses also vary. Section §12.1 investigates subordination. Section §12.2 discusses coordination and section §12.3 discusses speech reports and the clausal relations within such reports individually.

12.1   Subordination and subordinate clauses

There are various types of subordinated clauses in Siar. Subordinate clauses are here defined as clauses that are *"a syntactic element with or of a larger clause"* (Matthews 1997: 360). Section §12.1.1 will describe subordinate clauses that employ the relational marker *na*, section §12.1.2 discusses complement clauses which are introduced by the complementizer *kanak*, and section §12.1.3 investigates other types of subordination that make used of different complementizers.

12.1.1   Relational clauses with the relational marker *na*

Relational clauses all make use of the relational marker *na*. The notion *relational clause* is not a category by itself but rather a cover term for the three types of construction that make use of the relational marker: relative clauses (section §12.1.1.1), conditional clauses (section §12.1.1.2) and relative time clauses (section §12.1.1.3).

The features of these three types can be distinguished as follows:

	Relative clauses	**Conditional clauses**	**Relative time clauses**
Position of *na*-clause	postposed to NP	preposed to main clause	preposed or postposed to main clause
Meaning of *na*	*which; who; that*	*if; in case*	*when; as soon as*

Table 55: Features of the different types of relational clauses

The relational marker *na* is a grammaticalization of the non-singular proximal demonstrative *n-a* (cf. section §8.2.1. This is a development that is very common cross-linguistically (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 113 ff).

12.1.1.1 Relative clauses

12.1.1.1.1 Form and syntax

The most substantial linguistic work on relative clauses has been done by Comrie (1981), Lehmann (1984), Keenan (1985) and Lehmann (1986). In the remainder of this section, we will base our most basic assumptions on the definition in Lehmann (1986):

```
A relative construction is a construction consisting of a nominal (or
a common noun phrase, in the terms of categorial grammar) (which may
be empty) and a subordinate clause interpreted as attributively
modifying the nominal. The nominal is called the head[169] and the
subordinate clause the RC [relative construction]. The attributive
relation between head and RC is such that the head is involved in
what is stated in the clause.
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(Lehmann 1986: 664)
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An important component of this definition (one which is not always explicitly mentioned in other works on relative clauses) is the fact that the head noun (or the *head*) may remain empty. This will allow us to extend the scope of the notion *relative clause* to virtually all Siar clauses/constructions that contain the dedicated relative particle *na*.

Lehmann (1986) distinguishes five types of relative clauses (in this thesis represented as RelCl in the glosses) which differ with regard to two parameters: the position of the head HD (*internal* or *external* to the relative clause) and the position of the relative clause with regard to the main clause (represented as MainCl), which can be *adjoined* or *embedded*. The following table is adapted from Lehmann (ibid: 666), and

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[169] Lehmann speaks of the head as a *semantic* category.

it sets out the possible types of relative clause relations that may be found, and it indicates what is found in Siar:[170]

	adjoined relative clause		embedded relative clause		
	preposed	postposed	prenominal	circumnominal	postnominal
internal head					
external head		☑			

Table 56: Positional types of relative clauses in Siar

As **Table 56** indicates, there is only one type of relative clauses in Siar, an external head adjoined (postposed) to the main clause. Internal heads cannot be observed in Siar. Two example constructions can be seen below:

(586) a. *Ki*   *pèpèlè*   *an*   *lón*   *ép*   *sungut*
                [k-i   pèpèlè   an   ló-n   [ép   sungut]HD]MainCl
                FOC-3.SG   struggle   at   mouth-POSS   ART:CO1   trap

                na *ép*   *pòl*   *i*   *parai*   *tar*   *i.*
                [**na**   ép   pòl   i   par-ai   tar   i]RelCl
                REL   ART:CO1   dog   3.SG move.across-TR PRF   3.SG

                'He was struggling in the trap that the dog had placed there.'
                                          (RTK [19])

    b. *Kam usrai ón*   *ép*   *barsan*   ***na*** *i*   *rak*
                [kam usrai ó-n   [ép   barsan]HD]MainCl [**na** i   rak
                group story OBL-POSS   ART:CO1   man   **REL** 3.SG want

                él   *babait.*
                é-l   babait]RelCl
                3.SG-IRR   fishing

                '(This is) a story about a man who wants to go fishing.'
                                          (BAB [1])

---

[170] The original table in Lehmann (1986: 666) is somewhat misleading because it (presumably unintentionally) suggests that adjoined relative clauses with an external head are always postposed, or that adjoined relative clauses with an internal head are always preposed (which is not always the case).

In both cases, the relational marker *na* links the subordinate relative clause with the common noun phrase in the matrix clause (*the trap* in 586a) and *the man* in (586b) respectively). The main function of the relative clause is to select one entity out of a set of entities that have the characteristic of being *a trap* and being *a man* respectively (it is *restrictive*, see the following section). The relative clause in both cases follows the main clause, and it can never precede the main clause.

There are also some rare cases of relative clause chains involving a postnominal relative clause with another relative clause following:

(587)	*Ép*	*sah*	*ma*	***na***	*u*	*tòl*	*i*	***na***	*ku*
	[[ép	sah]$_{HD}$	ma]$_{MainCl}$	[**na**	u	tòl	i]$_{RelCl\,1}$	[**na**	k-u
	ART:CO1	INT	TRANS	**REL**	2.SG	do	3.SG	**REL**	FOC-2.SG

	abóngnai	*kòl?"*
	a-bóngnai	kòl]$_{RelCl\,2}$
	CAUS-take.long	very

'What have you been doing all the time that makes you come late?'

(RTK [14])

The head is separately modified by each of the two relative clauses. There is no hierarchy among the relative clauses which means that neither of them has scope over the other, and each of them (or even both of them) can be left out easily without resulting in an ungrammatical utterance and without changing the semantics of the head). Consequently, the relative clauses equally contribute to the specification of the head. Siar even allows for the insertion of a coordinator *ap* 'and' between the two relative clauses ([*Ép sah ma*]$_{MainCl}$ [*na u tòl i*]$_{RelCl\,1}$ ***ap*** [*na ku abóngnai kòl*]$_{RelCl\,2}$). There is also a correlation between the semantic indefiniteness of the interrogative NP *ép sah* (which translates as *'the what?'*) and relative clause chains because the less specific information is known about an NP, the more options there are for making specifications using relative clauses. Relative clause chains in Siar seem to become much less likely or even impossible when the common noun has a specific reference.

There are also relative clauses with the relative particle *na* omitted:

(588) a. *Ép*   *tarai*   *dit*   *arum*   *tar*
      [ép   tarai]_{HD} Ø   [dit   ar-um   tar
      ART:CO1   men   **REL** 3.PL   REC-hit   PRF

      ti'ga'dit   *ki'an*   *tar.*
      t-i(ng)=ga(u)=]_{RelCl}=dit   k-i=(in)an   tar
      LOC-ANA=(t)here=3.PL   FOC-3.SG=go   PRF

      'Those people who had been fighting there had gone.'

                                 (DAK [x])

    b. *Dit*   *léhléh*   *i*   *sén*   *alò*   *é*   *ma*
      dit   léhléh   i   sén   alò   [é   ma
      3.PL   admire   3.SG   EMPH   again   ART:PROP   PERS.DEM

      d-im   *an*   *mur*   *i*   *tai.*
      d-im]_{HD}   Ø   an   mur   Ø   i   tai
      DEM.SG-down   **(REL)**   at   follow   **(REL)**   3.SG   steer.sea.vessel

      'They again admired him who was sitting back at the bow steering.'
                                   (TAM [9])

In the case of (588b) the boundary between matrix clause and the relative clause can be interpreted in two ways. Since there are two slots available for the relational marker, represented by Ø in the glossing. Only one slot can be filled at a time, and the scope of the matrix clause and the relative clause depend on that choice. Consider the following examples in which one slot is filled:

(589) a. *Dit*   *léhléh*   *i*   *sén*   *alò*   *é*   *ma*
      dit   léhléh   i   sén   alò   [é   ma
      3.PL   admire   3.SG   EMPH   again   ART:PROP   PERS.DEM

      d-im   **na**   *an*   *mur*   *i*   *tai.*
      d-im]_{HD}   [**na**   an   mur   Ø   i   tai]_{RelCl}
      DEM.SG-down   **REL**   at   follow   **REL**   3.SG   steer.sea.vessel

      'They again admired the one [sitting at the back steering the canoe].'
                                     (TAM [9])

b. *Dit   léhléh   i   sén   alò   é   ma*
    dit   léhléh   i   sén   alò   [é   ma
    3.PL   admire   3.SG EMPH   again ART:PROP   PERS.DEM

    d-im   an   mur   na   i   tai.
    d-im]HD   Ø   an   mur   [na   i   tai]RelCl
    DEM.SG-down   REL at   follow REL   3.SG steer.sea.vessel

    'They again admired the one sitting at the back [who was steering the canoe].'

    (TAM [9])

In (589a) the first available slot is filled with the relational marker which has scope over the entire following clause *an mur i tai* '(who) was at the back steering'. This means that the specification *an mur* 'at the back' is part of the clause that identifies the head within a set of possible denotations. This is not the case in (589b) where the relational marker only has scope over *i tai* '(who) was steering'. The clause that specifies that the referent is sitting at the back is not part of the relative clause. The difference between the two examples is subtle: in (589a) there is only one person at the back steering while in (589b) it is possible that there is more than one referent at the back (but only one of them steering).

Cross-linguistically, relative clauses also differ with regard to whether or not *"[…] the head noun appears in a modified or reduced form, or is completely omitted, in one of the two clauses [main clause and relative clause]"* (Comrie 1981: 140). Comrie distinguishes four kinds of ways to represent the controlled argument from within the relative clause: pronoun retention, gapping, non-reduction and insertion of a relative pronoun. The first two strategies can be observed in Siar. The full semantic head never appears in Siar relative clauses, and as will be shown in the following section, the relational marker *na* can not be analysed as a pronoun since it does not have any semantic reference.

Relative clauses with pronoun retention are by far the most common type in Siar. An example is given below:

(590)   ***Ép   sah   ma   na   u   tòl   i?***
        [[ép   sah]HD   ma]MainCl [na   [u]A tòl   [i]O]RelCl
        ART:CO1   INT   TRANS REL   2.SG do   **3.SG**

        'What have you been doing?'

        (RTK [14])

The semantic head *ép sah* '(the) what' is situated in the main clause, but it is represented by the coreferential object pronoun *i* in the relative clause.

Comrie (1981: 140) only considers subject pronouns when discussing pronoun retention. In Siar relative clauses the object pronoun also remains *in situ* in certain circumstances. This mostly applies to transitive predicates within relative clauses, such as the following:[171]

(591)   a.   *ép*   *baran*   *na*   *i*   *sang*   *i*

[ép	baran]ⱼ	[na	[i]ₖ	sang	**[i]ⱼ**]_RelCl
ART:CO1	thing	REL	3.SG	prepare	**3.SG**

'the things that he prepares'

(BAB 2 [2])

b.   *É*   *Tam Fóng* *i* *rè* *i* *na* *bèl* *tik* *i*

[é	Tam Fóng]ⱼ	[i]ⱼ	rè	[i]ₖ	[na	bèl	[tik]ₗ	[i]ₗ
ART:PROP	PN	3.SG	see	3.SG	REL	NEG	one	3.SG

léhléh   *i.*

léh~léh	**[i]ⱼ**]_RelCl
RED~admire	**3.SG**

'Tam Fóng saw that nobody was admiring him.'

[TAM [4])

In the examples in (591), both predicates in the relative clauses are transitive. As opposed to many European languages, the object slot in the relative clause must be filled by a pronoun or a full NP in such cases.

The second way of representing the head noun in the relative clause is gapping:

(592)   **ép**   **lakman** **anu'dat**   *na* *di* *warai*

[ép	**lakman**	**anu(-n)=dat]**_HD	[na	di	war-ai
ART:CO1	**village**	**CL:GEN(-POSS)=1.PL.INC**	REL	IND	speak-TR

                      é   *Lamassa*

Ø	é	Lamassa]_RelCl
([NP]ₒ)	ART:PROP	PN

'our village that they call Lamassa'

(LAM [2])

---

[171] Coreference is here indicated by adding the same subscript letter. Note that as opposed to the subject pronoun in (591a), the *i* that follows *tik* in (591b) is only an agreement marker with no reference, which is the reason why it is not bracketed here.

In a non-relativized clause, the ditransitive verb *warai* 'call'[172] generates an NP slot for the argument in O function which follows the verb (e.g. *warai ép barsan* 'tell the man'). For the relative clause, the NP in O function is placed before the relational marker. Within the relative clause the head *ép lakman anu'dat* 'our village' is not realized anymore, neither by a pronoun, nor by agreement features on any of the other constituents in the relative clause. There is only a gap left at the original position of the head. The reason why gapping is possible here but not in (591) is that the predicate *di warai é Lamassa* 'they call Lamassa' in (592) is underlyingly complex transitive (the O argument is not acted upon but rather an entity in a subject-predicate relationship). The proper NP *é Lamassa* that remains in the relative clause easily allows for the identification of the extracted argument which was originally located in the O slot. This is not the case in (591) since both subject and object are coreferential with the object pronoun *i* that remains in the relative clause.

The relational marker *na* is also often used together with the complementizer *kanak* in order to introduce complement clauses. These cases are discussed in section §12.1.3.

12.1.1.1.2   Semantics

The relational marker *na* is the most prominent element in a relative clause and its meaning differs depending on the construction. In many European languages, constituents that introduce relative clauses are referred to as relative *pronouns*. Such an analysis implies that the relational marker itself carries some meaning. Other languages only have relative particles that never change their form, and whose sole purpose is introducing the relative clause. Siar belongs to the latter group of languages. The relational marker *na* never changes its form, nor does it refer to a meaningful entity or point to an element in the clause that has lexical meaning. Consider the following example:

(593)   *ép*　　　*barsan* **na** *ki*　　　*bòrbòr*
　　　[ép　　　barsan]_{HD} [**na**　k-**i**　　bòrbòr]_{RelCl}
　　　ART:CO1　man　　　**REL**　FOC-**3.SG**　sleep

　　　'the man who is sleeping'

---

[172] *Warai* can also be used as a monotransitive verb.

Here the head *ép barsan* 'the man' is followed by a relative clause. Note that the relational marker *na* is followed by a subject agreement marker specified for third person singular, which is coreferential with the head. There is therefore no doubt as to which entity the relative clause is referring to. In the following example, the head is specified for plural number but the relational marker does not change its form. Note also the addition of the free pronoun *dit*:

(594) *kai*　　　　*tarai*　***na***　***dit***　*ki*　　　　　　*bòrbòr*
　　　 [kai　　　　tarai]_{HD}　[**na**　**dit**　k-**i**　　　　　　bòrbòr]_{RelCl}
　　　 ART:ANIM.PL　men　　**REL**　**3.PL**　FOC-**3.SG.EXPL**　sleep

'the people who are sleeping'

With regard to the semantics of relative clauses in their entirety, Keenan (1985: 168 ff.) draws a distinction between *restrictive* and *non-restrictive* relative clauses. Restrictive relative clauses further specify the head whereas non-restrictive relative clauses do not. While some languages make a formal distinction between these types of constructions,[173] no such formal difference can be seen in the case of Siar. However, there is clearly a *semantic* distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses:

(595) a. *Ki*　　　*pèpèlè*　*an*　*lón*　　*ép*　　　*sungut*　*na*
　　　　　 k-i　　　pèpèlè　an　ló-n　　[ép　　　sungut]_{HD}　[na
　　　　　 FOC-3.SG　struggle　at　mouth-POSS　ART:CO1　trap　　REL

　　　　　 ép　　*pòl*　*i*　*parai*　　　*tar*　*i.*
　　　　　 ép　　　pòl　i　par-ai　　　tar　i]_{RelCl}
　　　　　 ART:CO1　dog　3.SG　move.across-TR　PRF　3.SG

'He was struggling in the trap which the dog had placed there.'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(RTK [18])

---

[173] Keenan (1985: 168) gives the English example *The Japanese [(,) who are industrious(,)] now outcompete Western Europe*, in which the use of comma representing prosody indicates the type of relative clause. Set commas result in a non-restrictive clause while omitted commas result in a restrictive clause.

b.　*Ép*　　*sah*　*na*　*u*　*tòl*　*i?*
　　ép　　　sah　[na　u　tòl　i]_{RelCl}
　　ART:CO1　INT　REL　2.SG　do　3.SG

'What is it that you are doing?'

(RTK [14])

In (595a), the head *ép sungut* 'the trap' is already specific because there is only one such trap in the narrative. Since a restrictive meaning is redundant, the relative clause cannot be restrictive. The opposite is true in the case of (595b) where the head is an indefinite interrogative noun which could have any reference. The addition of the relative clause here specifies which entity is being referred to, namely the thing the predicate subject is doing. The relative clause must therefore be analysed as restrictive here. Note that there is no formal distinction between these different semantic interpretations of the relative clause in Siar.

The specificity of the head also explains why it is impossible or at least very unusual in spoken language to have a pronoun as the head of the relative clause. Pronouns are inherently specific since they refer to entities that have already been established in context.

There is also a set of temporal constructions that involve the relational marker *na*, the oblique-introducing preposition *ó-* (always in the third person singular form represented by the possessive suffix *-n*) and a demonstrative pronoun which surfaces as the non-singular form *n-*. These constructions are introduced in section §8.2.2.

12.1.1.2　Conditional clauses

Conditional constructions in Siar are very similar to relative clauses, since the particle *na* occurs in both. In conditional constructions it is used as the marker that introduces the conditional clause (the protasis).　That is, the relative clause (RelCl) is an attribute to an NP whereas a conditional clause (CondCl) is an attribute to a main clause (MainCl). In the following example pair, we can see a relative clause (596a) and a conditional construction (596b):

(596) a. **Relative clause**

Mèt	*nós*	*sur*	*i*	*bar*	*soldia*	***na***	*di*
mèt	nós	sur	i	bar	soldia_TP	**na**	di
1.PL.EX	look	GOAL	3.SG	ART:HUM.PL	soldier	**REL**	IND

apar	*tar*	*dit*	*tim*	*an*	*Lainsilòu.*
a-par	tar	dit	t-im	an	Lainsilòu
CAUS-move.across	PRF	3.PL	LOC-*down*	at	PN

'We looked for the soldiers that were dropped off down at Cape St George.'

(FAR [15])

b. **Conditional construction**

Na	*dit*	*él*	*warai*	*manlar*	*pas*	*i*	*ap*	*ép*
[na	dit	é-l	warai	manlar	pas	i]_CondCl	ap	[ép
REL	3.PL	3.SG-IRR	tell	light	PFV	3.SG	and	ART:CO1

laulau	*él*	*wòt.*
laulau	é-l	wòt]_MainCl
bad	3.SG-IRR	come

'If they had told them, bad things would have happened.'

(NÓN [24])

Although the marker *na* introduces different types of clauses, there is a diachronic connection between the forms. Conditionals are relational in that they relate the state or event expressed in the conditional clause to the state or event expressed in the main clause.

An important difference between relative clauses and conditional clauses is that conditional clauses are usually specified for an irrealis modality setting, whereas the modality setting of a relative clause can be chosen freely. This is not surprising because a conditional clause refers to a state or event that did not happen or has not yet happened at the time of the utterance.

The use of the coordinator *ap* also depends on the position of the conditional clause in the sentence. In marked cases, the conditional clauses are postposed to the main clauses without the subordinator present, but then an intonational break typically indicates the clause boundaries (represented as a comma in the following sentence):

(597) *Ningan kòl bèl dit tòtòròt óm kanak u*
      ningan kòl bèl dit tòtòròt ó-m kanak u
      some many NEG 3.PL believe OBL-2.SG.POSS COMP 2.SG

      *ép fanat Siar, **na** ép falinóm*
      ép fanat Siar [**na** ép falinó-m
      ART:CO1 child PN **REL** ART:CO1 body-2.SG.POSS

      i kókók.
      i kókók]CondCl
      3.SG white

      'Many will not believe you that you are Siar if your body is white.'

                                                (UÒ 1a [120-L])

In some instances, the conditional marker *na* is used twice within the conditional clause:

(598) a. ***Na na bèl él win ap***
          [**na na** bèl é-l winENG]CondCl ap
          REL REL NEG 3.SG-IRR win and

          adi'ga'sa ma kón yanyan lamas
          [a-d-i(ng)=ga(u)=sa ma]MainCl kón yan~yan lamas
          DEX-DEM.SG-ANA=(t)here=RESTR TRANS PURP RED~eat.TR coconut

          it sa ma.
          it sa ma
          DURA RESTR TRANS

          'If he did not win, from now on he will just be there eating coconuts.'

                                                (UÒ 1a [27-L])

      b. *Ma **na na** bèl u alélét akak ón*
          ma [**na na** bèl u alélét (w)akak ó-n]CondCL
          but **REL REL** NEG 2.SG superstitious good OBL-3.SG.POSS

          ap tari pakau él'an'òt.
          ap [tari pakau é-l=[(in)an=(w)òt]SVC]MainCl
          and maybe taro.planthopper 3.SG-IRR=go=come

          'But if you don't do it the traditional way, taro planthoppers might come.'

                                                (PID [23])

Although the two negated conditional clauses might suggest there is a correlation between the double relational marker and the negator *bèl*, in fact there are also double *na*-constructions that do not occur in a negated context. It is unclear what the exact

difference between the single use and the double use of the relational marker is, and in both cases, the double conditional marker can be replaced by a single one. It does not seem to describe a characteristic of the condition (such as *only if* etc), so if the difference is a pragmatic one, then it is subtle.

There are also conditional constructions that do not involve the conditional marker. This is the case in the following example:

(599)   *I*   *wakak*   *ól*   *isis*   *kata*   *an*
         [i   wakak]$_{MainCl}$ Ø   [ó-l   is~is   ka-t-a   an
         3.SG   good   **(REL)**   2.SG-IRR   RED~return   ALL-LOC-PROX   at

         mur   *sur*   *yau*   *al*   *kès*   *is*   *ti'gau.*
         mur]$_{CondCl}$ sur   yau   a-l   [kès   is]$_{SVC}$ t-i(ng)=gau
         follow   INTENT   1.SG   1.SG-IRR   sit   return   LOC-ANA=(t)here

1. 'It would be good if you returned to the back so that I can sit there (on my old place).'
2. 'It is all right, you will return to the back to that I can sit there (on my old place)'

                                                          (TAM [17])

The empty slot for the conditional marker can be assumed to be situated between the end of the main clause and the conditional clause, the same position where visible conditional markers are usually placed. Note, however, that the deletion in (599) creates a potentially ambiguous sentence, which explains the two slightly different translations for the above example. Intonational clues help with the disambiguation because for translation 2 there would be an intonational break at the position where the conditional marker would be, whereas there would be no such break in the case of translation 1.

12.1.1.3   Relative time clauses

The relational marker *na* can also be used in subordinate constructions of the *when* type. While English makes a distinction between conditionals *(if)* and relative time (*when*) constructions, Siar introduces both construction types with the same marker, similar to German *wenn* 'if; when'. A typical example is given below:

(600)   *Matò*   *inan*   *ap*   **na**   *katim*   *an*   *lón*   *ngas*   *ap*
           matò(l)   inan   ap   [**na**   ka-t-im   an   ló-n   ngas]_{RTCl} ap
           1.PAU.EX   go   and   **REL**   ALL-LOC-down at   mouth-POSS   path   and

           ka   *sóng*   *i*   *tik*   *ép*   *barsan.*
           [k-a   sóng   i   tik   ép   barsan]_{MainCl}
           FOC-1.SG   meet   3.SG   one   ART:CO1   man

           'We went, and when we came to the road I met a man.'

                                                           (PIR [24])

In this example, the relative time clause RTCl, which is introduced by the particle *na*, is linked to the main clause MainCl by the coordinator *ap* (cf. section §12.2.1), similarly to relative clauses and conditionals. It differs from conditional clauses especially with regard to its semantics. While conditional clauses express a hypothetical state or event, relative time clauses refer to a factual state or event which is located in a point in time relative to the time of the main clause. The point in time of the relative time clause is overlapping with the point in time of the main clause.

      Dixon (2009: 10) establishes two parameters by which relative time clauses may differ:

a)   whether reference is to a point in time or a length of time
b)   whether the relative time clause refers to something in the past, future or to an event or state simultaneous to the one in the main clause

With regard to the first parameter, the relative time clause in (600) above can be said to refer to a point in time because the arriving event in the relative time clause is not ongoing. The same is true for the meeting event. The following example shows a relative time construction with the relative time clause referring to a longer period of time:

(601) ***Na*** ***ading*** ***ma*** ***i*** ***wur*** ***lik*** ***ap*** ***i*** ***ru***
[**na** a-d-ing ma i wur lik]_{RTCl} ap [i ru
REL DEX-DEM.SG-ANA TRANS 3.SG work TEMP and 3.SG two

ra *purpur* *dira* *ki* *pung* *sai* *gali* *an*
ra purpur dira(u) k-i pung Ø-sai gali an
ART:CO2.DU flower 3.DU FOC-3.SG fall (LOC-)DIST above at

lakan *ép* *yai* *katim* *ané.*
laka-n ép yai ka-t-im ané]_{MainCl}
top-POSS ART:CO1 tree ALL-LOC-down below

'When he was there working a bit, two flowers fell down from the top of tree.'
(URI [8])

Here, the event of the relative time clause refers to the working event, the falling of the two flowers occurs within this time span.

The time of the event expressed in the relative time clause may be located in the past, present or future. We have been analysing Siar as a tenseless language here (cf. section §6.1), but clause-initial time words, postverbal aspect and Aktionsart markers still allow for the placement of an event on a temporal scale. A case of a present relative time clause was given in (601). The relative time clause in the following example refers to an event in the past at the time of the event of the main clause, which is why the perfect aspect particle *tar* is used.

(602) ***Na*** ***sa*** ***i*** ***asngai*** ***tar*** ***yau*** ***ón***
[**na** sa i asngai tar yau ó-n
REL RESTR 3.SG show PRF 1.SG OBL-POSS

i *ding* *a* *pukun* *ap* *mara* *isis.*
i d-ing a pukun]_{RTCl} ap [mara(u) is~is]_{MainCl}
3.SG DEM.SG-ANA ART:CO2 place and 1.DU.EX RED~return

'When he had showed me that place we went back.'
(ÈRB [16])

12.1.2 Complement clauses

Complement clauses (CompCl) function as arguments of a predicate. Typically, they are introduced by the complementizer (*ka)nak*:

(603) *A nuki*   ***kanak*** *a*   *pipi*   *i*   *pirim*   *ón*
       [a=nuk-i]_{MainCl} [**kanak** a   pipi   i   pirim   ó-n
       1.SG=think-TR **COMP**   ART:CO2   lightning 3.SG   move.down   OBL-POSS

       ti   *lamas.*
       ti   lamas]_{CompCl}
       ART:CO1.INC   coconut

'I thought that lightning had struck one of the coconut trees.'

                                                                    (KAL [8])

The complement clause cannot stand by itself unless the complementizer is removed. In the above example, the complement clause is the object of the transitive verb *nuki* 'think'.

Complement clauses are heterogeneous in Siar, especially with regard to how they are introduced. The above example employs only the complementizer *kanak* whereas other complement clauses additionally make use of the relational marker *na* which precedes the complementizer (604a), follows the complementizer (604b), or both precedes and follows the complementizer (604c).

(604) a.   *Diat*   *nuki*   ***na***   ***kanak*** *bi'sén*   *ép*   *tódóng*
            [diat   nuki]_{MainCl} [**na**   **kanak**   bè(l)=sén   ép   tódóng
            3.PAU   think-TR   **REL**   **COMP**   NEG=EMPH   ART:CO1   k.o.feast

            i   *sòu.*
            i   sòu]_{CompCl}
            3.SG   off

'They thought that the feast had not yet started.'

                                                                    (CLA [23])

       b.   *Mèt*   *ki*   *usrai*   *ma*   *ari'dit*   ***kanak*** ***na***
            [mèt   k-i   usrai   ma   ari(-n)=dit]_{MainCl} [**kanak**   **na**
            1.PL.EX   FOC-3.SG   story   TRANS   BEN(-POSS)=3.PL   **COMP**   **REL**

            kai   *talung*   *dit*   *wòt.*
            kai   talung   dit   wòt]_{CompCl}
            ART:ANIM.PL   demon   3.PL   come

'We told them that the demons had come.'

                                                                    (TAL [9])

c.

Dit	*lólóngrai*	***na***	***kanak***	***na***	*dat*	*gat*	*sén*	*ningan*
[dit	ló~lóngrai]_{MainCl}	[na	kanak	na	dat	gat_{TP}	sén	ningan
they	RED~hear	**REL**	**COMP**	**REL**	1.PL.INC	have	EMPH	some

tó		*baran*	*dat*	*wurwur*	*i*	*sén.*
tó		baran	dat	wur-wur	i	sén]_{CompCl}
ART:[-ANIM].PL		thing	1.PL.INC	RED~work	3.SG	EMPH

'They have heard that there are indeed some things we can do.'

(WAH [3])

With regard to frequency, the construction type in (604b) is the most common, followed by the construction type in (604a). The construction type in (604c) is quite rare and only occurs three times in the current Siar corpus. There does not seem to be a semantic difference between these different types, if there is one, then it is subtle.

In a significant number of instances, the complementizer *kanak* is shortened to *nak*. In such cases, the distributional patterns are different. The relational marker may still follow the complementizer (605a), but it may not precede it or be situated in the preceding and following slot (**na nak, *na nak na*). Like the full form *kanak*, *nak* may also introduce a complement clause by itself (605b):

(605) a.

Ép	*pòl*	*ki*	*rè*	***nak***	***na***	*bèl*	*al*	*ma*
[ép	pòl	k-i	rè]_{MainCl}	[nak	na	bèl	al	ma
ART:CO1	dog	FOC-3.SG	see	**COMPL**	**REL**	NEG	some	TRANS

tók	*bòròi*	*ting*	*an*	*lón*	*ép*
tók	bòròi	t-ing	an	ló-n	ép
ART:[-COUNT]	pig	LOC-ANA	at	mouth-POSS	ART:CO1

ran.
ran]_{CompCl}
earth.oven

'The dog saw that there was no pig in the earth oven.'

(RTK [6])

b.

A èrbè	***nak***	*a pirim*	*sòu*	*an*	*lón*
[a=èrbè]_{MainCl}	[nak	a=pirim	sòu	an	ló-n
1.SG=dream	**COMP**	1.SG=move.down	off	at	mouth-POSS

ép	*rumai.*
ép	rumai]_{CompCl}
ART:CO1	house

'I dreamt that I went out of the house.'

(ÈRB [3])

In some instances, the complementizer *kanak* introduces clauses that are not O arguments of a visible verb. If we assume the presence of a covert copula (as we did in section §11.1), then we could state that in constructions like (606), the complement clause is an argument of a covert copula.

(606) *Ma   ya kanak   al   fulbék   anu'mat.*
       ma   ya(u)=Ø=[kanak   a-l   fulbék_ENG anu(-n)=(a)mat]_CompCl
       but   1.SG=(COP)=COMP   1.SG-IRR fullback CL:GEN(-POSS)=2.PL

'But me, I will be your fullback.'

(UÒ 1a [66-A])

As is discussed in section §12.3, the complementizer *(ka)nak* is also used to introduce speech reports, which function as arguments of a speech report verb.

12.1.2.1   Complement-taking modal-like verbs

There are two complement-taking modal verbs found in Siar: the necessitative modal *bas* 'have to' (cf. section §12.1.2.1.1) and the subject-oriented desiderative modal *rak* 'want' (cf. section §12.1.2.1.2). There is a third form *bók* that also surfaces as a modal verb-like kind of verb, but its distribution is different from the other two modal verbs. It is here referred to as speaker-oriented desiderative modal and is discussed in section §12.1.2.1.3.

12.1.2.1.1   Necessitative (*bas*)

The necessitative modal *bas* 'must; have to' is a modal of the deontic category and does not extend into the epistemic domain like English *must*. Two example constructions can be seen below:

(607) a. *A wòt   ap a   **bas**   munmun.*
           a=wòt   ap=a   **bas**   mun~mun
           1.SG=arrive and=1.SG **have.to** RED~dive.down

'I arrived and had to take a bath.'

(BEN [12])

b. *Dit   ki   warai   kanak   na   mat'él*
    dit   k-i   war-ai   kanak   na   mat(òl)=é-l
    3.PL   FOC-3.SG speak-TR   COMP   REL   1.PAU.EX=3.SG-IRR

    bas   *él*   *bòrbòr.*
    bas   é-l   bòrbòr
    have.to 3.SG-IRR sleep

'They told us we had to get some sleep.'

<div align="right">(NAS [10])</div>

Note that these two constructions are structurally different. In (607a), the modal verb *bas* and the lexical verb *munmun* 'bathe' make up one single predication that looks like a serial verb construction at first sight. The second modal verb construction in (607b) is not an SVC. Here, the modal verb and the lexical verb *bòrbòr* 'sleep' are separate VPs because each of them have their own subject marker and modality setting, which happens to be irrealis for each verb. Constructions such as (607a) are more common than those in (607b). Constructions with the other modal verb *rak* 'want' only allow for constructions such as (607b), and we here assume that constructions such as (607a) are therefore more recent developments. Note also that it is always possible to express the meaning of (607a) in a construction like (607b) by simply placing another subject marker in front of the second verb. A reason for this configurational shift may be the influence of Tok Pisin which simply juxtaposes the modal verb with the specified lexical verb without any cross-referenced subjects in between (e.g. *Mi mas go.* 'I have to go').

The modal verb itself is optionally specified for irrealis. In (607b) the irrealis suffix *-l* is present whereas in (607a) it is not. I have not observed any occurrences of the modal verb *bas* with an event focus setting, and it remains to be elicited if this is possible at all. This is interesting because there is no obvious reason why a modal verb event should not be focused, as opposed to the following lexical verb which is in most instances specified for an irrealis setting anyway because the specified event has not taken place. There is, however, one case of code-switching in my data in which the Siar modal is replaced by its Tok Pisin counterpart *mas*. The presence of the event focus marker may be a result of the use of the Tok Pisin modal instead of the Siar modal:

(608)	*tó*		*baran*	*róp*	*na*	**kal**	**mas**	*aurai*
	tó		baran	róp	na	**k-a-l**	**mas**_{TP}	aurai
	ART:[-ANIM].PL		thing	finish	REL	**FOC-1.SG-IRR**	have.to	plant

	tar	*i*
	tar	i
	PRF	3.SG

'all the things that I certainly have to plant'

(WÓL [5])

Note that the irrealis suffix *-l* is also present in this example. It may therefore be the case that having both the event focus marker and the irrealis marker specify a modal verb is possible, but that the event focus marker may not occur just by itself. This is a topic for further investigation.

Another observation to be made for the construction in (607b) is that the first person paucal pronoun *matòl* is not repeated for the lexical verb, and instead, the third person singular form *é* functions as the dummy subject marker. It would be perfectly grammatical to repeat the pronoun *matòl* before the lexical verb (*mat'él bas* **mat'él** *bòrbòr*), in which case the following subject marker would also be expletive since the reason for its presence is only to allow the irrealis suffix to attach to it (cf. section §6.2.1).

In a number of languages, modal verbs derive from lexical verbs. There does not seem to be an obvious source for the modal *bas*. There is a verb *bas* that means 'to throw', but it is doubtful that this verb is the source for the modal.[174] The modal may be related to the adverb *basa* 'first; before something else', which is equivalent to Tok Pisin *pastaim*. The prioritizing semantics of the adverb seem to be more likely to be related to the necessitative modal than the verb *bas* 'throw'.

12.1.2.1.2   Subject-oriented desiderative (*rak*)

The subject-based desiderative modal *rak* 'want (to)' is the second modal. Desiderative modals are said to belong to the boulomaic modality category (Palmer 1990: 12) which is sometimes interpreted as a subgroup of the deontic category (Perkins 1983: 11). The form *rak* is subject oriented, i.e. it expresses the desire of the subject (which need not be the speaker). In this respect it differs from the speaker-oriented

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[174] Heine & Kuteva (2002) list the verbs *do*, *get*, *need* and *owe* as typical candidates for such a process. The verb *throw* tends to grammaticalize to markers of perfect aspect.

desiderative modal *bók* which is discussed in section §12.1.2.1.3. Two sample constructions with the modal *rak* are shown below:

(609)   a.   *A **rak**   al   usrai tar i   tik a   usrai*

                a=**rak** a-l   usrai tar i   tik a   usrai

                1.SG=**want** 1.SG-IRR story PRF 3.SG one ART:CO2 story

                lik   sa.

                lik   sa

                little RESTR

                'I only want to tell a little story.'

                                                    (KAW [2])

   b.   *Bèl dit **rak** dit él   wuwur   ók.*

                bèl dit **rak** dit é-l   wu~wur   ó-k

                NEG 3.PL **want** 3.PL 3.SG-IRR RED~work OBL-1.SG.POSS

                'They did not want to treat me (in hospital).'

                                                (WAI [100])

One difference to the modal verb constructions with *bas* 'have to' is that it is not possible to simply juxtapose the modal verb and the lexical verb. A reason for this may be that as opposed to the modal *bas*, the modal *rak* is almost never replaced by its Tok Pisin counterpart *laik(im)*, and hence there seems to be less reason to adapt the Tok Pisin modal verb structure here.

The modal verb *rak* need not be preceded by a subject marker that is marked for modality, as was the case in (609a). I have not found any instances in my corpus where the modal is specified for irrealis,[175] but it may optionally be specified for event focus:

(610)   a.   *Ning   ép   kirai sén alò ki   **rak***

                n-ing   ép   kirai sén alò k-i   **rak**

                DEM.[-SG]-ANA ART:CO1 day EMPH again FOC-3.SG **want**

                ki   tòl i   kam payam.

                k-i   tòl i   kam payam

                FOC-3.SG do 3.SG vegetables

                'The other day she wanted to prepare the vegetables.'

                                              (MAT [39])

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[175] However, there is also a non-modal lexical verb *rak* which may be specified for irrealis. This verb *rak* translates to English as 'be alike' or 'expect'. this will be further discussed later in this section.

b.   *Dit   ki   **rak**   dit   kél   wók   i   tik*
         dit   k-i   **rak**   dit   k-é-l   wók_{TP} i   tik
         3.PL   FOC-3.SG   **want**   3.PL   FOC-3.SG-IRR   work   3.SG   one

         ép   ngasa.
         ép   ngasa
         ART:CO1   feast

'They wanted to prepare a feast.'

(CLA [14])

The following lexical verb can take on all modality settings but may not remain unmarked. In (610a) above it is specified for event focus only, in (610b) it is specified both event focus and irrealis.

     Like the modal *bas*, the modal verb *rak* may also be modified by aspectual markers. In the following example, *rak* is modified by the durative aspect marker *it* (cf. section §10.2.3.4) and the event transition marker *ma* (cf. section §10.2.3.6):

(611)   *I   **rak**   **it**   **ma**   él   ngék   sur   ép*
        i   **rak**   **it**   **ma**   é-l   ngék   sur   ép
        3.SG   **want**   **DURA**   **TRANS**   3.SG-IRR   cry   GOAL   ART:CO1

        puklun   rumai,   na   ki   sak   sòi.
        puklu-n   rumai   na   k-i   sak   sòi
        head-POSS   house   REL   FOC-3.SG   ruin   away

'He was about to cry for the roof of the house which had been blown away.'

(KAL 2 [10])

The lexical verb in a modal verb construction can also be omitted. This is only possible when the modal verb construction is negated, as is the case in the following example:

(612)   *É*   *Naiwen*   *i'an*   *ap*   *i*   *warai*   *yau*   *kanak*
         é   Naiwen   i=(in)an   ap   i   war-ai   yau   kanak
         ART:PROP   PN   3.SG=go   and   3.SG   speak-TR   1.SG   COMP

         mar'él'an   *mar'él*   *kawas*   *lamas,*   *ap*
         mar(au)=é-l=(in)an   mar(au)=é-l   kawas   lamas   ap
         1.DU.EX=3.SG-IRR=go   1.DU.EX=3.SG-IRR   move.up   coconut   and

         *ya **bèl a***   *rak.*
         ya(u)=**bèl=a**   rak   [Ø]_{VP}
         1.SG=**NEG=1.SG**   **want**

         'Naiwen went and told me that we would go climb coconut trees, but I did
         not want to.'

                                                                       (KUN [2])

The deletion is possible when the lexical verb can be inferred from the context or because it has been mentioned in a previous clause, as is the case in the above example.

      The verb *rak* is very versatile and has multiple functions and meanings. In addition to the use as modal verb, *rak* can be used as a verb meaning 'to expect'. It is also used to express the concept 'be (a)like; go on like that', and it can be used as a speech report verb similar to English *like*.[176] All these different forms of *rak* can be distinguished syntactically. As shown in all the above examples, the modal verb precedes another VP which has its own subject and modality setting. The lexical verb *rak* 'to expect' is followed by a subordinate clause (613a).

(613)   a.   *A **rak***   *tik*   *ta*   *pukun*   *kirai*   *ép*
              a=**rak**   [tik   ta   pukun   kirai   ép
              1.SG=**expect**   one   ART:CO2.IND   particular   day   ART:CO1

              warwar   *ngak*   *i*   *él*   *tarikis*   *sòu.*
              war~war   nga-k   i   é-l   ta-rikis   sòu]_{SubordCl}
              RED~speak   CL:FOOD-1.SG.POSS   3.SG   3.SG-IRR   ACAUS-turn off

              'I expect (that) one day my language will have changed completely.'
                                                        (SIAR [9])

Note that the subordinator is left out here (cf. section §12.1), but this can also be observed with some other types of subordinate clauses, especially those introduced by *kanak* 'that' (cf. section 12.1.2).

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[176] *Rak* can also be nominalised, resulting in the noun 'will' (*ép rak*).

In the following example, *rak* means 'be (a)like; go on (like that)'. We can assume that this form occurs when *rak* is used intransitively and when there are no clausal constituents following:

(614) | *Mèt* | *utih* | *sa* | *ap* | *i* | ***rak*** | *ap* | *i* | ***rak****.* |
        |-------------|--------------|----------|-------|--------|----------------|-------|--------|--------------|
        | mèt | utih | sa | ap | i | **rak** | ap | i | **rak** |
        | 1.PAU.EX | fetch.water | RESTR | and | 3.SG | **be.alike** | and | 3.SG | **be.alike** |

'We were fetching water, and it went on and on.'

(FAR [41])

The following example shows the use of *rak* as a speech report verb, similar to English 'be like', as well as a modal verb with in the direct speech:

(615) | *Ép* | *pòl* | *ki* | ***rak****,* | *"U* | ***rak*** | *sur* | *al* |
        |------------|--------|------------|---------------|---------|------------|------------|------------|
        | ép | pòl | k-i | **rak** | u | **rak** | sur | a-l |
        | ART:CO1 | dog | FOC-3.SG | **be.like** | 2.SG | **want** | INTENT | 1.SG-IRR |

arat	*u?"*
arat	u
bite	2.SG

"The dog was like, 'You want me to bite you?' "

(KAR [29])

12.1.2.1.3   Speaker-oriented desiderative (*bók*)

The verb *bók* is syntactically very heterogeneous, and in fact, its use as a modal verb is one of its rarer uses. *Bók* always expresses a desire of the speaker, as opposed to the modal *rak* which is similar in its semantics, but which expresses the desire of the subject (which need not be the speaker). An example can be seen below:

(616) | *A **bók*** | *al* | *rè.* |
        |----------------|------------|--------|
        | a=**bók** | a-l | rè |
        | 1.SG-**desire** | 1.SG-IRR | see |

'I'd like to see (it).'

In above example, the syntactic position of *bók* is the same as for the other modals, and it could easily be replaced by *bas* 'have to' and *rak* 'want to'.

However, *bók* also occurs in other contexts and positions, which suggests that it is not a typical modal verb, or even not a modal verb at all. In example (617a) below, *bók* seems to appear as the second verb in a serial verb construction, but the following example (617b) shows that it is located in a position that follows the object pronoun (which is located outside the serial verb complex), presumably the adjunct slot:

(617) a. *Lakiat,   amtò   nós **bók**!"*
           lak=(d)iat   amtò(l) nós **bók**
           buddy=3.PAU 2.PAU   look **DESID**

           'Guys, you must see this!'

                                                                    (NÒN [10])

       b. *Amtò   nósói   akak   i   **bók**, sak   é   Suilik*
           amtò(l) nós-ói   (w)akak i   **bók**   sak   é   Suilik
           2.PAU   look-TR good   3.SG **DESID** ADVS ART:PROP PN

           diat   tubun   ma   i   ning   diat
           diat   tubu-n   ma   i   n-ing   diat
           3.PAU   grandparent-POSS TRANS 3.SG DEM.[-SG]-ANA   3.PAU

           ki   is!
           k-i   is
           FOC-3.SG return

           'You watch carefully please, maybe it is Suilik and his grandmother who are returning!"

                                                                    (NÒN [12])

Bók can also modify NPs. This suggests that *bók* is a stative verb:

(618) a. *Na   ki   rarakai rak'a'na   diat   ki*
           na   k-i   rarakai rak=(l)a(r)=n-a   diat   k-i
           REL FOC-3.SG   strong   want=like=DEM.[-SG]-ANA 3.PAU FOC-3.SG

           *warai,   "Èh, amtò   git   tòh   tik   **bók**   ta*
           war-ai   èh   amtò(l) git   tòh   [tik **bók**   ta
           speak-TR INJ 2.PAU   pluck try   one   **DESID** ART:CO2.IND

           in   sur   dat   él   gang   tòh   i."
           (f)in]NP sur   dat   é-l   gang   tòh   i
           fruit   INTENT 1.PL.INC 3.SG-IRR drink try   3.SG

           "Now that it (the tree) was strong they said, "*Hey, you pluck any of these fruits please so we can taste it!'* "

                                                                    (LAM [35])

b.   *Oh,*   *ngak*   *tik*   ***bók***   *ta*   *papalin*
           oh   [nga-k   tik   **bók**   ta   papali-n
           INJ   CL:FOOD-1.SG.POSS   one   **DESID**   ART:CO2.IND   shell-POSS

           bòròi   *lik.*
           bòròi   lik]$_{NP}$
           pig   little

           'Oh, that's my pig skin to eat please!'

                                                                 (BUBULUT [x])

As is suggested by the glossing used here, *bók* could often be translated to English as 'please', but it is clear that this is something of an oversimplification. This is because in some contexts, *bók* clearly does not express a desiderative on the part of the speaker. Consider the following example:

(619)   *Kinbalik,*   *a nuki*   *nak*   *tik*   *masik*   *i*   *tat*   *lik*
          kinbali-k   a=nuk-i   nak   tik   masik   i   tat   lik
          friend-1.SG.POSS   1.SG=think-TR   COMPL   one   other   3.SG   find   little

          ép   *ran*   *ngan*   *darau,*   *ma*   *u*
          ép   ran   nga-n   darau   ma   u
          ART:CO1   earth.oven   CL:FOOD-POSS   1.DU.INC   but   2.SG

          sa   ***bók!"***
          sa   **bók**
          RESTR   **DESID**

          'My friend, I thought it was somebody else who uncovered our earth oven (and stole the pig), but it was you!'

                                                                 (RTK [21])

Bòk here reminds of Tok Pisin *plis* ('please; to beg/entreat', Mihalic 1971: 158). The phrase *"Oh plis!"* is sometimes heard from Tok Pisin speakers expressing surprise or following a good laugh, and therefore it might be possible that Tok Pisin might also have had an influence on the distribution of *bók* (or vice versa). Regardless of the syntactic analysis though, it is clear that there is a certain quality of modality to *bók*, but further investigation will be necessary to determine how it works in detail.

12.1.3   Other types of subordination

In the following subsections we will investigate intentive clauses introduced by *sur* (§12.1.3.1), purposive clauses introduced by *kón* (§12.1.3.2), adversative clauses

introduced by *sak* (§12.1.3.3) and contrastive clauses introduced by the subordinator *ma* (§12.2.3).

12.1.3.1   Intentive clauses (*sur*)

Intentive clauses in Siar are introduced by the preposition *sur* (henceforth labelled INTENT):

(620) *Matò*   *inan* *tar*   ***sur***   *matòl*   *él*   *amrai* *pòl.*
    [matò(l)   inan   tar]_{MainCl} [**sur**   matòl   é-l   amrai   pòl]_{INTENT}
    1.PAU.EX   go   PRF   **INTENT** 1.PAU.EX 3.SG-IRR   bring   dog

    'We went in order to hunt pigs.'

Intentive clauses refer to states or events that are directly or indirectly controlled by an animate entity. This is the crucial difference to purposive clauses (cf. section §12.1.3.2) which do not have an animate entity controlling the event. In the above example, the event in the intentive clause (the pig hunt) is planned by the referents represented by the subject pronoun *matò* 'we'.

As shown in section §9.1.2, the preposition *sur* can also take NP arguments, in which case the NP carries a GOAL role, as is the case in the following example:

(621) *Matò*   *bòrbòr* *papalas*   ***sur***   *ép*   *kirai.*
    matò(l)   [bòrbòr   pa~palas]_{SVC} **sur**   [ép   kirai]_{NP}
    1.PAU.EX   sleep   RED~get.up   **GOAL**   ART:CO1   day

    'We were sleeping, awaiting (lit *getting up for*) the day.'

                          (AMP 2 [6])

The semantics of a goal role and the intentive role are closely related because in order to obtain a desired entity, an action must usually be taken or intended to obtain it.

An intentive clause refers to an event or state that has not happened at the time of the event expressed in the main clause. Consequentially, events and states in an intentive clause need to be specified for irrealis, as is the case in (620) above. The event or state in the intentive clause may, in addition, be specified for event focus as well, in case the speaker regards the intentive event or state as very likely to happen or if he or she wants to stress the fact that the event in the intentive clause has already happened:

(622) *Bèl* *m'i*   *bóngnai* **su'kal**   *kèlès*
     [bèl   m(a)=i   bóngnai]_{MainCl} [**su(r)=k-a-l**   kèlès
     NEG   TRANS=3.SG   take.long   **INTENT=FOC-1.SG-IRR**   turn

     ép   *lalaun*   *anuk*   *i.*
     ép   la~laun   anu-k   i]_{INTENT}
     ART:CO1   RED~life   CL:GEN-1.SG.POSS   3.SG

     'It did not take long for me to change my life.'

                                                      (KÈL [2])

In this example, the changing of the speaker's life is marked irrealis because the speaker considers the change as not yet having happened. But by also using the event focus marker he stresses that he could do so anytime.

     Intentive clauses may also occur in a negated form, in which case the negator *bèl* 'not' or the prohibitive marker *góng* 'do not' immediately follows intentive *sur*:

(623) a. *D'él*   *kar*   *i*   **sur**   **bèl**   *m'ól*   *yan*
           [d(i)=é-l   kar   i]_{MainCl} [**sur**   **bèl**   m(a)=ó-l   yan
           IND=3.SG-IRR scrape 3.SG **INTENT** **NEG** TRANS=2.SG-IRR   eat.TR

           ép   *baran*   *angan*   *ngan*   *kai*
           ép   baran   angan   nga-n   kai
           ART:CO1   thing   eat   CL:FOOD-POSS   ART:ANIM.PL

           madar.
           madar]_{INTENT}
           foreigner

           'They will scrape it so that you won't eat food like that of foreigners.'
                                                (UÒ [111-A])

     b. *Mara*   *mòlòh*   **sur**   **góng**   *ép*   *bat*   *i*
           [mara(u)   mòlòh]_{MainCl} [**sur**   **góng**   ép   bat   i
           1.DU.EX   shelter   **INTENT**   **PROH**   ART:CO1   rain   3.SG

           um   *marau.*
           um   marau]_{INTENT}
           hit   1.DU.EX

           'We were seeking shelter so would not get wet in the rain.'
                                                (AIM [5])

Another common type of intentive clause is one that contains a directional expression:

(624) | *Dira* | *inan* | *s'an* | *Lamassa* | *katóng* | | *an* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [dira(u) | inan | Ø-s(ai)=an | Lamassa | ka-t-óng | | an |
| 3.DU | go | (LOC-)DIST=at | PN | ALL-LOC-*back* | | at |

Kingén	*sur*	*katóng*		*an*	*Kabóman.*
Kingén]_{MainCl}	[sur	ka-t-óng		an	Kabóman]_{INTENT1}
PN	**INTENT**	ALL-LOC-*back*		at	PN

'They went from Lamassa to Kingén to go to Kabóman.'

(LAM [5])

In all instances of the Siar corpus, the demonstrative occurs in its allative form (cf. section §8.2.1.5) when it is situated within an intentive clause. A directional expression such as *katóng an Kabóman* 'to Kabóman (in clockwise direction)' in the above example is a constituent above the phrasal level since *an Kabóman* 'to Kabóman' is already a PP by itself. Further evidence comes from the observation that such a directional expression can also be conjoined to another autonomous clause via the coordinator *ap* 'and' (cf. section §12.2.1).

There are some constructions in which the intentive subordinator *sur* and the complementizer *(ka)nak* are combined, in which case the intentive clause is an argument of the verb in the main clause. The order cannot be reversed (*kanak sur), which suggests that should both forms be present, the intentive subordinator always has scope over the complementizer:

(625) | *Junior* | *i* | *warai* | *sur* | *kanak* | *ngan* | | *ap* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [Junior | i | war-ai]_{MainCl} | [sur | [kanak | nga-n]_{CompCl}]_{PurpCl} | | ap |
| PN | 3.SG | speak-TR | **INTENT** | **COMP** | CL:FOOD-3.SG.POSS | | and |

yau	*a tar*	*i.*
yau	a=tar	i
1.SG	1.SG=give	3.SG

'Junior said he wanted to eat it and I gave it (to him).'

(BUS [13])

In some instances in my data, an intentive clause is embedded in another intentive clause:

(626) *É*   *Francis* *warai*   *é*   *ma*   *ding*
  é   Francis   war-ai   é   ma   d-ing
  ART:PROP PN   speak-TR   ART:PROP   PERS.DEM   DEM.SG-ANA

  él   *ayapyap*   *ép*   *bot*   *katim*   *an*   *Weitin*
  é-l   ayap~yap   ép   bot_TP ka-t-im   an   Weitin
  3.SG-IRR   quick-RED   ART:CO1   boat   ALL-LOC-*down*   at   PN

  sur   *al*   *ayap*   *kapit* *katim*   *an*   *Silur*
  [**sur**   a-l   ayap   kapit   ka-t-im   an   Silur]_INTENT1
  INTENT 1.SG-IRR   be.quick   quick   ALL-LOC-*down*   at   PN

  sur   *él*   *nangan*   *yau* *ón*   *tók*   *marasin.*
  [[**sur**   é-l   nangan   yau   ó-n   tók   marasin]_INTENT2]
  INTENT 3.SG-IRR   help   1.SG   OBL-POSS   ART:[-COUNT]   medicine_TP

'Francis told this one to hurry up with the boat north to Weitin so I will arrive quickly at Silur so they can give me some medicine.'

(AMP 5 [73])

The second intentive clause (INTENT2) is here embedded in the first intentive clause (INTENT1).

From a semantic point of view, there is an interesting correlation between the intentive subordinator *sur* and the verb *sur* 'remove obstacle'. If we follow Dixon's (2009: 17) assumption that the event in the main clause is supposed to ensure that the state or event in the purposive clause takes place, then having the GOAL/intentive preposition grammaticalize from a verb meaning REMOVE OBSTACLE is a conceivable process, in a sense that the event in the main clause prepares the path for the event in the purposive clause to occur (i.e. it 'removes the obstacles'). However, such a correlation has not been observed by Heine & Kuteva (2002).[177]

12.1.3.2   Purposive clauses (*kón*)

Purposive clauses (PurpCl) are introduced by the preposition *kón* 'for; in order to'.[178] An important difference between purposive clauses and intentive clauses introduced by *sur* is that purposive clauses do not imply a controlling entity related to the event in

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[177] Heine & Kuteva (2002: 335) list the following concepts as the most likely sources for purposive (though not intentive) markers: *allative*, *benefactive*, *come to*, *complementizer*, *give*, *go to*, *matter* and *say*.

[178] Compare Label *si/su* (Peekel 1915), Ramoaaina *kup(i)* (Davies & Fritzell 1992) and Vinitiri *supu* (Van Der Mark 2007). The term purposive is used for Vinitiri and Ramoaaina, while for Label no specific term apart from subordinator is given. The formal resemblance with Siar *sur* is striking in the cases of Label and Vinitiri, and the cognacy is conceivable in the case of the Ramoaaina form.

the purposive clause. While this semantic distinction is rather subtle, there are more obvious differences on a formal level. Consider the following example:

(627)   *Diat*   *babasi*   *ép*   *kéh*   *s'an*   *lón*
         [diat   ba~bas-i   ép   kéh   Ø-s(ai)=an   ló-n
         3.PAU   RED~throw-TR   ART:CO1   net   (LOC-)DIST=at   mouth-POSS

         bòn   **kón**   *kéh*   *sis.*
         bòn]$_{MainCl}$ [**kón**   kéh   sis]$_{PurpCl}$
         sea   **PURP**   net   fish

         'They cast the net into the sea in order to catch fish.'

                                                                (NAT [3])

Note how in this example no clear statement is made with regard to who actually cast the net.

      As opposed to intentional clauses, purposive clauses introduced by *kón* are not finite. Finite clauses are here defined as clauses that may specified for modality and that do not involve a subject marker or pronoun. The above example is made up of a finite main clause with a subject pronoun *diat* 'they' and a non-finite purposive clause without a subject or modality specification.

      In some constructions in my data, there are two juxtaposed purposive clauses:

(628)   *I*   *asósóng*   *tar*   **kón** **inan**
         i   asó~só-ng   tar   [**kón**   [[inan]$_{VP}$]$_{Purp1}$
         3.SG   deceive<RED>deceive   PRF   **PURP** go

         kón **amrai**   **pòl.**
         [**kón**   [amrai   pòl]$_{VP}$]$_{Purp2}$]$_{Purp}$
         PURP bring   dog

         'He fooled (her), saying that he went hunting pigs.'

                                                                (MAT [31])

In the above example, the second purposive (Purp$_2$) is embedded in the first purposive clause (Purp$_1$), thus forming a bigger purposive clause (Purp). Purp1 and Purp2 both are both non-finite clauses.

      The intentive preposition *sur* cannot replace *kón* in the above example (*[*sur kéh sis*]$_{PurpCl}$). But in some instances, *sur* and *kón* can indeed co-occur. In such cases, *sur* always precedes *kón* which suggests that *sur* has semantic and syntactic scope over *kón*. In spoken Siar, *sur* often becomes proclitic *su=* in such cases, to which the

purposive marker *kón* is phonologically attached. The following sentence shows an intentive clause introduced by *sur* and two refective NPs introduced by *kón*, of which the latter is in the scope of intentive *sur*:

(629) | *Dir'él* | *muri* | *i* | **sur** | *él* | *arèrè* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [dir(au)=é-l | mur-i | i]_MainCl | [[**sur** | é-l | a-rè~rè |
| 3.DU=3.SG-IRR | follow-TR | 3.SG | **INTENT** | 3.SG-IRR | CAUS-RED~see |

dirau	**kón**	*babasi*	*ép*	*kéh*	*su'kón*
dirau	**[kón**	ba-bas-i	ép	kéh]_PurpNP	[**su(r)=kón**
3.DU	**PURP**	RED~throw-TR	ART:CO1	net	**INTENT=for**

kéhkéh	*tarai.*
kéh~kéh	tarai]_PurpCl2]_PurpCl1
RED~net	men

'The two would follow him so he could teach them how to cast the net in order to catch people.'

(NAT [5])

12.1.3.3 Adversative clauses (*sak*)

Adversative clauses (AdvsCl) are introduced by the subordinator *sak*. Rowe (2005: 60) refers to such clauses as *lest clauses*, which implies a negative consequence in the *lest* clause which is not desired by at least one referent in the context.[179] A typical example for such a construction is shown below:

(630) | *Matòl* | *él* | *mumun* | *sòi* | *ép* | *tarai* | *laulau* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [matòl | é-l | mumun | sòi | ép | tarai | laulau |
| 1.PAU.EX | 3.SG-IRR | hide | move.away | ART:CO1 | men | bad |

ning	**sak**	*dit*	*él*	*um*	*amat*	*tar*	*matòl.*
n-ing]_MainCl	[**sak**	dit	é-l	um	a-mat	tar	matòl]_AdvsCl
DEM.[-SG]-ANA	**ADVS**	3.PL	3.SG-IRR	hit	CAUS-die	PRF	1.PAU.EX

'We must hide from those troublemakers, lest they kill us.'

(BAL [12])

In almost all instances, therefore, such constructions can be translated to English using the subordinators *lest* or *otherwise*, or they could be paraphrased as *so that not x* or *it would be bad if x*.

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[179] Peekel (1915: 106) translates the Lambel word *saka(r)* as 'bad'.

However, in addition to clauses referring to undesirable outcomes, *sak* also introduces neutral or desirable outcomes. Consider the following example:

(631) *Dar'él*   *pòr*   *tóh*   *tar*   *i*   *ma*   ***sak***   *a*   *in*
    [dar(au)=é-l   pòr   tóh   tar   i   ma]$_{MainCl}$ [**sak**   a   (f)in
    1.DU.INC=3.SG-IRR bury   try   PRF   3.SG   TRANS   **ADVS** ART:CO2   fruit

    ép   *yai*   *na*   *él*   *góm.*
    ép   yai   n-a   é-l   góm]$_{AdvsCl}$
    ART:CO1 tree   DEM.[-SG]-PROX   3.SG-IRR   grow

'Let us try and plant this fruit to see if it grows.'

                                               (LAM [11])

In the context of the narrative, the referents found a coconut that had been washed ashore on the beach. The island was said not to have had any coconuts before, and the protagonists planted it to see if something would emerge from it. This would be a desirable event. Positive adversative clauses are very rare (only one positive interpretation can be found in my corpus, as opposed to 13 negative interpretations). The positive reading is the motivation for labelling this type of clause adversative rather than apprehensive, since apprehensive clauses usually imply a negative event (Timberlake 2008: 329).

Note that all events in the adversative clause are marked for irrealis. This marking is obligatory in adversative clauses.

It is possible to have clauses with an adversative interpretation which are not introduced by the adversative marker *sak*. In such cases, the clause with the adversative state or event is an autonomous clause separated from the other clause by only an intonational break (indicated by a comma in the following example), and the adversative clause contains a predicate specified for irrealis:

(632) *Góng*   *u*   *kès*   *kòt*   *lik*   *an*   *lakan*   *widò*   *lar*   *ning,*
    [góng   u   kès   kòt   lik   an   laka-n   windo$_{TP}$ lar   n-ing]
    PROH   2.SG   sit   close little at   top-POSS   window   like   DEM.[-SG]-ANA

    ól   *pung*   *tar*   *tim*   *pirim!*
    [ó-l   pung   tar   t-im   pirim]$_{AdvsCl}$
    2.SG-IRR   fall   PRF   LOC-down move.down

'Don't sit on the windowsill like that, you will fall down!'

                                                (UÒ [74-A])

Note that structurally, syntactically independent hypothetical clauses like the one above differ from subordinate adversative clauses such as (630) and (631). It is perfectly grammatical to insert the adversative marker in the initial position of the hypothetical clause in the above example, which then syntactically subordinates the hypothetical (adversative) clause to the main clause.

Diachronically, it can be argued that there is a correlation between the adversative subordinator *sak* and the adverb *sakan* 'a little bit; carefully'. *Sakan* never occurs by itself but always together with the verb *tòl* 'do'. If we analyze *sak* as a shortened form of the adverb *sakan* diachronically, then it is plausible that adversative clauses in Siar originally emerged from constructions in which the adversative state or event was the one to be avoided by doing an activity 'carefully'.

12.2   Coordination

In coordination, one clause is not in a subordinate relation to another. Rather, combined clauses are structurally equal. Four types of coordination can be observed in Siar: additive clauses introduced by *ap* 'and' (§12.2.1), alternative clauses introduced by *ó* 'or' (§12.2.2), contrastive clauses introduced by *ma* 'but' (§12.2.3) and temporal coordination with masuk 'then' (§12.2.4).

12.2.1   Additive clauses (*ap*)

Additive clauses (AddCl) are the most common clause type in Siar. They are linked via the coordinator *ap* 'and'. The form *ap* is also used to conjoin other types of constituents which need not be clausal (e.g. NPs, VPs, adjectives etc). In the following example, the two autonomous clauses are conjoined using *ap*:

(633) *Ép   pòl   ki   inan **ap**   ki   warai ép*
         ép   pòl   k-i   inan **ap**   [k-i   war-ai ép
         ART:CO1   dog   FOC-3.SG   go   **and** FOC-3.SG   speak-TR ART:CO1

       kailam.
       kailam]~AddCl~
       lizard

       'The dog went and he told the lizard.'

                                                                    (RTK [21])

Note that only the second clause has been labelled an additive clause here. This is because the second clause follows the first clause in the sentence, which means that the second clause is added to the first. Semantically, however, there is no crucial difference between the clauses.

An additive clause does not need to contain a verb, it can be made of a directional demonstrative or a directional PP. In such contexts, the additive clause gets an *until*-reading.

(634) | *Diat* | *yawas* | ***ap*** | *katim* | *sén* | *an* | *Kabaila.* |
|-------|--------|---------|---------|-------|------|------------|
| diat | yawas | **ap** | [ka-t-im | sén | an | Kabaila]_{AddCl} |
| 3.PAU | paddle | **and** | ALL-LOC-down | EMPH | at | PN |

'They paddled all the way to Kabaila.'

(LÒU [11])

As was shown in section §12.1.1, the coordinator *ap* is also used to link relational clauses (relative clauses, conditional clauses and relative time clauses) with main clauses.

12.2.2   Alternative clauses (*ó*)

Alternative clauses (AltCl) which are introduced by the coordinator *ó* 'or' represent events or states that are alternatives to the events or states in the main clause. An example is shown below:

(635) | *A* | *liwan* | *i* | *yan* | *i* | ***ó*** | *ép* | *bòròi* | *i* | *yan* |
|-------|---------|-----|-------|-----|---------|------|---------|-----|-------|
| a | liwan | i | yan | i | **ó** | [ép | bòròi | i | yan |
| ART:CO2 | knife | 3.SG | eat | 3.SG | **or** | ART:CO1 | pig | 3.SG | eat |

i?
i]_{AltCl}
3.SG

'Was he cut by a knife or was he bitten by a pig?'

(AMP 5 [34])

The semantics of this construction involve two possible worlds: one in which a knife caused the wound and another one in which a pig's bite caused the wound.

An alternative clause can also embed a subordinate clause:

(636)	*Na*	*diat*	*kél*		*lòu*	*ma*	*tó*		*sah*	*na*
na	diat	k-é-l		lòu	ma	tó		sah	na
REL	3.PAU	FOC-3.SG-IRR		buy	TRANS	ART:[-ANIM].PL		what	REL

diat	*rak*	*sur*	*kón*		*ép*	*simén*
diat	rak	sur	kón		ép	simén$_{TP}$
3.PAU	want	PURP	REFCT		ART:CO1	cement

ó	*lar*	*na*	*i*	*is*		*ép*	*minat*	*i*
[ó	lar	na	i	is		ép	m<in>at	i
or	like	REL	3.SG	how.many		ART:CO1	die<NOM>die	3.SG

ning		*ó*	*lar*	*i*	*a*		*bun*	*kuntan*	*in*
n-ing]$_{AltCl1}$		[ó	lar	i	a		bun	kuntan	in]$_{AltCl2}$
DEM.[-SG]-ANA		**or**	like	3.SG	ART:CO2		old.man	huge	LIG

diat	*él*		*wur*	*ma*	*ép*		*simén*	*ón.*
diat	é-l		wur	ma	ép		simén$_{TP}$	ó-n
3.PAU	3.SG-IRR		work	TRANS	ART:CO1		cement	OBL-3.SG.POSS

'When they buy the things they need for the graves they consider how many graves there should be or if they are for important men, and then they will prepare the graves with it.'

(LLM [68])

The alternative clauses AltCl$_1$ and AltCl$_2$ in above example embed a relative clause (introduced by *lar na* 'like if') and a relative-like clause (introduced by *lar* 'like') respectively. The primary alternation here is between alternative clause 1 and 2, that is either the state in alternative clause 1 is true (i.e. the number of graves is the primary concern) or the state in alternative clause 2 is true (i.e. the number of important men to be buried is the primary concern). Note that it would be sufficient to have only one alternative coordinator *ó* just between the two alternative clauses to link them. However, there is another alternative subordinator that introduces alternative clause 1, which means that alternative clause 1 is also linked to the first clause (*'When they buy the things they need for the graves'*).

Similarly to the coordinator *ap*, the alternative coordinator *ó* not only links clauses but also coordinates NPs, VPs, adjectives, adverbs and other constituents.

12.2.3 Contrastive clauses (*ma*)

Contrastive clauses (ContrCl) are introduced by the contrastive coordinator *ma*, which is a grammaticalization of the event transition marker *ma* (cf. section §10.2.3.6). A contrastive clause expresses a state or event which contrasts with the event

represented in the main clause. Dixon (2009: 6) points out that an additional characteristic of such clauses is that it *'may be surprising in view of [the main clause]'*.

(637) *Bèl   i   lós   tar   ép   turai   ma   yau   a lós*
       [bèl   i   lós   tar   ép   turai]_{MainCl}   [ma   yau   a=lós
       NEG   3.SG carry PRF   ART:CO1   spear   but   1.SG 1.SG=carry

       ép   turai.
       ép   turai]_{ContrCl}
       ART:CO1   spear

       'He did not take the spear, but I took it.'

                                                                (SÓ [6])

In this example, the fact that the speaker took the spear contrasts with the event in which the other person took the spear.

The coordinator *ma* and the event transition marker *ma* (from which it has grammaticalized) can easily be distinguished on syntactic grounds. The coordinator always precedes and introduces clauses whereas the event transition marker always follows and modifies a predicate.

A contrastive clause may be further specified by the event transition marker *ma*, which stresses the temporality of the state represented by the contrastive clause (e.g. *ma bèl ma* 'but that was not the case now'), as in the following example:

(638) *A nuki   kanak   a   pipi   i   pirim   ón*
       a=nuk-i   kanak   a   pipi   i   pirim   ó-n
       1.SG=think-TR COMP   ART:CO2   lightning 3.SG move.down   OBL-POSS

       ti   lamas   ma   bèl.
       ti   lamas   [ma   bèl]_{ContrCl}
       ART:CO1.IND coconut but   NEG

       'I thought that lightning had struck a coconut tree, but (that was) not (the case).'

                                                                (KAL [8])

12.2.4   Temporal coordination (*masuk*)

In the more conservative east coast dialect of Siar, there is also a dedicated temporal coordinator *masuk* 'then'. This coordinator introduces a relative time clause in the same way as the relational marker *na* does in the west coast dialect, and like in the west coast dialect there is also no intonational break between the coordinator and the

relative time clause as in (639a) below. When in adverbial function, *masuk* is followed by an intonational break, which indicates that it is not part of the subordinate clause itself. Rather, it situates the event or state expressed in the predicate to a time relative to the time of the previous utterance (639b).

(639)   a.   *Na   i   rungut'an   main   ip   kusur*
             [na   i   rungut=(in)an   mai-n   ip   kusur
             REL   3.SG   sudden.movement=go COM-POSS   ART:CO1   spear

             ning   di   pirim,   masuk   a dat   ais
             n-ing]ᵣₑₗ꜀ₗ   [di   pirim]ₘₐᵢₙ꜀ₗ [masuk꜀ₒₙⱼ a=dat   a-is
             DEM.[-SG].ANA   IND   move.down   then   1.SG=pull   CAUS-return

             i.
             i]ᵣₜ꜀ₗ
             3.SG

             'When it escaped down with the spear I pulled it back.'

                                                                   (ÉPF [50])

        b.   *Ma   masuk,   i'disai   ma   lón*
             ma   masukₐ𝒹ᵥ   i=(a-)d-isai   ma   ló-n
             but   then   3.SG=(DEX-)DEM.SG-DIST   TRANS   mouth-POSS

             ép   ran   ki   angan.
             ép   ran   k-i   angan
             ART:CO1   earth.oven   FOC-3.SG   eat.ITR

             'But then, he was busy there inside the earth oven eating.'

                                                                   (KINAU [37])

Note also that in (639b) the relative time adverbial *masuk* is part of a contrastive clause introduced by the subordinator *ma* (which is discussed in section §12.2.3). It is therefore not a subordinator itself, but that does not have much influence on its semantics since it still relates two events temporally.

12.3   Speech reports

Direct and indirect speech can be found in narratives as well as conversational language. Cross-linguistically, direct speech is frequently found in narratives where it makes a story more lively. Indirect speech, on the other hand, is often used in more formal contexts and when liveliness and the accuracy of the original quotation are less

important (see e.g. Aikhenvald 2007). The following sections will investigate both speech report types in further detail.

Section §12.3.1 will investigate indirect speech, section §12.3.2 will focus on direct speech and section §12.3.3 will give an overview over the different speech report verbs.

12.3.1 Indirect speech

In indirect speech, the content of the original utterance is summarized without matching the voice, intonation, or words of the original speaker. In addition, the quoted situation is deictically adapted to the speech situation in person, tense and location. The following sections investigate the form and syntax (§12.3.1.1) and semantics of indirect speech (§12.3.1.2) in further detail.

12.3.1.1 Form and syntax

In Siar, indirect speech involves a quotation frame. Indirect speech requires that the quotation itself is introduced by the complementiser *(ka)nak* and, optionally, the relational marker *na* which may follow it (640a), or both precede and follow it (640b). The following examples were taken from the same narrative and use slightly different strategies to introduce the indirect speech clause:

(640) a.
Mara	*ki*	*warai*	*dit*	***nak***	***n'ép***	*wai*
[mara(u)	k-i	war-ai	dit	**nak**	**n(a)=**]$_{QF}$ [ép	wai
1.DU.EX	FOC-3.SG	say-TR	3.PL	**COMPL**	**REL=**ART:CO1	crocodile

ki	*kutus*	*tar*	*ép*	*limak.*
k-i	kutus	tar	ép	lima-k]$_{QUOTE}$
FOC-3.SG	bite.off	PRF	ART:CO1	hand-1.SG.POSS

'We told them that a crocodile had bitten off my hand.'

(WAI [49])

b.   *Dit   ki   warai sit   ning   na kanak*

[dit	k-i	war-ai	sit	n-ing	**na**	**kanak**
3.PL	FOC-3.SG	say-TR	PERS.DEM.PL	DEM.[-SG]-ANA	**REL**	**COMP**

***na** ép   wai   ki   kutus tar   ép*

na]QF	[ép	wai	k-i	kutus	tar	ép
REL	ART:CO1	crocodile	FOC-3.SG	bite.off	PRF	ART:CO1

limak.

lima-k]QUOTE
hand-1.SG.POSS

'They told those people that a crocodile had bitten off my hand.'

(WAI [52])

As discussed in section §12.1.2, the different forms of the complementizer *(na) (ka)nak (na)* seem to be available in all uses of the complementizer.

     The use of the complementizer indicates that the speech report is an argument of the speech report verb. In addition, a quotation frame for an indirect speech report may also contain an addressee NP. Since such an NP may be marked as core argument (by virtue of its position immediately following the verb), speech report verbs for indirect speech are taken to be ditransitive.

     In only few instances, the complementizer is not present at all, and the indirect speech clause is introduced only by the relational marker *na*:

(641) *Dira ki   yan tar ép   yai na i   warai*

dira(u)	k-i	yan	tar	ép	yai	na	[i	war-ai
3.DU	FOC-3.SG	eat.TR	PRF	ART:CO1	tree	REL	3.SG	speak-TR

***na** góng dira yan   tar   i.*

na]QF	[góng	dira(u)	yan	tar	i]QUOTE
REL	PROH	3.DU	eat.TR	PRF	3.SG

'The two had eaten from the tree that he had told them not to eat from.'

(FAK [12])

In other instances, indirect speech is introduced by the intentive subordinator *sur* (cf. section §12.1.3.1). This is usually the case when the indirect speech is an imperative (642a) or prohibitive (642b):

(642) a. *I*   *warai*   *yau*   **sur**   *ning*   *al*   *nós*
      [i   war-ai   yau   **sur**]_{QF} [n-ing   a-l   nós
      3.SG   say-TR   1.SG   **INTENT** DEM.[-SG].ANA   1.SG-IRR look

      kasai   *sup.*
      ka-Ø-sai   sup]_{QUOTE}
      ALL-(LOC-)DIST   inside

      'He told me to look inside (the house).'

                                              (ÈRB [13])

      b. *I*   *warai*   *yau*   **sur**   ***góng***   *al*   *inan.*
         [i   war-ai   yau   **sur**]_{QF} [**góng**   a-l   inan]_{QUOTE}
         3.SG   say-TR   1.SG   **INTENT** **PROH** 1.SG-IRR go

         'He told me not to go.'

                                            (elicited)

12.3.1.2   Semantics

One of the defining characteristics of indirect speech, as opposed to direct speech, is that there is usually a shift of person, spatial and temporal deixis and reference. This means that the quoting person adjusts referential relations of the original quotation to his or her own perspective. Person shift (typically from first and second to third person) can be observed in all example sentences of the previous section.

In the following example, there is no other evidence as to whether the speech report is direct or indirect, except for the use for the free modal pronoun *mar'él* which indicates a person shift:

(643) *A*   *warai*   *é*   *Solomon*   ***mar'él***   *bas*   *kawas*
      [a   war-ai   é   Solomon]_{QF} [**mar(au)=é-l**   bas   kawas
      1.SG   speak-TR   ART:PROP   PN   **1.DU.EX=3.SG-IRR** must move.up

      tawan.
      tawan]_{QUOTE}
      k.o.tree

      'I told Solomon that we had to climb the tree.'

                                              (BUS [2])

If we had a case of direct speech, than the inclusive pronoun *darau* (or the clitic form *dar'él* with the modality marker) would have been used instead.

It also follows from the use of the exclusive form of the first person dual pronoun that the addressee of the utterance is not a part of the event in the quotation.

With indirect speech, one can also observe a shift in spatial deixis.

(644)   a.   *Dit   él   isis   **kata**   an   lakman.*
             dit   é-l   is~is   **ka-t-a**   an   lakman
             3.PL   3.SG-IRR   RED~return **ALL-LOC-PROX**   at   village

        'They will come back here to the village.'

                                                  (AMP [7])

      b.   *I   warai   kanak   na   dit   él   isis   **katim***
                                        [i   war-ai kanak   na]_{QF} [dit   é-l   is~is   **ka-t-im**
                                        3.SG say-TR COMP   REL 3.PL 3.SG-IRR RED~return **ALL-LOC-down**

           an   lakman.
                                        an   lakman]_{QUOTE}
                                        at   village

        'He said that they will return to the village.'

The demonstrative in (644a) is specified for proximality ('here' / near speaker) because the speaker is referring to his own location. Sentence (644b) shows how sentence (644a) could be quoted indirectly when uttered in a location outside New Ireland Province. Since the village is not nearby anymore, the demonstrative root switches to the form *-im* which indicates movement towards the Siar area (cf. section §8.1.2 on the semantics of demonstrative roots). It is important to note that since Siar uses an absolute directional system, such shifts in locational deixis often can not be observed.

Temporality also tends to change in indirect speech. Normally, there is a temporal shift from present (in the original utterance) to past (in the quotation) because a quotation is normally made after the original utterance has been made. Although Siar does not have any grammatical tenses (cf. section §6.1), temporal shifts can still be expressed with temporal adverbs:

(645)   a.   *Al   inan   ón   ép   liman   kirai.*
             a-l   inan   ó-n   ép   lim-an   kirai
             1.SG-IRR go   OBL-POSS ART:CO1 five-ORD day

        'I will go on Friday.'

b. *I   warai   kanak   na   i   inan   **labòng***.
    [i   war-ai   kanak   na]_{QF} [i   inan   **labòng**]_{QUOTE}
    3.SG   say-TR   COMPL   REL   3.SG   go   **yesterday**

'He said that he went yesterday.'
(uttered at least one day after (645a) was uttered)

12.3.2   Direct speech

Direct speech aims at repeating previous utterances as if the person being reported was actually speaking. In the ideal case, this includes the usage of the exact words as they were uttered, with the same intonation and pauses (and perhaps voice quality). The main difference between direct speech and indirect speech then is that in direct speech there are usually no shifts in personal, local or temporal deixis (see e.g. Aikhenvald 2007: 385, Vandelanotte 2009: 58). Indirect speech is characteristic of not having imitative or "theatrical" effects which contribute to the liveliness of the quotation that direct speech reports have.

In order to distinguish direct speech from a speaker's own utterances, direct speech needs to be marked. This marking can happen in various ways, e.g. by morphological marking (such as dedicated affixes) or lexical marking (e.g. by speech report verbs), intonation or syntactic arrangement. Siar applies the last three mechanisms in order to introduce direct speech. The syntactic arrangements for direct speech (indicated by quotation marks below) involve an introductory quotation frame (QF) expressed by a verb phrase. This verb phrase is headed by a member of the set of speech verbs (e.g. *warai* 'say-TR', *rak* 'want'[180]), which are discussed in section §12.3.3. The direct speech and the quotation frame are separated by a pause, often accompanied by other changes in the articulation pattern, such as rising or falling intonation or a complete change in voice quality when imitating other people's voices. While in languages such as English the quotation frame may also follow the direct quote, this is not possible in Siar (or at least extremely unusual). Direct speech is normally not introduced by a complementiser.

Typical examples of direct speech are shown in (646) below:

---

[180] *Rak* 'want' has another meaning similar to the quotative English *like*. The preposition *lar* 'like' in Siar can also be used to introduce direct or indirect speech.

(646) a. *I   rak,   "Latu   sén   alò   kél   inan sén*
    [i rak]_{QF} latu sén   alò k-é-l   inan sén
    3.SG want tomorrow EMPH again FOC-3.SG-IRR   go EMPH

    alò,   él   amrai   pòl."
    alò é-l   amrai pòl
    again 3.SG-IRR bring dog

    'He was like, *"Tomorrow he will go hunting pigs again."* '
                         (MAT [20])

  b. *Ép   pól   ki   warai   ép   kinbalin,*
    [ép   pól k-i   war-ai ép   kinbali-n]_{QF}
    ART:CO1 dog FOC-3.SG say-TR ART:CO1 friend-3.SG.POSS

    "Lak,   ól   mugai   dara   sa   ma."
    lak ó-l   mu(n)g-ai dara(u) sa ma
    buddy 2.SG-IRR lead-TR 1.DU.INC only TRANS

    'The dog said to his friend, *"Buddy, you just go ahead."* '
                         (RTK [11])

In both constructions, the direct speech is introduced by a quotation frame that is headed by the speech report verbs *rak* 'want; be like' and *warai* 'tell' respectively. It may be argued that the direct speech is also an argument in (646b). If it is, then it follows that *warai* is in fact ditransitive, selecting a subject (the speaker in the speech report), the addressee and the direct speech itself. Even though *warai* looks like a transitive verb due to the transitivizer suffix -V*i*, it is in fact ambitransitive. In (646b) it is transitive since it selects the addressee NP *ép kinbalin* 'his friend'. Counterevidence can be drawn from examples such as the following, in which neither of the two potential objects is expressed:

(647) *Na   kél   parai   ép   pakan   ap   amat él*
   na k-é-l   parai ép   pakan ap [amat é-l
   REL FOC-3.SG-IRR put ART:CO1 leaf and 2.PL 3.SG-IRR

   warai.
   war-ai]_{QF} [ø]_{ADDRESSEE} [ø]_{QUOTE}
   say-TR

   'When it develops leaves you will tell (us).'
                         (LAM [15])

As discussed in section §7.1.4, ditransitives verbs may only omit up to one core argument, not two. Since the above construction is syntactically intransitive (only a

subject is present in form of the third person singular subject marker *-é-*), only one argument may have been omitted here. We will assume that the omitted argument must be the addressee NP, the reason being that addressee NPs as they were shown in (646b) are marked as such (by immediately following the verb), whereas direct speech is usually not marked as an argument at all. As direct speech is a clausal constituent, it would have to be introduced by the complementizer *kanak*, which in standard cases of direct speech reports is never present. Overall, this leads us to conclude that only the addressee NP is an argument of the verb, whereas the direct speech is not, and hence these verbs have a maximum of two core arguments: the speaker of the direct quotation and the addressee.

Direct speech is not restricted to single sentences. A resulting problem is that it must be clear for every single sentence within this quotation frame that the quotation frame is still open. In cases of such multi-sentential direct speech, phonological clues (such as sticking to the same voice quality) are normally sufficient to indicate that the current utterance is still part of the currently established quotation frame. The context usually also provides useful clues.

A new quotation frame normally has to be established when the quoted entity or any other salient feature of the direct quote changes. In the narrative sequence in the following example, a new quotation frame is established whenever the quoted speaker changes:

(648) a.   ***Ép   kailam ki   warai,***

[ép	kailam	k-i	war-ai]$_{QF}$
ART:CO1	lizard	FOC-3.SG.SG	say-TR

"Kinbalik,   langin sén   u   inan tar ap   ép

[kinbali-k,	langin	sén	u	inan	tar	ap	ép
friend-1.SG.POSS	early	EMPH	2.SG	go	PRF	and	ART:CO1

sah   ma   na   u   tòl   i   na   ku   abòngnai

sah	ma	na	u	tòl	i	na	k-u	abòngnai
what	TRANS	REL	2.SG	do	3.SG	REL	FOC-2.SG	take.long

kòl?"

kòl]$_{QUOTE}$
very

'The lizard said, "*My friend, you left long ago, what have you been doing all the time?*" '

                                          (RTK [14])

b.   ***Ap***   ***ép***   ***pól***   ***ki***   ***warai,***

[ap	ép	pól	k-i	war-ai]_{QF}
and	ART:CO1	dog	FOC-3.SG	say-TR

      "Kinbalik,   *ép*   *balak*   *i*   *ngòngòt*   *kòl*

[kinbali-k,	ép	bala-k	i	ngò~ngòt	kòl
friend-POSS.1.SG	ART:CO1	stomach-1.SG.POSS	3.SG	RED~bite	very

      ap   *bèl a*   *wòt kapit."*

ap	bèl=a	wot	kapit]_{QUOTE}
and	NEG=1.SG	arrive	quick

'And the dog said, "*My friend, my stomach really hurt and I could not come quicker.*" '

<div align="right">(RTK [15])</div>

c.   ***Ap***   ***ép***   ***kailam***   ***ki***   ***warai,***

[ap	ép	kailam	k-i	war-ai]_{QF}
and	ART:CO1	lizard	FOC-3.SG	tell-TR

      "Darau   *kél*   *munmun*   *pas*   *sur*

[darau	k-é-l	mun~mun	pas	sur
1.DU.INC	FOC-3.SG-IRR	RED~dive.down	PFV	INTENT

      dar'él   *inan dar'él*   *tatat."*

dar(au)=é-l		inan	dar(au)=é-l		ta~tat]_{QUOTE}
1.DU.INC=	3.SG-IRR	go	1.DU.INC=3.SG-IRR		RED~find
we.two=will		go	we.two=will		uncover

'And the lizard said, "*Let's go and have a bath first before we go back and uncover (the pig in the earth oven).*" '

<div align="right">(RTK [15])</div>

In these sequential clauses, the narrator did not alternate his voice, and this made re-establishing the quotation frames necessary in all cases.

Aikhenvald (2007) finds that depending on the language there are restrictions on what kinds of clauses may be quoted directly. As opposed to indirect speech, direct speech may contain vocatives (as in 648a-b) and exclamations (649):

(649)   *Diat*   *ki*   *arwarai,*   ***"Wai,*** *i*   *da*
         [diat   k-i   ar-war-ai]_{QF}   [**wai** i   d-a
         3.PAU FOC-3.SG REC-say-TR   **hey** 3.SG DEM.SG-PROX

         ép   *yai* *na*   *ép*   *yai* *angan* *i*   *da!"*
         ép   yai n-a   ép   yai angan i   d-a]_{QUOTE}
         ART:CO1 tree DEM.[-SG]-PROX ART:CO1 tree eat.ITR 3.SG DEM.SG-PROX

         "They said to each other, *'Hey, this is a fruit tree!'* "

                                                 (LAM [45])

Note how in this example the speech report verb is prefixed with the reciprocal prefix *ar-*. As shown in section §7.2.4, the reciprocal prefix 'absorbs' an object and results in an *each other* reading. Since the addressees are therefore represented by the prefix, there is no need (and in fact, no option) to realize them as additional object NPs (this explains the ungrammaticality of e.g. **Diat ki arwarai **diat** …*).

    Direct speech may occasionally not be introduced by a framing clause that contains a speech report verb. This is possible in the following three scenarios:

a)   A quotation frame has already been established, and the current quote adds to the preceding quote in the same setting. This is most typical for multi-sentential quotes.

b)   The quoted person changes without a new quotation frame being established. This is often the case when speakers in a speech report are alternated without the alternation being specifically mentioned. The switching of the speaker is then usually indicated by a change in voice quality (e.g. from female voice to male voice).

c)   Direct speech may also occasionally be used without being introduced by any quotation frame at all. Direct speech reports that are not situated in any quotation frame may sometimes cause confusion, but often the context eliminates the ambiguities with regard to the speaker in the quotation. Change of voice quality can also help to disambiguate in this context.

There is one example in the Siar corpus that combines a direct speech report with an indirect speech report, similar to the semi-direct speech reports discussed in Aikhenvald (2007):

(650) | *Ép* | *fain* | *talung* | *ning* | | *ki* | *warai,* |
|------|--------|----------|---------|---|------|---------|
| [ép | fain | talung | n-ing | | k-i | war-ai]$_{QF1}$ |
| ART:CO1 | woman | demon | DEM.[-SG]-ANA | | FOC-3.SG | say-TR |

"Góng	*u*	*matutut!",*	*kanak*	*é*	*taman*	*mósó*
[góng	u	matutut]$_{QUOTE1}$	[kanak]$_{QF2}$	[é	tama-n	mósó
PROH	2.SG	afraid	COMPL	ART:PROP	father-3.SG.POSS	just

i	*ding.*
i	d-ing]$_{QUOTE2}$
3.SG	DEM.SG-ANA

'The witch said, "Don't be afraid!", that it was just his father.'

(AIN [21])

The first speech report (QUOTE1) is direct and initiated by the first quotation frame (QF1). Then, the complementizer *kanak* appears to make up a second quotation frame in which it introduces the indirect speech report (QUOTE2). It is clear from the use of the third person possessive suffix *-n* in the NP *tama-n* that the speech report must be indirect, because if it were direct, the possessive suffix would occur in its second person singular form *-m* (*tama-m*) since the witch would be directly addressing the person that is not supposed to be afraid.

12.3.3   Speech report verbs

As shown in the previous examples, the most common speech report verb is *warai* 'say; tell'. The choice of speech report verbs for indirect speech seems to be rather limited. Indirect quotations with other communication verbs such (such as *I sak i kanak na* … 'He sang that …') are highly marked and disfavoured over direct quotations. In the following example, the verb *asóng* 'to fool somebody' introduces an indirect speech report:

(651) | *Ép* | *pòl* | *ki* | *asóng* | *pas* | *i* |
|------|-------|------|---------|-------|-----|
| ép | pòl | k-i | asóng | pas | i |
| ART:CO1 | dog | FOC-3.SG | deceive | PFV | 3.SG |

nak	*ép*	*balan*	*i*	*ngòngòt.*
nak	[ép	bala-n	i	ngò~ngòt]$_{QUOTE}$
COMPL	ART:CO1	stomach-3.SG.POSS	3.SG	RED~hurt

'The dog tricked him (saying) that his stomach was hurting.'

(RTK [12])

This construction is unusual because the verb *asóng* 'trick; fool' in the quotation frame is not a verb typically associated with communication, as is typical for most other speech reports. Still we can find an indirect quotation here which is introduced by the complementizer *nak*. It seems that Siar allows for some variety with regard to the choice of speech report verb and that the verbs concerned do not have to denote a communicative event at all in some instances.

Verbs referring to emotional activities or events can also be potential speech report verbs. This is the case for *asóng* 'deceive', but also for verbs such *balkut* '(be) angry':

(652) | *É* | *Alwin* | *i* | ***balkut*** | *matò* | *ma* | *kanak* | *ép* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [é | Alwin | i | **balkut** | matò(l) | ma | kanak]_{QF} | [ép |
| ART:PROP | PN | 3.SG | **angry** | 1.PAU.EX | TRANS | COMP | ART:CO1 |

sah	*na*	*matò*	*tòl*	*i*	*ti'pukus.*
sah	na	matò(l)	tòl	i	t-i(m)=pukus]_{QUOTE}
INT	REL	1.PAU.EX	do	3.SG	LOC-down=towards.Cape.St.George

'Alwin was angry at us (asking) what we were doing there.'

(KUK [10])

The choice of speech report verbs is much greater for direct speech constructions. In these cases, the speech report verb often specifies a characteristic of the way in which the original utterance was made. In the following example, the verb *saksak* 'sing' specifies that the utterance was sung:

(653) | *Dira* | *ki* | ***saki,*** | *"Ayap* | *nana,* | *bèl* | *u* | *lóngrai* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [dira(u) | k-i | **saki**]_{QF} | [ayap | nana | bèl | u | lóngr-ai |
| 3.DU | FOC-3.SG | **sing-TR** | quick | mummy | NEG | 2.SG | listen-TR |

marau?"
marau]_{QUOTE}
1.DU.EX

"They were singing, *'Come mummy, can't you hear us?'* "

(URI [13])

Other direct speech reports can easily be constructed using speech report verbs such as *warwar kumi* 'whisper (lit. *say secretly*)' or *kukuk* 'shout'. This means that in principle, there are almost no restrictions with regard to what kinds of verbs can function as speech report verbs, providing they can refer to a communicative event.

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Language index

Appendix A: Story index

Code	Title	Translation	Speaker	Date
AGIL	*Ép ring anén é Agil*	*The ? under the Agil (river)*	Martin (Silur)	03.01.2009
AIM	*Aim ngélngél*	*Planting sweet potato*	Joyce Rison (Kabaila)	06/2008
AIN	*Ép talung ain*	*The witch*	Maksón (Silur)	03.01.2009
AKA	*Akas sòi ép minat*	*Burying a corpse*	To Ariman (Lamassa)	29.11.2008
AMP	*Amrai pòl*	*Hunting pigs*	Elli Lomi (Kabaila)	09/2007
AMP 2	*Amrai pòl 2*	*Hunting pigs*	Othniel Todave (Bólók)	06/2008
AMP 3	*Amrai pòl 3*	*Hunting pigs*	Freddy Tópin (Kukulè)	06/2008
AMP 4	*Amrai pòl 4*	*Hunting pigs*	Justin Pegi (Bólók)	06/2008
AMP 5	*Amrai pòl 5*	*Hunting pigs*	Kiapma Samuel (Malum Pirau)	02.01.2009
AMP 6	*Amrai pòl 6*	*Hunting pigs*	Rodson Ronald (Lamassa)	06/2008
AMP 7	*Amrai pòl 7*	*Hunting pigs*	Tónis (Malum Pirau)	03.01.2009
ARAT	*A kuk i arat ép barsan*	*The crab bit a man*	To Ariman (Lamassa)	29.11.2008
ARÈRÈ	*Inan katim ón a pukun kón arèrè*	*Going to school*	Solomon Rison (Kabaila)	06/2008
ARS	*Ép arsulai*	*The transport*	Bonnie (Pógól)	06/2008
ASA	*Asang é Tagórman*	*Hanging Tagórman*	Freddy Tópin (Kukulè)	06/2008
ASÓ	*Asósóng ép wakin*	*Fooling the wallaby*	To Ariman (Lamassa)	29.11.2008
ATUR	*Atur ép rumai*	*Building a house*	Soli Takau (Kabaila)	07/2008
BAB	*Babait*	*Fishing*	Laimen Todave (Bólók)	06/2008
BAB 2	*Babait 2*	*Fishing*	Wiken Towo (Namatanai)	09/2007
BAB 3	*Babait 3*	*Fishing*	Jackline (Lamassa)	06/2008
BAB 4	*Babait 4*	*Fishing*	Gilian (Lamassa)	07/2008
BAL	*Ép tarai babalkut*	*The troublemakers*	Joyce Rison (Kabaila)	06/2008
BARIM	*Wur ép barim*	*Working in the garden*	James Heri (Malum Pirau)	02.01.2009

Code	Title	Translation	Speaker	Date
BÈL	*Ti'pukus an bèl*	*Down in no-man's-land*	Ephraim Noah (Bólók)	06/2008
BEN	*Sòwòt a bén*	*Climbing a mountain*	Ruby (Malum Pirau)	02.01.2009
BIW	*Utih tim an Biwa*	*Fetching water at Biwa*	Justin Pegi (Bólók)	06/2008
BÒN 1	*Al bòn pas u*	*I will exhault you*	Marylin (Lamassa)	07/2008
BÒN 2	*Babait bòng*	*Fishing at night*	Dickson Pasingan (Kukule)	07/2008
BUBULUT	*É Sòi Bubulut*	*Sticky Snake*	Chris (Kampókpók)	03.01.2009
BUS	*Bus péré*	*Cutting péré trees*	Nigel (Lamassa)	06/2008
CLA	*Siar clans*	*Siar clans*	Rison Towo (Kabaila)	06/2008
DAK	*Ép lakman na di dakai*	*The village that was burnt*	Ephraim Noah (Bólók)	07/2008
DIK	*Dik kuk*	*Digging crabs*	Freddy Tópin (Kukulè)	06/2008
ÉP FAR	*Ép far*	*The fish*	Patrick (Kampókpók)	03.01.2009
ÉPL	*Ép lamas*	*The coconut*	Willy (Lamassa)	06/2008
FAK	*Ép fakès*	*The creation (genesis)*	Philip Delis (Lambóm)	07/2008
FAR	*Ép farum*	*World War II*	Daniel Goro (Lambóm)	25.09.2008
FAT	*Sipuk ép fat*	*Levering a stone*	Joel (Silur)	03.01.2009
FON	*Inan kasai arisan ép fón kókók*	*Visiting the white man*	Solomon Rison (Kabaila)	06/2008
FRI	*Ép sis ngan é Friedel*	*Friedel's fish*	Justin Pegi (Bólók)	06/2008
GAL	*Galas lón malum*	*Fishing in the river*	Freddy Tópin (Kukulè)	06/2008
GÓTGÓT	*Datel gótgót*	*We will be happy*	Vanessa (Lamassa)	07/2008
GÒTÒ	*Ép gòtò i só ép matak*	*How the bamboo pierced my eye*	Toyson (Malum Pirau)	02.01.2009
GURAR	*Ép wól anun kai nanat gurar*	*The tradition of the girls*	Magret (Kampókpók)	03.01.2009
INA	*Inan katim an Malum Pirau*	*Journey to Malum Pirau*	Jebson (Silur)	03.01.2009
IR	*Ir gém*	*Making cassava bread*	Dominik Dickson (Kukule)	06/2008
JER	*Amrai pòl main é Jerry*	*Hunting with Jerry*	Nobart Pegi (Bólók)	06/2008

Code	Title	Translation	Speaker	Date
KAB	*Kèp kabu*	*Gathering river snails*	Polin Len (Bólók)	06/2008
KABA	*Yawas katóng an Kabalipó*	*Paddling to Kabalipó*	Vanessa (Lamassa)	07/2008
KABÈ	*Kabè ép sis*	*Asking the fish*	Joe (Silur)	04.01.2009
KAL	*Kali wuwur*	*The cyclone*	Allan Ephraim (Bólók)	06/2008
KAL 2	*Kali wuwur 2*	*The cyclone*	Willy (Lamassa)	06/2008
KAP	*Ép kaptikén Bóngyan*	*The beginning of the Bóngyan (clan)*	Chris (Kampókpók)	03.01.2009
KAR	*Karkar ép pas*	*Scraping taro*	To Ariman (Lamassa)	29.11.2008
KAS	*Riri kaswai*	*Gathering mangoes*	Solomon Rison (Kabaila)	06/2008
KAW	*I ru ru tarai kawan*	*Two cousins*	Taibet Towo (Lamassa)	06/2008
KAWAS	*Kawas lamas*	*Climbing coconut trees*	Solomon Rison (Kabaila)	06/2008
KÉH	*Basi ép kéh*	*Casting a net*	Nobart Pegi (Bólók)	06/2008
KÈL	*Kèlès ép lalaun*	*How I changed my life*	Rison Towo (Kabaila)	06/2008
KÈP	*Inan katim an Kèp Kòlòh*	*Going to Kèp Kòlòh*	Laimen Todave (Bólók)	06/2008
KINAU	*Kinau ép bòròi*	*Stealing the pig*	Martina (Kampókpók)	03.01.2009
KIÓ	*Kiós ép yai*	*Cutting trees*	Soli Takau (Kabaila)	07/2008
KOD	*Kòdòm i tik a Kina*	*How I swallowed a one-Kina-coin*	Dominik Dickson (Kukule)	06/2008
KOK	*Finan Kokopo*	*Journey to Kokopo*	Getni Esty (Ngasrau)	07/2008
KÒN	*Wòr a kòn*	*Preparing an earth oven*	Vincent (Silur)	04.01.2009
KÒT	*I ru ru matan kòt*	*Two blind men*	Solomon Siam (Tór)	07/2008
KU	*Wur a ku*	*Preparing an earth oven*	Freddy Tópin (Kukulè)	06/2008
KUK	*Akas kuk*	*Digging for crabs*	Polin Len (Bólók)	06/2008
KUK 2	*Akas kuk*	*Digging for crabs*	Solomon Rison (Kabaila)	06/2008
KUN	*Kawas lamas ón ép kunbér*	*How to climb coconut trees with a liana*	Solomon Rison (Kabaila)	06/2008
LAK	*Yauh laka*	*Roasting Tahitian Chestnuts*	Solomon Rison (Kabaila)	06/2008

Code	Title	Translation	Speaker	Date
LAKA	*Pilpil laka*	*Peeling Tahitian Chestnuts*	Maksón (Silur)	03.01.2009
LAKLAK	*Basi ép kéh tim an Laklak*	*Casting the net at Laklak*	Gilian (Lamassa)	07/2008
LAL	*Ép wai i kèlès ép lalaun anun matòl*	*The crocodile changed our lives*	Eldi Vinias (Kabaila)	02.04.2010
LAM	*Ép risén Lamassa*	*The name Lamassa*	Rison Towo (Kabaila)	06/2008
LAT	*Lat ép wakin*	*Gutting the wallaby*	Jebson (Silur)	03.01.2009
LATU	*Latu*	*Tomorrow*	Gibson Pegi (Bólók)	07/2008
LAU	*Amrai pòl an lón a lau*	*Hunting pigs in the valley*	Justin Pegi (Bólók)	07/2008
LIW	*A liwan i yan kutus ép limak*	*How the knife cut off my arm*	Kiapma Samuel (Malum Pirau)	02.01.2009
LLM	*Ép lalamar*	*The Lalamar custom*	Stanley Tokam (Silur)	04.01.2009
			? (Silur)	
LOB	*Lóbó kapul*	*Hunting cuscus*	Ephraim Noah (Bólók)	06/2008
LÓS	*Lós palang*	*Carrying planks*	July (Lamassa)	07/2008
LÒU	*Lòlòu kón ép girismas*	*Going shopping for Christmas*	Daphne Topin (Kukule)	07/2008
MAL	*Tó Malanu*	*Tó Malanu (a name)*	To Pukónlik Toakiwi (Silur)	04.01.2009
MAM	*Kès mamaris tim an bòn*	*Sitting at the beach in love*	Daphne Topin (Kukule)	07/2008
MAN	*Manela*	*Manela*	Chris (Kampókpók)	03.01.2009
MANMANI	*Ép manmani na i rikis kón ép barsan*	*The flying fox that turned into a man*	Petero (Malum Pirau)	02.01.2009
MAR	*Ép marasin i rarakai*	*The medicine was strong*	Gibson Pegi (Bólók)	06/2008
MASMAS	*Babait s'an lakan ép masmas*	*Fishing on the beach*	Tonis (Malum Pirau)	03.01.2009
MAT	*Matatai 1(2)*	*Matatai 1*	Daniel Goro (Lambóm)	25.09.2008
	Matatai 2(2)			
MAT 2	*Matata'i 2*	*Matatai*	Joe (Silur)	04.01.2009
MUR	*Ép wól kan an mur*	*My plans for the future*	Philip Delis (Lambóm)	07/2008
NANG	*Nangnang ép món madar*	*Waiting for the boat*	Wiwien (Lamassa)	07/2008
NAÓL	*I ru ru kam naól*	*Two leaders*	Ignasius (Silur)	03.01.2009

Code	Title	Translation	Speaker	Date
NAS	*Finan Nasko*	*Journey to Nasko*	Justin Pegi (Bólók)	06/2008
NAT	*Ra natun a parar*	*Two sons of thunder*	Ephraim Noah (Bólók)	06/2008
NGÉL	*Angai ngélngél*	*Planting sweet potato*	July (Lamassa)	07/2008
NIN	*Babait sai an Ningin*	*Fishing on Ningin Island*	Jackline (Lamassa)	06/2008
NINGIN	*Inan kasai an Ningin*	*Going to Ningin*	Rodson Ronald (Lamassa)	06/2008
NÓN	*Tam Nón*	*Tam Nón (a name)*	Ephraim Noah (Bólók)	07/2008
PAG	*Pagal*	*Pagal (a name)*	Gibson Pegi (Bólók)	06/2008
PAL	*I tik ép paltètè*	*An old man*	Allan Ephraim (Lamassa)	06/2008
PAP	*Papanak mani*	*Shooting birds with slingshots*	Dominik Dickson (Kukule)	06/2008
PAS	*Aim pas*	*Planting taro*	Vincent (Silur)	04.01.2009
PÉK	*Ép ran pékpék*	*Faeces in the earth oven*	Mathew (Malum Pirau)	02.01.2009
PID	*Ép pidik anuk ón ép babait*	*My secrets about fishing*	Vincent (Silur)	04.01.2009
PIK	*Piknik*	*Picnic*	Daphne Topin (Kukule)	07/2008
PIR	*Pirat lón lalamas*	*Slashing the bush in the coconut plantation*	Dickson Pasingan (Kukule)	07/2008
PIU	*Raut piu*	*Rake the ground*	Larson (Lamassa)	06/2008
POI	*Dik pòi*	*Digging out eels*	Nigel Pasingan (Lamassa)	06/2008
PÒU	*Ép wang gurar i pòu*	*The women's canoe capsized*	Stella Bernard (Bólók)	06/2008
PURAK	*Purak an lón barim*	*Loosening the soil in the garden*	Tónis (Malum Pirau)	03.01.2009
RAU	*Raut lamas*	*Piling up copra*	Joyce Rison (Kabaila)	06/2008
RÓK	*Ép rókói in ép barsan*	*The wild man*	Magret (Kampókpók)	03.01.2009
RTK	*Ru tarai kinbalin*	*Two buddies*	Wesley Siam (Lamassa)	04/09/2007
RUMAI	*Atur ép rumai*	*Building a house*	James Heri (Malum Pirau)	02.01.2009
SARUN	*Ép sarunlès mètèk*	*The new year*	Dorothee (Malum Pirau)	02.01.2009
SÉL	*É Sél dira é Langai*	*The frog and the prawn*	Chris (Kampókpók)	03.01.2009

Code	Title	Translation	Speaker	Date
SÉM	*Sém lamas*	*Cut copra*	Kris Uli (Kabaila)	06/2008
SEM 2	*Sém lamas 2*	*Cutting copra*	Lester Pegi (Bólók)	06/2008
SIA	*Ép risén é Siar*	*The name Siar*	Chris (Kampókpók)	03.01.2009
SIAR	*Ép warwar Siar i tarikis*	*The Siar language is changing*	Patrick (Kampókpók)	03.01.2009
SIRAI	*Sirai lamas*	*Selling copra*	Rodson Ronald (Lamassa)	06/2008
SIS	*Tun sis*	*Cooking fish*	Ensley (Lamassa)	06/2008
SÓ 1	*Só ép bòròi*	*Spearing pigs*	Gibson Pegi (Bólók)	06/2008
SÓ 2	*Só ép pun*	*Spearing a turtle*	Maksón (Silur)	03.01.2009
SÓL	*Sól sai wòt an lón buibui*	*Walking around in the bush*	Tona Menring (Matas)	06/2008
SÒW	*Sòwòt a palder*	*Climbing up a hill*	Andrew (Silur)	03.01.2009
SUK	*Inan katim an sukul*	*Going to school*	Freddy Tópin (Kukulè)	06/2008
SUR	*Sur ép mimin malum*	*Blocking the river tail*	Solomon Rison (Kabaila)	06/2008
TAI	*É Taman Tai Tamandan*	*Taman Tai Tamandan (a name)*	Chris (Kampókpók)	03.01.2009
TAL	*Ép talung*	*The demon*	Laimen Todave (Bólók)	06/2008
TALTAL	*Taltal lik*	*Wandering around*	Ketura (Lamassa)	06/2008
TAM	*É Tam Fóng*	*Tam Fóng (a name)*	Ephraim Noah (Bólók)	06/2008
TAN	*Tang kai bòròi*	*Tracing pigs*	Malawa	06/2008
TIN	*Ép tinaulai mètèk (1/2)* *Ép tinaulai mètèk (2/2)*	*Modern Siar marriage*	John (Silur)	04.01.2009
TING	*Tingting labuning*	*The Butam*	Rison Towo (Kabaila)	07.07.2008
TKK	*Tó kirai na kès*	*All my life*	Soli Takau (Kabaila)	07/2008
TNG	*Ép talngan*	*The spirit*	Denten (Lamassa)	06/2008
TÒH	*Ngas tòh*	*Chewing sugarcane*	Justin Pegi (Bólók)	06/2008
TÓK	*É Taman Papas Pas I Tók*	*The Taman Papas Pas I Tòk*	Chris (Kampókpók)	03.01.2009
TÓMÓL	*É Tómól*	*Tómól (a name)*	Chris (Kampókpók)	03.01.2009

Code	Title	Translation	Speaker	Date
TóWa	*Ép talngan é To Wair*	*The ghost of To Wair*	Ati Samuel (Lamassa)	09/2008
TUN	*Tun lamas*	*Drying copra*	Joyce Rison (Kabaila)	06/2008
TUNG	*Tung wang*	*The broken canoe*	Maksón (Silur)	03.01.2009
UÒ	*Usrai òròs*	*(Casual speech)*		06/2008
URI	*Uring uring sen*	*Long long ago*	Doreen Towo (Matas)	06/2008
WAH	*Ép wah*	*Poison and sorcery*	Rison Towo (Kabaila)	07.07.2008
WAI	*Ép wai i yan ép limak*	*How the crocodile bit off my arm*	Uli Towo (Kabaila)	02.04.2010
WAN	*Ép wang i murung*	*The canoe sank*	Tona Menring (Matas)	06/2008
WÓL	*Ép wólwól an lón ép bólók*	*Working in the plantation*	Vincent (Silur)	04.01.2009
WÒT	*Amrai pòl sai wòt*	*Hunting pigs in the mountains*	Nigel (Lamassa)	06/2008
WÓWÓ	*É wówó i mat*	*Grandmother passed away*	Petra (Kampókpók)	03.01.2009
WUN	*Wun ép fanat*	*Hiding the child*	Petero (Malum Pirau)	02.01.2009
WUWUR	*Wuwur lik*	*Working*	Rodson Ronald (Lamassa)	06/2008
YAN	*Yan ais dit*	*Cannibalism*	Freddy Tópin (Kukulè)	06/2008
YAU	*Yauh ép bòròi*	*Cooking pigs*	Gibson Pegi (Bólók)	06/2008
YAUH	*Yauh ngélngél*	*Cooking sweet potatoes*	Lite (Malum Pirau)	02.01.2009
	???		Rodson Ronald (Lamassa)	06/2008
	???		Rodson Ronald (Lamassa)	06/2008
	???		Rodson Ronald (Lamassa)	06/2008
	Ból kai sis	*Removing scales from fish*	Gilian (Lamassa)	07/2008
	Bus yai	*Cutting trees*	Soli Takau (Kabaila)	07/2008
	Girismas	*Christmas*	Vanessa (Lamassa)	07/2008
	Riri laka	*Gathering Tahitian chestnuts*	Daphne Topin (Kukule)	07/2008
	Tòl ép wór	*Making a fence*	Soli Takau (Kabaila)	07/2008
	Kam èrbè	*A dream*	Boki Borom (Lamassa Island)	16.10.2008

Code	Title	Translation	Speaker	Date
	Datel gótgót	*We will be happy*	Allan & Larry (Lamassa Island)	17.10.2008
	Bókbók	*Trawling*	Kiapma Samuel (Malum Pirau)	02.01.2009
	Kòtkòt ép fain	*Cutting a woman*	Lesley Joram (Malum Pirau)	02.01.2009

Appendix B: Selected stories

Title:	***Ru tarai kinbalin***
	("Two buddies")
Code:	**[RTK]**
By:	**Wesley Siam (Lamassa), 04/09/2007**
Transcription:	**Wesley Siam**
Translation:	**Wesley Siam**
Description:	**The dog and the wallaby go for a pig hunt.**

(1)

I	*tik*	*ép*	*kirai*	*i*	*ru*	*ru*	*tarai*
i	tik	ép	kirai	i	ru	ru	tarai
3.SG	one	ART:CO1	day	3.SG	two	ART:CO1.DU	men

kinbalin	*dira*	*inan*	*dira*	*amrai*	*pòl.*
kinbali-n	dira(u)	inan	dira(u)	amrai	pòl
friend-POSS	3.DU	go	3.DU	bring	dog

'One day, the two buddies went pig hunting.'

(2)

Dira	*um*	*pas*	*i*	*tik*	*ép*	*bòròi*	*ap*	*dira*	*lós*
dira(u)	um	pas	i	tik	ép	bòròi	ap	dira(u)	lós
3.DU	hit	PFV	3.SG	one	ART:CO1	pig	and	3.DU	carry

i	*katim*	*an*	*lakman*	*sur*	*dir'él*	*yayauh.*
i	ka-t-im	an	lakman	sur	dir(au)=é-l	ya~yauh
3.SG	ALL-LOC-down at		village	INTENT	3.DU=3.SG-IRR	RED~cook

'After they had caught a pig they carried it home in order to cook it in an earth oven.'

(3) *Dira yauh sòi tar ép ran ap dira*
dira(u) yauh sòi tar ép ran ap dira(u)
3.DU cook move.away PRF ART:CO1 earth.oven and 3.DU

ki arkók sur dirau él munmun
k-i ar-kók sur dirau é-l mun~mun
FOC-3.SG REC-get.person INTENT 3.DU 3.SG-IRR RED~dive.down

nangnang ép ran él mènèr.
nang~nang ép ran é-l mènèr
RED~wait ART:CO1 earth.oven 3.SG-IRR cooked

'They covered (the pig) in the earth oven and invited each other to bathe while waiting for the (food in the) earth oven to be cooked.'

(4) *Na dira ki munmun, i tik basa ép*
na dira(u) k-i mun~mun i tik basa ép
REL 3.DU FOC-3.SG RED~dive.down 3.SG one first ART:CO1

falin dirau i malik mun ap i tik él
fali-n dirau i malik mun ap i tik é-l
partner-POSS 3.DU 3.SG again dive.down and 3.SG one 3.SG-IRR

malik wawas an lakan.
malik wa~was an laka-n
again RED~count at top-3.SG.POSS

'When the two were bathing, one would dive and one would count (the seconds to find out who could stay under water longer) on the surface.'

(5) *Ép kailam i inan ap i asóng sòi pas*
ép kailam i inan ap i asóng sòi pas
ART:CO1 lizard 3.SG go and 3.SG deceive away PFV

ép pòl ap i inan tat ép ran bòròi ap
ép pòl ap i [inan tat]_{SVC} ép ran bòròi ap
ART:CO1 dog and 3.SG go uncover ART:CO1 earth.oven pig and

i yan i.
i yan i
3.SG eat 3.SG

'The lizard fooled the dog by going back to the pig (in the) earth oven and he ate it.'

(6)

Na	*dira*	*ki*	*munmun*	*róp*	*ap*	*dira*	*ki*
na	dira(u)	k-i	mun~mun	róp	ap	dira(u)	k-i
REL	3.DU	FOC-3.SG	RED~dive.down	finish	and	3.DU	FOC-3.SG

inan	*sur*	*dira*	*él*	*tatat*	*ap*	*ép*	*pòl*
inan	sur	dira(u)	é-l	ta-tat	ap	ép	pòl
go	INTENT	3.DU	3.SG-IRR	RED~uncover	and	ART:CO1	dog

ki	*rè*	*nak*	*na*	*bèl*	*al*	*ma*	*tók*	*bòròi*
k-i	rè	nak	na	bèl	al	ma	tók	bòròi
FOC-3.SG	see	COMPL	REL	NEG	some	TRANS	ART:[-COUNT]	pig

ting	*an*	*lón*	*ép*	*ran.*
t-ing	an	ló-n	ép	ran
LOC-ANA	at	mouth-POSS	ART:CO1	earth.oven

'When the two had finished swimming they went to uncover (the earth oven) and the dog saw that there was no pig in the earth oven.'

(7)

Ép	*pòl*	*bèl*	*i*	*tasim*	*ón*	*nak*	*na*	*ép*
ép	pòl	bèl	i	tasim	ó-n	nak	na	ép
ART:CO1	dog	NEG	3.SG	know	OBL-POSS	COMPL	REL	ART:CO1

kailam	*sa*	*i*	*yan*	*aróp*	*pas*	*ép*	*bòròi.*
kailam	sa	i	[yan	a-róp]_SVC	pas	ép	bòròi
lizard	RESTR	3.SG	eat.TR	CAUS-finish	PFV	ART:CO1	pig

'The dog did not know that the lizard had eaten the pig all by himself.'

(8)

I	*tik*	*s'alò*	*ép*	*kirai*	*dira*	*ki*	*inan*
i	tik	s(én)=alò	ép	kirai	dira(u)	k-i	inan
3.SG	one	EMPH=again	ART:CO1	day	3.DU	FOC-3.SG	go

s'alò	*dira*	*amrai*	*pòl*	*ap*	*dira*	*ki*	*um*
s(én)=alò	dira(u)	amrai	pòl	ap	dira(u)	k-i	um
EMPH=again	3.DU	bring	dog	and	3.DU	FOC-3.SG	hit

pas	*i*	*tik*	*s'alò*	*ép*	*bòròi.*
pas	i	tik	s(én)=alò	ép	bòròi
PFV	3.SG	one	EMPH=again	ART:CO1	pig

'Another day the two went hunting again and they caught another pig.'

(9) | *Dira* | *inan* | *dira* | *yayauh* | *s'alò* | *ting* | *dira* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| dira(u) | inan | dira(u) | ya~yauh | s(én)=alò | t-ing | dira(u) |
| 3.DU | go | 3.DU | RED~mumu | EMPH=again | LOC-ANA | 3.DU |

yayauh	*tar*	*gau.*
ya~yauh	tar	gau
RED~mumu	PRF	place

'The two went and mumued the pig there again.'

(10) | *Na* | *dira* | *ki* | *yayauh* | *tar* | *ap* | *dira* | *ki* | *malik* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| na | dira(u) | k-i | ya~yauh | tar | ap | dira(u) | k-i | malik |
| REL | 3.DU | FOC-3.SG | RED~cook | PRF | and | 3.DU | FOC-3.SG | again |

arkók	*sur*	*dirau*	*él*	*munmun*	*nangnang*
ar-kók	sur	dirau	é-l	mun~mun	nang~nang
REC-get.person	INTENT	3.DU	3.SG-IRR	RED~dive.down	RED~wait

ép	*ran.*
ép	ran
ART:CO1	earth.oven

'When the two had finished mumuing the pig they invited each other again to swim while waiting for the pig to be cooked.'

(11) | *Na* | *dira* | *ki* | *inan* | *sur* | *dirau* | *él* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| na | dira(u) | k-i | inan | sur | dirau | é-l |
| REL | 3.DU | FOC-3.SG | go | INTENT | 3.DU | 3.SG-IRR |

munmun	*ap*	*ép*	*pòl*	*ki*	*warai*	*ép*
mun~mun	ap	ép	pòl	k-i	war-ai	ép
RED~dive.down	and	ART:CO1	dog	FOC-3.SG	speak-TR	ART:CO1

kinbalin,	*"Lak,*	*ól*	*mugai*	*dara*	*sa*	*ma,*
kinbali-n	lak	ó-l	mug-ai	dara(u)	sa	ma
friend-3.SG.POSS	buddy	2.SG-IRR	lead-TR	1.DU.INC	RESTR	TRANS

yau	*ép*	*balak*	*i*	*ngòngòt*	*ap*	*al*	*bas*
yau	ép	bala-k	i	ngó-ngót	ap	a-l	bas
1.SG	ART:CO1	stomach-1.SG.POSS	3.SG	RED~sting	and	1.SG-IRR	have.to

inan	*pas*	*ta*	*kawas."*
inan	pas	t-a	kawas
go	PFV	LOC-PROX	move.up

'When the two went swimming, the dog said to his friend, "*Buddy, just go ahead because I have to go up (to the toilet)*." '

(12) *Ép   kailam   i   mung   katóng   dira   munmun*
ép   kailam   i   mung   ka-t-óng   dira(u)   mun~mun
ART:CO1   lizard   3.SG   lead   ALL-LOC-*back* 3.DU   RED~dive.down

lik   gau   ap   ép   pòl   ki   asóng   pas   i
lik   gau   ap   ép   pòl   k-i   asóng   pas   i
TEMP   there   and   ART:CO1   dog   FOC-3.SG   deceive PFV   3.SG

nak   ép   balan   i   ngòngòt   ma
nak   ép   bala-n   i   ngó-ngót   ma
COMPL   ART:CO1   stomach-3.SG.POSS 3.SG   RED~bite   TRANS

ki   bus   pas   ép   sukun   kadas   kón   papsai
k-i   bus   pas   ép   sukun   kadas   kón   papsai
FOC-3.SG   cut.stick   PFV   ART:CO1   thorn   k.ó.tree PURP   prepare.trap

ép   sungut   sur   él   parai   tim   a'risan
ép   sungut   sur   é-l   par-ai   t-im   a(n)=risa-n
ART:CO1   trap   INTENT 3.SG-IRR   move.across-TR   LOC-down   at=side-POSS

ép   ran.
ép   ran
ART:CO1   earth.oven

'Being fooled by the dog who said that he had to go to the toilet, the lizard
went to the swimming place while the dog was cutting pieces of wood for the
trap that he put next to the earth oven.'

(13) *Na   i   papsai   pas   ép   sungut   i   inan   ap   i*
na   i   papsai   pas   ép   sungut   i   inan   ap   i
REL   3.SG   make.trap   PFV   ART:CO1   trap   3.SG   go   and   3.SG

parai   tar   i   tim   an   kam   risan   ép
par-ai   tar   i   t-im   an   k-am   risa-n   ép
move-across-TR   PRF   3.SG   LOC-down   at   ALL-at   side-POSS ART:CO1

ran   ap   i   inan ma,   i   nós   sur   ép
ran   ap   i   inan ma   i   nós   sur   ép
earth.oven and   3.SG   go   TRANS 3.SG   look   for   ART:CO1

kinbalin   sur   dira   él   munmun.
kinbali-n   sur   dira(u)   é-l   mun~mun
friend-3.SG.POSS INTENT   3.DU   3.SG-IRR   RED~dive.down

'After he had finished preparing the trap he went and put it next to the earth
oven and then went for his friends so they would swim.'

(14)   *Na*   *ép*   *pòl*   *i*   *wòt*   *ting*   *a'risan*   *ép*
          na   ép   pòl   i   wòt   t-ing   a(n)-risa-n   ép
          REL   ART:CO1 dog   3.SG   come   LOC-ANA   at=side-POSS   ART:CO1

          kailam   *ap*   *ép*   *kailam*   *ki*   *warai,*   *"Kinbalik,*   *langin*
          kailam   ap   ép   kailam   k-i   war-ai   kinbali-k   langin
          lizard   and   ART:CO1 lizard   FOC-3.SG   speak-TR friend-POSS.1   earlier

          sén   *u*   *inan*   *tar*   *ap*   *ép*   *sah*   *ma*   *na*   *u*   *tòl*
          sén   u   inan   tar   ap   ép   sah   ma   na   u   tòl
          EMPH   2.SG   go   PRF   and   ART:CO1   INT   TRANS   REL   2.SG   do

          i   *na*   *ku*   *abóngnai*   *kòl?"*
          i   na   k-u   a-bóngnai   kòl
          3.SG   REL   FOC-2.SG   CAUS-take.long   very

          'When the dog came to the lizard the lizard said, "My friend, you left long ago, what have you been doing all the time?" '

(15)   *Ap*   *ép*   *pòl*   *ki*   *warai,*   *"Kinbalik,*   *ép*
          ap   ép   pòl   k-i   war-ai   kinbali-k,   ép
          and   ART:CO1 dog   FOC-3.SG   speak-TR   friend-1.SG.POSS   ART:CO1

          balak   *i*   *ngòngòt*   *kòl*   *ap*   *bèl*   *a wòt*   *kapit"*   *ap*
          bala-k   i   ngó-ngót   kòl   ap   bèl   a=wòt   kapit   ap
          stomach-1.SG.POSS   3.SG   RED~bite   very   and   NEG   1.SG=come   quick   and

          ép   *kailam*   *ki*   *warai,*   *"Darau*   *kél*
          ép   kailam   k-i   war-ai,   darau   k-é-l
          ART:CO1   lizard   FOC-3.SG   speak-TR   1.DU.INC   FOC-3.SG-IRR

          munmun   *pas*   *sur*   *dar'él*   *inan* *dar'él*
          mun~mun   pas   sur   dar(au)=é-l   inan   dar(au)=é-l
          RED~dive.down   PFV   INTENT   1.DU.INC=3.SG-IRR   go   1.DU.INC=3.SG-IRR

          tatat."
          ta-tat
          RED~uncover

          'And the dog said, "My friend, I could not come sooner because I just could not get away (from the toilet)", and the lizard said, "Let's go and have our wash now and then swim back and uncover (the pig)." '

(16) *Ép   pòl   i   inan ap   i   warai   ép   kailam*
    ép   pòl   i   inan ap   i   war-ai   ép   kailam
    ART:CO1 dog   3.SG go   and   3.SG speak-TR ART:CO1   lizard

    nak   na   i   basa él   parung mungmung ap   i   él
    nak   na   i   basa é-l   [parung mung~mung]_{SVC} ap   i   é-l
    COMPL REL 3.SG first 3.SG-IRR jump.in RED~lead   and   3.SG 3.SG-IRR

    wawas   an   lakan.
    wa~was   an   laka-n
    RED~count   at   top-3.SG.POSS

    'The dog went and said to the lizard that he (the lizard) would jump into the water first while he would count (the seconds) on the surface.'

(17) *Ap na   ép   kailam i   parung ap   i   kinaupól*
    ap   na   ép   kailam i   parung ap   i   kinaupól
    and REL ART:CO1   lizard 3.SG jump.in and 3.SG dive.horizontally

    katim   sén   ép   ran   gau ap   i
    ka-t-im   sén   ép   ran   gau ap   i
    ALL-LOC-*down*   EMPH   ART:CO1   earth.oven there and 3.SG

    pus'òt   ap   ki   inan sur   él   malik tat
    pus=(w)òt ap   k-i   inan sur   é-l   malik tat
    out=come and FOC-3.SG   go   INTENT   3.SG-IRR again find

    ép   ran.
    ép   ran
    ART:CO1   earth.oven

    'After jumping into (the water) he dived to the cooking place and got out in order to again uncover the (pig in the) earth oven.'

(18) | *Ap* | *na* | *i* | *inan* | *kawas* | *kasai* | | *ép* | *ran* | | *gau* | *ap* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ap | na | i | inan | kawas | ka-Ø-sai | | ép | ran | | gau | ap |
| and | REL | 3.SG | go | move.up | ALL(-LOC)-DIST | | ART:CO1 | earth.oven | | there | and |

na	*i*	*rak*	*él*	*sumrai*	*ép*		*lón*		*sur*
na	i	rak	é-l	sumrai	ép		ló-n		sur
REL	3.SG	want	3.SG-IRR	push	ART:CO1		mouth-3.SG.POSS		INTENT

él		*kèp*	*sòi*	*ép*		*pakan*	*an*	*lakan*	*ép*
é-l		kèp	sòi	ép		pakan	an	laka-n	ép
3.SG-IRR		take	move.away	ART:CO1		leaf	at	top-POSS	ART:CO1

ran,	*ap*	*i*	*sumrai*	*tar*	*sa*	*ép*		*lón*
ran	ap	i	sumrai	tar	sa	ép		ló-n
earth.oven	and	3.SG	push	PRF	RESTR	ART:CO1		mouth-3.SG.POSS

an	*lón*		*ép*		*sungut*	*na*	*ép*		*pòl*	*i*
an	ló-n		ép		sungut	na	ép		pòl	i
at	mouth-POSS		ART:CO1		trap	REL	ART:CO1		dog	3.SG

parai		*tar*	*i.*
par-ai		tar	i
move.across-TR		PRF	3.SG

'And when he climbed up (the river bank) towards the cooking place and when he wanted to push his mouth through the leaves to uncover the pig, his mouth got caught in the trap the dog had placed (there).'

(19)	*Ép*	*pòl*	*i*	*kès*	*nangnang*		*panai*	*tar*	*i*	*sur*
ép	pòl	i	[kès	nang~nang]_{SVC}		panai	tar	i	sur
ART:CO1	dog	3.SG	sit	RED~wait		in.vain	PRF	3.SG	INTENT

él	*pus'òt*	*ma*	*i*	*adi'ma*		*ki*
é-l	pus=(w)òt	ma	i	a-d-i(m)=ma		k-i
3.SG-IRR	be.outside=come	TRANS	3.SG	DEX-DEM.SG-down=TRANS		FOC-3.SG

pèpèlè	*an lón*		*ép*		*sungut*	*na*	*ép*		*pòl*	*i*
pèpèlè	an ló-n		ép		sungut	na	ép		pòl	i
struggle	at mouth-POSS		ART:CO1		trap	REL	ART:CO1		dog	3.SG

parai		*tar*	*i.*
par-ai		tar	i
move.across-TR		PRF	3.SG

'The dog was already sitting there waiting in vain for him to come out, but he had already been struggling in the trap the dog had placed (there).'

(20) *Ap   na   ép   pòl   i   inan pirim   katim*
     ap   na   ép   pòl   i   [inan pirim]_{SVC}   ka-t-im
     and   REL   ART:CO1   dog   3.SG   go   move.down   ALL-LOC-down

     ép   ran   gau   ap   ki   pas   tat   pas   ép
     ép   ran   gau   ap   k-i   [pas tat]_{SVC} pas   ép
     ART:CO1   earth.oven   there and FOC-3.SG   step find PFV   ART:CO1

     kinbalin   ting   an   lón   anun   ép
     kinbali-n   t-ing   an   ló-n   anu-n   ép
     friend-3.SG.POSS LOC-ANA   at   mouth-POSS CL:GEN-3.SG.POSS ART:CO1

     sungut.
     sungut
     trap

     'And when the dog came down to the cooking place he found his friend in his trap.'

(21) *Ép   pòl   ki   inan ap   ki   warai   ép*
     ép   pòl   k-i   inan ap   k-i   war-ai   ép
     ART:CO1 dog   FOC-3.SG   go   and FOC-3.SG   speak-TR ART:CO1

     kailam,   "Kinbalik,   a nuki   nak   tik   masik   i   tat
     kailam   kinbali-k   a=nuk-i   nak   tik   masik   i   tat
     lizard   friend-1.SG.POSS 1.SG=think-TR COMPL one   other   3.SG find

     lik   ép   ran   ngan   darau,   ma
     lik   ép   ran   nga-n   darau   ma
     TEMP ART:CO1 earth.oven   CL:FOOD-POSS 1.DU.INC TRANS

     u   sa   bók!"
     u   sa   bók
     2.SG RESTR   ?

     'The dog went and said to the lizard, "*My friend, I thought it was somebody else who uncovered our earth oven, but it was you!*" '

(22) *Ap misa na*   *ka*   *pas tat pas u ap u*
       ap   misa n-a   k-a   [pas tat]$_{SVC}$ pas u   ap   u
       and today DEM.[-SG]-PROX FOC-1.SG   step find PFV 2.SG and   2.SG

       aning   *gau ól*   *pèpèle an lón*   *ép*
       a-n-ing   gau ó-l   pèpèle at ló-n   ép
       DEX-DEM.[-SG]-ANA there 2.SG-IRR   struggle at   mouth-POSS ART:CO1

       sungut ap yau kal   *tat*   *pas ép*   *bòròi ap*
       sungut ap   yau k-a-l   tat   pas ép   pig and
       trap   and   1.SG FOC-1.SG-IRR uncover PFV ART:CO1 pig and

       kal   *wòt kabas u*   *katóng*   *an lakman.*
       k-a-l   [wòt kabas]$_{SVC}$ u   ka-t-óng   an   lakman
       FOC-1.SG-IRR   come leave   2.SG   ALL-LOC-*back* at   village

       'And now that I've found you here you can stay there struggling in the trap while I will uncover the pig and (then) leave you here and go home.'

(23) *Ap ép*   *tarai kinbalin*   *anun*   *darau*   *i*
       ap   ép   tarai kinbali-n   anu-n   darau   i
       and ART:CO1   men   friend-POSS CL:GEN-3.SG.POSS 1.DU.INC 3.SG

       takutus   *ma*   *ón*   *i*   *da*   *ép*   *kirai.*
       ta-kutus   ma   ó-n   i   d-a   ép   kirai
       ACAUS-break TRANS OBL-POSS 3.SG DEM.SG-PROX   ART:CO1 day

       'And our friendship ends today.'

<div style="border:1px solid black; padding:10px;">

Title:	*Ép wang gurar i pòu*
	("The womens' canoe capsized")

Code: [PÒU]
By: Stella Bernard (Bólók), 06/2008
Transcription: Allan Ephraim
Translation: Allan Ephraim

Description: A story how a group of women capsized in their canoe.

</div>

(1)
A rak	*s'al*		*usrai*	*i*	*tik*	*kam*	*usrai.*
a =rak	s(a)=a-l		usrai	i	tik	kam	usrai
1.SG=want	RESTR=1.SG-IRR		story	3.SG	one	ART:GROUP	story

'I only want to tell one story.'

(2)
Yau	*ap*	*é*		*Mary*	*ap*	*é*		*Grace*	*ap*
yau	ap	é		Mary	ap	é		Grace	ap
1.SG	and	ART:PROP		PN	and	ART:PROP		PN	and

é		*Olivia*	*ap*	*é*		*Lina*	*matò*	*sang*
é		Olivia	ap	é		Lina	matò(l)	sang
ART:PROP		PN	and	ART:PROP		PN	1.PAU.EX	prepare

su'mat'él'an		*kasai*		*an*	*Ningin.*
su(r)=mat(òl)=é-l=(in)an		ka-Ø-sai		an	Ningin
INTENT=1.PAU.EX=3.SG-IRR=go		ALL(LOC-)DIST		at	PN

'Me and Mary and Grace and Olivia and Lina, we prepared to go over to Ningin (Island).'

(3)
Matò	*él*	*sém*	*lamas*	*an'é*		*Laimen.*
matò(l)	é-l	sém	lamas	an(u-n)=é		Laimen
1.PAU.EX	3.SG-IRR	cut.copra	coconut	CL:GEN-POSS=ART:PROP		PN

'We wanted to cut Laimen's copra.'

(4) *Ap matò   ki   inan katim   an   bòn*
    ap   matò(l)   k-i   inan ka-t-im   an   bòn
    and 1.PAU.EX   FOC-3.SG   go   ALL-LOC-down   at   sea

    rak'a'na,   matò   sòi   ón   ép   wang
    rak=(l)a(r)=n-a   matò(l)   sòi   ó-n   ép   wang
    want=like=DEM.[-SG]-PROX   1.PAU.EX   away   OBL-POSS   ART:CO1   canoe

    ngasin   é   Gilian diat.
    ngasi-n   é   Gilian   diat
    CL:CONT-POSS   ART:PROP PN   3.PAU

    'So we went down to the beach, we took off in the canoe of Gilian's family.'

(5) *Matò   sang   tó   liwan kapra ap   ép   baran*
    matò(l)   sang   tó   liwan   kapra   ap   ép   baran
    1.PAU.EX prepare ART:[-ANIM].PL knife copra and ART:CO1 thing

    angan ap   tó   sósópen   sén   alò.
    angan   ap   tó   só-sópen$_{TP}$ sén   alò
    eat.ITR and ART:[-ANIM].PL RED~pot EMPH again

    'We prepared the copra knives and the food and also the pots.'

(6) *Matò   inan pirim   katim   an   bòn an   Yalui, ap*
    matò(l)   inan pirim   ka-t-im   an   bòn   an   Yalui   ap
    1.PAU.EX go   move.down ALL-LOC-down at   sea   at   PN   and

    matòl   ki   sòi.
    matòl   k-i   sòi
    1.PAU.EX FOC-3.SG away

    'We went to the beach near the Yalui (river) and we took off.'

(7) *Matò   sòi   rak'a'na   ap   ép   wang*
    matò(l)   sòi   rak=(l)a(r)=n-a   ap   ép   wang
    1.PAU.EX move.away want=like=DEM.[-SG]-PROX and ART:CO1 canoe

    adisai   ma   an   lón   bòn.
    a-d-isai   ma   an   ló-n   bòn
    DEX-DEM.SG-DIST TRANS at   mouth-POSS sea

    'So we took off and the canoe was out on the sea.'

(8)   *Wang adisai   ma   lón   bòn ap i   tik*
       wang   a-d-isai   ma   ló-n   bòn ap i   tik
       canoe DEX-DEM.SG-DIST   TRANS   mouth-POSS sea and 3.SG one

       ép   falin   matòl,   é   Grace, i   tai
       ép   fali-n   matòl   é   Grace   i   tai
       ART:CO1   member-POSS 1.PAU.EX   ART:PROP   PN   3.SG steer

       ép   wang.
       ép   wang
       ART:CO1   canoe

       'The canoe was on the sea and one of us, Grace, she steered the canoe.'

(9)   *Tai   ép   wang   rak'a'na   ap i   kaptur*
       tai   ép   wang   rak=(l)a(r)=n-a   ap i   kaptur
       steer ART:CO1   canoe want=like=DEM.[-SG]-PROX and 3.SG take.off

       sa   su'kanak   na   él   atòstòs   i   sa,
       sa   su(r)=kanak na   é-l   a-tòstòs   i   sa
       RESTR   INTENT=COMPREL 3.SG-IRR   CAUS-straight 3.SG RESTR

       pèh, tim   an mur   ón   ép   wang.
       pèh   t-im   an mur   ó-n   ép   wang
       ATT   LOC-down at follow OBL-POSS ART:CO1 canoe

       'So (she) steered the canoe and she got up in order to sit properly, right, at the
       back of the canoe.'

(10)   *Ap na   i   sak pas   ép   saman rak'a'na*
       ap   na   i   sak pas   ép   saman rak=(l)a(r)=n-a
       and REL 3.SG move PFV   ART:CO1 outrigger want=like=DEM.[-SG]-PROX

       ap ép   saman ning   i   singlai i   sai
       ap   ép   saman n-ing   i   singlai i   Ø-sai
       and ART:CO1   outrigger DEM.[-SG]-ANA 3.SG erect 3.SG (LOC-)DIST

       òt.
       (w)òt
       come

       'And when she moved, the outrigger erected.'

(11) *N'i   singlai sòi   ragai lar   na   ap   ép*
     n(a)=i   singlai sòi   ragai lar   n-a   ap   ép
     REL=3.SG erect   move.away be.like like DEM.[-SG]-PROX   and   ART:CO1

     wang   ning   i'an   ap   i   pòu.
     wang   n-ing   i=(in)an   ap   i   pòu
     canoe DEM.[-SG]-ANA   3.SG=go   and 3.SG capsize

     'After it had erected like that the canoe capsized.'

(12) *I   pòu   rak'a'na   ap   ép   baran angan*
     i   pòu   rak=(l)a(r)=n-a   ap   ép   baran angan
     3.SG capsize want=like=DEM.[-SG]-PROX and   ART:CO1   thing eat

     róp   nga'matòl   i   ning   i
     róp   nga(-n)=matòl   i   n-ing   i
     finish CL:FOOD(-POSS)=1.PAU.EX 3.SG DEM.[-SG]-ANA 3.SG

     tamrawa róp   ón   ép   lón   bòn.
     tamrawa róp   ó-n   ép   ló-n   bòn
     [?   finish] OBL-POSS ART:CO1   mouth-POSS sea

     'It capsized and our food was scattered everywhere over the sea.'

(13) *Ap i   ru   ru   sósópen   dirau   murung katim*
     ap i   ru   ru   só-sópen~TP~ dira(u) murung ka-t-im
     and 3.SG two ART:CO1.DU pot   3.DU   sink   ALL-LOC-down

     an lón   ép   bòn rak'a'na.
     an ló-n   ép   bòn rak=(l)a(r)=n-a
     at mouth-POSS ART:CO1 sea want=like=DEM.[-SG]-PROX

     'And two pots sank down in the sea.'

(14) *Ap mèt ki   lalagar   laulau tar ón*
     ap mèt k-i   la-lagar laulau tar ó-n
     and 1.PAU.EX FOC-3.SG RED~laugh bad   PRF OBL-POSS

     i   ding   ép   kirai.
     i   d-ing   ép   kirai
     3.SG DEM.SG-ANA ART:CO1 time

     'And we were laughing badly at that moment.'

(15)   *Ap tó   baran sén   alò anu'matòl   i*

ap	tó	baran	sén	alò	anu(-n)=matòl	i
and	ART:[-ANIM].PL	thing	EMPH	again	CL:GEN(-POSS)=1.PAU.EX	3.SG

       i   busbus.

i	bus~bus
3.SG	RED~wet

'And our things were also wet.'

(16)   *Na ó'ning   matò   ki   lalagar   laulau tar.*

na	ó(n)=ning	matò(l)	k-i	la-lagar	laulau	tar
REL	OBL(-POSS)=ANA	1.PAU.EX	FOC-3.SG	RED~laugh	bad	PRF

'Now we were laughing badly.'

(17)   *Matò   ki   malai ais   matòl   ma   sumun*

matò(l)	k-i	[malai	a-is]SVC	matòl	ma	sumun
1.PAU.EX	FOC-3.SG	laugh.TR	CAUS-return	1.PAU.EX	TRANS	lucky

       sén   na   bèl ti   bot i   bólós.

sén	na	bèl	ti	botTP	i	bólós
EMPH	REL	NEG	ART:CO1.IND	boat	3.SG	pass.by

'We were laughing at each other, we were very lucky that there was no boat passing by.'

(18)   *Ap na   matòl   rak   it   lar   ning   tim   an*

ap	na	matòl	rak	it	lar	n-ing	t-im	an
and	REL	1.PAU.EX	want	DURA	like	DEM.[-SG]-ANA	LOC-down	at

       mimin   é   Yalui ap   i   tik   ép   fanat

mimin	é	Yalui	ap	i	tik	ép	fanat
river.tail	ART:PROP	PN	and	3.SG	one	ART:CO1	child

       adóng   an   bòn an   Kabul.

a-d-óng	an	bòn	an	Kabul
DEX-DEM.SG-CLK	at	sea	at	PN

'And when we were down by the tail of the Yalui (river), a boy was there at Kabul beach.'

(19)
Ki	*rè*	*tat*	*i*	*ma*	*i*	*ép*	*wang*
k-i	[rè	tat]_{SVC}	i	ma	i	ép	wang
FOC-3.SG	see	find	3.SG	TRANS	3.SG	ART:CO1	canoe

ning		*na*	*i*	*pòu*	*tim*	*kawas*	*an*	*lón*	*bòn*
n-ing		na	i	pòu	t-im	kawas	an	ló-n	bòn
DEM.[-SG]-ANA		REL	3.SG	capsize	LOC-down	move.up	at	mouth-POSS	sea

ón	*sai*	*gali*	*an*	*mimin*	*malum*	*é*	*Yalui.*
ó-n	sai	gali	an	mimin	malum	é	Yalui
OBL-POSS	Ø-DIST	above	at	river.tail	fresh.water	ART:PROP	PN

'He was watching the canoe that had capsized on the sea, near the tail of the Yalui (river).'

(20)
Na	*ó'ning*		*matò*	*awakak*	*pas*	*ép*
na	ó(n)=n-ing		matò(l)	a-wakak	pas	ép
REL	OBL(-POSS)=DEM.[-SG]-ANA		1.PAU.EX	CAUS-good	PFV	ART:CO1

wang	*rak'a'na,*		*ma*	*i*	*tik*	*a*
wang	rak=(l)a(r)=n-a		ma	i	tik	a
canoe	want=like=DEM.[-SG]-PROX		TRANS	3.SG	one	ART:CO2

wang	*lik*	*yau*	*a yausai.*
wang	lik	yau	a=yausai
canoe	little	1.SG	1.SG=paddle.TR

'When we had fixed the canoe I paddled (another) small canoe.'

(21)
Na	*matòl*	*atòstòs*	*akak*	*pas*	*ép*	*wang*
na	matòl	a-tòstòs	akak	pas	ép	wang
REL	1.PAU.EX	CAUS-correct	good	PFV	ART:CO1	canoe

rak'a'na		*ap*	*matò*	*ki'an,*	*matò*
rak=(l)a(r)=n-a		ap	matò(l)	k-i=(in)an	matò(l)
want=like=DEM.[-SG]-PROX		and	1.PAU.EX	FOC-3.SG=go	1.PAU.EX

són	*lagar*	*ti'gau kawas*		*an*	*lón*	*ép*
són	lagar	t-i(ng)=ga(u)=kawas		an	ló-n	ép
INCHO	laugh.ITR	LOC-ANA=(t)here=move.up		at	mouth-POSS	ART:CO1

bòn	*ning.*
bòn	n-ing
sea	DEM.[-SG]-ANA

'When we had fixed the canoe we went, laughing all the time along the way on the sea.'

(22)
Ap	*bèl*	*matò*	*nuki*	*kanak*	*na*	*tik*	*ti*	*barsan*
ap	bèl	matò(l)	nuk-i	kanak	na	tik	ti	barsan
and	NEG	1.PAU.EX	think-TR	COMP	REL	one	ART:CO1.INC	man

aning	*él*	*rè*	*tar*	*matòl.*
a-n-ing	é-l	rè	tar	matòl
DEX-DEM.[-SG]-ANA	3.SG-IRR	see	PRF	1.PAU.EX

'And we did not know that a man was there who had seen us.'

(23)
Ap	*n'i'an*	*kat'an*	*lakman*	*ap*	*i*	*usrai*	*ma*
ap	n(a)=i=(in)an	ka-t(-a)=an	lakman	ap	i	usrai	ma
and	REL=3.SG=go	ALL-LOC(-PROX)=at	village	and	3.SG	story	TRANS

ar'e	*sit*	*ning*	*kanak*	*i*	*tik*
ar(i-n)=è	sit	ning	kanak	i	tik
BEN(-POSS)=ART:PROP	PERS.DEM.PL	DEM.[-SG]-ANA	COMP	3.SG	one

ép	*wang,*	*ép*	*wang*	*gurar,*	*i*	*pòu*	*tim*	*an*
ép	wang	ép	wang	gurar	i	pòu	t-im	an
ART:CO1	canoe	ART:CO1	canoe	women	3.SG	capsize	LOC-down	at

mimin	*malum.*
mimin	malum
river.tail	fresh.water

'And when he went here to the village, he told the people that a canoe, a canoe with women, had capsized near the tail of the river.'

(24)
Ma	*matòl*	*ma*	*ning.*
ma	matòl	ma	n-ing
but	1.PAU.EX	TRANS	DEM.[-SG]-ANA

'Those (women) were us.'

(25)
Na	*matò*	*wòt*	*matò*	*ki*	*lóngrai*	*i*
na	matò(l)	wòt	matò(l)	k-i	lóng-rai	i
REL	1.PAU.EX	come	1.PAU.EX	FOC-3.SG	listen-TR	3.SG

m'ép	*usrai*	*ó'matòl.*
m(a)=ép	usrai	ó(-n)=matòl
TRANS=ART:CO1	story	OBL(-POSS)=1.PAU.EX

'When we came we heard the story about us.'

(26)
Matò	*ki*	*lagar*	*laulau*	*tar.*
matò(l)	k-i	lagar	laulau	tar
1.PAU.EX	FOC-3.SG	laugh.ITR	bad	PRF

'We were laughing badly.'

(27) *Ap   matò   plan   tar   m'i   rak   sè: góng   tik*
ap   matò(l)   plan_ENG tar   ma=i   rak   sè   góng   tik
and   1.PAU.EX   plan   PRF   TRANS=3.SG   want   INDX   PROH   one

i usrai   tar   i   da   ép   usrai   tóng   an
i   usrai   tar   i   d-a   ép   usrai   t-óng   an
3.SG tell.story PRF 3.SG DEM.SG-PROX   ART:CO1 story   LOC-*back* at

lakman   na   dat   él   is   katóng,   sak
lakman   na   dat   é-l   is   ka-t-óng   sak
village   REL   1.PL.INC 3.SG-IRR return ALL-LOC-*back* ADVS

dit   él   malai   tar   datòl.
dit   é-l   malai   tar   datòl
3.PL   3.SG-IRR   laugh.TR PRF   1.PAU.EX

'And we planned not to tell this story up in the village when we would return, so that they would not laugh at us.'

(28) *Na   ó'ning,   na   matò'an   kawas*
na   ó(-n)=n-ing   na   matò(l)=(in)an kawas
REL   OBL(-POSS)=DEM.[-SG]-ANA   REL   1.PAU.EX=go   move.up

kasai   an Ningin   rak'a'na,   ap   matò   kès
ka-Ø-sai   an Ningin   rak=(l)a(r)=n-a   ap   matò(l)   kès
ALL-(LOC-)DIST   at PN   want=like=DEM.[-SG]-PROX   and   1.PAU.EX   sit

ma   pèh,   ap   matòl   sém   lamas   ma.
ma   pèh   ap   matòl   sém   lamas   ma
TRANS CONF   and   1.PAU.EX cut.copra coconut TRANS

'Then, when we arrived at Ningin we were staying there, right, and we were cutting copra.'

(29) *Matò   sém   lamas   pas   ap   na   ép   lamas   i   róp*
matò(l)   sém   lamas   pas   ap   na   ép   lamas   i   róp
1.PAU.EX   cut.copra coconut PFV   and   REL   ART:CO1 coconut 3.SG finish

ap   matò   wòt   is   ma   kata'n   lakman.
ap   matò(l)   [wòt   is]_SVC ma   ka-t-a=(a)n   lakman
and   1.PAU.EX   come   return TRANS ALL-LOC-PROX=at   village

'We cut copra, and when the copra was finished we came back here to the village.'

(30) *Kam   usrai anuk   i   i   róp   sa   lar*
      kam   usrai anu-k   i   i   róp   sa   lar
      ART:GROUP   story CL:GEN-1.SG.POSS   3.SG   3.SG   complete RESTR like

      na.
      n-a
      DEM.[-SG]-PROX

      'My story ends like that.'

(31) *Wakak   kòl.*
      wakak   kòl
      good   very

      'Thank you very much.'

Appendix C: Siar-English dictionary

(draft version, 2857 entries)

Please note that this dictionary is only a preliminary draft that requires further editing. It may in some instances not reflect the analyses proposed in the grammar. For example, a word that is said to belong to the word class A in the grammar might here be listed as belonging to the word class B, or words may be translated differently. Work on this dictionary is still in progress.

This dictionary was created with SIL Lexique Pro V3.3.1.

A – a

a₁ [a] *pro.* (only used as subject pronoun). **I tik ép kirai kòbòt a palas kòbòt ap a inan katim an rumai arèrè.** One morning I got up and I went to school.

a₂ [a] *article.* noun phrase marker (common class 2). **a bém** the/a butterfly.

abilik be slow.

abis [a.'bis] *v.atr.* -. –
1 • spit, spit on. .
2 • drizzle. .

ada [a.'da] *dem.exist.* be here. *Morph:* **a–d–a. Aoh, bèl, ada sa.** No no, it is right here.

adah [a.'dah] *dem.exist.* where is ...?
Morph: **a–d–ah. Adah sah ép pun ngan amtòl i?** Where is your turtle now?

adal [a.'da:l] *v.tr. Morph:* **a–dal.** prepare for marriage. **Diat él adal i su kating ón taulai ma.** They will prepare her for the marriage. *Causative form of:* **dal.**

adan [a.'dan] *n.* **A kan i a pakan adan ap a sòng i an lón ép wang.**

adèh [a.'deh] -. *See:* **andèh.** –

adi [a.'di] *Morph:* **a–d–i(ng).** stomach. – *Reduced form of:* **ading.** .

adim [a.'dim] *dem.exist.* be down there.
Morph: **a–d–im. I tik ép fat adim kawas lón bòn.** There is a rock rising out of the sea.

ading *dem.exist.* anaphoric demonstrative existential. *Morph:* **a–d–ing. Ading gau ma gali an lakan ép yai.** He was there on top of the tree.

adisai [a.di.'sai] *dem.exist.* -. *Morph:* **a–d–isai.** –
1 • be up there. **I tik a mani adisai ma an lakan ép yai.** A bird was on top of the tree.
2 • be away from New Ireland. **Na i wòt sai an Ningin ap adisai gau ma.** When he came to Ningin (island) he stayed there.
3 • be upstream.

adóng *dem.exist.* -. *Morph:* **a–d–òng.** –
1 • be there (north). **Ép kirai na ép lakman adóng sén an Kingén.** At that time the village was further north at Kingen.
2 • be back there.

agaya [a.ga.'ja] *Variant:* **fagaya.** -. -. –
1 • *adj.* noisy. .
2 • *v.atr.* be loud, be noisy. **Góng u agaya é Wówó!** Don't be loud to grandmother!
3 • *n (mass.).* noise. **Bèl a lóngrai al tòl agaya.** I did not hear any noise.

agér *v.* turn around. **Na a agér ap a nós tar ap é Malawa adóng ma i tur tar.** When I turned around I saw Malawa standing there.

agói -. -. – *Antonym of:* **inang.**
1 • *n.* animal (domestic). .
2 • *v.* look after domestic animal. .

ahlai [ah.'lai] *v.* **Ól bas ahlai i sen i ning kók kirai ning na u kòbòt pas i a su ning.**

ai [ai] *Variant:* **East coast Siar? (West coast Siar 'kai').** *article.* -. *See:* **kai.** –

ai marit *n.* people from bush, wild people. **Na misana dat ki tasim ón kanak na dat ai marit, dat ki is katan bòn.**

aikès *n.* crossed strut. .

ailan [ai.lan] *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'island'. *n.* -. *See:* **bit.** –

aim [a.'im] *v.tr.* plant. **Al aim ép fun, al aim ép tòh, al aim tó baran róp mósó.** I will plant bananas, I will plant sugarcane, I will plant all the things I was thinking about.

ain [a.'i:n] *n.* -. *See:* **fain.** –

ainòi *Lit:* cause to be full. *v.tr. Morph:* **a–inòi.** fill. **Marau papas pas ap marau pas ainòi pas i tik ép sósópén.** We gathered river snails and filled the pot (with them). *Causative form of:* **inòi.**

aislang *Variant:* **East coast Siar (West coast Siar 'aslang').** *n.* sign. **Ap kók aislang ón i sa na al bòrbòr ón ép bòng.**

aiyu *n.* kind of bird. .

akak [a.'kak] *Variant:* **wakak.** *adj. Morph:* **(w)akak.** – *Reduced form of:* **wakak;** *Also:* **rè akak** 'be envious'.

akamis [a.ka.'mi:s] *Variant:* **East coast Siar.** *n, v.* -. *See:* **fakamis.** –

akarai   *v. Morph:* **a–karai**. move. **I rak sur él akarai yau katim an Kavieng.** He wanted to move me to Kavieng (hospital). *Causative form of:* **karai**.

akas   *Variant:* **West coast Siar (East Coast Siar 'yakas')**. *v.* dig. **Él akas katim an lón i ép rumai tòstòs ma ning.** He will dig a tunnel right into the house.

akausai   *Lit:* cause to climb. *Variant:* **kawas**. *v. Morph:* **a–kausai**. bring up. **I akausai an lakan i tik ép tan firum kukuntan in.** *Causative form of:* **kausai**.

akawas   *Lit:* cause to move up. *v.tr. Morph:* **a–kawas**. -. – *Causative form of:* **kawas**.

1 • pick up, board, take aboard. **Mèt akawas pas é Nathan diat ap mèt ki lili ma kata pirim.** We took Nathan and his family on board and we went took off.

2 • promote. **Él akawas taman kak.**

3 • put up. **Dit él akawas sòi ip yiwun ning.** They will put her hair up.

akès   *Lit:* cause to sit. *Variant:* **fakès**. *v.tr. Morph:* **a–kès**. -. – *Causative form of:* **kès**.

1 • trap. **I tólói akès ép bòròi ning.** he held the pig (to prevent it from escaping).
2 • fix.

akókók   *Lit:* cause to be white. *v.tr. Morph:* **a–kók´kók**. bleach. **Bèl tik ti barsan ón i da ép fanu piu él tòl akókók pas tik ti kayén lar ning.** *Causative form of:* **kókók**.

akór   *Lit:* cause to boil. *v.tr. Morph:* **a–kór**. -. – *Causative form of:* **kór**.

1 • boil. **Matòl lós pas épbòn, matòl wér i kata an lón ap matò akór i.** We first get some saltwater, then we pour it inside and then we boil it.

2 • smoke (fish). **Matòl akór sòi pas kai sis.** We smoked all of the fish.

al   [al] *obj.pro.* some. **Ma bèl sa i nap él dat kòl tar al.** But he will not manage to pull out many.

alamtin   *Lit:* cause to be big. *v.tr. Morph:* **a–lamtin**. feed (in order to become fat). **Ép wól ón i lar sa pèh ning dira tabar alamtin tari.** The tradition is to feed her until she is bigger.

alar   *Lit:* cause to resemble. *v.tr. Morph:* **a–lar**. -. – *Causative form of:* **lar**.

1 • protect. **Dirau sén dirau wur i ép bat kón alar dirau.** They cast a rain spell for their protection.

2 • surround. **Amr'él sòi ép ngórngór sur kón tagar alar ép bòn.** You two go to the points so you will block the sea water.

alar kiké–   *Lit:* foot protection. *Variant:* **West coast Siar (East coast Siar 'balan kiké-')**. *n. Morph:* **a–lar kiké–**. shoe. .

alaun   [a.la.'u:n] *Lit:* cause to live. *v.tr. Morph:* **a–laun**. -. – *Causative form of:* **laun**.

1 • heal, cure. **É Yesu i alaun ép tarai ón tó tinsaman ap i alaun ningan i tik ép barsan na ki mat tar.** Jesus healed the sick and he resurrected the dead.

2 • resurrect. **É Jesus i alaun ép tarai ón tó tinsaman ap i alaun ningan i tik ép barsan na ki mat tar.** Jesus healed the sick and he resurrected the dead.

albék   *v.* hang (e.g. on wall). .

ali–   [a.'li] *Variant:* **fali–**. *n (comm.). Morph:* **(f)ali–**. -. *See:* **fali–**. –

alih   [a.'lih] *v.* -. –

1 • beckon. **Ép món madar i lili, bólós u rak lar na ap ku alih ép món madar.** The boat comes and passes by you and you beckon the boat.

2 • wave (hand).

aliyau   *v.* .

alò   *adv.* again. **Dirau ki an sén alò dirau wóng.** The two went again to check.

amamat   **Ép baran na i amamat tar a karmayan i an sòu.**

amanlar agòh   *Lit:* cause the decaying corpse to be light. *n.* stopping of all work in honour of the dead. .

amat   *Lit:* cause to die. *v.tr. Morph:* **a–mat**. kill, murder. **Matòl él mumun sòi i ép tarai laulau ning sak dit él um amat tar matòl.** We will hide so that those troublemakers will not kill us. *Also:* **bing amat** 'switch off'; *Causative form of:* **mat**.

Amérika   *pn.* -. –

1 • America. .

2 • Americans. **Na ép tan farum i róp ap bar Amérika ki an òt.** When World War 2 was over the Americans came.

amérmér *Lit:* cause to be decorated. *v.tr.* *Morph:* **a–mérmér**. decorate. **Ép falinón dit amérmér i sa ón ép gargar sa kinòng.** They decorate her body with only the gargar shells. *Causative form of:* **mérmér**.

amra -. *Morph:* **amra(u)**. *See:* **amrau**. – *Reduced form of:* **amrau**.

amrai *v.tr.* bring. **É Nana ki wòt, i amrai ngak ép baran angan.** Mummy came and brought me something to eat. *Also:* **amrai pòl** 'hunt pigs (lit. bring dogs)'.

amrau -. personal pronoun (2nd person dual). –
1 • *subj.pro.* you (dual). **Matòl nós sur amrau ta gau an lón rumai arim.** We were looking for you two here in your house. Yesterday I saw you two.
2 • *obj.pro.* you (dual).

amrél *mod.pro. Morph:* **amr(au)=é–l**. you (dual, irrealis). **Amra sin amrau él kès ma ta arisak.** You two brothers will stay with me. *Contraction of:* **amrau él**.

amtél *mod.pro. Morph:* **amt(òl)=é–l**. you (paucal, irrealis). **Ép bòròi adóng gau, amtòl él lós i?** The pig is up there, will you carry it? *Contraction of:* **amtòl él**.

amtò -. -. *See:* **amtòl**. –

amtòl -. personal pronoun (2nd person paucal). –
1 • *subj.pro.* you (paucal). **Amtòl rak sur al kam é Tó Wair sur él um amtòl?** Do you want me to call Tó Wair so he will beat you?
2 • *obj.pro.* you (paucal). **Mèt él kam amtòl ma kanak kai Bóngyan amtòl.** We will call you the Bóngyan from now on.

amunat *v.* do four times. **Él taltal alar mumugi ép pók ning él amunat.**

amunru **Ép kam sarsar bèl sén él amunru kón ngék.**

amuntik **Ép kam sarsar ki amuntik kón ngék.**

amuntòl

an₁ *prep.* at. **Dirau lós i katim an lakman.** The two carried it home. (lit. at home).

an₂ *Variant:* **inan**. *v.itr. Morph:* **in(an)**. -. *See:* **inan**. – *Reduced form of:* **inan**.

ana *dem.exist.* be here (non-singular). **I tik a mangis sén alò dit ana ané.** Here, below (them) is another clan.

ananas *n (dim.).* pineapple. .

ananu *n (comm.).* cities. *See:* **fanu**. **I kèp pas dirau sur kón nangan i ón ép wuwur na i wur i ta gau ón tó ananu.** He took them so they could help him with his work in the cities. *Irregular plural of:* **fanu**.

anat *n. Morph:* **(f)anat**. -. *See:* **fanat**. –

anau *v.* **Amat él anau akak tar amat.**

andan *Morph:* **(f)andan**. -. *See:* **fandan**. –

andèh *Variant:* **East coast Siar (West coast Siar 'adèh')**. other side. **Diat ki but sòi ép ring kasai andèh.**

ané below. **I ru ra purpur dirau ki pung sai gali an lakan ép yai katim ané.** Two flowers fell down from the top of the tree.

ané– *prep.* below, under. **Dirau ki pung sai gali an lakan ép yai katim ané.** The two fell down from the top of the tree.

angai *Variant:* **East Coast Siar 'yangai'**. *v.* plant sweet potato. **Mèt tur pas angai tó tau.** We began to plant sweet potatoes in the soil.

angan *v.itr.* -. – *Also:* **baran angan** 'food'; **angan bòng** 'have dinner'; **angan kòbòt** 'have breakfast'.
1 • eat. **Matòl tutun ap matòl angan ma.** We cooked and we ate.
2 • bite (fish). **A babait ap kai sis dit ki angan laulau tar.** I was fishing and the fish bit damn well.

angis *Lit:* cause to be beautiful. *Morph:* **a–ngis**. *v.tr.* -. – *Causative form of:* **ngis**.
1 • *adj.* lucky. **Mèt ki angis tar ón ip kirai ning na mèt aut pas i tó gan ning.** We were lucky on that day when we got those guns.
2 • *v.* bless.

angnai *Variant:* **West coast Siar (East coast Siar 'yangnai')**. *v. Morph:* **(y)angnai**. – *Reduced form of:* **yangnai**.

ani *Morph:* **a–n–i(ng)**. – *Reduced form of:* **aning**.

aniga *Variant:* **ani'gau**. *Morph:* **a–n–i(ng)=ga(u)**. -. *See:* **anigau**. –

anigau *Variant:* **ani'ga**. *Morph:* **a–n–i(ng)=gau**. – *Contraction of:* **aning gau**.

anim *dem.exist.* -. *Morph:* **a–n–im**. –
1 • be down there (non-singular). **Ép lamas adim an piu.** The coconut is down on the ground.

2 • be outside. **I ru ra nat lik anim ma an piu.** Two little children were outside.

3 • be some place towrards the sea.

anin   *See:* **aning?**.

aning   *dem.exist.* be there (anaphoric, non-singular). *Morph:* **a–n–ing**. **Mèt aning gau ma mét usrai lik.** We were there chatting a bit.

anisai   *dem.exist.* -. *Morph:* **a–n–isai**. –

1 • be up there. **Anisai gau ma gali, i kès leklek tar ana.** He was up there sitting right at the top.

2 • be away from New Ireland. **Dit anisai ma an Ningin.** They were over at Ningin (island).

3 • be upstream. **.**

ankóp   *v.* **I rèrè kubat a sèn ap a ankóp sén alò.**

anó   *Morph:* **a–n–ó(ng)**. – *Reduced form of:* **anóng**.

anón   *v.* **Ép wól ón ép fain mètèk lar ning di warai dél anón i.**

anóng   *dem.exist.* be there (non-singular). *Morph:* **a–n–òng**. **Marau anóng gau ma an bòn an mimin.** We were up there now at the tail of the river.

anrawai   *v.tr.* respect. **Amat él anrawai tó tataman amat ap tó tatan amat.**

anu–   *poss.cl.* possessive classifier, needs to be suffixed with one of the possessive affixes. **Ki tur ting ón ép fubeh ón ép barim anuk i.** He was standing on the boundary to my garden.

anu   *n.* kind of plank used for boat construction.

anu'dara   *Variant:* **anu'darau**. *poss.pro.* *Morph:* **anu(-n)=dara(u)**. -. *See:* **anudarau**. –

anu'darau   *Variant:* **anu'dara**. *poss.pro.* *Morph:* **anu(-n)=darau**. our (dual, incl., general nouns). – *Contraction of:* **anun darau**.

anu'dat   *poss.pro. Morph:* **anu(-n)=dat**. our (plural, incl., general nouns). – *Contraction of:* **anun dat**.

anu'datò   *Variant:* **anu'datòl**. *poss.pro.* *Morph:* **anu(-n)=datò(l)**. -. *See:* **anudatòl**. –

anu'datòl   *Variant:* **anu'datò**. *poss.pro.* *Morph:* **anu(-n)=datòl**. our (paucal, incl., general nouns). – *Contraction of:* **anun datòl**.

anu'diat   *poss.pro. Morph:* **anu(-n)=diat**. their (paucal, general nouns). – *Contraction of:* **anun diat**.

anu'dira   *Variant:* **anu'dirau**. *poss.pro.* *Morph:* **anu(-n)=dira(u)**. -. *See:* **anudirau**. –

anu'dirau   *Variant:* **anu'dira**. *poss.pro.* *Morph:* **anu(-n)=dirau**. their (dual, general nouns). – *Contraction of:* **anun dirau**.

anu'dit   *poss.pro. Morph:* **anu(-n)=dit**. their (plural, general nouns). – *Contraction of:* **anun dit**.

anu'mara   *Variant:* **anu'marau**. *poss.pro.* *Morph:* **anu(-n)=mara(u)**. -. *See:* **anumarau**. –

anu'marau   *Variant:* **anu'mara**. *poss.pro.* *Morph:* **anu(-n)=marau**. our (dual, excl., general nouns). – *Contraction of:* **anun marau**.

anu'mat   *poss.pro. Morph:* **anu(-n)=(a)mat**. your (plural, general nouns). – *Contraction of:* **anun amat**.

anu'matò   *Variant:* **anu'matòl**. *poss.pro.* *Morph:* **anu(-n)=matò(l)**. -. *See:* **anumatòl**. –

anu'matòl   *Variant:* **anu'matò**. *poss.pro.* *Morph:* **anu(-n)=matòl**. our (paucal, excl., general nouns). – *Contraction of:* **anun matòl**.

anu'mèt   *poss.pro. Morph:* **anu(-n)=mèt**. our (plural, excl., general nouns). – *Contraction of:* **anun mèt**.

anu'mra   *Variant:* **anu'mrau**. *poss.pro.* *Morph:* **anu(-n)=(a)mra(u)**. -. *See:* **anumrau**. –

anu'mrau   *Variant:* **anu'mra**. *poss.pro.* *Morph:* **anu(-n)=(a)mrau**. your (dual, general nouns). – *Contraction of:* **anun amrau**.

anu'mtò   *Variant:* **anu'mtòl**. *poss.pro.* *Morph:* **anu(-n)=(a)mtò(l)**. your (paucal, general nouns). *See:* **anumtòl**. –

anu'mtòl   *Variant:* **anu'mtò**. *poss.pro.* *Morph:* **anu(-n)=(a)mtòl**. your (paucal, general nouns). – *Contraction of:* **anun amtòl**.

aòh   *inj.* no! **Aòh, góng!** No, don't!

ap   *subord.* and. **ép pusi ap ép pòl** the cat and the dog.

apar   *Lit:* cause to move across. *v.tr. Morph:* **a–par**. -. – *Causative form of:* **par**.

1 • drop off (from boat). **Di ki apar is ning sén alò ép tan ép farum sén alò katim an mas.** They dropped of some other soldiers at the beach.

2 • cast (net). **Marau apar ma ép kèh ting an lón malum.** We cast the net into the river.

apèh *inj?*. and then? **Dit ki warai tar i kanak na i win ning, apèh?** Have they said that he has won?

api *inj.* yes. *See:* **apèh?**. –

apóstóló *Borrowed from* English 'apostle'. *n.* apostle.

apuar *Lit:* cause to be born. *v.atr. Morph:* **a-puar**. give birth to. **É Adam dirau é Eve dirau apuar ma.** Adam and Eve gave birth to a child. *Causative form of:* **puar**.

apung *Lit:* cause to fall. *v.tr. Morph:* **a-pung**. -. – *Causative form of:* **pung**.

1 • drop. .

2 • bring down. **I tik ép fain Kórói él rarakai sén sél apung i sén i ép fain Bóngyan.** A Kórói woman can be strong enough to bring a Bóngyan woman down.

arai *n.* **A mani adim ma i yanyan arai akak lik.**

arais less. **I tik ép tarai sin, diat arais on diat.** .

araring *v.* pray. **Kès sur al araring pas.** You sit and I will pray.

arat -. -. – *Antonym of:* **bulbul**.

1 • *v.tr.* bite somebody. **Ép pòi i rak él arat ép limak.** The eel wanted to bite my hand.
2 • *adj.* sharp.

arbas *v.itr. Morph:* **ar-bas**. throw things at each other. **Dit él arbas, dit arbas dit sit nóng is dit él bas i é sit nim is.** They will throw things at each other, those on the one side will throw things at the ones on the other side. *Reciprocal form of:* **bas**.

arbi *n.* kind of shell. .

arbólói *v. Morph:* **ar-bólói**. carry together. **A warai na dirau él arbólói i tik a gòtò ap yau al lós él tik.** I told them to carry one bamboo together and I would carry one myself. *Reciprocal form of:* **bólói**.

aré *Morph:* **ar(i-n)=é**. – *Contraction of:* **arin é**.

arèrè *Lit:* cause to see. *v.* -. – *Also:* **tan ép arèrè** 'teacher'; *Causative form of:* **rèrè**.

1 • teach. **Dirau él muri i sur él arèrè dirau kón babasi ép kèh.** They followed him so he could teach them how to cast a net.

2 • learn, study. **Al arèrè ón ép media kón wuwur main tó kómpiutér.** I will study Media to work with computers.

3 • practice. **Amat arèrè lik ón ép choir anun amat?** Were you practicing in your choir?

arès *v.* have sex with.

ari– *prep.* benefactive preposition. **Tar i arik!** Give it to me!

arin'mòn *Variant:* **East coast Siar (West coast Siar 'rònmòn)**. -. *See:* **rònmòn**. –

aririó **É Yesu i aririó i an arun dirau.**

arisa– towards somebody. *Morph:* **a(n)=risa–**. **Diat ki lili ón ep món madar katim arisak an Lamassa.** They came to me at Lamassa on the boat. *Contraction of:* **an risa–**.

arisan *v.tr.*

arisa'dara *prep.pro.* *Morph:* **a(n)=risa(-n)=dara(u)**. -. *See:* **arisadarau**. –

arisa'darau *prep.pro. Morph:* **a(n)=risa(-n)=darau**. -. – *Contraction of:* **an risan darau**.

1 • next to us (dual, incl.) –

2 • to us (dual, incl.) –

arisa'dat *prep.pro. Morph:* **a(n)=risa(-n)=dat**. -. – *Contraction of:* **an risan dat**.

1 • next to us (plural, incl.) –

2 • to us (plural, incl.) –

arisa'datò *prep.pro.* *Morph:* **a(n)=risa(-n)=datò(l)**. -. *See:* **arisadatòl**. –

arisa'datòl *prep.pro. Morph:* **a(n)=risa(-n)=datòl**. -. – *Contraction of:* **an risan datòl**.

1 • next to us (paucal, incl.) –

2 • to us (paucal, incl.) –

arisa'diat *prep.pro. Morph:* **a(n)=risa(-n)=diat**. -. – *Contraction of:* **an risan diat**.

1 • next to them (paucal). –

2 • to them (paucal). –

arisa'dira *prep.pro. Morph:* **a(n)=risa(-n)=dira(u)**. -. *See:* **arisadirau**. –

arisa'dirau *prep.pro. Morph:* **a(n)=risa(-n)=dirau**. -. – *Contraction of:* **an risan dirau**.

1 • next to them (dual). –

2 • to them (dual). –

arisa'dit *prep.pro. Morph:* **a(n)=risa(-n)=dit**. -. – *Contraction of:* **an risan dit**.

1 • next to them (plural). –

2 • to them (plural). –

arisa'mara   *prep.pro.*
   Morph: **a(n)=risa(-n)=mara(u)**. -.
   See: **arisamarau**. –

arisa'marau   *prep.pro.*
   Morph: **a(n)=risa(-n)=marau**. -. –
   Contraction of: **an risan marau**.
   1 • next to us (dual, excl.) –
   2 • to us (dual, excl.) –

arisa'mat   *prep.pro. Morph:* **a(n)=ris(a-n)=amat**. -. –
   Contraction of: **an risan amat**.
   1 • next to you (plural). –
   2 • to you (plural). –

arisa'matò   *prep.pro.*
   Morph: **a(n)=risa(-n)=matò(l)**. -.
   See: **arisamatòl**. –

arisa'matòl   *prep.pro. Morph:* **a(n)=risa(-n)=matòl**.
   -. – *Contraction of:* **an risan matòl**.
   1 • next to us (paucal, excl.) –
   2 • to us (paucal, excl.) –

arisa'mèt   *prep.pro. Morph:* **a(n)=risa(-n)=mèt**. -. –
   Contraction of: **an risan mèt**.
   1 • next to us (plural, excl.) –
   2 • to us (plural, excl.) –

arisa'mra   *prep.pro. Morph:* **a(n)=ris(a-n)=amrau**. -.
   See: **arisamrau**. –

arisa'mrau   *prep.pro.*
   Morph: **a(n)=ris(a-n)=amrau**. -. –
   Contraction of: **an risan amrau**.
   1 • next to you (dual). –
   2 • to you (dual). –

arisa'mtò   *prep.pro. Morph:* **a(n)=ris(a-n)=amtò**. -.
   See: **arisamtòl**. –

arisa'mtòl   *prep.pro. Morph:* **a(n)=ris(a-n)=amtòl**.
   -. – *Contraction of:* **an risan amtòl**.
   1 • next to you (paucal). –
   2 • to you (paucal). –

ari'dara   *prep.pro. Morph:* **ari(-n)=dara(u)**. -.
   See: **aridarau**. –

ari'darau   *prep.pro. Morph:* **ari(-n)=darau**. for us
   (dual, incl.) – *Contraction of:* **arin darau**.

ari'dat   *prep.pro. Morph:* **ari(-n)=dat**. for us (plural,
   incl.) – *Contraction of:* **arin dat**.

ari'datò   *prep.pro. Morph:* **ari(-n)=datò(l)**. -.
   See: **aridatòl**. –

ari'datòl   *prep.pro. Morph:* **ari(-n)=datòl**. for us
   (paucal, incl.) – *Contraction of:* **arin datòl**.

ari'diat   *prep.pro. Morph:* **ari(-n)=diat**. for them
   (paucal). – *Contraction of:* **arin diat**.

ari'dira   *prep.pro. Morph:* **ari(-n)=dira(u)**. -.
   See: **aridirau**. –

ari'dirau   *prep.pro. Morph:* **ari(-n)=dirau**. for them
   (dual). – *Contraction of:* **arin dirau**.

ari'dit   *prep.pro. Morph:* **ari(-n)=(dit)**. for them
   (plural). – *Contraction of:* **arin dit**.

ari'mara   *prep.pro. Morph:* **ari(-n)=mara(u)**. -.
   See: **arimarau**. –

ari'marau   *prep.pro. Morph:* **ari(-n)=marau**. for us
   (dual, excl.) – *Contraction of:* **arin marau**.

ari'mat   *prep.pro. Morph:* **ari(-n)=(a)mat**. for you
   (plural). – *Contraction of:* **arin amat**.

ari'matò   *prep.pro. Morph:* **ari(-n)=matò(l)**. -.
   See: **arimatòl**. –

ari'matòl   *prep.pro. Morph:* **ari(-n)=matòl**. for us
   (paucal, excl.) – *Contraction of:* **arin matòl**.

ari'mèt   *prep.pro. Morph:* **ari(-n)=mèt**. for us
   (plural, excl.) – *Contraction of:* **arin mèt**.

ari'mra   *prep.pro. Morph:* **ari(-n)=(a)mra(u)**. -.
   See: **arimrau**. –

ari'mrau   *prep.pro. Morph:* **ari(-n)=(a)mrau**. for you
   (dual). – *Contraction of:* **arin amrau**.

ari'mtò   *prep.pro. Morph:* **ari(-n)=(a)mtò(l)**. -.
   See: **arimtòl**. –

ari'mtòl   *prep.pro. Morph:* **ari(-n)=(a)mtòl**. for you
   (paucal). – *Contraction of:* **arin amtòl**.

arkam   *Lit:* call each other. *v.itr. Morph:* **ar-kam**.
   communicate by shouting. **Diat arkam it ap
   bèl al ma sén.** They were calling him but he
   had gone. *Reciprocal form of:* **kam**.

arkók   *Lit:* get each other. *v.itr. Morph:* **ar-kók**.
   arrange. **Marau é Laimen marau arkók sur
   marau él inan katim an Kèp Kòlòh.** Me and
   Laimen we decided to go to Kèp Kòlòh.
   Reciprocal form of: **kók**.

arlar   *Lit:* resemble each other. *v. Morph:* **ar-lar**. -. –
   Reciprocal form of: **lar**.
   1 • resemble, be alike. **Ón sa na bèl ma i
   arlar.** It is not the same anymore.
   2 • square. .

arlé   *v.itr.* swear. **É Sél dirau é Langai dirau arlé.**

arlémén　*n (comm.).* -. *See:* **farlémén**. –

arli　*v.* **Diat wòt sa, diat arli katim an lakman lar na.**

arngas　*Variant:* **West coast Siar (East coast Siar 'yarngas').** *n (comm.).* mountain. *Morph:* **(y)arngas. I kirai mamanlar ón matòl sai kawas an lakan a arngas.** It was bright day for us there on top of the mountain.

arnguli mès　*n.* evening (early). .

aró　*inj.* Isn't it?, Right?, Okay? **Ép usrai ón ép barim, aró?** A story about the garden, okay?

aróp　*Lit:* cause to finish. *v.tr. Morph:* **a-róp.** -. – *Causative form of:* **róp**.

　　1 • finish all. **I yan aróp pas ép bòròi.** He ate all of the pig meat.

　　2 • finish. **Marau dòt sòi aróp tar i ap a bus pas a yai ap marau yai kèp i ma.** After we had tied it up I cut off a branch and we pole-carried it.

aróp órsai　*Lit:* cause to finish without purpose. *v.tr.* waste.

arsosok　*v.itr.* race. .

arum　*Lit:* hit each other. *v.itr.* fight. **Bèl dit rèrè arum ón a liwan ó a lamrót.** They usually did not fight with knives or spears. *Also:* **ép tan ép farum** 'soldier ; fighter'; *Reciprocal form of:* **um**.

arun　**É Yesu i aririó i an arun dirau.**

as　*int.pro.* -. –

　　1 • who? **As i warai u?** Who told you?

　　2 • whom?

asal　*v.* walk along beach. **Dirau asal bòn tim is.** The two followed the beach back south.

asam　*v.tr.* stitch together. .

asang　*v.tr.* -. –

　　1 • hang up.

　　2 • hang person.

aslang₁　*v.* celebrate. **Mèt aslang tar i ru ra sarunlès.**

aslang₂　*n.* -. *See:* **aislang**. –

asngai　*v.tr.* show. **Al bòt asngai u ón ta kónókónó an mur.** Later I will show you a (kónókónó).

asóbór　*v.* trick (not deliberate). **Wai, ma u na u asóbór ma tutubun sa ma kól mat sén ning.**

asóng　*v.tr.* fool (deliberate), trick (deliberate), betray (deliberate), deceive. **Ép pòl ki asóng pas ép wakin.** The dog tricked the wallaby.

asósóng　*v.tr.* -. *See:* **asóng**. –

at　*num.* four. **i at ép rumai** four houses.

atatat　*Variant:* **fatatat.** *n.* stones. **U riri pas tó atatat ap u siling sòi ép ran.** You gather some stones. *Irregular plural of:* **fat**.

aténgé　*v.* **Dit aténgé ati ma.**

atété　*v.* **Ép bòng ma ap a atété tar ma ép bòròi an lakan ép fatar.**

atègè

atèh　**Atèh, dat él bas rè.**

ati　*Variant:* **uti**; **it.** marker for iterative aktionsart. **A bóbókói ati ma ép wang ting gau pirim.** I gently pushed the canoe (to the beach).

atin　*v.tr.* light (fire). **A atin ép yah.** I light a fire.

atin kirai　*Lit:* fourth day. *n.* Thursday. .

atór　*v.* -. –

　　1 • write.

　　2 • paint.

atòng　-. -. –

　　1 • *v.ditr.* call, name, label. **Kai nanat dit lamantin òt pas sa ap dit atòng òròs ép risén é Lamassa.** The children grow up and use the name Lamassa without knowing its meaning.

　　2 • *n (comm.).* label, name. **Ép kam atòng róp ón di warai é Watintóng.** Her full name was Watintóng.

　　3 • *v.* utter, express. **Yau a atòng akak kòl kaptikén i ning tó baran** I want to say "Thank you" for these things.

atòstòs　*Lit:* cause to be straight. *v.tr. Morph:* **a-tòstòs.** -. – *Causative form of:* **tòstòs**.

　　1 • put right, correct, straighten. **Ki rak ma él atòstòs ép mantiken tim an mur.** He wanted to straighten his back.

　　2 • repair. **Na sa matòl atòstòs aróp tar ép rumai ap ép bat i kamis sa wòt.** Just when we had finished repairing the house the sun came out.

　　3 • plan, think about. **Diat ki atòstòs ép ngas sur kanak ép món madar kél sing i katim an Bakók.** They were thinking about a way to transport her to Bakók with the boat.

atun   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin?. *n.* bonito, yellowfin (small). –

aun   *n (comm.).* **Di saprai sa ép kabang an lakan ép aun na tarai.**

aung   *v.* **ép susukun i góm ap i aung ép wit**

aurai   *v.* **Tó baran róp na kal bas aurai tar i kating sup an lón ép bólók mètèk.**

aus   [a.'u:s] *n.* penis (vulgar, not to be uttered near women). .

aut   *v.tr.* pick. **Dit aut anim ma tó baran ting anén rumai.** They took the things under the houses.

ayap   *Borrowed from* Ramoaaina?. *inj?.* -. –
1 • Hurry up! **Ól ayap ma sur darau él inan ma!** Hurry up so we can go!
2 • Come here! **Ayap nana, bèl u lóngrai marau?** Come mummy, can't you hear us?

ayapyap   *v.* quick, quickly. **As i warai u sur ól ayapyap?** Who told you to hurry up?

B – b

ba   *n (hum.).* uncle. **I sa é Ba ning él tar anuk ta kését?** Is that the uncle who will give me a cassette?

baba–   *Variant:* **bamba–**. *n (dim.).* wing. .

babai   *n.* kind of tree. .

babait   -. -. –
1 • *v.atr.* fish (with fishing cord only). **A babait kòl kasai an laman.** I fished where it was deep.
2 • *n (comm.).* fishing. **ép pidik anuk ón ép babait** my fishing secrets.

babanis   *n.* kind of custom. .

babarah   *v.* -. –
1 • tall. **Ép yai i babarah.** The tree is tall.
2 • long.

babat   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin?. -. -. –
1 • *n.* wall. **I usai sòi i tik ép dèh babat katim pukus.** It blew away one side of the walls.
2 • *v.* build wall. **Ka tóltól i ma sur ép palang kón babat ma ép rumai.** I cut them to planks for the walls of the house.

babau   **Amrau él rè tat i tik ép dalwan in ép dóngki ading di babau akès tar i.**

bagarap   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'bugger up'. -. *See:* **laulau**. –

bah   *v.* break. **Na ón ning marau bah sòi ma i tik a sur limak na.** Then it broke off one of my hand's bones.

bahbah   *n.* kind of tree. .

baikar   *n.* kind of snake (red). .

bak   *n.* fence. **Ép tarai dit ki malngai aróp tar i kating lón tó bak.**

bakbak   *Variant:* **tapak**. *v.* -. – *Antonym of:* **milau**.
1 • far (away). **Él bakbak kata an mas.** It will be far away from the shore.
2 • long (time).

bakói   *n (comm.).* shark. **A babait ap i tik ép tan bakói sòm pas.** I was fishing and a big shark bit.

Bakók   *pn.* Siar village on the east coast. **Dat él kaptur sai an lakman katim an Lambóm, katim an Bakók, katim an Matkamlagir.** We will take off from the village and go to Lambóm, to Bakók, to Matkamlagir.

bakut   *n.* rain cloud. **Tó bakut na ki tur ting is.** The rain clouds were forming.

bal   *Borrowed from* English 'ball' / German 'Ball'. *n (dim.).* ball. **Ép pusi i mamam ón a bal.** The cat is playing with a ball.

bal kiòm   *Lit:* stomach together. *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin?. *n.* .

bal mólmól   *Lit:* weak stomach. *n.* *Morph:* **bal(a–)=mólmól**. kind of feeling. .

bala–   *n (comm.).* stomach; belly. **Ép balak i ngòngòt.** My stomach hurts.

bala marup   *Variant:* **kaburyah**. *n.* cod, groper. .

balan kiké–   *Variant:* East coast Siar (West coast Siar 'alar kiké–'). *n.* *See:* **alar kiké–**. .

balan lima–   *Lit:* hand-stomach. *n.*

balbal   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin? Kuanua? Native?. -. -. *ERYTHRINA INDICA.* –
1 • *n (dim.).* coral tree. **Bèl dit rèrè parai balbal, a rangrang sén.**

2 • *pn.* clan name (Lió Ón A Balbal).

bali   *v.* not be there, not exist. **Marau nósnós sur é Alwin diat ap bali diat ma.** We looked for Alwin and the others but they were not there.

Balik   *pn.* place name. .

balil   *v.* go around, move around, circumnavigate. **I yélé balil sòi ép wang katim adèh.** He swam around to the other side with the canoe.

balinat   *Variant:* **dum**. *n (comm.).* cliff. **Ól kep tó mulin tó balinat.** You will take pictures of cliffs.

baliwó   *n.* kind of snake. .

balku   *n.* -. –
1 • kind of tree.
2 • kind of spear made from this wood.

balkut   *Lit:* stomach closed. *v.* angry.
Morph: **bal(a–)=kut**. **É Alwin i balkut matòl ma kanak ép sah na matòl tòl i tim pukus.** Alwin was angry at us, (asking) what we were doing down there.

balmapak   *n.* name of a traditional ritual. .

balngat   *n.* kind of tree. .

balngis   *Lit:* beautiful stomach. *n (comm.).* happy.
Morph: **bal(a–)=ngis**. **Él an kating ón ép balngis.**

balngòngòt   *Lit:* stomach pain. *n.*
Morph: **bal(a–)=ngòngòt**. hatred. .

balngòt   *Lit:* stomach pain. *n. Morph:* **bal(a–)=ngòt**. hatred. .

balsak   *n (comm.).* **Él yawas kating ón ép balsak.**

balsal   *Variant:* **bérék**. *n.* -. *See:* **bérék**. .

balsam   *n.* kind of tree. .

baltén   .

balus   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin. -. *See:* **tamgom**; **mani**. –

balus marit   *Lit:* wild dove. *n.* kind of bird. .

balwór   *v.* –
1 • *n.* **É Yesu i arèrè lik sai sup an lón ép balwór ón ep rumai lótu.**
2 • *v.* **Palas kòbòt ka balwór ma ép rumai.**

bamba-   *Variant:* **baba-**. *See:* **baba-**.

ban   *n.* kind of plant. .

ban kabanga   *n.* kind of plant. .

ban mamaris   *n.* kind of plant. .

ban manmó   *n.* kind of flower. .

ban pakan béréó   *n.* kind of plant. .

banamus   *n.* kind of bird. .

bangbang   *n.* **Dit kèp pas ép su na ép susukun ap dit wur i lar a bangbang anun ép kabinsit.**

bar   *article.* noun phrase marker (proper class). **Bar Siapan dit wòt.** The Japanese came.

baran   *n (comm.).* thing. **Tó baran anuk anum ma.** My belongings are yours now.

baran angan   *Lit:* eating thing. *n (comm.).* -. –
1 • food. **Ól aut pas ép baran angan ngam ap ól angan ting ón a arinmòn.** You will grab your food and eat in the dark.
2 • feast. **I wók ma ép tan baran angan ón i a nat lik ning.** They made a feast for that little child.

baran gang   *Lit:* drinking thing. *n (comm.).* beverage. .

baran kòkòbòn   *Lit:* surprise thing. *n (comm.).* wonder. **Yoanes, ép tan ép pipikir ki kaptur is sén alò kabas ép minat sur na i kèp ép rarakai kón wur tó baran kòkòbòn.**

baran sòsòng   *Lit:* packing thing. *n.* box. –

barbar   *Variant:* **barmbar**. -. -.
1 • *n.* drill.
2 • *v.* drill.
3 • *v.* crucify. **É Pailat i warai sur dit él barbar é Yesu sai ón a yai kutus.**

barim   *n (comm.).* -. –
1 • garden. **Matòl inan ma katim an lón barim.** We went into the garden.
2 • garden of Eden. **É Kamgòi i tar ép wuwur arin sur ning na él nós alar ép barim.** God made him look after the garden (of Eden).

baring   *n.* kind of freshwater fish. .

barsan   *n (comm.).* man. **A sóng pas i tik ép barsan.** I met a man. *Irregular plural:* **tarai**.

barumayat   *n.* kind of shell. .

bas₁   *v.* throw. **Dit sit nóng is dit él bas i é sit nim is.** Those on the one side will throw things at the ones on the other side.

bas₂   *mod.v.* have to, must. **Ép tarai tóng an Naskó dit ki warai kanak na matòl él bas él bòrbòr.** The people at Naskó told us to get some sleep.

bas₃   *n.* kind of rat (big). .

basa   *adv.* first, for the moment. **Ép usrai anuk él tuk tar basa ting gau.** My story will end here for the moment.

basèl   *n.* kind of plank used for boat construction.

basi   *v.tr. Morph:* **basi-i**. -. – *Transitive form of:* **bas**.

1 • throw. **É Kailam i basi tar i a kumlin lamas katim an lón bòn.** The lizard had thrown the coconut half into the sea.

2 • cast (net or fishing line). **I basi a rèrèh sur kabai sis na dit ki yan i a bén anun i.** He casts the net so that the fish will eat the bait.

bat₁   *n (comm.).* rain. **Ép bat ki pung.** The rain is falling.

bat₂   *n (comm.).* mat. .

bata   *n.* kind of fruit. .

batam   *v.itr.* spy. **Dirau sin batam tar ma sur é Tubun Ain dirau kél kèp payam sur kél tòl payam ma ngan diat tubun.** The two brothers were spying if their grandmother was about to get the greens for her and her grandchildren to eat. *Irregular transitive form:* **batnai**.

batnai   *v.tr.* spy on somebody. **Dirau sin ki an ma sur dirau sin él batnai ma é Tubun Ain dirau.** The two brothers went to spy on their grandmother. *Irregular intransitive form:* **batam**.

baukut   *n.* nut (dry). **Matòl pagal pas i tik a baukut.** We broke off a dry nut.

bebenge   **Matòl ki rè bebenge u sén ning ól mat sén ning.** Me and my grandchildren were thinking you are going to die.

bébémreò   *n.* kind of tree. .

béh   *v.* move ashore. **Na i bók tar ta an lón bòn ap i beh tar i tóng an bòn an Kingén.** After floating on the sea it washed ashore on the beach at Kingén.

bék   *Borrowed from* English 'bag'. -. *See:* **rat**. –

békébéké   *n.* kind of saltwater fish. .

bél   *n.*

bélé   *n.* kind of saltwater fish. .

béléngar   *n.* kind of tree. .

bélo   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'bell'. *n.* bell. **Kam naól ón kai wakin ki um ma belo ap kai wakin dit ki an kiòm.** The leader of the wallabies rang the bell and the wallabies came together.

Bélsibul   *pn.*

bém   *n (dim.).* butterfly. **Kai bém dit wòt, dit tóp it lakan i tó purpur ting gau.** The butterflies came and landed there on the flowers. *Also:* **mismis bém** 'kind of tree'.

bén   *n (dim).* mountain. **A sòwòt ma ta òt ón ép ben.** I climbed up a mountain.

béngbéng   *v.* -. –

1 • crazy. .

2 • drunk. .

bénsin   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'benzine' / German 'Benzin'. –

bérék   *Variant:* **balsal**. *n.* diarrhea. .

bérét   *Borrowed from* English 'bread'. *n (comm.).* bread.

béréu   *n (comm.).* -. –

1 • breadfruit. **A kali wuwur i bas lakai i tik ép béréu babarah ón.** The cyclone blow it over to the breadfruit tree.

2 • raffia.

béréu fut   *Lit:* louse breadfruit. *n.* kind of fruit. –

bés   *v.* dig hole. **I bés ma lar i tik a kuk.**

bétbét   . *Also:* **fanat bétbét** 'toddler ; baby'.

bèh   *n (comm.).* calophyllum. .

bèl   -. -. –

1 • *inj.* no. **Bèl, al pas tòh i sa, pèh?** No, I will just give it a try, okay?

2 • *neg.* not. **Bèl a tasim ón.** I don't know it.

bèlbèl   *Lit:* no-no. *Morph:* **bèl~bèl**. nobody is here, nobody is there. **Na a inan kasai an papali ap ép yah sa adisai, ma bèlbèl ma.** When I went to the kitchen there was a fire, but nobody was there. *Reduplication of:* **bèl**.

bèlsus   *Lit:* no-breasts. *n.* kind of shell. .

bèlur   *n.* kind of tree. .

bèn   *n (dim).* bait. **I bas i a rèrèh sur kabai sis na dit ki yan i a b** He casts the fishing line so that all the fish eat his bait.

bèrèn   *n (comm.).* trash, rubbish, waste. **Marau raut sòi ép bèrèn.** We filled the rubbish into a container.

bia .

biam *n (dim.).* plateau, flatland. **A tòl panai sur al kawas ón a biam.** I tried in vain to climb onto the plateau.

bibilór *v.* yucky, disgusting. .

bibing *v.itr.* -. – *Reduplication of:* **bing**.

1 • press. **A palang nè a kès ón i bibing kòl.** The plank I am sitting on presses very much.

2 • push. .

bikét *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'big head'. - . -. –

1 • *n.* stubborn person. .

2 • *adj.* stubborn. .

bikman *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'big man'. *n.* -. *See:* **lóklók**. –

bilang *n.* kind of shell. .

bilas *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'bless'. *n.* **I tik ép món ón tó bilas ón ép tarai dit yausai.**

bilpar *n.* kind of freshwater fish (yellow, like an eel). .

bilum *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin. -. *See:* **rat?**. –

bing *v.tr.* press, push. **A palang nè a kès ón i bibing kól.** The plank I am sitting on presses very much.

bing alaun *Lit:* press causing to live. *ser.v. (tr.).* switch on, turn on.

bing amat *Lit:* press causing to die. *ser.v (tr.).* switch off. .

bingól *n (comm.).* abandoned place. **Marau aning ma, ép bingól, bèlbèl tóng talang an Undór.** We two were there, the place was abandoned, nobody was there at Undór.

binik *n (dim.).* bomb. .

biring *n.* kind of freshwater fish. –

bisén *Morph:* **bi(l)=sén**. not yet. – *Contraction of:* **bèl sén**.

biskét₁ *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'biscuit' < French 'biscuit'. biscuit, cookie. –

biskét₂ *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'biscuit' < French 'biscuit'. *n.* kind of banana. .

bit *n (dim.).* island. **a bit Lamassa** Lamassa Island.

bitum *n.* kind of tree. –

biumbiu *n.*

biur *n.* kind of banana. .

Biwa *pn.* name of a fresh water source near Laklak Bay. **I tik ép kirai a inan katim an Biwa ap a utih.** One day I went to Biwa and fetched water.

bó *n.* kind of bird. .

bóbókói *v.tr. Morph:* **bó–bók–ói**. push through water. **A bóbókói ati ma ép wang ting gau pirim.** I gently pushed the canoe up (to the beach). *Reduplication of:* **bókói**.

bóbólón *n.* kind of banana. .

bóbólós *v.* -. *Morph:* **bó~bólós**. – *Reduplication of:* **bólós**.

1 • always. **Dit saksak bóbólós lik sa ón ép kèskès anun dit i.** They were always singing about their lifetime.

2 • forever.

bóbólsai **Dit él lóngrai bóbólsai isa bèl dit lóngrai lélé i.** *Transitive form f:* **bóbólós**.

bók₁ *v.itr.* -. –

1 • float. **I bók tar ta an lón bòn.** He was floating on the sea.

2 • suspend.

3 • create puddles. **Ép bat i bók ép buibui.**

bók₂ *mod.v.* want. **A bók al rè.** I want to see.

bókès *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin 'bokis' < English 'box'. -. *See:* **baran sòsòng**. –

bókói *v.tr.* set afloat, float. **É Albért i bókói ép bòròi katim pirim an Kamarsòh.** Albert set the pig afloat and down to Kamarsòh.

bókól *n.* rooster, cock.

ból *v.* remove scales. **Marau ból pas kai sis.** We two removed the scales of the fish.

bólói *v.* carry. .

bólók *Borrowed from* English 'block'. -. -. –

1 • *n.* block (of land), plantation.

2 • *pn.* Siar village in the Lamassa area.

bólós *v.tr.* pass by. **Diat an talang, diat bólós tóng an Lamassa ap diat inan sén.** They went north, passed by Lamassa and went on.

bóna *n (comm.).* festivity leader. **Na sa na ép bóna tódóng ki rè tó mangis ngis na ki mèmènèr róp arin kai nanat ki patar ma.**

bóng late. **Na diat wòt ap diat bóng ma ón ip baran angan ning.** They came too late for the feast.

bóngnai   *v.itr.* take long, waste time.
Morph: **bóng–nai**. **Uring bèl ma i bóngnai sur kal kèlès ép lalaun anuk i.** Long long ago, it did not take long for me to change my life. *Transitive form of:* **bóng**.

bóngó   *n.* kind of saltwater fish. **.**

bóngras   *v.* come night over somebody. **I bóngras dirau ap dirau rup tar ma an lón i tik ép pal górgór.**

Bóngyan   *Lit:* late-eat. *pn.* One of the two moieties (Small Pisin). **Ép mungmung in ép mangis na ki tapagal sòu kabas ép Kamrai tim gau ép lain Bóngyan.** The Bongyan were the first clan that broke off the Kamrai.

bós   -. -. –
1 • *adj.* out of breath. **Yau main ning ép falik mara ki bós.** Me and my partner we were out of breath.
2 • *n.* asthma.

bótnas   *n.* kind of freshwater fish. **.**

bótól   *Borrowed from* English 'bottle'. *n.* bottle. **.**

bótóng   *v.itr.* grow high. **.**

bòlar   *n.* kind of bird. –

bòlòu   *n.* kind of shell. **.**

bòn₁   *n (comm.).* -. **Kai sis bèl ma dit mórót tar kón sisirók sai kawas an lón bòn.** The fish did not stop leaping out of the sea. *Also:* **nén bòn** 'beach'.
1 • sea, ocean.
2 • sea water, salt water.

bòn₂   *v.tr.* praise; exhault. **Ai bòn pas u Kamgói.** I will exhault you, God.

bòng   *n (comm.).* night, evening. **Mèt aning an lón ép pal ón ép bòng.** We were in the men's house in the night. *Also:* **angan bòng** 'have dinner'; **bòng kirai** 'day and night'.

bòngbòng   *Lit:* night-night. *n (comm.).* early morning, dawn. *Morph:* **bòng–bòng**. **Ól palas kòbòt ón ép bòngbòng sén.** You will get up very early in the morning. *Reduplication of:* **bòng**.

bònòt   *Variant:* **sangulih**. *num.* ten. **i ru ru bònòt ón tó bag lamas** twenty bags of copra.

bòrbòr   *v.itr.* -. – *Also:* **bòrbòr numan** 'sleep deeply (lit. 'sleep forget')'.
1 • sleep. **Dit él angan ap dit el bòrbòr.** They will eat and sleep.

2 • lie. **Ép palang i bòrbòr tim an piu.** The plank is lying on the ground.
3 • anchor.

bòròi   *n (comm.).* -. – *Also:* **ngisén bòròi** 'boar'.
1 • pig.
2 • pig meat.

bòt₁   *v.* **Diat ngas i bòt i ép bòròi Manamanam.**

bòt₂   later, afterwards. **Dat él bòt inan ma kasai kawas.** We will later go up there.

bòt₃   *Borrowed from* English 'boat'. *n (comm.).* -. *See:* **món madar**. –

buai   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin. *n.* –

bual   *n (comm.).* forest. **.**

buar   *v.atr.* bark at. **Matòl lóngrai ép pòl ki buar.** We heard a dog barking.

bubu   *n.* kind of saltwater fish. **.**

bubuar   *v. Morph:* **bu~buar**. bark. **Ól lóngrai ap kai pòl anum dit kél bubuar ép bòròi.** You will listen and your dogs will bark at the pigs. *Reduplication of:* **buar**.

bubulut   *v. Morph:* **bu–bulut**. sticky. **É Sòi Bubulut i bulut dit kai gurar róp dit anim an lón ép rim.** *Reduplication of:* **bulut**.

buburih   *v.* hack. **I kawas kasai gali ap i buburih aróp sòi tó rakan róp katim ané.** He climbed up and cut off all the branches.

buburun   *v. Morph:* **bu–burun**. -. – *Reduplication of:* **burun**.
1 • tiny. **mèt kai buburun in kai nanat** we little children.
2 • slowly. **Marau yawas buburun sa ma.** We paddled only slowly.

buh   *v.tr.* hit. **.**

buibui   *Variant:* **West coast Siar (East coast Siar 'buimbui')**. *n.* -. – *Also:* **buibui lamtin** 'big city'.
1 • bush. **A kapsur dit kasai kawas an lón buibui.** I chased them into the bush.
2 • territory. **I wòt sai kawas an lón buibui Tólai.** It went up to the Tolai territory.

buimbui   *Variant:* **East coast Siar (West coast Siar 'buibui')**. *n (comm.).* *See:* **buibui**.

buk   *n.* elbow.

buk   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'book'. *n.* book.

buk tabu   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin. *pn.* bible.

buku   .

bul   *v.* dull, blunt. **A tan liwan turai anuk i i bul.** My big old knife is dull. *Antonym of:* **arat**.

bulat   *n.* large stone? .

bulbul   *Morph:* **bul-bul**. -. *See:* **bul**. –

buldók   *Borrowed from* English 'bulldog'. *n.* tractor. –

buling   *n.* -. –
   1 • sadness.
   2 • worry.

bulukua   *n.* kind of bird. .

bulur   *n.* scar. .

bulut₁   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin 'blut' < English 'blood' / German 'Blut'. *n.* -. *See:* **silik?**. –

bulut₂   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin 'blut' < English 'blood'?. *v.* **Ki rè tar dit ting gau arisan a sòi lik na ki bulut tar dit.**

bulut kusup   *Lit:* sticky rat. *n.* kind of tree. .

bum   *Variant:* **gorgor tataisim**. *n (dim.).* ginger (tall). .

bun   *Variant:* **pal tètè**. *n (dim.).* -. –
   1 • *n (comm.).* old man.
   2 • *n (dim.).* kind of bird.

bun ganin   *n.* *See:* **ganin**. –

burbur   *n.* kind of bird. .

burih   *v.* cut off branch. .

burlau   *n (comm.).* betelnut (wild). .

burnai singur   *n.* night (deep). .

buruk   *v.* spray-spit. **I buruk ón ép silik.** He spit blood.

burun   *v.* -. –
   1 • be tiny. **ép taim na yau a burun** the time when I was little.
   2 • silent.

buryah   *n.*

bus₁   *v.tr.* cut (log). **A inan kasai an lón barim ap a bus pas i tik ép kurau.** I went into the garden and I cut off a stick.

bus₂   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin 'bus' < English 'bush'. *v.* bushy. –

busai   *n (comm.).* **Ép busai i rèrè tapék an lón.**

busbus   *v.* wet. **Dirau kèp sòi tó kayén busbus ap dirau ki kèkèlès akak pas.** They took off the wet clothes and changed.

but   *v.* apart (e.g. break). **Na dit ting but i ap dit pas tat i nak ép malum aning an lón.** When they had cut it open they found that there was water inside.

butbut   *v.* fat. **Ép bòròi i butbut akak.** The pig is nicely fat.

butón   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English '(belly)button'. *n (dim.).* bellybutton, navel. –

butumé   *n.* kind of saltwater fish. –

D – d

da   -. proximal demonstrative. *Morph:* **d-a**. –
   1 • *dem.det.* this x (here). **Ép tarai kinbalin anun darau i takutus ma ón i da ép kirai.** Our friendship ends today (lit. on this day).
   2 • *dem.pro.* this one (here).

dadat   -. -. *Morph:* **da~dat**. – *Reduplication of:* **dat**.
   1 • *v.itr.* pull. **I kilang i a rèrèh na ki dadat ó i mamais ap ki bómrat.** He feels the fishing line if they are pulling on it or if it moves and then he pulls it up.
   2 • *n (comm.).* current. **Ép dadat ki rarakai.** The current is strong.

daka   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin. *See:* **pók**.

dakai   *v.tr.* burn something. **U dakai aróp ma ép pirat anum ning.** You burn the slashed bush.

dakam   *n (comm.).* armband. .

dal   *n.* -. –
   1 • women (to be married). **Ép yiwun ning di malau akak i sén ap i mérék lik ma lar sén pèh na dél warai ép dal.**
   2 • kind of tree. **Marau yawas katim kawas tó dal gau.** We paddled to the place where the dal trees are.

dalwan   *n? adj?.* bachelor (person). **Dit él tòkòm sòi i ding ép fain ap él kès ma arisan ép dalwan gasgas.**

dam   *v.* lick.

dan   *n (dim.).* pandanus. .

dang   *n.* kind of bird. .

dangbau   *n.* kind of bird. .

danis   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'dance'. *n, v. See:* **gòsgòs**. –

Danóp   *pn.* name of a Kandas village. .

dapsai   *v.* throw weapon during hunt. **É Tubun ain dirau i dapsai sa a palak an palpuklun.**

dar   na i sósók dar pas ti ga anen ep lóng

dara   -. *Morph:* **dara(u)**. – *Reduced form of:* **darau**.

daram   *Borrowed from* English 'drum'. drum. –

darau   *Variant:* **dara**. -. personal pronoun (1st person dual, inclusive). –

1 • *subj.pro.* we (dual, incl.) **Darau kél munmun pas sur darau kél inan darau él tatat.** Let us go and have our wash now so we can go back and uncover the pig.

2 • *obj.pro.* us (dual, incl.) **Labòng é Jonathan i kam darau.** yesterday Jonathan called us.

daru   .

dar'él   *mod.pro. Morph:* **dar(au)=é-l**. we (dual, incl., irrealis). – *Contraction of:* **darau él**.

das   *Borrowed from* English 'dust'.

dat₁   -. personal pronoun (1st person plural inclusive). –

1 • *subj.pro.* we (plural, incl.) **Dat él bas rè i da ain ép yai na.** We must see that fruit.

2 • *obj.pro.* us (plural, incl.)

dat₂   *v.tr.* pull. **I dat ép wang katim an mas.** He pulled it to the beach.

datò   -. -. *Morph:* **datò(l)=**. *See:* **datòl**. –

datòl   -. personal pronoun (1st person paucal inclusive). –

1 • *subj.pro.* we (paucal, incl.) **Datòl kél inan datòl él dat tar ép kèh sai an mung ón.** Let us go and cast the net in front of it. so they would not laugh at us.

2 • *obj.pro.* us (paucal, incl.)

dat'él   *mod.pro. Morph:* **dat(ól)=é-l**. we (paucal, incl., irrealis). – *Contraction of:* **datòl él**.

daula₁   *n. FREGATIDAE.* Frigatebird.

daula₂   *n.* zigzag (pattern).

daun   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'down'. -. *See:* **ané**. –

daunim   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'down'. *v.tr.* -. *See:* **tagur**; **apung**. –

dawar   *n (dim.).* kind of bush animal. .

dawata   *n.* kind of bush animal. .

dél₁   *v.* spread out. **Dit dél sa ép pakan ap di parai sa ép bòròi an lakan ap di kòt i ma.** They spread out the pig meat on the leaves and they cut it.

dél₂   *Morph:* **d(it)=e-l**. -. – *Contraction of:* **dit él**.

déngdéng   crooked. . *Antonym of:* **tòstòs**.

dép   *Morph:* **d(a)=ép**. – *Contraction of:* **da ép**.

dé'kél   *mod.pro. Morph:* **d(it)=k-é-l**. – *Contraction of:* **dit kél**.

dèh   *n (comm.).* side. **I usai sòi i tik ép dèh babat katim pukus.** It blew away one wall.

di   *pro.* indefinite pronoun. **Na i pugur ap di lóngrai ting sén talang an tapak.** When it was thundering one would even hear it from far away.

diat   -. personal pronoun (3rd person paucal). –

1 • *subj.pro.* they (paucal).

2 • *obj.pro.* them (paucal). **Di warai diat ning kai Lilinmut ma diat.** They call them the Lilinmut now.

diga   *Morph:* **a-d-i(ng)=ga(u)**. – *Contraction of:* **ading gau**.

dik   *v.atr.* -. –

1 • shine light. **Matòl dik an ma ting kawas an lón malum.** We torched (the fish) up in the river.

2 • fishing with torch. **Matòl dik pas i tik a kuk.** We caught a crab using the torch.

dil   *v.* tab. .

dim   -. demonstrative. –

1 • *dem.det.* that x (down there or towards New Ireland).

2 • *dem.pro.* that one (down or towards New Ireland).

din   *n.* piece. **A kèp pas i tik a din gém ap a yan i.** I took a piece of sweet cassava bread and ate it.

ding   -. anaphoric demonstrative. –

1 • *dem.det.* this x (mentioned earlier).

2 • *dem.ro.* this one (mentioned earlier).

dira   -. *Morph:* **dira(u)**. – *Reduced form of:* **dirau**.

dirau   -. personal pronoun (3rd person dual). −

   1 • *subj.pro.* they (dual). **Dirau inan dirau pit pakan.** The two went to pick leaves.

   2 • *obj.pro.* them (dual). **É Roboam i inan i tè pas dirau.** Roboam took the two by the hand.

dirin

dirin ló−   *n.* saliva. −

dirin mata−   *n.* tear.

dir'él   *mod.pro. Morph:* **dir(au)=é−l**. they (dual, irrealis). − *Contraction of:* **dirau él**.

disai   *dem.exist. Morph:* **(a−)d−isai.** *See:* **adisai**. **Ép yah disai ma, i tur ép sau.** A fire was up there and smoke was rising.

disai   *Morph:* **(a)d−isai.** − *Reduced form of:* **adisai**.

dit   -. personal pronoun (3rd person plural). −

   1 • *subj.pro.* they (plural). **Kai Nataka dit gòsgòs ta an lón bòn.** The Natakas were dancing on the sea.

   2 • *obj.pro.* them (plural). **Kai tutubun dat dit rèrè yan ais dit.** Our ancestors used to eat each other.

diu   *n (dim.).* centipede. .

diwara   *n.* kind of shell (traditional money, gathered in the Nakanai area of New Britain).

dok   *v.*

dó   *Morph:* **d−ó(ng).** − *Reduced form of:* **dóng**.

dókó   .

dókón   *n.* **A ut pas kam dókón ap a sarsar ting an lakman arik gau.** *Also:* **kam dókón** 'broom'.

dókta   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'doctor' / German 'Doktor'. *n.* −

dóm   *v.* drown. **Dit par liu kan lón ép malum, ap dit dóm ap dit mat róp.**

dóméré   *n.* kind of saltwater fish. .

dóng   -. demonstrative. −

   1 • *dem.det.* that x.
   2 • *dem.pro.* that.

dóngki   *Borrowed from* English 'donkey'. donkey. **Amrau él rè tat i tik ép dalwan in ép dóngki ading di babau akès tar i.**

dòròdòrò suba   *n.* kind of snake. .

dòt   *v.tr.* -. −

   1 • tie something (up), fasten. **Matòl dòt i, i tik ép falin matòl i lós i.** We tied it up and one of us carried it.
   2 • plan.

dòtdòt   *v.* tie. **Na ón ning marau ki dòtdòt pas i ma ta ón ép limak.** Then we tied it around my hand. *Also:* **rumai dòdòt** 'prison ; jail'; *Reduplication of:* **dòt**.

duan   -. *See:* **durdur**. −

duk   *v.* chase. **Ép wakin ki liu, ép pòl i duk pas ma an murun.**

Dukduk   *Variant:* **Nataka**. *n.* name of a secret society. .

dukrókói   *n.* dawn. **I palas tat pas a dukrókói ki amrai.**

dul   *v.tr.* push, move by pushing. **dul sòi ép wang** push the canoe out (to the sea/river).

dulai   **pas dulai sòi ép món i mung**

duli   *n.* kind of snake. .

dulum   *v.* **Ép pusi na i dulum bèl a tasim ón.**

dum   *Variant:* **balinat**. *n.* cliff. **ép balinat ép dum**

dur   *n.* kind of bird. .

durdur   *Variant:* **lauh**; **duan**. *v.* black. **Kai kam sarsar durdur é Kabatarai i sòng dit an lón ép món.** Kabatarai loaded the black chickens into the big canoe.

Duruan   *pn.* place name. .

É − é

éf   *article.* -. *See:* **ép**. −

ék   *n.* -. *See:* **fék**. −

él   *mod.pro.* he (irrealis), she (irrealis), it (irrealis). **Él inan katim an Lambóm.** He will go to Lambóm.

ép   *article.* noun phrase marker (common class 1). **ép pòl** the/a dog.

érép   *v.* roast. **Matòl riri laka pas ap matòl inan matòl érép tóng an Kingén.** We gathered aila (?) and cooked it (in an earth oven)? up at Kingen.

éski   *Borrowed from* < Eski (brand name for portable coolers). –

étrar   *n. -. See:* **fétrar**. –

éwin   Ta kuak lik éwin.

È – è

èh   *inj. -. –*

1 • Hey!, Ey! **Èh, wówó, ari sól rè tar é Kabatarai is i da kawas i yawas it!** Hey, grandmother, come to me to see Kabatarai, he is there paddling!

2 • yak! **Na a kòdòm pas ép malum ap èh, ki mamakas.** When I swallowed the water, yak, it was salty.

èkèt   *v.tr.* scrape firewood. **Marau èkèt pas ép yah.** We scraped the firewood.

èrbè   *v.atr.* dream. **I tik a pukun bòng a bòrbòr ap a èrbè nak a pirim sòu an lón ép rumai ngasin matòl i.** One night I dreamt that I left our house.

F – f

fagaya   *Variant:* **agayah**. *n (comm.).* noise, ruckus. *See:* **agaya**. – *Nominalization of:* **agaya**.

fai   *Variant:* **lamrót**; **kusur**. *n (comm.).* spear. .

fai ón a kabalapan   *Lit:* spear on a bow. *n.* arrow. .

fail   *Borrowed from* English 'file'. *n.* file.

faim   *n. See:* **aim**. *Nominalization of:* **aim**.

fain   *Variant:* **ain**. *n (comm.).* woman. **É Suilik i puar pas ón i tik ép fain, ép risén é Mary.** Suilik was given birth by a woman, her name was Mary. *Irregular plural:* **gurar**.

fakamis   [fa.ka.'mi:s] *Variant:* **yahkamis**. *n (comm.).* midday. **Labòng a wuwur tar i on ép fakamis na labòng.** Yesterday I worked during the day. *Phrase:* **Ép fakamis!** 'Good day!'.

fakas   *n (comm.). Morph:* **f–akas**. *See:* **akas**. **Dirau tur pas ép fakas.** The two started digging. *Nominalization of:* **akas**.

fakéréng   *Variant:* **kinbali–**. *n.* **Kai fakéréng anun diat i ning diat ki wòt.** Their friends arrived.

fakès   *Lit:* the causing to sit. *n.* creation, genesis. .

fali–   *n. -. –*

1 • partner.

2 • colleague.

3 • group member. **I tik ép falin matòl i tai ép wang.** One of us steered the canoe.

falinó–   *n (comm.). -. – Also:* **ih falinó–** 'body hair'.

1 • body. **Ép falinón dit amérmér i sa ón ép gargar sa kinòng.** They decorate her body with only the gargar shells.

2 • skin. **I pal sòi ép pilkòròng an falinón i fanat ti gau.** It peeled off the old skin of that child there.

3 • senses. **I bòng nai pas i sén, ép falinón mèt ki manlar.** Time was passing by and our senses were sharp again.

fanat   *n (comm.).* child, young person. **Ting gau talang a bung pas i tik sén alò ép fanat.** I met another child there. *Irregular plural:* **nanat**.

fanat ain   *Lit:* girl-child. *n.* girl. **Dit kél arasai lar sa ép fanat ain lik ning ting sup an lón ép rumai.** They will pull that little girl from either side inside that house.

fanat barsan   *Lit:* boy-child. *n.* boy. .

fanat bétbét   *n.* baby, toddler. .

fandan   *Variant:* **adan**; **andan**. *n. See:* **adan**. –

fang   -. *See:* **kók** 3. –

fangan   *n (comm.). -. Morph:* **f–angan**. *See:* **angan**. –

fanu   *Variant:* **ananu**. *n (comm.).* town. **Dit ki tun ép fanu sai gali.** They burned down the town. *Irregular plural:* **ananu**.

fap   *n (comm.).* place, location. **Matòl kakaptur sòu, kabas ép fap ning na matòl bòrbòr gau.** 'We took off and left the place where we were sleeping.

far₁   *n.* kind of fish (with wings).

far₂   Kanini fat, kanini far palayo, kamol pas i i tur kabén an langit i warwar an langit.

farbòn   *n (comm.). Morph:* **f–ar–bòn**. praise. **.** *Reciprocal form of:* **bòn**.

farlémén   *Variant:* **arlémén**. *n (comm.).* friendship. **I ding ép farlemen anun main dirau i takutus.** His friendship with the two broke.

farngas   *Variant:* **East coast Siar (also 'yarngas')**; **West coast Siar 'arngas'.** *n.* -. *See:* **yarngas**. **–**

farpót   *n.* midnight (almost). **Aning gau ap aning gau, ép farpót ma ka palas.** I was there until I woke up at midnight.

fartóhtóh   *n (comm.).* **Amtòl él nós ap amtòl él nining sak ép fartóhtóh él pas tat amtòl ap amtòl él pung.**

farum   *Lit:* the hitting each other. *Variant:* **arum**. *n (comm.).* war. *Morph:* **f–ar–um**. *See:* **um**. **Na ép farum i an òt, tó mani dit malik wòt.** When the war came the planes also came.

fat   *n (comm.).* -. **–** *Irregular plural:* **atatat**.
   1 • stone. **U kèp sòi ép fat.** You remove the stone.
   2 • rock. **I tik ép fat adim kawas lón bòn.** There is a rock rising out of the sea.
   3 • flint.

fatar   *n (comm.).* floor. **A tete tar ma ép bòròi an lakan ép fatar.**

fatatat   *Variant:* **atatat**. *n.* -. *See:* **atatat**. **–**

fék   *Variant:* **West coast Siar (East coast Siar 'palngét')**. *n (comm.).* axe (tool only). **Na u rak ól kiós a palang ól lós ép fék anum i ap ól an kasai òt an lón buibui.** When you want to cut planks you fetch your axe and you go into the bush.

fétrar   *Variant:* **étrar**; **basbas?**; **baswal?**. *n.* young woman. **.**

fik   *n.* fig. **É Yesu i rè tat i tik ép yai fik tim an mugan dit.**

finan   *Variant:* **inan**. *n (comm.).* journey, travel. **A rak al usrai ép finan anuk i ón ép sarunlès na an mur.** I want to talk about my journey in the next year.

finkupó   *Borrowed from* English 'fin'?. *n.* kind of saltwater fish. **–**

firam   *n (comm.).* axe (for fighting). **.**

firum   *n (comm.).* kind of tree. **I yakausai an lakan i tik ép tan firum kukuntan in.**

fis₁   *Variant:* **East coast Siar**. -. *See:* **is**. **– . . .**

fis₂   *n.* kind of snake. **.**

fiun   *n (comm.).* fur, hair (animal). **Na ép fiun i sòt róp ap a gargar sòi akak pas i.** When its hair is gone I scrape it off well.

fó–   *n (comm.).* skin. **Na ón na é Friedel, i tik ép fón kókók ón, i rak kòl sur él kèp al tó kam matan usrai.** Today Friedel, somebody with white skin, wants to know all these kinds of stories. *Phrase:* **Ép fók ki óngrón.** 'I am lazy.'.

fóróng   *n.* kind of saltwater fish. **.**

fubah   *n.* **.**

fubèh   *n.* boundary. **Ki tur ting ón ép fubeh ón ép barim anuk i.** He was standing on the boundary to my garden.

fuk₁   *v.tr.* hit (infml.), beat up. **Dòt aróp i a parai katim an lón lau, òh, ép fuk in ma, ki mat.**

fuk₂   *n.* kind of freshwater fish. **.**

fulpòt   *n.* kind of saltwater fish. **–**

fun   *Variant:* **un**. *n (comm.).* banana. **A tun pas ép sis ning ap a yan i, ap a nénén i main ép fun.** I first cook a fish and then I eat it, I eat it together with some ripe bananas.

fun bingbing   *Lit:* press-banana. *n. Morph:* **fun bing–bing**. kind of banana (needs to be pressed for peeling). **.**

fun daru   *n.* kind of banana. **.**

fun furó   *n.* kind of banana. **–**

fun kamrai   *Lit:* both-banana. *n.* kind of banana. **.**

fun kóngkóng   *Lit:* Hongkong banana. *Borrowed from* < Hong Kong. *n.* kind of banana. **.**

fun taga   *Lit:* Tangga banana. *Variant:* **fun Tangga**. *n.* kind of banana. **–**

fupó   *n (comm.).* spinach.

furit   *Variant:* **urit**. *n (comm.).* octopus. **.**

furó   *n.* kind of banana (big). **.**

furu   *v.* **A rak al an al an tat i ép furu lasi na.**

fut   *Variant:* **ut**. *n (dim.).* louse. **.**

futmèl   *n.* kind of tree. .

G – g

ga   *Variant:* **gau**. *Morph:* **ga(u)**. *See:* **gau**. – *Reduced form of:* **gau**.

gafman   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin 'gavman' < English 'government'. *n.* government. –

gah   *n.* rattan. **Ép tarai na uring dit wur tó sungut ón ep rós ap ón ép pakan gah.** Our ancestors built traps made of rattan leaves.

galagala   *n.* kind of tree. .

galas   *Borrowed from* English 'glass'. *v.* fishing (with goggles).

gali   *adv.* above. **Ól lóngrai kasai gali ap kai pòl dit ki bubuar sai gali.**

galóng   *n (comm.).* tin. **Dit kèp pas ép galóng ap di akulik tar i an lakan ép yai.** They took a tin and they hung it on a tree.

gam   *n.* kind of seashell. **É Nana i sòi mèt sur mèt él an mèt él kèp gam.** Mummy sent us to collect seashells.

gamam   *v.* busy? **Ma masuk, i disai ma lón ép ran ki gamam angan.**

gan₁   *Morph:* **g(au)=an**. – *Contraction of:* **gau an**.

gan₂   *Variant:* **maskét**. *Borrowed from* English 'gun'. *n.* gun, rifle. **Mèt ki angis tar ón ip kirai ning na mèt aut pas i tó gan ning.** We were lucky on that day when we got those guns.

ganau   *n.* **Ép pitkalang na ól lós pas i ón, ól tamrai i arin kai ganau in ép tarai.**

ganin   bearer. **A parai sòi a bun ganin lóng, a dél sòi ép yai lóng an lakan.** I put the bearer on it and I place the planks on top of it. *Also:* **bun ganin**.

gar   *Variant:* **West coast Siar (East coast Siar 'ngar')**. *v.* -. –
   1 • squeak. **Ép bòròi ki ngarngar.** The pig is squeaking.
   2 • sing. **Mèt gar tóng gali ap é Geò i an katim an lón rumai.** We were singing there and my daughter came into the house.

garas₁   *n.* **Ép pòl i aut pas i a garas.**

garas₂   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin 'gras' < English 'grass' / German 'Gras'. -. *See:* **wur**. –

garé   .

gargar   *n.* conch shell (big). **Ép falinón dit amérmér i sa ón ép gargar sa.** They decorate her body with only the gargar shells.

Gariris   *pn.* Siar village in the Lamassa area. **Mèt inan ap katim an Gariris, katim ép rumai sasam gau.** We went to Gariris where the health centre is.

garmut   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin? Kuanua? Native?. *n (comm.).* kind of drum used for special festivities. **I dat pas a lóng ón ép garmut, i um i.**

gat   *n.* kind of tree. .

gata   *Morph:* **ga-t-a**. -. *See:* **kata**. –

gating   *Morph:* **ga-t-ing**. -. *See:* **kating**. –

gau   *Variant:* **ga**. here, there, at this place. **Dat él inan kasai an Malum Mètèk, tó atatat tintin gau.** Some time we will go to Malum Mètèk, there are many big stones there.

gaugau   *n.* kind of flower. .

gawar   *v.* -. *See:* **kawas?**. –

geò   *n.* daughter. **Mèt gar tóng gali ap é Geò i an katim an lón rumai.** We were singing there and my daughter came into the house.

géh   *inj.* really?, wow! **Wai, ku móh ma géh lapun?**

gém   *n.* cassava bread. **A kèp pas i tik a din gém ap a yan i ap a nénén i main ép fun pim.** I got one piece of cassava bread and I ate it together with some ripe bananas.

gér   **É Yesu i gér talilis sur ép gur**

géréò   -. -. –
   1 • *adj.* murky (water). **ép malum ki géréò** the water is murky.
   2 • *n (comm.).* mud. **Ép géréò kuntan anim ané.** There was a lot of mud down below.
   3 • *pn.* name of a valley on the east coast. **Marau muri ép ngas katim pukus an lón tik sén alò a lau, é Géréò.** We followed a path north into another valley called Géréò.

gériris   *v.* **A gériris rak lar na ap ki wók ma kón sut i gata.**

géris *v.* look back. **É Yesu i géris ap i nós sòi kai nanat anun.**

gèlèh *n.* kind of tree. .

gèlèk *v.* tickle. .

gigini in small pieces. **Na ól aróp kón papagal gigini aróp i, kón a palang, ap ól kiós i.** When you have finished breaking them into small pieces for the planks you cut the them.

gil₁ *n.* coconut half. .

gil₂ *n.* kind of saltwater fish. .

gilah -. –
  n (comm.). **1 •** kind of nut (black). **Ning ép dèh rakan ép gilah ma i tik sa ép yai lès i ding.**
  2 • black.

gilam *n.* kind of banana. .

ginóm *Variant:* **East coast Siar (also 'giyóm')**; **West coast Siar 'kónóm').** -. *See:* **kónóm**. –

girat .

Girismas *Borrowed from* English 'Christmas'. *pn.* -. *See:* **sarunlès**; **yahrat**. –

gis *v.tr.* **Marau gógós ap marau gis sósópen.** We did the laundry and cleaned the pots.

git *v.* pluck. **Na diat git pas a in ap diat ting i.** When they had plucked a fruit they cut it.

gitu *n.* kind of shell. .

giyóm *Variant:* **East coast Siar (also 'ginóm')**; **West coast Siar 'kónóm'.** -. *See:* **kónóm**. –

gomai sip *n.* barracuda, pike. .

gó *n.* kind of tree. .

gógó *Morph:* **gógó(s).** – *Reduced form of:* **gógós.**

gógós *v.itr.* wash (laundry). **Dirau gógós lik ma ap diat ki ri tat i ép mulin tim lón malum.** They were doing the laundry when they saw his shadow in the water.

góm *v.itr.* grow. **Darau él pòr tóh tar i ma sak a in ép yai na él góm.** We will plant it to see if it grows.

gómón *Variant:* **pagómón.** -. -. *See:* **pagómón**. –

gón **Ép balan i mamat ap i inan, kaptikén na i gón tó baran kòl.**

góng *part.* prohibitive particle. **Góng u matutut!** Don't be afraid!

gónói *v.* **Dit ki gónói ép wól.**

górgór *n.* kind of plant. .

gós₁ *v.tr.* wash. **na al gós aróp tar ép limak** when I have washed my hands.

gós₂ *n.* kind of freshwater fish. .

gósóbén *n.* kind of saltwater fish. .

gót *v.* happy. **Dit gót kòl nak na i ding ép barsan ning i tè pas ép fain ning.**

gótgót *v.* happy. **É Nana ki gótgót pas mèt ma rakana.** Mummy was happy that we had come.

gòh -. -. –
  1 • *v.itr.* smell badly, stink. **Ép falinón i gòh kòl.** His body was stinking.
  2 • *n.* decaying corpse. **I yan sa ép gòh in é Tan dit.** It just ate the decaying corpse of his mother.

gòlòh *n.* coconut (small, for drinking). **I kawas ap na kasai gali kèp sòi a gòlòh.** He climbed up and plucked a little coconut.

gòmòr *n.* kind of plant. .

gòtò *n (dim.).* bamboo. **Diat lós pas tar i a gòtò ning.** They carried that bamboo stick.

gòu *n (comm.).* **Kai gurar Bóngyan dit él só sòi kating sup lón ép gòu.**

guan *n.* kind of tree. .

guapó *Variant:* **kuapó.** *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin?. *n.* guava. .

gul *v.* cut out hole. **I gut i tik ép lamas.** He cut a hole into a coconut.

gumi *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < German 'Gummi'. *n.* rubber band. **Diat dòt i ép lilimak ning ón ép gumi.** They tied my hands with a rubber band.

gumur *n.* kind of tree. .

gunai *v.tr.* move, take away, throw away. **Dit gunai sòi tim pukus an Laram ap tó lakan mayat.** They threw them onto the reefs at Laram.

gur *n.* group of people. **Matòl a gur.** We were a group.

Guramalum *Lit:* freshwater women. *pn.* name of a southern New Ireland language (Patpatar-Tolai family, extinct). .

gurap *v.* black. .

gurar   *n.* women. **I tik ép kirai mèt kai gurar mèt inan kasai kawas an lón barim.** One day us women we went into the garden. *Irregular*

plural of: **fain**.

gurus   *n (dim.).* mucus (nose). **.**

I – i

i   -. personal pronoun (3rd person singular). –
1 • *subj.pro.* he, she, it. **I kawas ép lamas.** He is climbing the coconut tree.
2 • *obj.pro.* him, her, it.

ih   hair. **.**

ih mata–   *n.* eyelash. **.**

il   -. *See:* **él**. –

in₁   *pro.* ligature. **ép mungmung in ép lóng** the first bed.

in₂   *v.* shoot (with harpoon). **É Tata i galas ap i in ningan kai natun sis.** Daddy dived for fish and he shot some small fish with the harpoon.

in su   *n.* bean. **.**

inagói   *n.* animals (wild and domestic). *Morph:* **in(ang)=agói**. **A atur ép wór kón sòng kai inagói.** I built a fence to put animals inside. *Contraction of:* **inang agói**.

inan   *Variant:* **an**. *v.itr.* -. –
1 • go, walk. **A inan katóng an Kabóman.** I am going to Kabóman.
2 • then.

inang   *n.* animal (wild). **.** *Antonym of:* **agói**.

inat   *v.* **Ép wang ning diat inan diat kiós i.**

inèh   *v.* **Amtòl él an amtòl él ineh tè ap amtòl ning él ineh tè.**

Ingiét   *pn.* Name of an old secret society. Members are not allowed to eat pig meat. **.**

Inglént   *Borrowed from* English 'England'. *pn.* -. –
1 • England.
2 • people of England.

Inglis   *Borrowed from* English 'English'. -. -. –
1 • *adj.* English.

2 • *n (comm.).* English language. **I sòi i tik a natun lik di warai é Suilik, ón ép warwar Inglis di warai i é Jesus.** He sent his child whom they called Suilik, in English they call him Jesus.

inkòbór   *n.* kind of saltwater fish. **.**

inòi   *v.* full. **Ép ran ning ki inòi tar.** That earth oven was very full.

ip   *article.* -. *See:* **ép**. –

ir   *v.tr.* scrape. **Matòl él akas uh yai kón ir gém.** We will dig out cassava to scrape cassava bread.

iris   *v.* **I lós sòi ép falinón é Yesu ap i iris i ón i ding ép kayén kókók.**

iru   *v.* be in danger. **Òh, geò, ya ka iru sén.**

irum   *n.* -. –
1 • kind of tree.
2 • wood of this tree (used for boat construction).

is₁   *v.itr.* return, go back. **Diat ki wòtwòt is kata lakman.** They came back to the village.

is₂   *Variant:* **West coast Siar (East coast Siar 'fis')**. *num.* seven. **i is ép lamas** seven coconuts.

isan   *num. Morph:* **is-an**. seventh. **.**

isan kirai   *Lit:* seventh day. *n. Morph:* **is-an kirai**. Sunday. **.**

isis   *v. Morph:* **is~is**. return, come back. **Dit ki isis ón ép tódóng.** They came back from the feast. *Reduplication of:* **is**.

it   *part.* progressive aspect marker. **Yau ma aning gau a angan it ap a angan it.** I was there eating and eating.

K – k

ka   *mod.pro.* I (realis). **Ana gau sa ma ka kès ap ki nap ma na ka lapun na.** I'm just here sitting, and it's over because I'm old now.

Kaba   *pn.* place name. **.**

Kabadan   *pn.* place name. **.**

kabah   *v.tr.* ask. **A kabah é Manuél kanak tik i ning i mat.** I asked Manuel if somebody had died.

kabai   *article.* animate entities only. *See:* **róp 1**. **Kabai nanat dit an ap dit mamam tar karin dit sén.** All the children went and played around.

Kabaila   *pn.* -. –
    1 • river in the Lamassa area. **an mimin é Kabaila** at the tail of the Kabaila river.
    2 • Siar village in the Lamassa area. **Mèt dat ép bot ap mèt lili ma kasai an Kabaila.** We pulled the boat (into the river) and went up to Kabaila.

kabakanawis   *n.* blowfish, scorpion fish. .

kabakup   *n.* kind of wind.

Kabalaka   *pn.* place name (west coast). .

kabalapan   *n (dim.).* bow. .

Kabalipó   *pn.* place name. .

kabalis   *n (comm.).* little stick for connecting the outrigger (canoe). **I bus ép kabalis ap i bus ép yai kòròt ap i kan ép tòtòk kón ma ép món.**

kaban   *n.* **Ól tur ma an murun a kaban pantarai na kawas i.**

kaban lilia   *n.* kind of tree. .

kabang   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin. *n (comm.).* lime, gourd. –

kabang ngòtngòt   *n.* kind of shell. .

kabar   *n (dim.).* **A ut pas ep mungmung in a kabar.**

kabar marit   *Lit:* wild kabar tree. *n.* kind of tree. .

kabar sósór   *n.* kind of saltwater and sweetwater fish. .

kabas   *v.tr.* leave. **Kal wòt kabas u katóng an lakman.** I will now leave you and go back to the village.

Kabasilayó   *pn.* place name. .

kabasinót   *n.* stick (burning). **A sang a kabasinót ap ka inan.**

Kabatan   *pn.* place name. **Ép tarayu tóng an Kabatan i pagal sòi ap tim alò an Semalu.** The festivities up at Kabatan and also down at Semalu began.

Kabatangrai   *pn.* name of a place on the east coast. .

Kabatarai   *pn.* protagonist in traditional narratives (Suilik's brother). .

Kabau   *pn.* place name. .

kabén   *Variant:* **kalang**. *n (comm.).* -. –
    1 • moon. **Ki rè i ép yarngas ning ap ki rè i ép kabén na sai an milau.**
    2 • month. **Ón ép 2010, ón ép mugan kabén al kès ón i tik ép rumai arèrè.** From January (lit. first moon) 2010 on I will attend a school.

kabè   *Variant:* **East coast Siar (West coast Siar 'kabah').** *v.* -. *See:* **kabah**. **Lar na al kabe ép langur dit sén ning dit él sum.**

kabin   *n (comm.).* **Ép kabin kamis i ding.**

kabinòt   *n.* piece of burning wood.

kabinsit   *n.* king.

kabinuh   -. *See:* **Kambinuh**. –

kabisé–   *n (dim.).* chin. .

kabisén bòròi   *Lit:* pig-nose. *n.* kind of plank used for boat construction.

kabit   *n (comm.).* **I kawar it ma kating an ép kabit gòu kasai wòt.**

kabókaból   *Variant:* **kabólkaból**. *n.* kind of shell. .

kabólkaból   -. -. *See:* **kabókaból**. –

Kabóman   *pn.* southwest village of New Ireland. **Dirau inan sai an Lamassa katóng an Kingén sur katóng an Kabóman.** They went from Lamassa to Kingén to go to Kabóman.

kabòat   *n.* kind of shell. .

kabu   *n.* river snail. **Marau inan kasai kawas an lón malum ap marau kèp kabu.** We went up to the river and gathered river snails.

Kabul   *pn.* place in the Lamassa area with a stranded ship wreck.

kabulu–   *n.* **I an milau kan kabulun é Yesu.**

kaburur   *n.* kind of freshwater animal. .

kaburyah   *Variant:* **kuah**. *n.* kind of saltwater fish (brown/white). **Kai talngan tikul, kai tatór ap kai kaburyah liklik na a dat dit.**

kabusu–   *n (dim.).* nose. **Ép silik él nórnór sòu ting ón a kabusun, a péléngan ap él mat sòu.** Blood will come out of his nose and ears and he will die.

kabut   *n.* bundle. **Matòl parai sòi tó kabut anun matòl.** We put down our bundles.

kadas   *n (dim.).* -. *See:* **kandas**. –

kadèk   *n (dim.).* leech, cockroach. .

kadès   *n (comm.).* **Diat dat ép kades kón pól ép limak.**

kadi   *n.* -. –
1 • screw pine.
2 • rain cape, canvas. **Di pól tar i ma ón ép kadis.** They cover it with a canvas.

kah   *n.* kind of insect. .

kai₁   *Variant:* **ai**. *article.* the (plural, animate). **A kapsur sa kai bòròi.** I just chased the pigs.

kai₂   *n.* bivalve, mussel, oyster. .

kaikai   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin. -. *See:* **angan**; **yan**. –

kailam   *n (comm.).* lizard. **Uring uring sén, ép kailam dirau é Rókrók dirau kinbalin akak kòl.** Long long ago, the lizard and the frog were very good friends.

kain   *Borrowed from* English 'kind'. -. *See:* **kam matan**. –

kais   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin? Kuanua? Native?. left. **Marau rak sur él tik ón marau él kès ón a sòtin limam ap él tik ón a kais in limam.**

Kait   *pn.* name of a Kandas village. **Mèt lili ap mèt atur tóng an Kait.** We went (in the boat) and cut across at Watpi.

kak   **Matòl tibé ón tó rumai taman kak tó gali an Atat.**

kakadèk   **ép balam i kakadèk**

kakah   *v.* carry on back, carry on shoulders. **Diat kakah yau sén alò katim gali sén alò an rumai sasam.** They carried me on their back again to the hospital.

kakalang   *n.* kind of saltwater fish. .

kakar   *v.atr.* scrape. **Ép pòl i tólói i tik a kai lik sén, a kai lik kón kakar ép pas.** The dog did have a little scraper, a little scraper for scraping taro. *Reduplication of:* **kar**.

kakar lima–   *Lit:* hand scratcher. *n.* claw. .

kakaruk   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < sound of chicken's voice. *n (comm.).* -. *See:* **kam sarsar**; **sarsar piu**. –

kakarus   .

kakat   *v.tr. Morph:* **ka–kat**. -. – *Reduplication of:* **kat**.

1 • lift (up).
2 • ready (tool). **Na di parai ragai sòi tar i di kakat sa tó kió.** When they have put it there they ready the scissors.

kakau₁   *v.* crawl. **Ól kakau tar ók kasai sén kawas an lakan ép nakas.** You will crawl up to the beach with me.

kakau₂   *Borrowed from* Malay?. *n (comm.).* cocoa. .

kakawas   *v.itr.* -. *Morph:* **ka–kawas**. *See:* **kawas**. – *Reduplication of:* **kawas**.

kal   *mod.pro. Morph:* **k–a–l**. 1st person singular modal pronoun that expresses immediate or certain future. **Kal inan sén katim an Silur.** I am about to (or will certainly) go to Silur.

kalabék   *n.* kind of bird. .

kalabus   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin. *n.* -. *See:* **rumai dòdòt**. –

kalai   *n.* kind of tree. .

kalang   *Variant:* **kabén**. -. -. –
1 • *n (comm.).* moon. **Ép kalang ki pus sai pirim an lakan arngas.** The moon was coming out behind the mountain.
2 • *n (comm.).* month. **Al wók i tik sén alò ép rumai arèrè kón i wón sa kalang.** I will attend another school for six months.
3 • *n.* kind of shell (for scraping).

kalasrum   *Borrowed from* English 'classroom'. *n (comm.).* classroom. **Diat inan katim adèh in ép kalasrum anun diat.** They went into their classroom.

kalatiu   *n.* kind of bird. .

kalkal   *n.* kind of tree. .

kalmumuku–   *n (dim.).* tail. **A garas i lar sén a kalmumukun pòl.** The grass blade looked like a dog's tail.

kalók   *n.* kind of fruit. .

kalsa   *Borrowed from* English 'culture'. *n (comm.).* -. *See:* **wól**. –

kalsai   *n.* **É Kalsai ma ép fatar ngasin ép lóng kón abók i ma a su.**

kaltót   *n (dim.).* star. .

kam₁   *v.tr.* call. **A kam anuk kai pòl.** I called my dogs.

kam₂   *n.* kind. .

kam₃   *n.* kind of freshwater animal. .

kam alar sis *Lit:* kind of fish-protector. *n.* waterfall. .

kam arsumai lima– *n.* wrist.

kam dókón *n.* traditional broom. **A ut pas kam dókón ap a sarsar ting an lakman arik gau.** I took the broom and I swept my place.

kam èrbè *n (comm.).* dream. .

kam guru– *n.* chin. .

kam kabang *Lit:* kind of lime. *n.* kind of tree. .

kam kakawas *Lit:* kind of climbing. *n.* -. .
    1 • stairs.
    2 • ladder.

kam kurkur lón bòn *Lit:* kind of kurkur-bird in the sea. *n.* ship. .

kam lai *n.* ginger. **Dit saki tó kam lai ap dit wur tó maslang.** They cast spells on ginger and they cast protection spells.

kam laikión *n.* rib. .

Kam Lapar *pn.* clan name. **Ta ané ón ép Silbat i tik ép clan sén alò ada ané di warai dit nak a lain Kam Lapar ón dit.** Below the Silbat is another clan which they call Kam Lapar.

kam lima– *Lit:* kind of hand. *n.* shoulder. **Dirau parai ta gali an lakan ép kam liman dirau ap dirau inan.** They put it on their shoulders and they went.

kam lua *Variant:* **tékén ép yah**. *n.* ashes. .

kam lugun lima– *n.* elbow. .

kam matan *Lit:* kind of eye. *n.* -. –
    1 • kind of.
    2 • style, method?

kam naól *n.* leader. **Kam naól ón kai wakin ki um ma belo ap kai wakin dit ki an kiòm.** The leader of the wallabies rang the bell and the wallabies came together.

kam pak *n.* palm leaf. **A tòtòl ón tó kam pak ón ép lamas.** I grab the leaves of the coconut palm.

kam pakan *Lit:* kind of leaf. *n.* version.

kam piam **Diat él mangin kam piam sur kón angan ting an lón barim.**

kam pól *Lit:* kind of liquid. *Variant:* **talilies**. *n (comm.).* -. –
    1 • puddle.

2 • lake. **Dira sisirók lik ma tóng lón kam pól.** They were jumping into the lake.

3 • soup. **I parai tar i tik ép kam pól ting lón yah.** She put soup on the fire.

kam risa– *n (comm.).* immediate vicinity. **ép kam risan rumai** area around a house.

kam sarsar *Lit:* kind of raker. *Variant:* **sarsar piu**. *n.* chicken. .

kam sausau *Lit:* kind of fog. *n.* foam. .

Kam Silngah *pn.* place name. .

kam yah *Lit:* kind of fire. *n.* -. –
    1 • hearth.
    2 • solar panel.

kamap *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin 'kamap' < English 'come up'. -. –

Kamarsòh *pn.* place name. **Matòl bòrbòr sai ón i tik a pukun sai kawas an lón malum di warai Kamarsòh.** We slept at a place near the river called Kamarsòh.

kambinòh *Variant:* **Kabinuh?**. *n.* kind of earth oven. **I pus lón ép kabinòh anun dirau i, ép kabinòh bòròi.** He came out at the place of the earth oven, the earth oven for the pig.

Kamdaru *pn.* place name. .

kamél *n (comm.).* camel. **Ép kamél na i rak él kawas ón a mósól, ón a sÓròm kón susuk, él kawas sa.**

Kamgói *pn.* Lord, God. **Dirau usrai ép warwar anun é Kamgói.** They spread the word of God.

kamidòt *n.* knot. *See:* **kamin?**. **A dòt kiòm tar tó kamidòt ón ka lóslós i ma.** *Incorporated form of:* **kamin dòt?**.

kamin *n.* knot. *See:* **Kamindòt?**. **Dit ki malik pak sòi i ding a kamin pòsòn.** They untied the knots.

kamin kayar *n.* sandal. .

kamis *Variant:* **West coast Siar (East coast Siar 'wasu')**. *n (comm.).* sun. **Ép kamis ki inan sur él sup.** The sun was about to go down. *Also:* **matan kamis** 'hour (lit. 'eye of day')'.

kamkam *v.* call. **A kamkam kòbòt pas kai pòl, ka inan a amrai pòl kòbòt.** I called the dogs in the morning and I went hunting in the morning.

kamkas *n (comm.).* bag (net). .

kamla– *n.* parents-in-law, mother-in-law, father-in-law. **I pus sai sén arisan é Kamlan lik sai ón ép wang.** *Also:* **kamla– ain.**

kamol **Kanini fat, kanini far palayo, kamol pas i i tur kaben an langit i warwar an langit.**

kamó *n.* kind of banana. **.**

Kamrai₁ *pn.* One of the two moieties (Big Pisin). **Kai Kamrai dit kès tim an pótór é Kónómala, ap ép kónóm ón dit di warai kanak kai Butam ón dit.** The Kamrai were living in the middle of Konomala, and most of them were called the Butam.

kamrai₂ together. **Dit an òt ap mèt kamrai an òt kiòm.** They came and we met.

kamrisa– *Variant:* **karisan?.** next to. **I parai ép sungut tim an kamrisan ép ran.** He put the trap next to the earth oven.

kamsur *Variant:* **East coast Siar**. -. *See:* **kaptur**. –

kamtan still. **.**

kamtur *Variant:* **East coast Siar (West coast Siar 'kaptur').** *v.itr.* -. –

> 1 • *v.itr.* take off, leave, get going. **Yau al usrai ón ép kamtur anuk i katóng an Bakók.** I want to talk about my taking off to Bakók.
>
> 2 • *arise.* erheben (sich). **I kaptur ting on ep minat.** He arose from the dead.

kan₁ *Variant:* **pidut**. *n (dim.).* ant. **.**

kan₂ *Morph:* **ka(–t–ing)=an**. – *Contraction of:* **kating an.**

kan₃ *v.* remove (by force). **I kan tó palang ning gali an lakan ép puklun rumai ning.** It broke planks off the roof of the house.

kan lòilòi *n.* ants (small, often on food remains). **.**

kana *n.* kind of tree. **.**

kanai *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin? Kuanua? Native?. *n (dim.).* seagull. **.**

kanak *Variant:* **nak**. *subord.* subordinating conjunction. **Mèt ki usrai ma karisan dit kanak na kai talung dit wòt.** We told them that the demons had come.

kanasa **Ón ép kirai na él wòt an mur dit él lós pas ép lalaun kanasa kanasa.**

Kandas₁ *Variant:* **Kadas**. *pn.* -. –
> 1 • name of a southern New Ireland language.
> 2 • Kandas-speaking population.

> 3 • area in which the Kandas language is spoken.

kandas₂ *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin. *n (dim.).* rattan. –

kanén *Morph:* **ka(–t–im)=ané–n.** – *Contraction of:* **katim anén.**

kanini **Kanini fat, kanini far palayo, kamol pas i i tur kaben an langit i warwar an langit.**

kankan *n.*

kaòt *v.* touch (once). **.**

kap₁ **.** *Phrase:* **Kap kirai kòbòt!** 'Good morning!'.

kap₂ *v.* remove stones from earth oven. **Dirau kap sòi ép ran ap bòt ning bòt dirau ki yayau.** They took all the stones from the earth oven and later they started mumuing.

kap₃ *Borrowed from* English 'cup'. cup.

kapa *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'cap'. *n.* roof. *See:* **yiwun rumai; puklun rumai.** –

kapan -. -. –
> 1 • *v.* need, be necessary, require. **Ép fanat bèl i nap él kapan sur él tik ti baran** The child will not want anything.
>
> 2 • *n.* need, requirement. **Mèt él kèp pas pas tó mulin ép tarai ap tó kapan.** We will take pictures of people and their needs.

kapis *Borrowed from* English 'cabbage'. *n (comm.).* cabbage. –

kapis

kapit *v.* quick, fast. **Ép balak i ngòngòt kòl ap bél a wòt kapit.** My stomach really hurt and I could not come earlier.

kapsòh *n.* backyard. **I pung sai kawas an kapsòh.** He fell down into the backyard (?).

kapsur *v.tr.* -. –
> 1 • chase. **Kai pòl dit kapsur i ma ép bòròi.** The dogs were chasing the pig.
>
> 2 • drive. **É Sikem i kapsur ep món madar.** Sikem steered the dinghy.
>
> 3 • follow. **kapsur ep wól** follow the tradition.

kaptai **Ól kabah kaptai diat tan na diat aning sa diat kès lik.** *Transitive form of:* **kapit.**

kaptan -. –

kaptikén₁ *n.* -. –
> 1 • base. **Matòl lili ma kating ón i tik sa kaptikén yai.** We ran to the base of a tree.

2 • reason. **Kaptikén ép falinók na ki ngòngòt róp tar.** This is why my body hurts so much.

3 • origin. **ép kaptikén ép mangis ón ép Marnai** the origin of the Marnai clan.

kaptikén₂ *subord.* -. –

1 • therefore, hence, thus.

2 • because. **Bèl ma a babait kòl kasai an laman, kaptikén ya sén masik ap a matutut.** I did not fish a lot there where it is deep because I was alone and I was afraid.

kaptikén un *Lit:* banana-stem. *n.* newly married woman. **I tik ép tinaulai mètèk kón agómgóm pas i tik ép tarai anun é fain na i tè pas i na dél warai ép 'kaptikén un'.** A new marriage to raise children for the woman that he has chosen, they call her 'banana stem'.

Kaptòh *pn.* clan name (Big Pisin). **Ép Kórói in ép Kaptòh i tik sa ép Kórói i ding.** The Kórói Kaptòh are just one of the Kórói clans.

kaptukul *n.* **I akès tar i ma an lakan a kaptukul.**

kaptur *Variant:* **West coast Siar (East coast Siar 'kamtur').** *v.itr.* -. *See:* **kamtur.** –

1 •

2 • arise.

kapul -. -. –

1 • *n (comm.).* cuscus, tree kangaroo, possum.

2 • *n.* beche-de-mer, trepang.

kar₁ *n (dim.).* parakeet, parrot. .

kar₂ *Borrowed from* English 'car'. *n.* -. *See:* **kuk.** –

kar₃ *v.* scratch. **É Nigel i kar lamas.** Nigel was scraping coconuts.

kar₄ *n.* kind of tree. .

kar kilòng kilòng *n.* parrot (red). .

kar payam payam *Lit:* vegetable parrot. *n.* parrot (green). .

karabau *n.* buffalo. .

karai *v.* move. **A mani i karai kating an mur.** The bird moved to the back.

karat pilau *n.* kind of bush animal. .

karé *Morph:* **kar(in)=é.** – *Contraction of:* **karin é.**

karéng used as positive reply to "Pipih" which is a request to tell a story. –

kari– *prep.* towards somebody. **É Dókta ki tar ép marasin karik.** The doctor gave me some medicine.

karisa– [ka.ri.'san] *prep.pro.* towards. .

karkar *n.* rash. .

karkar kiké– *Lit:* foot-scratcher. *n.* claw. .

karkék *n.* **A karkék lik ning i gar pas i lim a dókón.**

karmaya– *Variant:* **marmaya–.** *n (dim.).* -. –

1 • tongue.

2 • blade of paddle.

karngah stronger wind coming up. .

karus *v.* scratch (once). .

karwas *n (comm.).* mullet. **A ting sòi i tik a karwas.** I cut a karwas fish.

kasai *dem.adv.* allative demonstrative adverb. –

1 • there (up, allative). **Matòl inan kasai gali an lakan ép rumai.** We went on top of the house.

2 • there (out to the sea or away from New Ireland, allative). **I parung kasai an lón bòn.** He jumped into the sea.

3 • there (upstream, allative).

kasan *Morph:* **ka–Ø–s(ai)=an.** -. – *Contraction of:* **kasai an.**

kasat *n.* kind of basket.

kaslar *n.* glow. **Marau lós pas i tik a kaslar lik.** We got some glow.

kasngai *v.* **É Sél i rugut ap i malik kasngai é Langai.**

kastam *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'custom'. *n.* -. *See:* **wól.** –

kaswai *Variant:* **kuak.** *n (dim.).* mango. **Ép kirain in tó kaswai i ding.** This is the time for mangoes.

kat₁ *v.tr.* lift. **Ka kat anuk a palngét lik.** I lift my little axe.

kat₂ *n (dim.).* liver. **Na na él dat sòi aróp tar ép balan ap di gós akak pas a kat.** When they have pulled out the stomach they wash the liver.

kata *dem.adv.* allative demonstrative (proximal). *Morph:* **ka–t–a.** **Lós i kata!** Bring it here!

katah *dem.adv.* allative demonstrative (interrogative). *Morph:* **ka–t–ah.** **I lós i katah?** Where did he bring it?

katan *Morph:* **ka–t(–a)=an.** – *Contraction of:* **kata an.**

katar

katè   *dem.adv.* allative demonstrative (indexical).
Morph: ka-t-è. **Tari ép rumai na lar sa katè katóng talang, ép tan rumai kuntan in.** Maybe it was as big as a house, like from here to there, a huge house.

kati   *Variant:* **kating**; **katim**. allative demonstrative. *Morph:* ka-t-i(ng) ; ka-t-i(m). *See:* **kating**; **katim**. – *Reduced form of:* **kating**.

katim   *Variant:* **kati**. *dem.adv.* allative demonstrative. *Morph:* ka-t-im. – *Also:* **katim pukus** 'south (to Cape St George)'.
1 • down. **I ru ra purpur dirau ki pung sai gali an lakan ép yai katim ané.** Two flowers fell down from the top of the tree.
2 • following the coast in anticlockwise direction. **A yawas katim kawas an Wataria.** I paddle south to Wataria (from Lamassa in the north).
3 • forward.

katin   allative demonstrative. *Morph:* ka-t-in(g). *See:* **kating**. – *Reduced form of:* **kating**.

kating   *Variant:* **kati**. *dem.adv.* allative demonstrative (anaphoric). *Morph:* ka-t-ing. –
1 • there (indefinite). **A kapsur sa kai nat bòròi kating.** I chased the piggies to some place.
2 • there (to the location mentioned after). **I inan sa kating na él mumun gau kabas ép bat.** He went to where he wanted to seek shelter from the rain.
3 • then. **Ap kating ap i lamantin it ap i lamantin it ap i parai a putun ép lamas.** And then it grew bigger and bigger and formed a coconut stem.

katkatòr   *n.* kind of banana. .

katmur   *n (comm.).* pumpkin. **Él lós sòi ép bòbòròi ap ép sah dit ép katmur ép tòh dit.**

kató   *Variant:* **katóng**. allative demonstrative. *Morph:* ka-t-ó(ng). *See:* **katóng**. – *Reduced form of:* **katóng**.

katóng   *Variant:* **kató**. *dem.adv.* allative demonstrative. –
1 • there (following the coast in clockwise direction). **Dirau inan sai an Lamassa katóng an Kingén sur katóng an Kabóman.** They went from Lamassa to Kingen to go to Kabóman.
2 • back there. **Ép kailam i mung katóng dirau munmun lik gau.** The lizard lead the way back to where they were swimming.
3 • backward(s).

katur   *n.* kind of small basket, made of palm leaves.

katur nawò   *n.* kind of banana. .

kau₁   *v.* crawl. *See:* **kawar**. –

kau₂   *n (dim.).* owl. .

kauh   *n.* kind of green. .

kaukau   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin. *n.* -. *See:* **ngélngél**. –

kaut   pick up.

kawa-   *n.* cousin. **I ning ru tarai kawan ru risén dirau é Sólómón dirau É Chris.** The names of those two cousins are Solomon and Kris.

kawar   *v.itr.* crawl. **Ép pun i kawar it.** The turtle was crawling.

kawas   *v.atr.* -. – *Also:* **kasai kawas** 'away from New Ireland'.
1 • move up. **É Róbóam i matiti ép bòròi ap i kawas leklek an lakan ép yai.** Roboam was afraid of the pig and climbed onto a tree.
2 • enter, go inside. **Bar Siapan dit kawas an lón ép món madar.** The Japanese climbed into the boat.

kayar

kayén   *n.* clothes, clothing. **Dirau kèlès kayén, dirau kèp sòi tó kayén busbus.** They changed clothes, they took off the wet clothes.

kem mòmòl   .

kédék   *v.* **I sòi ép tarai in ép farum ap dit kédék é Yesu.**

kédér   *v.* **Góng amat kéder tar ti baran sòsòng.**

kéh   *n (comm.).* net. **Datòl él dat tar ép kéh sai an mung ón.** We will cast the net in front of it.

kéh mumus   *Lit:* mosquito net. *n.* mosquito net. .

kékém   **Na ép kékém él tè tar u ap ku tòl tar ép tòltòl laulau.**

kél   *mod.pro.* he (realis + irrealis), she (realis + irrealis), it (realis + irrealis). **Kai pòl anum dit kél bubuar ép bòròi.** Your dogs will (certainly) bark at the dogs.

kéréké   *Variant:* **East coast Siar (also 'kam sarsar'; 'sarsar piu'); West coast Siar 'kakaruk'.** *Borrowed from* Patpatar < sound of chicken's voice?. *n.* -. *See:* **kam sarsar**; **sarsar piu**. –

kését   *Borrowed from* English 'cassette'. *n.* cassette. **I sa é Ba ning él tar anuk ta kését?** Is that the uncle who will give me a cassette?

Kéviang   *Variant:* **Kaviéng**. *pn.* capital of New Ireland. **.**

kèkèlès   *v.itr.* change. *Morph:* **kè~kèlès**. **Dirau ki kèkèlès akak pas, dirau atin ép tan yah ap dirau mamarim liklik ma.** After having finished changing clothes they lit a fire and warmed up themselves a bit. *Reduplication of:* **kèlès**.

kèlès   *v.tr.* -. –
1 • change. **Uring bèl ma i bóngnai sur kal kèlès ép lalaun anuk i.** Long ago it did not take long for me to change my life.
2 • reply. **A kèlès i on i tik ép war.** I answered him with these word.

kèm   *Variant:* **East coast Siar (West coast Siar 'kèp')**. -. *See:* **kèp**. –

kèp   *Variant:* **West coast Siar (East coast Siar 'kèm')**. *v.tr.* -. –
1 • get, take. **A kèp pas a liwan ap a inan.** I take a knife.
2 • gather. **Marau kèp kabu.** We gathered river snails.
3 • understand. **Bèl a kèp i.** I don't get (understand) it.

kèp sòi   *Lit:* take away. *Variant:* **West coast Siar (East coast Siar 'kèm sòi')**. *ser.v. (tr.).* -. –
1 • take out. **É wan i kèp sòi ning a ngisén lar na ap i tar i aré bun.** The old women took out her teeth and gave them to the old man.
2 • take off (clothes). **Dirau kèlès kayén, dirau kèp sòi tó laplap busbus.** They changed their clothes, they took off the wet clothes.
3 • pass by. **A tikin bòng ma i ding ki kèp sòi.** The first night passed by.

kèritung   *n.* kind of saltwater fish. **.**

kès   *v.itr.* -. – *Also:* **kai x kès (kòl)** 'a lot of x'; **kès marit** 'live in the bush ; live far away from the sea'.
1 • sit. **A kès an lakan ep lóng.** I am sitting on the bed.
2 • dwell. **Ép pal tètè ning i kès tim an Lambóm.** That old man was living on Lambóm.

kèskès   *Lit:* sit-sit. *n (comm.).* -. *Morph:* **kès~kès**. – *Reduplication of:* **kès**.

1 • chair.
2 • lifestyle. **A wól i su kating na al pas tat ép wakak sur ép kèskès ón ép family él akak.** I plan it in order for my family to have a good lifestyle.

kètkèt   *n.* kind of banana. **.**

ki   *mod.pro.* modal pronoun (marked for event focus). **Diat ki manau.** They were resting.

kiai   **.**

kiau₁   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin?. *n.* egg. –

Kiau₂   *pn.* place name. **.**

kiawin   *n.* **I usai tar i a kiawin ép wakin.**

kidòl   *Variant:* **kindòl**. whole.

kidòl   *v.* -. –
1 • whole.
2 • balanced. **Ép kès anun matòl i na ón na, bèl ma i kidòl akak kaptikén na é Taman matòl ép liman ki takutus tar.** Our present lives are not balanced well anymore because my husband's hand is gone.

kiké–   *n (comm.).* -. – *Also:* **alar kiké–** 'shoe'; **pòpòròi kikén** 'sock'; **balan kiké–** 'shoe (East coast Siar)'.
1 • leg.
2 • foot.

kikén pu   *n.* kind of desease (swollen thigh). **.**

kikinau   -. -. – *Also:* **tan kikinau** 'thief'.
1 • *v.itr.* steal.
2 • *n (comm.).* theft. **Él alaulau ép lalaun anun i ón ép kikinau.** He will ruin his life by stealing.

kikisip   *v.* **I kikisip tó bérét ap i tar i arin kai nanat anun.** *Reduplication of:* **kisip**.

kikiuk   *v.* vomit, puke, throw out. **.**

kila   *n.* kind of saltwater fish. **.**

kilang   *v.tr.* feel. **I kilang i a rèrèh na ki dadat.** He felt if they were pulling on the string.

kili   *v.* reel, circle around. **A kili sòi tar a rèrèh.** I reel in the fishing line.

kilil   *n.* kind of bird. **.**

kilin   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin 'klin' < English 'clean'. -. -. *See:* **manlar**; **gis**. –

kilòng   **.**

kiltung   *n.* **I akas tar sén alò i tik a tan kiltung lar ép tang.**

kimnap *v.* **Kabai bòròi sén i ning di mi kimnap i sén ting gau, ép wól aning gau sén, i lili sen.**

kina *pn.* -. –
1 • Kina (currency of Papua New Guinea).
2 • One-Kina-coin.

kinau *v.tr.* steal. **Kai nanat lón pal dit kinau i ón ép bòng.** The children in the men's house stole it in the night.

kinaupól *Lit:* steal liquid?. *v.itr.* dive horizontally. **Ép kailam i kinaupòl katim sén ep ran gau.** The lizard dived (horizontally) back to the place where the earth oven was.

kinbali– *Variant:* **fakéréng.** *n (comm., hum.).* friend. **Òh kinbalik, ól bas lós tar yau kasai an mas.** Oh my friend, you must bring me back to the shore.

Kingén *pn.* place name. **Dirau inan sai an Lamassa katóng an Kingén sur katóng an Kabóman.** They went from Lamassa to Kingén so that they could go to Kabóman.

kinòng only. **i tik ép kam matan mamam ngan kai gurar sa kinòng** a game only for women.

kinònòng *Irregular reduplication of:* **kinòng.**

kió *n.* scissors. **Na di parai ragai sòi tar i di kakat sa tó kió.** When they have put it there they lift the scissors.

kiós₁ *Variant:* **kabókaból.** *n.* clam shell. .

kiós₂ *v.tr.* cut plank. **Na u rak ól kiós a palang ól lós ép fék anum i ap ól an kasai òt an lón buibui.** When you want to cut planks you take your axe.

kiòm *adv.* together. **Dat él tur kiòm.** We will stand together.

kirai *n (comm.).* -. –
1 • day. **I tik ép kirai ki malik inan sòu.** Another day passed by.
2 • daytime. **Matòl bòrbòr sur ép kirai.** We slept until it was day.
3 • time. **I da bèl ép kirai ón ép purpur.** This is not the time for flowers.

kiruk *n.* kind of leaf. **Ki pipis tar i ma i tik a pakan a kiruk.**

kisip

kiuk *v.* throw up, puke, vomit. **I kiuk sòi aróp i lar na.**

kiukiu *n.* kind of bird. .

kom Kind of end for plank boat.

kódóra– *n (dim.).* neck. **I tòtòl sa ón a kódóran ap i dat i sa.** He held it by its neck and just pulled it.

kófi *Borrowed from* English 'coffee'. *n (comm.).* coffee. –

kók₁ *v.* little, small. **Tari anuk kók usrai i róp sa gating.** Maybe my little story ends here.

kók₂ *v.tr.* get person. **A kók pas i tik ép kinbalik.** I got one of my friends.

kók₃ *Variant:* **fang.** *n (comm.).* white. **A rak al yan tók mém kók na di warai ép rais ón.** I wanted to eat some white food they call rice.

kókó *n (dim.).* crow. .

kókói *v.* **Amat él tumarang tar ap amat él kókói kaptikén bèl amat tasim ón ép kirai na i ning tó baran él wòt.**

kókók *Variant:* **kòh.** *v.* -. *Morph:* **kók–kók.** – *Reduplication of:* **kók.**
1 • white (e.g. skin). **ép fón kókók** white man / woman.
2 • clear (colour)?

kókól *n.* kind of shell. .

Kókópó *Variant:* **Herbertshöhe (old German name).** *pn.* town in East New Britain. **Marau lòulòu sai sén an Kókópó.** We went shopping in Kokopo.

kól *mod.pro.* you (singular, event focus + irrealis). **Kól inan kasai an Óstérélia.** You are about to go to Australia. / You will certainly go to Australia.

kólól *n (comm.).* worm. .

kólóng **Dit nóh kólóng sur ép Nataka ning.** They were very afraid of those Natakas.

kómkóm .

kómpiutér *Borrowed from* English 'computer'. *n.* computer. **Al arèrè ón ép media kón wuwur main tó kómpiutér.** I will study Media to work with computers.

kón -. -. –
1 • *conj.* in order to, for. **Ki wòt kón lós ais pas tó baran na uring.** He came to bring back the things from the past.
2 • *prep.* for. **A kèp pas i tik a natun tirtir lik ap a kòt i kón a bén.** I took a small (tirtir) fish and I cut it for the bait.

kóni *v.* **Diat él kóni kón ép lalam anun diat i.**

kónókónó *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin (< kongkong < Hong Kong). *n (dim.).* singapore taro. –

kónóm *Variant:* **West coast Siar (East coast Siar 'ginóm**; **giyóm').** *quant.* -. –
1 • many, numerous, plenty. **Ép Kórói dit kónóm kòl.** The Kórói were plenty.
2 • majority. **Ép kónóm ón dit di warai kanak kai Butam ón dit.** Most of them were called the Butam.

Kónómala *pn.* -. –
1 • Konomala language.
2 • Konomala-speaking people.
3 • area in which Kónómala is spoken.

kónómót *n.* kind of saltwater fish. .

kóprah *n (comm.).* -. *See:* **lamas.** –

kór *v.* boil. .

kórdiél *Borrowed from* English 'cordial'. *n.* .

kórngón *n.* kind of saltwater fish. .

Kórói *pn.* clan name. **I gat ép Kórói, ép Kórói Kaptòh, ép Kórói Nagót, ép Kórói Namasan, ép Kórói In Ép Sinél, ép Kórói Ón Ép Kabiyawai, ép Kórói Na Kuak, ép Kórói In Ép Fang, ép Kórói Ón Ép Kabanga ap ép Kórói Lia Paupau.** There are the Kórói, the Kórói Kaptòh, the Kórói Nagót, the Kórói Namasan, the Kórói In Ép Sinél, the Kórói Ón Ép Kabiyawai, the Kórói Na Kuak, the Kórói In Ép Fang, the Kórói Ón Ép Kabanga and the Kórói Lia Paupau.

kórsai *v.* **U tangur i ap u kórsai sarara tar i.**

kósós *v.* unsalted. **É Wówó i parai ning ngan darau, i kósós sa?** Did grandma put some (salt) on ours or is it just unsalted?

kót *n.* **Na uring di atatau i tó kót lakan i tó tung ning.**

kótóp *v.* dive. **Kamlak, u basa ól kótóp.**

kówói *v.* prepare, to ready. .

kòbòt morning. **A bas inan kòbòt katim pukus.** I must go south early. *Also:* **kirai kòbòt** 'morning'; **angan kòbòt** 'have breakfast'; **palas kòbòt** 'get up (in the morning)'.

kòdòm *v.tr.* swallow, gulp. **Na a kòdòm pas ép malum ap èh, ki mamakas.** When I swallowed the water, yak, it was salty.

kòdòma *n.* kind of saltwater fish. .

kòdòp *Variant:* **East coast Siar.** **A laulòn kòdòp in sén ép yai ning.**

kòh -. *See:* **kókók.** –

kòir *n.* kind of saltwater fish. .

kòkòbòn *v.* surprised. **Mèt kòkòbòn sa ón bar sóldia na dit sòt an bòn.** We were surprised when the soldiers landed on the beach. *Also:* **baran kòkòbòn** 'wonder'.

kòkòi *v.* weed. **Matòl kòkòi lik.** We weeded a bit.

kòkòròt .

kòl very. **Ka murak kòl.** I am very hungry. *Phrase:* **Wakak kòl!** 'Thank you!'.

kòlòng *v.itr.* terrified. **Matòl tur kòlòng tar ma tim an piu na ép kali wuwur sòi ép puklun rumai.** We were standing outside terrified as the cyclone blew away the roof.

kòn *n.* trap. **Yau ép tan ép tòltòl kòn yau, kón kòn ép bòròi.** I am trap builder, traps for pigs.

kòròt *Variant:* **yai kòròt.** *n.* little sticks for connecting the outrigger. **I bus ép kabalis ap i bus ép yai kòròt ap i kan ép tòtòk kón ma ép món.**

kòs .

kòsòm brave.

kòt₁ *v.tr.* -. –
1 • slice. **A kòt i sen a langur lik ning.** I cut the prawn with a knife.
2 • cut (hair, grass).

kòt₂ *v.* closed. **I ru ru matan kòt dira arkók pas sur dirél an dirél kawas lamas.** *Also:* **matan kòt** 'blind (lit. eye closed)'.

kòtkòt *v.tr.* cut (in pieces). **A kòtkòt i ma a sis ning kata an lón ép sósópén.** I cut the fish into pieces and into the pot.

Kòtkòtò *Borrowed from* < Lambel kotkoto 'cold'?. *pn.* place name. .

kòtlai *n.* kind of flower. .

kòtlin manurai *Lit:* eagle egg. *n.* kind of shell. .

kòtòu *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin?. *n.* hermit crab. **Matòl rung kòtòu pas.**

kòtòu arbas *Lit:* throw-at-each-other-crab. *n (comm.).* coconut crab. *Morph:* **kòtòu ar-bas.**
.

kòwòs **Tarausés ki kòwòs, ki katkat róp ma ép silik.**

ku₁   *mod.pro. Morph:* **k-u**. you (singular, realis). **Ku suah sòi tar i tó baran na.** You have left those things behind.

ku₂   *n (dim.).* kind of cooking place made of palm leaves and hot stones. **Na u rak ól wur a ku ap u riri pas tó atatat ap u siling sòi ép ran.** If you want to prepare a ku-cooker you first gather stones and then you prepare the earth oven.

kuah   -. *See:* **kaburyah.** –

kuak   *n.* -. *See:* **kaswai. Ta kuak lik ewin.**

kuapó   *Variant:* **guapó.** -. *See:* **guapó.** –

kuar   *v.* cast a spell, bewitch. **Dit él kuar ép barsan ap ép puklun él tapagal sòu.** They would cast a spell over the man and his head would break apart.

kubak   *v.* **I tik sén a pukun bòng i ning dél kubak.**

kubar   -. -. –
            1 • *v.itr.* glow, light, blink. **Matòl atin sòi tar ep yah ep i kubrar.** We lit a fire and it was glowing.
            2 • *n (comm.).* glow. **Ép kubar in ép lalam ón ép paih sah i ragai i ép langai ning.** The glow of the burning coconut leaves made the prawns red.

kubat   *v.tr.* tear. **Bèl sa dirau kubat tar i a rèrèh ning.** They did not tear those threads.

kubus   *v.* **Dit kubus ép warwar sur dél um amat i.**

kudup   *n.* crown (tree). **Ép titih in a rakan kasai gali ón a ul kudup in ép yai, ép yah ki yan i mósó.** The last branch of the tree crown, the fire had burned it.

kuikui *n.* kind of flower. .

kuk   -. -. –
            n (dim.). 1 • crab. **A kèp pas a kuk ap a parai ting ón ép kikén ép barsan ap i arat i.** I take a crab, put it on that man's foot and it will bite him.
            2 • car.

kukaba *Borrowed from* English 'cucumber'. *n (dim.).* cucumber. –

kukuk   *v.* shout. *Morph:* **ku~kuk. Na i kukuk rakana ap dirau kamrai liu rakana.** When he was shouting, both of them ran away. *Reduplication of:* **kuk.**

kukulè -. -. –
            1 • *n.* earthquake.

            2 • *pn.* Siar village in the Lamassa area.

kukumi *Morph:* **ku-kumi.** secretly. . *Reduplication of:* **kumi.**

kukur   –

kukuriap *n.* dolphin. .

kukuris *n.* kind of fruit. .

kula   **É Sél ó as i lailai pas ati u ép mantèkèn taprasang kula peperges surum?**

kulam   *n (comm.).* cave. **Dirau arup tar i an lón ép kulam.** They put it inside a cave.

kulau   *Variant:* **lamas makrau; gòlòh.** *Borrowed from* Kuanua. *n (comm.).* -. *See:* **gòlòh.** –

kulik   *v.* hang. **Na i kulik na i rungut i an pas ma ón.**

kulit   *n.* kind of banana. .

kulòu   *n.* wool. .

kulsi   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin?. *n.* sweets. –

kulura *n.* kind of saltwater fish. .

kum₁   *v.* **Di warai dit kum ép pók.**

kum₂   secretly. .

kum sósór *n (dim.).* bee. .

kumi   *v.* secretly, covertly. **I an ap i sak kumi sa mósó ép fat.** She went and secretly removed the stone.

kumlau *n (dim.).* spider. .

kumlin *n.* half. **A kèp pas i tik a kumlin un.** I took half a banana.

kumut   *v.tr.* cut off. **A kumut pas ép pakan ép ngélngél.** I cut off the sweet potato leaves.

kunbér *n.*

kundu   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin? Kuanua? Native?. *n (comm.).* hand drum. .

kuntan *adj.* huge, very big. **ép tan baran angan kuntan in** a huge feast.

kunum   *n.* **Dit él kès ón tó kunum liklik.**

Kunum Unu *pn.* -. *See:* **Unu.** –

Kur   *pn.* clan name. **Ta anén ép Tók Bòl, kata ané ón i tik ép lain di warai kai Kur ón dit.** Below the Tók Ból is another clan called the Kur.

kurau   *n (comm.).* stick (for digging). **A lós pas ép kurau ap a lis ép tau.** I took a stick and broke up the soil.

kurkur   *n.* kind of bird. . *Also:* **kam kurkur lón bòn** 'ship'.

kurpòs   *n (comm.).* termite. .

kurur   *n.* kind of saltwater fish. –

kus   *v.tr.* paint, colourize, dye. **Ép yiwun ning dit él kus i ón ép mèmèrèk in ép tar.** They will paint their hair with red clay.

kusik   *n.* kind of tree. .

kuskus   *n.* kind of gecko (black). .

kusup   *n (comm.).* rat, bandicoot. **Ép pusi i kapsur ép kusup.** The cat is chasing the rat. *Also:* **bulut kusup** 'kind of tree'.

kusur   *n.* spear. **Matòl dat ais ép kusur.** We pulled out the spear. *Also:* **tamala kusur** 'kind of saltwater fish'.

kut   *v.* close. *See:* **kòt?. É Sél, ép balan i kut kòl sén.**

kutli–   *Variant:* **kutlin mani.** *n (dim.).* egg. .

kutlin pilau   *n.* scrotum.

kutun   *n.* **A pas tat i tik a kutun talai.**

kutus   *v.tr. -.* –

1 • cut in two. **I tik ép pere ading di kutus tar i.** There was a pere (?) tree that they had cut in two.

2 • take shortcut. **A inan kasai talang ón ép ngas kar ap a kutus ting gau talang.** I went up to the street and took a shortcut there.

3 • cut across, cross.

L – l

labang   *n.* .

labat   *Variant:* **lambat.** *n (comm.).* rooftree, roofbeam. **A bus pas ép labat sai wòt an lón buibui.** I cut the rooftree in the bush.

Labél   *Variant:* **Lambél.** *pn. -.* – *Also:* **warwar Labél** 'Label language'.
1 • Label speaking population.
2 • area in which Label is spoken.

labók   *v.* **A labók sa ting an pótór.**

Labóm   *pn. -. See:* **Lambóm.** –

labòng   *adverbial.* yesterday. **Labòng a inan a amrai pòl.** Yesterday I went hunting pigs.

Labuah   *pn.* name of a river on the west coast. .

labuning   .

labur   *n (comm.).* northwest monsoon. **Ép labur i wuwut.** The monsoon wind was blowing.

lagar   *v.* laugh. **Matòl ki lagar laulau tar.** We were laughing badly.

lagir   *n.* kind of tree. .

lagòm   *n.* kind of plant. .

lagus   *n.* spell that weakens the enemy. **Mèt tòl ép Lagus sén alò, kón Lagus ép barsan sur góng dit ararakai.** We also cast the Lagus spell to weaken the men.

lahlah   *v.itr.* gather prawns. **Na dirau laklak lik ma ap i tik a tasin lik i warai, "Kai langai bèl dit mórót!"** When the two were gathering prawns one of the brothers said, "The prawns are plenty!"

lai₁   *n.* head decorated with feathers. **A rèrèh di parai ting ónsai gali ón ép lai ón dirau ap dirau ki gòsgòs ma.** They put the threads on top of their feathered heads and they were dancing.

lai₂   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'lie'. *n (comm.).* **Ép teret di parai ting ónsai gali ón ép lai ón dirau.**

lai₃   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin. *v. -. See:* **arlè.** –

lai suan   *n.* kind of liana. .

laikió   *Variant:* **palkió– (West coast Siar). -.** *See:* **palkió–.** –

lailai₁   *n.* kind of flower. .

lailai₂   *n.* kind of uncle. **Diat inan òt, bar lailai lik sén dit ning.** They arrived, those were the uncles.

lailai₃   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin 'lai' < English 'lie'. *v. -. See:* **lém.** –

lailai purpur   *n.* hibiscus. .

lailik   *-. See:* **kawa–.** –

lailun   *n.* handle (of a spear).

lain   *n. -. See:* **mangis.** –

Lain Silòu   *pn.* Cape St George. **Mèt nós sur i bar soldia na di apar tar dit tim an Lainsilòu.** We looked for soldiers who could have landed at Cape St George.

lait   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'light'. *n.* -. *See:* **manlar.** –

lak₁   *v.* cut (along something, e.g. coconut). **Ka lak, kal puar ép puklun ón a liwan.** I will break its head with the knife. *Antonym of:* **kutus.**

lak₂   *inj.* buddy (male or female). **Lak, u an tar tah?** Buddy, where are you coming from?

laka₁   *n.* Tahitian chestnut. *INOCARPUS FAGIFERUS.* **Matòl riri lakas pas ap matòl inan matòl érép tóng an Kingén.** We gathered tahitian chestnuts and we roasted them at Kingén.

laka₂   *n.* kind of bird. .

laka–   *prep.* -. –

   1 • on (top of). **sur dat él kakawas an lakan tó atatat tintin** so we can climb on top of the big stones.

   2 • on behalf of. **Dit ki wur tar sén ep baran angan an lakan.** They made a feast on his behalf.

laklak₁   *n.* sturdy post (for a house). **A bus tar sén tó laklak, i is a laklak na kón lós ép rumai arik.** I cut strong posts, seven strong posts to carry my house.

Laklak₂   *pn.* Siar village in the Lamassa area. .

laklak   *v.* hack.

lakman   *n (comm.).* -. –

   1 • village. **Uring uring sèn ting ón i tik ép lakman é Róbóam i kès gau.** Long long ago, Roboam lived in a village.

   2 • home.

   3 • front yard. **kòt ep lakman (?)** mow the lawn (around the house).

lakman piu   *n (comm.).* Earth, planet Earth. **Ép kamgói i akès tar ép lakman piu.** God created the earth.

lakrai   *v.* kick.

laku   *n.* mirror. .

lakyat   *n.* **Lakyat, amtòl nós bók!** Guys, you must see this!

lalagar   -. -. –

   1 • *n (comm.).* joke.

   2 • *v.itr.* laugh. **Matòl ki lalagar laulau tar, matòl ki malai ais matòl.** We were laughing, we were laughing at each other.

lalai   *n.* kind of shell. .

lalakrai   *n (comm.).* **Ép pipilai in i ding kam warwar, ep lalakrai na é Kamgói él tar i arin i ding ép barsan él lamantin kòl.**

lalam   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'lamp'. *n.* lightbeam. .

lalamar   *n.* festivity in honour of the dead (redemption). **Ép ngasa kuntan ma dat warai ép simén ó ép kam lalamar an lakan ép minat.** A huge festivity they call Lalamar, in honour of the dead.

lalamas   *n. Morph:* **la–lamas.** -. – *Reduplication of:* **lamas.**

   -. **1** • coconut plantation.

   2 • kind of bird.

lalang   *n.*

lalapang   *v.* hot. *Morph:* **la~lapang. I pung katim ané an lón ép kam pól lalapang ning.** He fell into the hot water. *Reduplication of:* **lapang.**

lalapir   *n.* spot from mosquito bite. .

lalar   *v.* shoo away, scare off. **Marau lalar sòi kai sis kata an lón.** We shooed the fish inside.

lalaun   *Morph:* **la~laun.** -. -. – *Reduplication of:* **laun.**

   1 • *v.itr.* live. **i ru ra mani anun dat i gata na dat rèrè lalaun ón** the two bird clans by which we live.

   2 • *n (comm.).* life. **Él alaulau ép lalaun anun i ón ép kikinau.** He will ruin his life by stealing.

lalayés   *Morph:* **la–layes.** happy (very). **Mèt lalayes kòl na mèt aslang tar i ning i ru ra sarunlès ning.** We were very happy to celebrate the change of the year. *Reduplication of:* **layes.**

lalit   *n (dim.).* **Ép bòròi na kai pòl dit atur tar i ting an lòn a lalit.**

lam   *Borrowed from* English 'lamp' / German 'Lampe'. *n.* -. *See:* **manlar.** –

laman   [la.'man] *v.* deep. **I yawas kasai kawas an lón bòn ting i laman gau.** He paddles off to where it is deep.

lamantin   [la.man.'ti:n] *v.* big. **I lamantin it ap i lamantin it.** It got bigger and bigger.

lamar   .

lamas   *n (comm.).* -. –

   1 • coconut (general).

2 • coconut tree.

3 • copra.

lamas bia   *Variant:* **lama bia**. *n.* kind of coconut. –

lamas buka   *Lit:* Buka coconut. *n.* kind of coconut. .

lamas gilah   *Lit:* black coconut. *n.* kind of coconut. .

lamas makrau   *Lit:* green coconut. *Variant:* **kulau**; **gòlòh**. *n.* -. *See:* **gòlòh**. –

lamas mérék   *Lit:* red coconut. *n.* kind of coconut. .

lamas suksuk   *Lit:* stitched coconut. *n.* kind of coconut. .

Lamassa   *Lit:* only coconuts. *pn.* -. –

1 • island in southwest New Ireland.

2 • area around Lamassa Island, comprising a number of villages between Undór in the north and Laklak in the south.

3 • people living in the Lamassa area.

lambat   *Variant:* **labat**. *n. See:* **labat**.

Lambél   *Variant:* **Labél**. *See:* **Labél**. .

Lambóm   *Variant:* **Labóm**. *pn.* -. –

1 • island in southwest New Ireland. **É Ripasi i tik ép wang tim an Lambóm.** The Ripasi is a canoe from Lambóm.

2 • area around Lambóm Island, also comprising a number of villages on the mainland.

3 • people living in the Lamassa area.

lamér   *n.* cricket. .

lamròt   *n (dim.).* spear (for fishing). **A dapsai sòi tar sa a lamròt ón.** I throw the spear at it.

lamtin   *Variant:* **palar**. *adj.* -. –

1 • big. **é Panake lamtin ap é Panake lik** big Panake and little Panake.

2 • large.

3 • chubby, fat. **Dit tabar lik i ap i ép fain ning ki lamtin.** They give her food and that woman grows bigger.

lang   *n (dim.).* fly. .

langai   *n (dim.).* prawn, crayfish. **Kai langai bèl dit mórót.** The prawns very plenty.

langin   *v.* immediate. **Langin kòbòt matòl inan tar katim an rumai arèrè.** Earlier this morning we went to school.

langit   *n (comm.).* -. –

1 • sky. **É Kamgòi i akès ep langit.** God created the sky.

2 • heaven.

langlangur   *n.* kind of tree. .

langsing   *int.pro.* when? **Langsing ól wòt?** When will you come?

langur   *n.* **Ka rè lèlè kanak na a langur lik i ning a dat i.**

laò   *n.*

lapang   *v.atr.* -. –

1 • be hot. **Ku lapang?** Are you hot?

2 • heat up. **U lapang ép pól ón lamas.** You heat up the coconut milk.

laplap   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < German 'Lappen'. *n. See:* **kayén**. –

lapun   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin. -. *See:* **turai**. –

lar₁   *prep.* like. **tólamantintin in tó kaptikén lar sén tó kaptikén yai** very big stems like those of trees.

lar₂   *n (comm.).* **Matòl ki nuki ma nak na ép lar ma i ding.**

lar₃   *v.* chop (tree). **Kasai gali a lar i sén ép yai bòròi ning** Up there I chop that pig tree.

Laram   *pn.* place name. .

larim   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin. -. *See:* **mègès**. –

las   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'last'. –

lasan   *v.* used to, accustomed to. .

lasi   **A rak al an al an tat i ép furu lasi na.**

lasim   **Ép sah na u tur lik ón ting gau? Ép furu memeken al lasim al yan u, al yauh u ón ép ran.**

lat   *v.tr.* gut, draw. **É Mading na i lat ép bòròi él sara katim sup ap él tòtòl sén ting ón a rope.** The one who guts the pig he reaches inside and he grabs the bowels.

lati   *num.* ten pigs. .

latu   *adverbial.* tomorrow. **Latu kòbòt al palas.** Tomorrow morning I will wake up.

lau   *n (dim.).* valley. **Matòl par ón a rope katim ané an lón a lau.** We climbed the rope down to the valley.

lauh   -. *See:* **durdur**. –

laukah   *n (comm.).* cloud (around mountain peaks). .

laulau   *v.* bad, terrible. **Ép lakman na kél són laulau róp tar.** This village will soon be very bad. *Also:* **tòltòl laulau** 'sin'.

laulòn   **A laulòn kòdòp in sén ép yai ning.**

laumai   *v.tr.* visit. **Dit wóng tim an Matmat, dit laumai i a tung ón é Tan dit.**

laun   *v.itr. -.* −

1 • live. **I laun ta ón ép lakman piu.** He lived here on earth.

2 • be healthy.

laun is   *Lit:* live return. *v.itr. -.* −

1 • recover (from sickness), get well (after sickness). .

2 • feel better. **A nuk pas ép kamgói ap ka laun is.** I thought about God and I felt better.

3 • resurrect. **Ap an murun i tòl ép kirai i laun is sén alò.** And three days later he arose from the dead again.

laurai   *v.tr.* shake. .

Lawanai   *Variant:* **English Cove.** *pn.* name of a bay to the north of Lambóm Island.

lawir   *n.* cool wind coming down from the mountain.

layés   *v.* happy. **Na i rè tat pas i ap ki layés laulau tar ón i a nat lik ning.**

lehleh   *v.* admire. **Dit lehleh i a mani ting gau an potor.** They were admiring the bird in the middle.

lékét   **I leket taltal it mamalik ti gau.**

léklék   **Na é kamis ki kès léklék**

lélé   *v.tr. -.* −

1 • recognize. **Bèl a rè lélé dit, ma a lóngrai lik sa ép fagaya an lón a rónmòn na dit babait.** I did not recognize them, I just heard the noise in the dark as they were fishing.

2 • realize.

3 • notice.

léléké   **Dit rèrè kakat leleke ép risék ón ép lón dit sa.**

lélél   *n.* kind of shell. .

lélés   *n.* kind of tree. .

lélitaura   *n.* kind of tree. .

lém   *v.itr.* lie. **Góng amrau lém!** Don't lie!

lémlém   *n.* lie. **I aslang mòmòl pas amat sén ép tarai in tó tan tó lémlém.** *Reduplication of:* **lém.**

lénmòs   *n.* water that drops from plants. .

léptóp   *Borrowed from* English 'laptop'. *n (dim.).* laptop, notebook. .

léséi   **Ép bòròi él rè tat i anum a pal anum i ap i é Lesei sén.**

léwók   **I wakak na ól léwók sòi i ap ól bas i.**

lès₁   *n (dim.). -.* −

1 • nut tree. **I tik a lès ki wai róp sòu tar.** One nut tree was full of nuts.

2 • nut. **Ép yawai ap ép gilah ap ép lès mòl.** Violet, brown and normal nuts.

lès₂   *v. -.* −

1 • give way. **Na ép barsan él bólós u ting lón ngas ap góng u lès tar ngasin, ma i él les ngasin i.** When a man passes by you on the road you do not give way to him, but he gives way to you.

2 • avoid. **Ép bòròi bèl i nap él lès ngasin a kòn.** The pig will not be able to avoid the trap.

lès bòn   *Lit:* sea nut. *n.* kind of shell. .

lès madar   *Lit:* foreign nut. *n.* peanut. .

li   *n.* kind of tree. .

lik   *-. -.* − the little children.

1 • *adj.* little.

2 • *adv.* little bit. **Dirau kès akak lik ma.** They were sitting around a bit.

liklik   *Morph:* **lik~lik.** *-. -.* − *Reduplication of:* **lik.**

1 • *adj.* small. **kai nanat liklik** small children.

2 • *adv.* a little (bit). **Ading i tatal lilis lik ap i pilpil liklik.** It was there turning around a bit and sprakling a bit.

likut   *n.* kind of plant. .

lili   *v.itr.* run. *Morph:* **li(u)~li(u)?.** *See:* **liu?.** **I lili katim an mas.** He ran to the shore.

lili tumarang   *Lit:* run carefully. *n.* kind of tree. .

lilia   .

lilir   *v.* move down, go down, descend. **Mara lilir i tik a paldér.** We went down a hill.

lilis   *v.* spin.

lim   *Lit:* hand. *num.* five. **i lim ép pòl** five dogs.

lima−   *n (comm.). -.* − *Also:* **balan lima−** 'palm (of the hand)'.

1 • hand. **I kakar sa ón ép liman sa.** It was scraping just with his hands.

2 • arm. **I kukutus aróp i tó surun liman.** He broke his arms.

3 • fin. **I mun pirim ap i són só ép pun ón ép liman.** He dived down and tried to spear the turtle's fin.

liman   *num.* fifth. *Morph:* **lim−an**. **ép liman rumai** the fifth house.

liman kirai   *Lit:* fifth day. *n.* Friday. .

Limut   *pn.* -. *See:* **Linmut**. −

linban   *n (comm.).* **Ka kèp pas ép linban ép lón bòn.**

lindaran   *n.* kind of shell (light red in colour, traditional money).

Linmut   *Variant:* **Limut**. *pn.* clan name. **Ta ané ón a lain Móngnón bar Linmut anim sén alò.** Below the Móngnón clan are also the Linmut.

Liò   *pn.* clan name. **A mangis Lió a mangis lik anun i Lió Ón A Balbal.** A subclan of the Lió is called the Lió Ón A Balbal.

lip   *Borrowed from* English 'lift'. -. *See:* **rakat**. −

lipu−   *n.* in-law. . *Also:* **lipun ain** 'sister-in-law'.

lirung   na ép kirai na i pas lirung katim pirim an lón i a tung ning na al akas tar i

lis   *v.tr.* loosen soil. **A lós pas ép kurau ap a lis ép tau.** I took a stick and I broke up the soil.

liu   *v.itr.* -. −
  1 • run. **A liu katim pirim.** I ran out.
  2 • escape, flee. **Dirau asósóng yau, dirau ki liu tar.** They tricked me, saying that it had escaped.

liwan   [li.'wan] *Variant:* **West coast Siar (East coast Siar 'pópók')**. *n (dim.).* knife. **Matòl sang tó liwan kaprah.** We got the copra knives. *Also:* **tan liwan** 'machete (lit. 'mother knife')'.

lolo   slingshot. *Also:* **fat lolo** 'stone for slingshot'.

lomon   Bug. **lomon ép wang**

ló−   -. -. − *Also:* **dirin ló−** 'saliva'; **rè ló−** 'read lips'; **ló− kut** 'mute'.
  1 • *n (comm.).* mouth. **A parai tar a Kina kata an lók.** I put a Kina into my mouth.
  2 • *prep.* inside. **A sòng sòi i an lón ép wang.** I load it into the canoe.

ló− kut   *Lit:* mouth closed. -. mute.
  1 • *adj.* mute.
  2 • *n.* mute Person. **É Yesu i alaun pas i tik ép barsan ép ngat ap ép lón kut ón.** Jesus healed a person who was deaf and mute.

lóbó   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin? Kuanua? Native?. *n (dim.).* paprika. .

lódór   *v.* slide. .

lók   *v.tr.* bite (pig, dog etc). **Tumarang tar i sak él lók tar ti alin datòl!** Be careful, otherwise it will bite one of us!

lóklók   *n.* big man, important man. **Bar lóklók róp dit aning ma dit tikai gòsgòs nangnang pas dit.** The important people were there dancing and waiting for them.

lókók   *n.* kind of pig. .

lólóngón   *v.* -. −
  1 • cold. **Ép malum i lólóngón.** The water is cold.
  2 • sweet. **Ép pól ón lamas i lólóngón akak.** The coconut milk is nicely sweet.

lólóngrai   *n. Morph:* **ló−lóngrai**. -. *See:* **lóngrai**. − *Reduplication of:* **lóngrai**.

lólós   *v.itr. Morph:* **ló−lós**. -. *See:* **lós**. − *Reduplication of:* **lós**.

Lómtas   *pn.* place name. **Katim ap kutus i ap Hiró disai an lón bòn ap é Lómtas.** And from there it crossed it and the Hiró (point) and the Lómtas point were there in the sea.

lóng₁   *v.itr.* -. −
  1 • listen. **Yau bèl a lóng arin.** I did not listen to him.
  2 • obey.

lóng₂   *n (comm.).* -. −
  -. **1 •** table. **Marau raut sòi i kasai gali an lakan ép lóng.** We took it from the table.
  2 • bed, litter. **Dirau wur sòi ép lóng ap dirau parai sòi i an lakan.** They built a litter and put him on it.
  3 • bench.

lóng puai   *Lit:* listen-lie. *v.* disobey. **Dirau lóng puai ép kamgói.** They disobeyed God.

lóngón   *v.itr.* be cold. **Ku lóngón?** Are you cold?

lóngrai   *v.* -. −
  1 • hear, eavesdrop. **Na i lóngrai ap i ru ra nat lik dirau ki saksak tim an piu.** When he listened he heard two little children singing outside.
  2 • sound. **Ép saksak i lóngrai akak.** The song sounds nice.

lóngrin   .

lónkar   *Lit:* mouth-scraper. *n.*

lónói   *n.* river bed? **Matòl bas ón katim pirim an lónói.**

lór   **Kirai rakanè di warai kam pógór lór ma.**

lós   *v.tr.* -. −

> **1 •** carry. **Dirau um pas i tik ép bòròi ap dirau lós i katim an lakman.** They caught a pig and carried it home.

> **2 •** bring. **Darau él lós pas i a in ép yai na ap darau él parai tar i sai an pal.** We will bring this fruit to the men's house.

lót   *Borrowed from* English 'lot'. -. *See:* **kónóm**. −

lótat   *n (dim.).* sore. .

lótu   *v.itr.* pray, worship. *See:* **araring**. **Na a lótu pas ap a sòwòt ma.** When I have finished worshipping I go down. *Also:* **rumai lótu** 'church (lit. 'house worship')'.

lòi   *n (dim.).* ant (red). **Kai lòi dit ngòt pas i sai gali.** The ants were biting him up there.

lòi kókók   *Lit:* white ants. *n.* *See:* **lòi madar**. −

lòi madar   *Lit:* foreign ants. *Variant:* **lòi kókók**. *n.* rice. .

lòkòr   .

lòkòrpòl   *n.* kind of bird. .

lòl   *v.* -. −

> **1 •** get stuck. **Ki basi a rèrèh ap i lól ón ép fat.** He cast the net and it got stuck on a rock.
> **2 •** marry (infml.), get married (infml.)

lòlòs   *n.* **Diat datdat pas ép lòlòs, di sumai kiòm i.** They pulled the veines, they stitched them together.

lòlòs   -. -.

> **1 •** *v.* fish (with fishing rod).
> **2 •** *n (comm.).* fishing (with rod).

lòm   *v.tr.* throw. **Na i lòm sòi tar ép fat ón i a mani ning i mat.** When he threw the stone at the bird it died.

lòmlòm   *n.* kind of bird. .

lòs   *v.* **Bèl i lòs tók sis.**

lòslòs   *n.* kind of coconut (small, some green, some red). .

lòu₁   *v.tr.* -. −

> **1 •** buy. **Diat kél lòu ma tó sah na diat rak sur kón ép simén.** He will buy everything they need for the cement.

> **2 •** pay. **É Tata i lòu ép bus ap matòl lili ap kasai an Rabaul.** Daddy paid the bus fare and we drove up to Rabaul.
> **3 •** bribe.

lòu₂   *n.* kind of plant. .

luan   *Variant:* **(East coast Siar)**. .

lubis   *n.* kind of tree. .

lugun   **A sók lugun i.**

luluai   *Borrowed from* Kuanua 'luluai'.

lumlum   *n.* kind of tree. .

lungus

lus₁   [lu:s] *n.* plate (traditional). . *Also:* **lus madar** 'plate (modern)'.

lus₂   *v.* **Dit él lós pas i ép fain ning ap dat él lus tauru dit.**

M – m

ma₁   event transition marker. **Matòl an ma kata gali.** We were going up here now.

ma₂   *pers.dem.* personal demonstrative (singular). **Ap é Mading ta kawas an lón buibui na di warai ép talung, pas dulai ma ép món.** And the one in the bush which they call a demon, he pushed the plank boat out to the sea.

mabót   **Ki kukuk kòl mabót.**

mabu   *Variant:* **mambu**. *n.* *See:* **mambu**. .

mabubén   *Borrowed from* English 'bamboo band'?. *n.* −

madar   -. -. −

> **1 •** *n.* foreigner.
> **2 •** *adj.* alien.
> **3 •** *adj.* foreign.

madaró   *n.* kind of saltwater fish. .

magar   *n.* kind of bird. .

magas   *n.* kind of tree. **I pit pas kam pakan magas.** He broke off some magas leaves.

magiur   *n.* kind of freshwater fish. .

magó   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin 'mango'. *n.* -. *See:* **kuak**. −

mah   heal.

mahlai *v.tr. -.* –

    1 • laugh at. **I mahlai i tim talang an mas.** He was laughing at him on the beach.
    2 • mock.

mai [ma.'i:] *inj.* I agree!, Yes!, Right! .
    3 • *inj.*

mai– [ma.'i:] *-. -.* –
    1 • *prep.* with (comitative).
    2 • *n (comm.).* person from the same clan.

mail *n.* kind of banana. .

mais *v.* move. .

maisés *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'matches'. *n. -.* –

mai'amat *prep.pro. Morph:* **mai(–n)=amat**. with you (plural). – *Contraction of:* **main amat**.

mai'amra *prep.pro. Morph:* **mai(–n)=amra(u)**. with you (dual). – *Contraction of:* **main amrau**.

mai'amrau *prep.pro. Morph:* **mai(–n)=amrau**. with you (dual). – *Contraction of:* **main amrau**.

mai'amtò *prep.pro. Morph:* **mai(–n)=amtò(l)**. with you (paucal). – *Contraction of:* **main amtòl**.

mai'amtòl *prep.pro. Morph:* **mai(–n)=amtòl**. with you (paucal). – *Contraction of:* **main amtòl**.

mai'dara *prep.pro. Morph:* **mai(–n)=dara(u)**. with us (dual, incl.) – *Contraction of:* **main darau**.

mai'darau *prep.pro. Morph:* **mai(–n)=darau**. with us (dual, incl.) – *Contraction of:* **main darau**.

mai'dat *prep.pro. Morph:* **mai(–n)=dat**. with us (plural, incl.) – *Contraction of:* **main dat**.

mai'datò *prep.pro. Morph:* **mai(–n)=datò(l)**. with us (paucal, incl.) – *Contraction of:* **main datòl**.

mai'datòl *prep.pro. Morph:* **mai(–n)=datòl**. with us (paucal, incl.) – *Contraction of:* **main datòl**.

mai'diat *prep.pro. Morph:* **mai(–n)=diat**. with them (paucal). – *Contraction of:* **main diat**.

mai'dira *prep.pro. Morph:* **mai(–n)=dira(u)**. with them (dual). – *Contraction of:* **main dirau**.

mai'dirau *prep.pro. Morph:* **mai(–n)=dirau**. with them (dual). – *Contraction of:* **main dirau**.

mai'dit *prep.pro. Morph:* **mai(–n)=dit**. with them (plural). – *Contraction of:* **main dit**.

mai'mara *prep.pro. Morph:* **mai(–n)=mara(u)**. with us (dual, excl.) – *Contraction of:* **main marau**.

mai'marau *prep.pro. Morph:* **mai(–n)=marau**. with us (dual, excl.) – *Contraction of:* **main marau**.

mai'mat *prep.pro. Morph:* **mai(–n)=amat**. with you (plural). – *Contraction of:* **main amat**.

mai'matò *prep.pro. Morph:* **mai(–n)=matò(l)**. with us (paucal, excl.) – *Contraction of:* **main matòl**.

mai'matòl *prep.pro. Morph:* **mai(–n)=matòl**. with us (paucal, excl.) – *Contraction of:* **main matòl**.

mai'mèt *prep.pro. Morph:* **mai(–n)=mèt**. with us (plural, excl.) – *Contraction of:* **main mèt**.

mai'mra *prep.pro. Morph:* **mai(–n)=(a)mra(u)**. with you (dual). – *Contraction of:* **main amrau**.

mai'mrau *prep.pro. Morph:* **mai(–n)=(a)mrau**. with you (dual). – *Contraction of:* **main amrau**.

mai'mtò *prep.pro. Morph:* **mai(–n)=(a)mtò(l)**. with you (paucal). – *Contraction of:* **main amtòl**.

mai'mtòl *prep.pro. Morph:* **mai(–n)=(a)mtòl**. with you (paucal). – *Contraction of:* **main amtòl**.

mak₁ *n (comm.).* **Na sa ón i da ép mak sa ón ép fun sa.**

mak₂ *Borrowed from* English 'mark'. *v.* **Di mak tar anin.**

makét *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'market'. –

makòs ripe. .

makrau *v.* green. .

makur *n (comm.).* ironwood. *AFZELIA BIJUGA.* **U bus pas tó pós in ép makur.** You cut posts from the makur tree.

mal₁ *n.* cousin. .

mal₂ *n.* kind of tree. .

malai *n.* kind of banana. .

malas *n.* kind of tree. .

malau₁ *v.* **Di ki malau akak tar i.**

malau₂ *n.* kind of tree. .

malélé *v.* white (not skin). .

Maléra *pn. -.* –
    1 • love spell.
    2 • **Ép maléra él kawas òt ap él taltal amunat sén alò.**

malik again, also. **Na ép farum i an òt, tó mani dit malik wòt.**

maling .

Malióm   *pn.* place name. .

malngai   *v.* Ép tarai dit ki malngai aróp tar i kating lón tó bak.

malò₁   *n.* kind of tree. .

malò₂   *Morph:* m(a)=alò. − *Contraction of:* ma alò.

malum   *n (comm.). -. −*
1 • fresh water. gang tók malum drink water.
2 • river, creek.

malum rarakai   *Lit:* strong water. *n.* alcoholic beverage.

malwas   *v.itr.* breathe. .

mama   *n. -. See:* nana. −

mamadal   smooth.

mamai   *v.itr.* chew betelnut. Marau mismuk lik ap marau mamai. We were smoking and chewing betelnut.

mamais   *v.itr.* move. I mamais i a pakan pas ning ap ki nós tikin tar. That taro leaf was moving and she was looking at it carefully.

mamakan   -. -. −
1 • *n (comm.).* salt.
2 • *adj.* salty. Ép payam ngan i mamakan. His meal is salty.

mamaling   agree. Dat él mamaling sur dat él tar sòi tó usrai anun datòl. We will agree to give them our stories.

mamalwas   *Lit:* breathing. *v. Morph:* ma~malwas. -. − *Reduplication of:* malwas.
1 • soft. .
2 • easy, simple. .

mamam   -. -. −
1 • *v.itr.* play. Dit él bas mamam ón i tik ép kam matan mamam ngan kai gurar sa kinòng. They will play a women's game.
2 • *n.* toy, game. ép mamam anun ép pusi the cat's toys.

mamangras   *n.* wound (small), blister. .

mamapak   *v.* bitter. .

mamaran   different. E Kamgoi i akes pas tar to baran mamaran, i akes to zai, ep lon bon ap to malum. God created many different things, he created the trees and the oceans and the rivers.

mamarim   *v.* roast on fire. Diat mamarim kòbòt lik sa ap diat ki murak. They roasted in the morning and they were hungry.

mamaris   *Morph:* ma−maris. -. -. − *Reduplication of:* maris; *Also:* yai mamaris 'suffer'.
1 • *n (domm.).* love. Ép mamaris anum i kèp ais pas yau. Your love will bring me back.
2 • *adj.* lovely, cute.
3 • *adj.* sad. Kónóm in tó kirai a nuknuk ap i mamaris kòl karik. I have thought about it many times and I have felt sad.

mamarsan   *n.* Dit nuknuk kòl ón tó mamarsan baran ta an piu.

mamaskai   *n. Morph:* ma~maskai. difference. . *Reduplication of:* maskai.

mamat   [ma.'mat] -. -. − The turtle is heavy.
1 • *adj.* heavy.
2 • *n.* sorrow. Tó mamat i pas tat yau. The sorrows have found me.

mambu   *n.* kind of turtle (big, comes ashore on black sand). .

mame

mami   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin. −

mamrah   *n.* kind of freshwater fish. .

mamsuai   *v.itr.* sneeze. .

manau   [ma.'nau] *v.itr.* rest, take a break. Marau inan kasai kawas, i inan ap marau manau. We went up there and then we rested.

mandu

mangailó   *n (comm.).* Na a nós lar na ka rè lèlè ép far ép mangailó.

mangaró   *n.* kind of saltwater fish. .

mangin₁   *v.* scrape out. Diat ki mangin pas i ép lamas sai sup an lón. They scraped out the flesh inside the coconut.

Mangin₂   *pn.* place name. .

mangin

mangis   *n.* clan, line. tó mangis na dit tapagal tar tim gali an Yat the clans that broke apart down at Yat.

mani₁   [ma.'ni:] *n (dim.). -. −*
1 • bird. Kai tarai dit lèhlèh i a mani. The people admired the bird.
2 • plane, airplane.

mani₂   *n.* ten Toea. i tik ép toea ap i ru ra mani one Kina and twenty Toea.

mani durdur   *Lit:* black bird. *n.* cockatoo (black). .

mani kamis   *Lit:* sun bird. *n.* kind of bird. .

mani lóngrin   *n.* kind of bird. .

manlar   -. -. – *Also:* **warai manlar** 'make clear'; **wòt manlar** 'appear'.

    1 • *n.* light.

    2 • *adj.* clear. **Na uring na i mumun tar, na misana na kél wòt manlar.** Long ago it was hidden, but today it will become clear.

manlòh

manmani   [man.ma:.'ni:] *n (comm.).* flying fox, fruit bat. **I ròwòi sa lar ép manmani.** It was flying like a flying fox.

mantékén   *n.* bum, butt, ass, arse. **As i lailai pas ati u ép mantékén taprasang kula peperges surum?**

mapak

mapo   *n.*

mapup   *n.* kind of bird. .

maput

mar   *Borrowed from* Kuanua. -. *See:* **yah**. –

mara   -. *Morph:* **mara(u)**. – *Reduced form of:* **marau**.

marakubó   *n (comm.).* eucalyptus. .

maranawa   *n (dim.).* pearl shell (mother). *TRIDACNA GIGAS.* .

marang   *n.* -. –

    1 • *adj.* dry. **Ku nangnang ma sur ép kamis kél um i ma ép pirat sur kél marang akak ma.** You wait for the sun to dry the slashed bush.

    2 • *n (dim.).* dry coconut. **U lós ép fek ap u pagal a marang.** You get the axe and break apart the dry coconut.

marasin   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'medicine' / German 'Medizin'. *n.* -. –

    1 • medicine, cure.

    2 • poison.

marau₁   -. personal pronoun (1st person dual, excl.) –

    1 • *subj.pro.* we (dual, incl.) **Marau mamai ma.** We two were chewing betelnut now.

    2 • *obj.pro.* us (dual, excl.) **A yausai marau.** I paddled for us two.

marau₂   *n.* kind of banana. .

marding   *n.* kind of tree. .

maré   *Morph:* **mar(au)=é**. -. – *Contraction of:* **marau é**.

marél   *mod.pro. Morph:* **mar(au)=é–l**. we (dual, excl., irrealis). – *Contraction of:* **marau él**.

margión   .

maris   -. -. –

    1 • *v.tr.* like. **A maris kòl u.** I love you very much.

    2 • *v.tr.* feel sorry, pity. **U rak ya na maris kòl i na ki an.** You want me to feel sorry that he has gone.

    3 • *n.* mercy?

marit   wild. .

marlain   .

marmaya–   *Variant:* **karmaya–**. *n (dim.).* -. *See:* **karmaya**. –

Marnai   *pn.* clan name (Small Pisin). **A lain Marnai dit tapagal sóu pas ón a pukun lik tim gali di warai tim an Sul.** The Marnai clan broke off at a place they call Sul.

marnat   *n (comm.).* walnut. .

marsan

mas   *n (comm.).* shore. **I dat ép wang katim an mas.** He pulled the canoe onto the shore.

masan   *n.* kind of fruit. **Na dirau wòt ap matòl sai masan.** When the two came we cracked the talis fruit (?) open with a stone.

masan ròwòi   *Lit:* flying masan fruit. *n.* kind of tree. .

masik   alone. **Yau ma masik anim gau.** I was alone there.

masin   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'machine' / German 'Maschine'. *n.* –

maskai   *v.* different. **Matòl kaptur tar ón ép rah ón maskai ning ép kirai.** The other day we took off in the afternoon.

maskèt   *Variant:* **gan**. *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'muscet'. –

Maslan   *pn.* protection spell/song. **Ép maslan i tik ép saksak na kón maslan alar ép barsan.** The Maslan is a song for protecting the men.

masmas   *Lit:* dry-dry. *n. Morph:* **mas–mas**. low tide. **Uring a inan a babait sai an lakan ép masmas.** A while ago I went fishing during low tide. *Reduplication of:* **mas**.

masó   move. **I tik sa masó ép barsan i an lòlòs pas ti pirim an bòn.**

masta *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'master'. *n.* -. *See:* **fón kókók.** –

masuk [ma.'su:k] then. **Masuk ning sén alò ép barsan ki wòt sén alò.**

masun [ma.'su:n] *v.* tired. **Na i masun ap bèl ma tik kón warwar maik.** When she was tired there was nobody for me to talk to.

masur *v.* full, satiated. **Yau bèl sèn a masur.** I was not full yet. *Antonym of:* **murak.**

mat [mat] *v.itr.* -. –
>1 • *v.itr.* die, pass away. **Mèt ki lóngrai war nak é Wówó ki mat tar.** We heard rumours that my grandmother had died.
>2 • *v.itr.* fall unconscious.
>3 • *dj.* paralyzed. **Ép kam liman ki mat sòu róp tar.** His shoulder was paralyzed.

mata– [ma:.'ta:] *n (dim.).* -. – *Also:* **ih mata** 'eyelash'; **pulih matani** 'eyebrow'; **mata– i taltal** 'get unconscious'.
>1 • eye. **I gòsgòs amònòng dit ma matan tar ma sur ép pun tim an bòn.** He wanted to distract them by dancing, but their eyes were on the turtle on the beach.
>2 • source. **ép matan malum** river source.
>3 • lid.

matamatam *nn (class 1).* vision. **Dit yan ngan dit ép bòròi ap ép tan matamatam kuntan in i wòt.**

matan anu *n.* country. **Ép fain sai an Fonisia, sai ón ép matan anu Siria.**

matan kamis *Lit:* eye of the sun. *n.* -. –
>1 • hour.
>2 • clock, watch.

matan kòt *Lit:* eye closed. blind. **I ru ru matan kòt dira arkók pas sur dirél an dirél kawas lamas.** Two blind people decided to climb a coconut tree.

matan lakman *Lit:* eye of the home. *Variant:* **mata rumai.** *n.* doorstep. **Bèl ti mata lakman ap bèl ti rumai sai gali.** Up there was no door and no house.

matan malum *Lit:* eye of the river. *n (comm.).* river source. **Ép bat i atur i sai pirim an matan malum.** Rain was coming up near the source of the river.

matan mariang *Variant:* **mata mariang.** *n.* window.

matan ngas *Lit:* eye of the path. *n.* junction. **A kaptur katóng an lón malum, matan ngas tóng is an Kilim.** I take off to the river, to the junction back at Kilim.

matan rumai *Lit:* eye of the house. *Variant:* **mata rumai.** *n.* door. **A inan kawas ap a tagar ép mata rumai ap a inan ma a bòrbòr.** I went inside, closed the door and went to sleep.

matanai *n.* kind of wood plank used for boat construction (made of the wood of the Afzelia bijuga).

Matas [ma.'tas] *pn.* Siar village in the Lamassa area. .

Matatai [ma.ta.ta.'i:] *pn.* -. **kam usrai ón é Suilik diat tubun tóng an Matatai** a story about Suilik and his grandparents at Matatai.

matiti *v.tr.* fear, be afraid of. *Morph:* **matit–i?.** **É Róbóam i matiti ép bòròi.** Roboam was afraid of the pig.

matiun *n.* kind of fish. .

Matkamlagir *pn.* Siar village on the east coast. .

matlah **Dit an dit tang matlah ón i tik ép malum.**

Matlai *pn.* Morning Star, Venus. **Bèl a Matlai i ding ki pus ma é Kalang sa i ding.** It was not the Morning Star that was rising, only the moon.

matlas **Dit rèrè parai ép sól ón tó baran róp na dit tar i kón amatlas ais pas dit an matan é Kamgói.**

matlóng *n.* kind of shell. .

matmat *Lit:* die-die. *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin?. *n.* *Morph:* **mat~mat.** graveyard, cemetary. – *Reduplication of:* **mat.**

matò -. -. *See:* **matòl.** –

matòl -. personal pronoun (1st person paucal, exclusive). –
>1 • *subj.pro.* we (paucal, excl.) **Matòl nuk i kanak na é Matlai ma i ding ki pus.** We thought that it was the Morning Star that was rising.
>2 • *obj.pro.* us (paucal, excl.) **Tik ti barsan aning él rè tar matòl.** There was a man who saw us.

Matusima [ma.tu.'si:.ma] *Borrowed from* Japanese. *pn.* place name. .

matut afraid. **I matut ap ép fain talung ning ki warai, "Góng u matutut!"** He was afraid, but the witch said, "Don't be afraid!"

matutut *v.itr.* -. *Morph:* **matu–tut**. *See:* **matut**. **Góng u matutut!** Don't be afraid! *Reduplication of:* **matut**.

mat'él *mod.pro.* we (paucal, excl., irrealis). *Morph:* **mat(òl)=é–l**. – *Contraction of:* **matòl él**.

mau rókói *n.* toddy palm. .

maumau *n.* kind of snake in the sea. .

maup *n (comm.).* space, room. **Ading gau sen an pótór i dirau, ép maup an pótór i dirau ting dira gòsgòs it gau.** He was between where the two were dancing.

maur *n (comm.).* palm sheath bucket, areca palm. .

mayat [ma.'jat] *n (comm.).* reef. **I sósó ngan marau sai kawas an lakan mayat.** He speared something to eat for us on the reef.

mayóng *v.* **Dit mayóng i, póng póng póng.**

mayòng *n (comm.).* **Ka kilang i ép mayòng ki rak él pung.**

mé *Borrowed from* < Tok Pisin < sound of lamb's voice. *n.* lamb, sheep. .

médék *Variant:* **mégés**. -. *See:* **mègès**. **Médék i darau él tòl pas él tik ti ngasa.**

mégés *Variant:* **médék**. *v.tr.* let be, leave be. **Mégés tar i ting gau.** Let it alone there.

mékén kind of swear word.

mél *Morph:* **m(a)=é–l**. – *Contraction of:* **ma él**.

mélédón .

mélénas *n.* hot sun which is hiding behing clouds. .

mém *n.* food. **A rak al yan tók mem kók na di warai ép rais ón.** I wanted to eat some white food they call rice.

mémé *n (comm.).* lightning. .

mémékén *Morph:* **mé–mékéen**. **Ép sah na u tur lik ón ting gau? Ép furu mémékén al lasim al yan u, al yauh u ón ép ran.**

mép *Morph:* **m(a)=ép**. – *Contraction of:* **ma ép**.

mér₁ *v.tr.* decorate, dress. **I mér pas i ón tó larim anun é Ròk.** He dressed with Ròk's clothes. *Irregular nominalzation:* **minmér**.

mér₂ *n.* kind of tree. .

mérék *v.* **I mérék lik ma lar sén na dat él warai ép dal.**

méréksòl **Ép tarai dit améréksòl kòl.**

mérmér *n (comm.).* *Morph:* **mér~mér**. decoration, painting (of the body). **Ép kirai ning é dal bèl él parai ép mérmér anun i mél kèp sòi aróp tó mérmér lar ning.** That time they will decorate the young woman again and take off the old decoration. *Reduplication of:* **mér**.

mérók *n.* kind of freshwater fish. .

més *n.* **Ép mugai més i taulai, ap i mat, ma bèl al sén tók nanatun.**

mésamén *Borrowed from* English 'measurement'. *n.* –

mésbarah *n (comm.).* python. .

mét *n.* kind of tree. .

mèlil *n.* kind of saltwater fish. .

mèmèlèm *v.* orange. .

mèmèrèk *Variant:* **rain siat**. *v.* red. **ép yai mèmèrèk** red tree.

mènèr *v.* -. –
   1 • ready.
   2 • cooked. **Na i mènèr ap a yan i ma.** When it is cooked I eat it.

mèt -. personal pronoun (1st person plural exclusive). –
   1 • *subj.pro.* we (excl.) **Mèt él aróp sòi sén gata i a ngisén liwan ning.** We will treat your cut here.
   2 • *obj.pro.* us (excl.)

mètèk *v.* -.
   1 • new. **ép rumai mètèk** a new house.
   2 • raw. **Ép sósópén un bèl i mènèr akak, i mètèk sa.** The pot with bananas was not cooked, it was raw.

mi *Morph:* **m(a)=i**. – *Contraction of:* **ma i**.

miding *Morph:* **m(a)=i=ding**. – *Contraction of:* **ma i ding**.

milau *v.* near, nearby, close. **Tó Malanas sén ading gau i kès milau tar yau.** Tó Malanas was sitting right next to me. *Antonym of:* **bakbak**.

mimbòt *v.* **Ép pòl i arat akès ragai wakin lar na ap ép pòl ki rak "U mimbòt?"**

mimi [mi.'mi] *v.itr.* urinate, piss. **Na i mimi róp tar ap i pòròi tar i lar na.** When he had finished peeing he covered it.

mimia₁ *n.* papaya. **Dit sirai mimia arin bar Siapan.** They sold papaya to the Japanese.

mimia₂ *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin. *n*. -. *See:* **bèrèn**. −

mimilau *Morph:* **mi-milau**. near, close. **Na ép mimilau sur ép fangan ap é Nana ki wòt i amrai ngak ép baran angan.** When it was about lunchtime, Mommy came and brought me something to eat. *Reduplication of:* **milau**.

mimin *n (comm.).* tail (of a river). **Ép mimin malum ki susur ap ki nór.** The tail of the river was open and flowing.

minat *n (comm.).* -. *Morph:* **m-in-at**. − *Nominalization of:* **mat**.
1 • death. **Ka rè tat sòi pas i kanak na minat ngak ki ma i adisai gau an mung.** I saw that my death was close.
2 • corpse.

mining *Borrowed from* English 'meaning'. -. *See:* **pipilai**. −

minmér *n.* decoration. .

minsi− *n.* **Dit nuknuk kòl sur tók minsik.**

Mióng *pn.* name of an abandoned place on the east coast. .

mirai *v.tr.* smash. **I kèp sòi lik ép mómóyon sur tan lón na a liwan i mirai tar i.** He took out the little bone pieces that the knife had smashed.

mirsai *Variant:* **mis**. *v.tr.* hit something with downward movement. **I kèp pas ép pakan siól ning ap i mirsai i ón.** He took the kumu grass leaf and beat her with it.

mis -. *See:* **mirsai**. −

misana .

misi *v.* **É Tubun ain dirau ki sang tar i tik a palak kón misi ma ép wakin.**

mismis bém *Lit:* butterfly mismis. *n.* kind of tree. .

mismuk *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'smoke'. *v.* smoke. **Marau mismuk lik ap marau mamai.** We were smoking and chewing betelnut a bit.

Misókó *pn.* -. −
1 • name of one of the Duke of York islands.
2 • people from Misókó Island.

mora− *n.* namesake.

móbail *Borrowed from* English 'mobile'. *n (dim.).* mobile, cell phone. .

móh *int.* how? **Ép tarai dit kakabah panai tar yau kanak a móh.** The people asked me in vain what was wrong with me. *Also:* **kón móh, i móh** 'how?'.

mói *n.* kind of banana. .

mók *n (comm.).* taro garden. **I wan Suilik i wuwur tim gau òt an mók.** Suilik's grandmother used to work in the taro garden.

mókós *n (comm.).* **A tasin i ding ép barsan ép kèp pas ais pas ép mókós sur é Tasin lik, sur dirau él apuar aus tók nanat.**

móksón *n (hum.).* spouse, husband. **É Móksón sa ma ading, ap ép risen é Matbuai.** His spouse was still there and her name was Matbuai.

mól *Morph:* **m(a)=ò-l**. − *Contraction of:* **ma òl**.

mólmól *Variant:* **ròbò**. weak. .

mólósin *n (comm.).* **I kilang i na i rak él ngék, ap i dat rarakai ép mólosin.**

mómóyón **Ép mómóyón baran angan na aning gau dit parai kiòm i.**

món *n (comm.).* traditional boat made of wood planks. **Ép món i murung.** The plankboat sank. *Also:* **món madar** 'speed boat ; dinghy'.

món madar

Móngnón *pn.* clan name. **Ta ané ón a lain Móngnón i gat bar Linmut sén alò dit aning gau.** Below the Móngnón line there are also the Linmut.

mórókabang *n.* kind of saltwater fish. .

mórót *v.* -. −
1 • fool, kid; tease? **Ép taubar bèl ma i mórót tar.**
2 • be funny.
3 • be plenty. **Kai sis bèl ma dit mórót.** The fish are plenty.

mórówé *n.* kind of saltwater fish. .

mós *v.* thirsty. **A inan ap kasai gali an lón ngas ap ka mós ma mósó.** I went up to the road and I was thirsty.

mósó **A inan ap kasai gali an lón ngas ap ka mós ma mósó.** I went up to the road and I was thirsty.

mósól *n.* hole. .

mósón .

mówa *Borrowed from* English 'mower'. mower. .

móyón *Reduplication of:* **móyón**.

mògut *n.* kind of bush animal. .

mòh *v.*

mòl *v. -. –*
1 • real.
2 • normal. **Ép yawai ap ép gilah ap ép lès mòl.**

mòlòh *-. -. –*
1 • *n (comm.).* shelter.
2 • *v.itr.* seek shelter. **A mòlòh ón i tik ép rumai tim gau kawas tim an Kèkèp Kòlòh.** I sought shelter in a house down at Kekep Kòlòh.

mòmò *n.* kind of saltwater fish. .

mòmòl *v.* true, real. **I da kam usrai na usrai ép mòmòl in.** This story I am telling is a true one.

mòmòskò *n (comm.).* hatred. .

mònòng *v.* busy. **Góng ma u mònòng kòl ón.** Don't waste too much time with it.

mòrmòr pattern with white stripes.

mòròu *n.* kind of snake. .

mu *Morph:* **m(a)=u.** – *Contraction of:* **ma u.**

mua *n.* **Bèl tók mua karin dit kón angan.**

muat *n.* kind of snake. .

mudur *n.* kind of tree. .

mugai *v.tr.* lead somebody. **Dit ki mugai matòl kata an lakman.** They led the way to the village.

mugan *v.* first. **ép mugan kirai** the first day.

mugan kirai *Lit:* first day. *n.* Monday. .

mugi **Al bas gós mugi ép limak ón.**

muk *v.* greedy. .

muli– [mu.'li] *n (comm.). -. –*
1 • shadow. **Diat ki rè tat i ép mulin tim an lón malum.**
2 • image.
3 • picture, photograph.

muli **A warai muli amat lar na é Kamgói él numan sòi ép tòltòl laulau anum amat róp.**

mulin ép fanu *Lit:* town picture. *n.* map. .

mulin talung *Lit:* demon picture. *n.* video. .

mulis [mu.'li:s] *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin?. *n (dim.).* pomelo. **É David i tar tar i tik sa ngak a din mulis.** David gave me a piece of Pomelo.

mulis kuskus *Lit:* gecko pomelo. *n.* lemon. .

mulis lólóngón *Lit:* sweet pomelo. *n.* orange. .

mulmuluku– *n.* elbow.

mulukun *n.* bay. .

mum [mu:m] *n (dim.).* grasshopper. .

mumugai *n.* leader. .

mumugai talung *Lit:* leading demon. *n.* kind of bird. .

mumugi *v.* **Di dat tim sup, di suk mumugi tim sup an lón.**

mumugur *n.* **A ut pas a liwan ap a ting a mumugur.**

mumun *v.itr. -. –*
1 • hide oneself. **A tasin lik i mumun tim anén tó rakan lès.** His little brother was hiding under the nut tree branches.
2 • seek shelter. **I inan sa kating na él mumun gau kabas ép bat.** He went to seek shelter from the rain.

mumus *n (dim.).* mosquito. **Kai mumus dit ngòngòt kòl.** The mosquitos were biting a lot. *Also:* **kéh mumus** 'mosquito net'.

mun *v.itr.* dive down. **A rèréh i takubat sóu ón ap matò mun pas i tim an lón bòn.**

munang *n.* cuttlefish. .

mung₁ *v.itr.* lead. **Ep kailam i mung katóng dira munmun lik gau.** The lizard went ahead to the place where they were diving. *Also:* **sai an mung ón** 'in front of'; **sai an mugan** 'in front of'.

mung₂ **Bèl sén tik i kès tar ón ta mung sén.**

mungmung *-. -. –*
1 • *adj.* first.
2 • *adv.* first.
3 • *n (comm.).* firstborn child. **Ép mungmung ón dirau ning i kikiós i.** The firstborn of the two carved first.

munmun [mun.'mun] *v.itr. Morph:* **mun~mun.** wash oneself, bathe. **Matòl inan katim an lón malum ap matòl munmun.** We went to the river and took a bath. *Reduplication of:* **mun.**

muput *n. -. –*

mur -. **1** • kind of flower.
2 • kind of saltwater fish.

mur -. -. –
1 • *v.tr.* follow. **Yau a mur pas ma alò an murun é Naomi.** I followed Naomi again.
2 • *n.* following time. **Mèt parai anun mèt tó barim katim pirim an mur.** We placed our gardens at the back. **I kès pas ap an mur i an kasai gali.** He stayed and then he went up to heaven.

murak [mu.'rak] -. -. –
1 • *adj.* hungry. **Dirau murak ap dirau ki an dirau tutun.** They were hungry and then they cooked.

2 • *n (comm.).* hunger, famine. **Tó kukulè tintin él wòt main tó murak tintin.**
3 • *n.* kind of shell.

muri [mu.'ri] *v.tr.* follow something. **A natun lik i muri pas i tik ép ngas.** The child followed a path.

muruk *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin. *n.* cassowary. .

murung *v.itr.* sink. **Ép món i murung.** The plank boat sank.

muryau *Lit:* follow-me. *n.* winch. .

mut *v.* **A rope él an ap él mut i ma ép liman ép bòròi.**

mutmut silent.

N – n

na -. -. *Morph:* **n–a.** –
1 • *dem.det.* these x. **Darau él lós pas i ain ép yai na.** We will take this fruit here.
2 • *dem.pro.* these.
3 • *part.* which, who.

nabaut *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'about'. -. *See:* **òròs.** –

nabu *n.* kind of custom. .

nak *subord.* -. *See:* **kanak.** –

nakai **Yau bèl a rèrè yan a lamas na di kar i nakai.**

nakas *n (comm.).* sand. **nakas kók** white sand.

nal *Morph:* **n(a)=a–l.** – *Contraction of:* **na al.**

nambawan *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'number one'. -. *See:* **wakak.** –

nan *Morph:* **n(a)=an.** – *Contraction of:* **na an.**

nana [na.'na] *n (hum.).* -. –
1 • mother. **A rak al usrai i da ép usrai é Nana i usrai tar i karisak.** I want to tell this story that my mother has already told me.
2 • aunt.

nanam *n (dim.).* bedbug. .

nanat *n (anim.).* children. **Dit was sén kai nanat gurar ón i tiktik ép tarai taman.** They count the girls in each family. *Irregular plural of:* **fanat**; *Also:* **nanat in ép farèrè** 'disciple'.

nang₁ *v.itr.* wait. **I nang ap i nang ap ép bòròi bèl ma i wòt.** He was waiting and waiting but the pig did not come.

nang₂ *n (comm.).* -. *See:* **ta–. Ép natun nang ning dat warai é Mada na bèl tók tan dit ap tók taman.**

nangai *Variant:* **nanai?.** *v.tr.* wait for. .

nangan *v.tr.* help somebody. **Al nangan u kón wur ép lóng ngasik.** I will help you to build your bed.

nangnang *Variant:* **kaltòt.** *n.* -. –
-. **1** • star.
2 • firefly.

nangnang garé *Lit:* waiting garé. *n.* kind of bush animal. .

nap *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'enough'. .

napas .

nat -. *See:* **fanat.** –

nat ain *Lit:* woman-child. *n.* girl. **Di kus mumung i a nat ain lik.** They cover the girl's body with ashes.

nat gau *Variant:* **East coast Siar (West coast Siar 'natun lik').** *n.* child (small). .

nat sòi *Lit:* away-child. *n.* orphan. .

Nataka [na.ta.'ka] *Variant:* **Dukduk.** *pn.* -. *See:* **Dukduk. Kai Nataka dit gòsgòs ta an lón bòn.** The Nataka were dancing out on the sea.

Natar *pn.* place name. .

natar *v.* .

natarai   *v.* **Ap i matòl na u natarai liklik ón matòl ki yauh pas i tik a nat bòròi lik.**

nati₁   [na.'ti] *n.* kind of fruit. .

nati₂   [na.'ti] *n (comm.).* teak. .

naun   **Na sa na i amung i sén ep bòròi naun.**

nawò   .

naya   kind of freshwater fish. **A in sòi pas i tik ép naya.**

nenò   *n.* kind of tree. .

nék napas   *n.* kind of taro. .

nél   *Morph:* **n(a)=é–l.** – *Contraction of:* **na él.**

nén   *n. Morph:* **(a)né–n.** -. *See:* **anén.** – *Also:* **nén bòn** 'beach'.

nén bòn   *Lit:* underside of the sea. *n.* beach. **Dirau asal ma ón ép nén bòn.** They went along the beach.

nénén   *v.* eat as trimming. **Matòl nénén kam laka na matòl erep tar i ón.** We ate it with the aila (?) that we had mumued.

nép   *Morph:* **n(a)=ép.** – *Contraction of:* **na ép.**

nét   *Borrowed from* English 'net' / German 'Netz'. -. *See:* **kèh.** –

nga–   possessive classifier (food-related nouns). **ngak ép fun** my banana (for eating).

ngalyah   **Bar Farisaio dit angalyah kiòm main é Yesu.**

ngangarut   *v. Morph:* **nga–ngarut.** rough. . *Reduplication of:* **ngarut.**

ngap   *n.* kind of animal (crawling, eats coconut). .

ngar   *Variant:* **East coast Siar (West coast Siar 'gar').** *v.* -. *See:* **gar.** –

ngarut   *n.* measles, spot. .

ngas₁   *n (comm.).* -. – *Also:* **matan ngas** 'junction'.
1 • trace.
2 • driving schedule.
3 • path, road, way.

ngas₂   *v.tr.* -. –
1 • bite (only dogs). **Na dit él kapsur atuk pas i ap kai pòl dit él ngas tik ti alin kai bòròi ning.**
2 • chew. **ngas tòh** chew sugarcane.

ngasa   *n (comm.).* feast. **Diat tòl sòi sén i ding ép ngasa ning.**

ngasi–   *poss.cl.* possessive classifier (container nouns). **ép rumai ngasik** my house.

ngasi'dara   *Variant:* **ngasidarau.** *poss.pro. Morph:* **ngasi(–n)=dara(u).** -. *See:* **ngasindarau.** –

ngasi'darau   *Variant:* **ngasidara.** *poss.pro. Morph:* **ngasi(–n)=darau.** possessive classifier and pronoun for alienable container-like nouns. – *Contraction of:* **ngasin darau.**

ngasi'dat   *poss.pro. Morph:* **ngasi(–n)=dat.** possessive classifier and pronoun for alienable container-like nouns. – *Contraction of:* **ngasin dat.**

ngasi'datò   *Variant:* **ngasidatòl.** *poss.pro. Morph:* **ngasi(–n)=datò(l).** -. *See:* **ngasindatòl.** –

ngasi'datòl   *Variant:* **ngasidatò.** *poss.pro. Morph:* **ngasi(–n)=datòl.** possessive classifier and pronoun for alienable container-like nouns. – *Contraction of:* **ngasin datòl.**

ngasi'diat   *poss.pro. Morph:* **ngasi(–n)=diat.** possessive classifier and pronoun for alienable container-like nouns. – *Contraction of:* **ngasin diat.**

ngasi'dira   *Variant:* **ngasidirau.** *poss.pro. Morph:* **ngasi(–n)=dira(u).** -. *See:* **ngasidirau.** –

ngasi'dirau   *Variant:* **ngasidira.** *poss.pro. Morph:* **ngasi(–n)=dirau.** possessive classifier and pronoun for alienable container-like nouns. – *Contraction of:* **ngasin dirau.**

ngasi'dit   *poss.pro. Morph:* **ngasi(–n)=dit.** possessive classifier and pronoun for alienable container-like nouns. – *Contraction of:* **ngasin dit.**

ngasi'mara   *Variant:* **ngasimarau.** *poss.pro. Morph:* **ngasi(–n)=mara(u).** -. *See:* **ngasimarau.** –

ngasi'marau   *Variant:* **ngasimara.** *poss.pro. Morph:* **ngasi(–n)=marau.** possessive classifier and pronoun for alienable container-like nouns. – *Contraction of:* **ngasin marau.**

ngasi'mat   *poss.pro. Morph:* **ngasi(–n)=(a)mat.** possessive classifier and pronoun for alienable container-like nouns. – *Contraction of:* **ngasin amat.**

ngasi'matò   *Variant:* **ngasimatòl.** *poss.pro. Morph:* **ngasi(–n)=matò(l).** -. *See:* **ngasimatòl.** –

ngasi'matòl *Variant:* **ngasimatò**. *poss.pro.* *Morph:* **ngasi(-n)=matòl**. possessive classifier and pronoun for alienable container-like nouns. – *Contraction of:* **ngasin matòl**.

ngasi'mèt *poss.pro. Morph:* **ngasi(-n)=mèt**. possessive classifier and pronoun for alienable container-like nouns. – *Contraction of:* **ngasin mèt**.

ngasi'mra *Variant:* **ngasimrau**. *poss.pro.* *Morph:* **ngasi(-n)=(a)mra(u)**. -. *See:* **ngasimrau**. –

ngasi'mrau *Variant:* **ngasimra**. *poss.pro.* *Morph:* **ngasi(-n)=(a)mrau**. possessive classifier and pronoun for alienable container-like nouns. – *Contraction of:* **ngasin amrau**.

ngasi'mtò *Variant:* **ngasimtòl**. *poss.pro.* *Morph:* **ngasi(-n)=(a)mtò(l)**. -. *See:* **ngasimtòl**. –

ngasi'mtòl *Variant:* **ngasimtò**. *poss.pro.* *Morph:* **ngasi(-n)=(a)mtòl**. possessive classifier and pronoun for alienable container-like nouns. – *Contraction of:* **ngasin amtòl**.

ngasngas *n.* kind of insect that bites (like sandfly).

ngat *v.* deaf. .

ngau *v.* chew. **Ép pòl ki ngau i sén alò.**

nga'dara *Variant:* **ngadarau**. *poss.pro.* *Morph:* **nga(-n)=dara(u)**. -. *See:* **ngadarau**. –

nga'darau *Variant:* **ngadara**. *poss.pro.* *Morph:* **nga(-n)=darau**. possessive classifier and pronoun for alienable food-related nouns. – *Contraction of:* **ngan darau**.

nga'dat *poss.pro. Morph:* **nga(-n)=dat**. possessive classifier and pronoun for alienable food-related nouns. – *Contraction of:* **ngan dat**.

nga'datò *Variant:* **ngadatòl**. *poss.pro.* *Morph:* **nga(-n)=datò(l)**. -. *See:* **ngadatòl**. –

nga'datòl *Variant:* **ngadatò**. *poss.pro.* *Morph:* **nga(-n)=datòl**. possessive classifier and pronoun for alienable food-related nouns. – *Contraction of:* **ngan datòl**.

nga'diat *poss.pro. Morph:* **nga(-n)=diat**. possessive classifier and pronoun for alienable food-related nouns. – *Contraction of:* **ngan diat**.

nga'dira *Variant:* **ngadirau**. *poss.pro.* *Morph:* **nga(-n)=dira(u)**. -. *See:* **ngadirau**. –

nga'dirau *Variant:* **ngadira**. *poss.pro.* *Morph:* **nga(-n)=dirau**. possessive classifier and pronoun for alienable food-related nouns. – *Contraction of:* **ngan dirau**.

nga'dit *poss.pro. Morph:* **nga(-n)=dit**. possessive classifier and pronoun for alienable food-related nouns. – *Contraction of:* **ngan dit**.

nga'mara *Variant:* **ngamarau**. *poss.pro.* *Morph:* **nga(-n)=mara(u)**. -. *See:* **ngamarau**. –

nga'marau *Variant:* **ngamara**. *poss.pro.* *Morph:* **nga(-n)=marau**. possessive classifier and pronoun for alienable food-related nouns. – *Contraction of:* **ngan marau**.

nga'mat *poss.pro. Morph:* **nga(-n)=mat**. possessive classifier and pronoun for alienable food-related nouns. – *Contraction of:* **ngan amat**.

nga'matò *Variant:* **ngamatòl**. *poss.pro.* *Morph:* **nga(-n)=matò(l)**. -. *See:* **ngamatòl**. –

nga'matòl *Variant:* **ngamatò**. *poss.pro.* *Morph:* **nga(-n)=matòl**. possessive classifier and pronoun for alienable food-related nouns. – *Contraction of:* **ngan matòl**.

nga'mèt *poss.pro. Morph:* **nga(-n)=mèt**. possessive classifier and pronoun for alienable food-related nouns. – *Contraction of:* **ngan mèt**.

nga'mra *Variant:* **ngamrau**. *poss.pro.* *Morph:* **nga(-n)=(a)mra(u)**. -. *See:* **ngamrau**. –

nga'mrau *Variant:* **ngamra**. *poss.pro.* *Morph:* **nga(-n)=(a)mrau**. possessive classifier and pronoun for alienable food-related nouns. – *Contraction of:* **ngan amrau**.

nga'mtò *Variant:* **ngamtòl**. *poss.pro.* *Morph:* **nga(-n)=(a)mtò(l)**. -. *See:* **ngamtòl**. –

nga'mtòl *Variant:* **ngamtò**. *poss.pro.* *Morph:* **nga(-n)=(a)mtòl**. possessive classifier and pronoun for alienable food-related nouns. – *Contraction of:* **ngan amtòl**.

ngé *n.* kind of fish. .

ngék *v.itr.* -. –
  1 • cry. **I ngék sa ma an lakan.** She cried for him.
  2 • make sound.
  3 • crow. **Ép kam sarsar ki amuntik kón ngék.**

ngéké *v.tr.* cry for. **Ki ngéké yau.** She was crying for me.

ngélngél *Variant:* **ngiélngiél**. *n (dim.).* sweet potato. **A kaptur kating an lón barim ap a inan ap a akas ngélngél.** I took off inside the garden and I went and I dug out sweet potatoes.

ngélngél buku *n.* kind of sweet potato. .

ngélngél karaisés *Lit:* crysis potato. *Borrowed from* English 'crysis' (was introduced at the time of the Buka crysis). *n.* kind of sweet potato. .

ngélngél katél *n.* kind of sweet potato. .

ngélngél kòkòròt *n.* kind of sweet potato. .

ngélngél margión *n.* kind of sweet potato. .

ngélngél marlain *n.* kind of sweet potato. .

ngélngél matas *n.* kind of sweet potato. .

ngélngél mòl *Lit:* normal potato. *n.* kind of sweet potato. .

ngélngél paspas *Lit:* armband potato?. *n.* kind of sweet potato. .

ngélngél pélét *Lit:* plate potato. *n.* kind of sweet potato. .

ngélngél taulé *n.* kind of sweet potato. .

ngéngét **Ép barsan na bèl ép ngéngßet anun dat i, i é Kinbalin dat.**

ngéu *v.* lack teeth. .

ngètngèt palin tawan *n.* kind of bird. .

ngiélngiél *n.* -. *See:* **ngélngél**. –

ngik *n.* yellowfin (large). *THUNNUS ALBACARES*. .

ngis *v.* beautiful, handsome. **A susun bòt ning i tur lar na dat él warai ép fain ngis.** *Also:* **angis** 'bless'.

ngisé– *n (dim.).* -. –
1 • tooth. **I kèp pas i tik ép ngisén bòròi ón ép rah.** In the afternoon he took a pig's tooth.
2 • cut, bite.

ngisén bòròi *Lit:* tooth pig. *n.* boar. **Kai pòl dit ki kèp pas i tik ép bòròi, ép ngisén bòròi.** The dogs had found a pig, a boar.

ngisén liwan *Lit:* knife tooth. *n.* cut (caused by knife). **Mèt él aróp sòi sén gata i a ngisén liwan ning.** We will treat your cut here.

ngisngis *Lit:* beautiful-beautiful. *n.* *Morph:* **ngis~ngis**. blessing. . *Reduplication of:* **ngis**.

ngók *n (comm.).* hornbill. *BUCEROTIDAE*. .

ngól *v.* **Na ka tasim ón ep fón ki ngól, ép fón bòt ning bòt a rak sang ap ól ari kata òt.**

ngólngól *n.* cold. . *Reduplication of:* **ngól**.

ngór *v.*

ngórngór *n (dim.).* point, place. **na i wòt ting ón i tik a ngórngór di warai tim an Wawóm** when he came to the point they call Wawóm.

ngós -. -. –
1 • *v.itr.* cough.
2 • *n (comm.).* cough.
3 • *n.* phlegm, mucus.

ngòngòt *Lit:* bite-bite. *v.itr.* hurt, be painful. **Ép falinók ki ngòngòt ap bèl al an al wur.** My body hurts and I will not go to work.

ngòt *n.* kind of saltwater fish. .

ngòtngòt . *Reduplication of:* **ngòt**.

ngòu *n.* kind of lizard. .

ngungusun *n (comm.).* end. **Ép ngungusun i da, kam usrai anuk i.** This is the end of my story. *Also:* **an ngungusun** 'finally'; *Reduplication of:* **ngungusun**.

ngungusun kirai *Lit:* end of days. *n.* judgment day. –

ngusanu **Dit arlè sòu kapit kating ón tó pukun lakman róp ón i ding ép ngusanu ap dit warai ép tarai róp.**

ngusun **a ngusun yai**

ni *Morph:* **n(a)=i**. – *Contraction of:* **na i**.

nibui . *Also:* **pakan nibui** 'wave'.

nidél *v.* **U nidél pupu tar ap ku sang ma ép kirai anum i kón aim.**

nil *Borrowed from* English 'nail'. -. -. *See:* **barbar**. –
1 • *n.* nail. .
2 • *v.tr.* nail. **Na u parai sòi aróp tar ép siroi an lakan ap u nil ép labat sai gali an lakan.** When you have finished placing the roof planks on top, you nail the roof beam on top.

nilólóng *n.* **Ép tarai dit éel warai kanak bèl al tók nilólóng.**

nilpis *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English. *n.* .

nim₁ -. -. *Morph:* **n–im**. –
1 • *dem.det.* that x (down there).
2 • *dem.pro.* that one (down there).

nim₂ *Morph:* (a–)n–im. – *Reduced form of:* **anim**.

ning₁ -. -. *Morph:* **n–ing**. –

1 • *dem.det.* that x. **Ep pal tètè ning i kès tim an Lambóm ma.** That old man was living on Lambóm.

2 • *dem.pro.* that. **Ép sah ma i ning u lóngrai siat ning diat ki tòl i?** What have you heard they will do on his behalf?

ning₂ *v.tr.* request. **Ép sah ma na al ning i sur i?**

ningan *quant.* some. **Ningan dit na dit él amrai pòl ap ningan dit él galas.** Some of them would go pig hunting and some would dive for fish.

Ningin *pn.* small island in southwest New Ireland. **Mèt él tar kiòm kón tók bensin sur mèt él inan mèt él piknik sai an Ningin.** We put money together to buy petrol so we could picknick over at Ningin.

ninibui *v.* swell (heavy). .

ninimón *n.* grille, ringworm. .

nining *v.*

nisai *Morph:* (a)–n–isai. – *Reduced form of:* **anisai**.

nisan *Morph:* (a)–n–is(ai)=an. – *Contraction of:* **anisai an**.

Niu Ailan *Variant:* **Neu–Mecklenburg** (old German name). *pn.* New Ireland. .

Nóga *Variant:* **Nónga**. *pn.* -. *See:* **Nónga**. –

nóh *v.* **Dit nóh kólóng sur ép Nataka ning.** They were afraid of the Nataka.

nól *Morph:* **n(a)=ó–l**. – *Contraction of:* **na ól**.

nón .

nóng -. -. *Morph:* **n–óng**. –

1 • *dem.det.* those x (following coast in anticlockwise direction, back).

2 • *dem.pro.* those (following coast in anticlockwise direction, back).

Nónga *Variant:* **Nóga**. *pn.* area in Rabaul. **Mèt kél an ma kasai gali ón ép rumai sasam lamtin sai an Nónga.** We will go to the big hospital in Nonga.

nór *v.itr.* flow. **Ép malum i nór tim lón malum.** The water in the river was flowing.

nórói *v.tr. Morph:* **nór–ói**. flood. **Ép malum i nórói ép purpur.** *Transitive form of:* **nór**.

nós -. -. –

1 • *v.itr.* look.

2 • *v.itr.* see.

3 • *v.atrans.* look as if, seem. **Ep kaptan ki nós nak na ki rarakai.**

nósnós *v.atr.* look (for), search (for). **Kai gurar dit inan sén alò, dit nósnós kuk.** The women went again to look for crabs.

nósnós lélé *Lit:* watch recognize. *ser.v.* become aware, realize. **Na a warai sòi, "Na ón ning i malik róp sòu" ap ép nósnós lélé sén anuk i ting gau.** The moment I said, "It's over now", that was the moment I realized it.

nósói *v.tr.* -. –

1 • watch. **I an i nósói dirau.**

2 • witness.

nówóng *n (comm.).* stonefish. .

nuh *n.* nest. .

nuk *v.* think. **I nuk tar sa ép taltal.** He was thinking about wandering around.

nuk akès *Lit:* think cause to sit. *ser.v. (tr.).* remember.

nuk is *Lit:* think return. *ser.v.* be homesick. .

nuki *v.tr.* think. **Matòl nuki kanak na é Matlai ma i ding ki pus.** We thought that it was the Morning Star that was rising.

nuknuk *Morph:* **nuk~nuk**. -. -. – *Reduplication of:* **nuk**.

1 • *v.* think. **Ka nuknuk ma kanak na ka rak al gang ta lamas.** I am thinking that I want to drink a coconut.

2 • *n (comm.).* thought.

nuknuki– -. -. –

n (comm.). 1 • thought. **Ép pòl ki kèp tar sén ép nuknukin.** The dog knew what it was thinking.

2 • idea.

3 • mind. **A wur sa ép nuknukik sur al kèlès ép lalaun anuk.** I made up my mind to change my life.

numan *v.tr.* -. –

1 • forget (leaving something behind). **Ép tingting anuk i i rèrè warai yau kanak na góng a numan tar él tik ti baran ting sup an lón i ép bólók ning.** I was usually thinking that I should not forget anything in that plantation.

2 • forget (by not thinking about it anymore). **I numan sòi ép kunber sai gali ap i lódór sa sai pirim.** He forgot about the rope and slided down.

3 • loose.

nuri *v.* wait, leave. **Na al rè na ki nap ap al nuri tar i ma tóng gau.** When I see it is enough I will leave it there.

nus *v.* peel (skin). **Bèl sén i nus aróp i sai pirim an lón buibui.** It had not peeled completely in the bush.

Ó – ó

ódara *prep.pro. Morph:* **ó(–n)=dara(u)**. -. – *Contraction of:* **ón darau**.
1 • with us (dual, incl.)
2 • about us (dual, incl.)

ódarau *prep.pro. Morph:* **ó(–n)=darau**. -. – *Contraction of:* **ón darau**.
1 • with us (dual, incl.)
2 • about us (dual, incl.)

ódat *prep.pro. Morph:* **ó(–n)=dat**. -. – *Contraction of:* **ón dat**.
1 • with us (plural, incl.)
2 • about us (plural, incl.)

ódatò *prep.pro. Morph:* **ó(–n)=datò(l)**. -. – *Contraction of:* **ón datòl**.
1 • with us (paucal, incl.)
2 • about us (paucal, incl.)

ódatòl *prep.pro. Morph:* **ó(–n)=datòl**. -. – *Contraction of:* **ón datòl**.
1 • with us (paucal, incl.)
2 • about us (paucal, incl.)

ódiat *prep.pro. Morph:* **ó(–n)=diat**. -. – *Contraction of:* **ón diat**.
1 • with them (paucal).
2 • about them (paucal).

ódira *prep.pro. Morph:* **ó(–n)=dira(u)**. -. – *Contraction of:* **ón dirau**.
1 • with them (dual).
2 • about them (dual).

ódirau *prep.pro. Morph:* **ó(–n)=dirau**. -. – *Contraction of:* **ón dirau**.
1 • with them (dual).
2 • about them (dual).

ódit *prep.pro. Morph:* **ó(–n)=dit**. -. – *Contraction of:* **ón dit**.
1 • with them (plural).
2 • about them (plural).

ói *inj.* Hey!, Oi! .

ól *mod.pro. Morph:* **ó–l**. second person singular irrealis pronoun. **Ól mugai darau.** You will lead the way.

óngón *v.tr.* wake up somebody, rouse. **Ki óngón i tik a tasin lik.** He woke up his little brother.

óngrón *v.* -. – *Also:* **óngrón kón x** 'have enough of x'; **ép fón óngrón in ép x** 'huge x'.
1 • lazy. **Ku óngrón kón kamtur sól gang ma .** You are to lazy to take off in order to drink.
2 • have enough. **A inan, a muri kasai sén kawas ap ka óngrón apka isis.** I went, I followed (the river) all the way upstream, and then I had enough and went back.

ónói

ónsa *adv.* right now. **Ma ónsa bèl dit tasim ón ép pipilai ón é Lamassa ép sah.** But now they do not know what the meaning of Lamassa is.

ónsai **Ónsai ép fain i lóng pas arin ép sòi.**

órait *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'alright'. -. *See:* **wakak sa**. –

órsai *v.tr. Morph:* **or(o)s–ai**. without understanding. **sak órsai** singing without understanding (the lyrics). *Transitive form of:* **òròs**.

Óstérélia *pn.* -. –
1 • Australia.
2 • Australian people.

ó'mara *prep.pro. Morph:* **ó(–n)=mara(u)**. -. *See:* **ómarau**. –

ó'marau *prep.pro. Morph:* **ó(–n)=marau**. -. – *Contraction of:* **ón marau**.
1 • with us (dual, excl.)
2 • about us (dual, excl.)

ó'mat *prep.pro. Morph:* **ó(–n)=(a)mat**. -. – *Contraction of:* **ón amat**.
1 • with you (plural).
2 • about you (plural).

ó'matò *prep.pro. Morph:* **ó(–n)=matò(l)**. -. *See:* **ómatòl**. –

ó'matòl *prep.pro. Morph:* **ó(–n)=matòl**. -. – *Contraction of:* **ón matòl**.
1 • with us (paucal, excl.)
2 • about us (dual, excl.)

ó'mèt *prep.pro. Morph:* ó(–n)=mèt. -. – *Contraction of:* **ón mèt**.
1 • with us (plural, excl.)
2 • about us (plural, excl.)

ó'mra *prep.pro. Morph:* ó(–n)=(a)mra(u). -.
See: **ómrau**. –

ó'mrau *prep.pro. Morph:* ó(–n)=(a)mrau. -. –
Contraction of: **ón amrau**.
1 • with you (dual).

2 • about you (dual).

ó'mtò *prep.pro. Morph:* ó(–n)=(a)mtò(l). -.
See: **ómtòl**. –

ó'mtòl *prep.pro. Morph:* ó(–n)=(a)mtòl. -. –
Contraction of: **ón amtòl**.
1 • with you (paucal).
2 • about you (paucal).

Ò – ò

òh *inj.* Oh! **Òh, ép pukluk ki ngòngòt kòl.** Oh, my head aches very much.

òkòbòt **Dit ki warai, "Latu kòbòt dat él siar òkòbòt i ru ru kèh."**

òròs *v.* frustrative adverb. **I taltal òròs it sa.** He just wandered around without purpose.
1 • without reason.

2 • without thought. **Kai nanat dit lamantin òt pas sa ap dit atòng òròs ép risén é Lamassa.** The children grow up and say this name Lamassa without knowing its meaning.
3 • careless.

òt -. *See:* **wòt**. –

òtòh -. -. –
1 • *n.* **Diat inan sur ép òtòh ép pal tóng kawas an Biam.**
2 • *v.*

P – p

padi *n (dim.).* corn. **I inan i gòr pas ép padi.** She went and grabbed the corn.

pagal *v.* break in two, break apart. **U lós ép fék ap u pagal a marang.** You get an axe and you break apart the dry coconut. *Also:* **pagal sòu** 'start (lit. 'break off')'; **pagal gigini** 'break in little pieces'.

pagala *v.* **Diat pagala sisin bakói ting an lón ép sósópen.**

pagómón *Variant:* **gómón**. *n (dim).* bud. **A pagómón lik ki pus òt.** A little bud was popping out.

pagum *v.*

paih *n (comm.).* -. –
1 • dry coconut leaf. **Matòl ki rè ép manlar, ép manlar ón ép paih dit tóng is.** We saw lights, the lights of (burning) coconut leaves.
2 • torch.

paip *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'pipe'. *n.* –

pak₁ *v.* untie. **Dit ki malik pak sòi i ding a kamin pòsòn.** They untied the knots again.
Also: **pak manlar** 'make clear (lit. 'untie light')'.

pak₂ *n.* kind of tree. .

pakan *n.* leaf. **A kumut pas ép pakan ép ngélngél.** I cut off the sweet potato leaves.

pakan bèrèu *Lit:* breadfruit-leaf. *n.* kind of plant. .

pakan nibui *n.* wave. **I tik a pakan nibui ki sòngsòng ép wang.** A wave splashed into the canoe.

pakan pas *Lit:* taro leaf. *n.* kind of saltwater fish. .

pakan sir *Lit:* leaf of victory leaf. *n.* rainbow. .

pakan tòh *Lit:* sugarcane-leaf. *n.* kind of saltwater fish. .

pakanukó *n (dim.).* tobacco. .

pakau *n (comm.).* *TAROPHAGUS COLOCASIAE.* taro planthopper. **I tik a su na di rèrè tun lik ép piu ón, kón tun sòi ép pakau.**

Pakór   *pn.* place on the west coast. .

pal₁   *n (comm.)*. -. –

   1 • men's house. **Dirau inan ma katóng lón pal, dirau usrai lik ma.** They went up to the men's house and chatted a bit.

   2 • shack. **Kai nanat tarai dit atur i tik ép pal ap mèt mòlòh ting anén.** The boys built a shack and we sought shelter below.

pal₂   *v.* scratch. **I lódór kating pirim ap ép lamas i pal ép kikén.** He slided down and the coconut tree scratched on his legs.

pal tètè   *n.* -. *See:* **bun**. –

pala   .

pala kukur   *n.* curse. .

palah   **É Tó Malana i kès ta palah tar ting gau sai an lón ép món madar.**

palai   *n (dim.)*. board, plank. .

palak   *n (dim.)*. -. –

   1 • cudgel, bat. **Dirau ki sang tar i tik a palak kón misi ma ép wakin.** They prepared the cudgel for hitting the wallaby.

   2 • kind of axe (used for dancing).

palal   bald, bald-headed. .

palang   *n.* -. *See:* **palai**. –

palar   -. *See:* **lamtin**. –

palaru–   *n.* -. –

   1 • face.

   2 • bow (boat).

palas   *v.itr.* get up. **Bèl dit nap kón palas ma dit bòrbòr.** They did not get up but they were just sleeping. *Also:* **palas kòbòt** 'get up (in the morning)'.

palbéh   *n.* **Matòl bòrbòr tim gau an lón i tik ép palbeh.**

paldér   -. -. –

   1 • *n (dim.)*. hill. **Matòl sòwòt a paldér ap matòl inan.** We climbed up a mountain and we went.

   2 • *adj.* steep.

pali   [pa.'li] again, repeatedly. **Marau lóngrai pali ap diat ki buar tim ané an lón a lau.** We heard them again barking down in the valley.

pali–   *n (comm.)*. fur, skin, hair. **Dit él tar tar ép palin bòròi arin kai nanat gurar.** They will give the pig hair to the girls. *Also:* **palin lamas** 'coconut hair?'.

palih   *v.* **Na a inan katóng adèh ka palih i ma sur ning kél pung ma.**

palilik   **Na i an òt palilik ap i rè lik ép gam i wók kón róróm.**

palim   *n.* ingredient. **Ki lós pas i kam in palim payam.**

palingin   *n.* coconut leaf mat.

palkènès   *n.* keel plank.

palkió–   *Variant:* **laikió (East coast Siar)**. *n.*

palkóbó   *n.* cloud. –

palngét   *Variant:* **East coast Siar (West coast Siar 'fék')**. *n (dim.)*. axe (as tool only). **Ka kat anuk a palngét lik ka an sén alò tagur ning ép yai ép mer.**

palpal   *n.* kind of banana. .

palpilak   *n.* mat. *See:* **bat**. **I rèrè inan an lakan tó palpilak, bèl i rèrè pasai ép piu.** He used to walk on those mats, he did not walk on the ground.

palpuklu–   *n.* -. *See:* **puklu–**. –

palsai   *n, v.* mother animal. *Morph:* **pal(a)s–ai**. **palsai bòròi** mother pig. *Transitive form of:* **palas**.

panai   -. -. –

   1 • *adv.* in vain. **nangnang panai** wait in vain.

   2 • *adj.* tired of doing something.

panak   *v.tr.* shoot (with slingshot). **I inan ap i panak i ap i liu.** Then he wanted to shoot it with a slingshot and it flew away.

panak   *n (dim.)*. slingshot.

pangang   *v.* **Na é Kailam i pangang rak lar na ap òh, sa mósó.**

pangròh   *n.* female pig. .

pantarai   **Ap ól tur ma an murun a kaban pantarai na kawas i.**

papagan   *n. Morph:* **M4**. kind of front and end part that is put on top of a plank boat.

papali   *Variant:* **rumai tutun**. *n.* kitchen. **I ròwòi katim sup an papali.** It flew into the kitchen.

papali–   *n.* -. –

   1 • fur.

   2 • shell.

papanak   *v.itr.* shoot (with slingshot). **É Ródney i nuki kanak matòl ki inan tar matòl papanak.** Rodney thought that we had gone shooting birds with slinghots. *Reduplication of:* **panak**.

papar

papas   *v.itr.* step (on). **Él papas tòstòs ting gau an lón a kòn na al parai tar i.** It will step right there where I have put it.

paplau   *n.* bowels. **Na di rak sur a paplau di kòt pas a paplau ap di gós akak pas i.** When they want the bowels they cut them off and clean them well.

papsai   *v.tr.* build trap. **ép sukun kadas kón papsai ép sungut** a thorny rope for fixing a trap.

paptaui–   *n (dim.).* bowels. .

papua   *n.* kind of banana. .

par   *v.itr.* -. –
1 • move across. **Matòl par ép malum kasai kawas.** We went across the river and up.
2 • unload.

parai   *v.tr.* -. – *Also:* **parai manlar** 'make clear (lit. 'put light')'.
1 • put. **I parai tar i tim an kamrisan ép ran.** He put it next to the earth oven.
2 • develope (plants). **I parai a putun ép lamas.** It formed a coconut stem.
3 • to place.

Paraidè   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin 'Fraide' < English 'Friday'. -. *See:* **liman kirai**. –

parak   *v.* **Bèl i nap él parak sòi ép liman ting gau.**

param₁   [pa.'ram] *n (comm.).* rosewood. .

param₂   [pa.'ram] *n (comm.).* reef. **Dirau lós pas i tik ep bònòt ón ép param sar.** *Also:* **param sar** 'shell money'.

parapara   *n.* kind of bird. .

parar   *n (dim.).* thunder. **Ép kirai na dirau usrai ép warwar anun é Kamgói ap ép waran dirau i rak lar a parar.** The day they would spread the word of God, their speeches would be like thunder.

parau   *Borrowed from* Kuanua. -. *See:* **kurkur**. –

parip

parkali   *n.* kind of freshwater fish. .

parpar   *n.* -. –
1 • spleen.
2 • spleen desease.

partai   *n.* kind of saltwater fish. .

parung   *v.itr.* jump into. **I parung sòu kata an lón bòn ap i yél.** He jumped into the sea and started swimming.

pas₁   *part.* perfective aspect marker. **Ku munmun pas?** Have you bathed?

pas₂   *n (comm.).* taro. *COLOCASIA ESCULENTA.* **aim pas** plant taro. *Also:* **pakan pas** 'kind of saltwater fish'.

pas   step.

pas baltén   *n.* kind of taro. .

pas biskét   *Lit:* biscuit taro. *n.* kind of taro. .

pas buka   *Lit:* Buka taro. *n.* kind of taro. .

pas girat   *n.* kind of taro. .

pas lakman   *Lit:* step home. *v.atr.* open. **I pas lakman ép mata rumai ap i ru ra nat lik anim ma an piu.** He opened the door and two little children were outside.

pas mata   *n.* point (of spear).

pas patipat   *n.* kind of taro. .

pas sélénggi   *Lit:* Selegi taro. *Borrowed from* < Selegi (Tolai village). *n.* kind of taro. .

pas tukék

pas waras   *n.* kind of taro. .

pasai   *v.* -. –
1 • put foot on. **Ép Tam Nón bèl i rèrè pasai ép piu.** The Tam Nón never stepped onto the ground.
2 • stomp. **I pasai but tar i ép** It sompoed onto the.

pasar   *v.* **Matòl tar el pasar puar i ep wang ning ók.**

patak   *v.itr.* hack (firewood). **Mèt ningan ón met mèt inan ap mèt patak.** Some of us went hacking firewood.

patar   *v.* decide, make decision. **Na ki mèmènèr róp arin kai nanat ki patar ma.** When all ready with the boys, then he decides.

patar   *n.* kinship relation.

pati   *n (comm.).* **Diat is dat wók ma ép pati ón é Jonathan.**

patipat   .

patpat   -. -. –

1 • *n (comm.).* betelnut (dry). **Matòl wun tar ningan tó rat patpat.** We hid some baskets with dry betelnuts.
2 • *n.* kind of shell.

patrai *v.tr.* show. **Dit patrai yau ma ón ép lait nisai an lón bòn.** They showed me the lighthouse near the sea.

patun *n.* seed.

pau *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin. kind of nut. .

Pauga *pn.* name of an abandoned place on the east coast. **Marau sòwòt i tik sén alò a paldér tim gau kasai gali ón i tik sén alò ép taun, taun Pauga.** We went up another hill to another abandoned place (called) Pauga.

paul *n.* kind of freshwater fish. .

payam *n.* **Ki gós kumi tar ningan ép payam.** She secretly poured salt water over her meal.

payaman *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin 'paiaman' < English 'fire'. *n.* -. *See:* **rumai lamas**. –

payar *n.*

pék *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin. -. *See:* **pès**. –

pélénga– *n (dim.).* ear. **Ép silik él nórnór sòu ting ón a péléngan ap él mat sòu.** Blood will come out of his ears and he will die.

péléngan kapul *Lit:* possum ear. *n.* kind of tree. *Morph:* **pélénga–n kapul**. .

péléran *n.* stone (hot, for earth oven). **Na ón ning dira parai ép bòròi sai gali kam péléran kasai gali.** Then they put the pig there and the hot stones on top.

pélét *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin 'plet' < English 'plate'. *n.* -. *See:* **lus (madar)**. –

pélir *n (comm.).* eel. **A ting pas i tik ép pelir ap a sòng sòi i an lón ép wang.** I cut an eel and put it inside the canoe.

pén *Borrowed from* English 'pen'. *n.* pen. .

pénpén *Borrowed from* English 'pen'. *v.* -. *See:* **kus**. –

pépa *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'paper'. – *Also:* **pukun pepa** 'piece of paper'.

pépérgés *v.* big, huge. **As i lailai pas ati u ép mantékén taprasang surung?** Who was swearing to you, saying that you are a big asshole?

pér *n.* **Matòl ki yai tó pér liklik.**

pétpét *n.* swamp. .

pèh *part.* Right?, Isn't it? **I ma, pèh?** Isn't it?

pèlpèl weak (body). **Ép falinók i pèlpèl tar ón ép limak na ki takutus tar.** My body was weak because of my hand that had been bitten off.

pèpèlè *v.itr.* struggle. **Ki pépélé an lón ép sungut na ép pòl i parai tar i.** He was struggling in the trap the dog had placed there.

pèrè₁ *v.* **Gonase pèrè Gónase**

pèrè₂ *n (comm.).* kind of tree. **I tik ép pèrè ading, di kutus tar i.** There was a pere (?) tree they had cut in two.

pès *n (comm.).* faeces. .

pèspès *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin?. *n. Morph:* **pèspès**. excreta. **Ép pèspès sa tim gau sup an lón ép ran ning, ki inòi tar.** That earth oven was full of excreta. *Reduplication of:* **pès**.

pidik *n (comm.).* secret. **ép pidik anuk ón ép babait** my secrets about fishing.

pidir *v.* knock. **Ki pipidir ón ép matan ép rumai.** He was knocking on the door.

pidut *n (dim.).* -. *See:* **kan**. –

pikai *v.* muddy. **Ép ngas i pipikai kòl.** The road is very muddy.

pikir *v.tr.* baptize. **Amtòl pikir yau ap amtòl él alaplap yau.**

pikir sum *n.* kind of custom. .

piknik *Borrowed from* English 'picnic' / German 'Picknick' < French 'pique-nique'. *n.* –

piksa *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'picture'. *n.* -. *See:* **mulin**. –

pil₁ *v.* sparkle. **Ép palin galóng ning i pil lik.** That tin was sparkling a bit.

pil₂ *Borrowed from* English 'peel'. *v.* -. *See:* **sipuk**. –

pilai *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin 'plai' < English 'play'. *v.* -. *See:* **mórót**; **mamam**. –

pilak *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin?. *n.* flag.

pilal *n.* kind of citrus fruit. .

pilaui– *n.* scrotum. .

pilim *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'feel'. -. *See:* **kilang**. –

pilkòròu *n (comm.).* **Kanak na i nós ép falinón é Wakin ki inòi tar ón ép pilkòròu.**

piluk   *v.* destroy. **Ép kali wuwur i wòt ap i piluk sòi ép barim.** The cyclone came and destroyed the garden.

pim   [pim] *v.* ripe. **ép fun pim** a ripe banana.

pinait   *v.* **kón pinait u kating an lón ép mangis**

pingpir   *n.* handle (of a basket).

pinimbiu   *n.* kind of shell (dark brown, traditional money).

pinpèr   **Dit amrai pinpèr ma ón kating ón tó matan pal.**

pinpók   *n.* **Pinpók ón ép bòròi Manamanam i ding.**

pipi   *n.* lightning bolt. **A kuk i kanak a pipi i pirim ón ti lamas ma bèl.** I thought that lightning had struck a coconut tree, but it did not happen.

pipia   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin. -. *See:* **bèrèn.** –

pipih   Used to initiate a narrative. If the hearers want to hear it they will reply with "Karéng karéng!" –

pipilai₁   *n.* meaning. **Ép pipilai in kanak a natun a parar.** That meant that they were the sons of thunder.

pipilai₂   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'play'. *Morph:* **pi~pilai.** -. *See:* **mórót.** – *Reduplication of:* **pilai.**

pipiól   *n (comm.).* penis (vulgar). **Pipiól it ma tah?**

pipirat   *Morph:* **pi–pirat.** slash bush. **.** *Reduplication of:* **pirat.**

pipirmai   **Dit rak dit él pas pipirmai ép warwar anun ép Kamgói.** *Reduplication of:* **pirmai.**

pipit₁   *v.* **I kaptikén tar sur na tim is an lón ngas dit arpipit sur as ma él mungmung anun dit i.**

pipit₂   *n.* kind of saltwater fish. **.**

pipitòk   *v.itr.* *See:* **pitòk.** **A pipitòk kata ap na kòdòm pas ép malum ap èh, ki mamakas.** I fetched some sea water and when I swalled it, yak, it was salty. *Reduplication of:* **pitòk.**

pir   *v.* **Na dit rak rak rak, i é Kabatarai, ép labur ki pir i ma.**

pirat   *v.tr.* slash (bush). **Labóng a pirat lamas sai kawas an lón lamas.** Yesterday I slashed the bush in the coconut plantation.

pirim   *v.atr.* -. –

1 • move down. **I pirim sòu kabas ép yai.** He climbed down from the tree.

2 • exit, go out of. **pirim ep rumai** leave the house.

pirló–   *n (dim.).* lips. **.**

pirmai   *v.tr.* bring down. **I dat pirmai ép garmut ting anén ép lóng.** *Transitive form of:* **pirim.**

pirpir   *n.* breeze. **Na i usai lar na ap kók pirpir akak ning.** When he was blowing it gave a nice breeze.

pis₁   [pis] *v.itr.* poop, fart. **.**

pis₂   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'fish'. *n.* -. *See:* **sis.** –

pisir   *v.* jump up, flick, sputter. **Ép kiruk a pisir sòu i tik ép dèh.**

pistòng   *n.* kind of tree. **Diat kawas pas sèn alò an lakan i tik a pistòng.**

pit   [pit] *v.tr.* -. –

1 • pluck. **Dirau pit pakan.** They plucked leaves.

2 • throw over. **A pakan nibui lik i pit i.** A wave threw him over.

pitarngiat   **Amat ép pitarngiat in ép tarai.**

pitkalang   *n (comm.).* money. **Ma na ón na di use i ma alò kón kèp sa ép pitkalang.** But today they do it to get money.

pitòk   *n.* kind of saltwater fish. **.**

pitòk   *v.* fetch saltwater. **I pitòk kumi pas lik i kók bòn.** She secretly fetched some saltwater.

pitpit   *v.* chat. **Dirau sin kél pitpit pas ning kók warwar ngan dirau.** They were chatting a bit about their language.

pitran   *n.* **.**

pitran lima–   *n.* fingernail. **.**

piu   [pju] *n (comm.).* -. – He threw it down on the ground. *Also:* **lakman piu** 'earth (planet)'.

1 • ground.

2 • outside. **I ru ra nat lik dira ki saksak tim an piu.** Two little children were singing outside.

piupiu   *n (comm.).* soil (e.g. under feet or shoe). *Reduplication of:* **piu.**

poropet   *Borrowed from* English 'prophet'. *n (comm.).* prophet.

pógól   *n.* kind of shell. **.**

Pógól   *pn.* Siar village in the Lamassa area. **.**

pógóli–   *n.* throat. **Di parai ais a liwan sai an pógólin.** They put the knife back up to the throat.

pógór   *v.* **Dat pógór sòi i ép wól na an lakan sèn alo.**

pók₁   *n (comm.).* betel pepper. **Dit aróp sén tó i ning kón mer i sen i ép pók ning.**

pók₂   *n (comm).* kind of table. **Di warai i ding ép lóng ning ép pók, ép lóng babarah.** They call this table a pók, a long table.

pókpók   *n.*

pól₁   *v.* cover. **Di pól tar i ma ón ép kadis.** They covered it with the canvas.

pól₂   *n (comm.).* -. – *Also:* **pól ón lamas** 'coconut milk'.

> **1 •** liquid. **Na i mènèr sóu u pupus ép pól ón lamas.** When it is cooked you squeeze out the coconut milk.
> **2 •** soup.

póngau   *n (comm.).* kind of frog (green). .

póngóng   *v.* naked. .

póngpóng   *n. Morph:* **M4**. kind of front and end part that is put on top of a plank boat.

póntalék   *n.* disabled person. .

póp   *n.* dew, dewdrop. .

pópók   *Variant:* **Malum Pirau dialect?**. *n (dim.).* -. *See:* **liwan**. –

Pópókót   *pn.* place on the east coast. .

pópónó   *v.itr.* creep, sneak. . .

pórapóra   *n.* basket (round). **Dit kòtkòt i é Sòi Bubulut kan lón tó pórapóra.** They cut Sticky Snake into pieces and put it into round baskets.

póróman   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin. *n.* -. *See:* **kinbali-**; **fakéréng**. –

pós   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'post'. -. *See:* **silngah**. –

pósóm   *n.* kind of tree. .

pósópósó   *n.* kind of tree. .

pótól   *v.tr.* snap (twig). **Dirau lóngrai pótól ma.** They heard a twig snap.

pótór   *Variant:* **pótóri?**. *n (comm.).* middle, center. **Kai Kamrai dit kès ting an pótór in é Kónómala.** The Kamrai were sitting in the middle of Kónómala. *Also:* **warwar pótór** 'mixed language'.

pótór mut   sur ép wakrin bèl sèn i pótór mut kati pirim

pòi   *n.* eel. **Ép pòi ning i rak él arat ép limak.** That eel wanted to bite my hand.

pòkòt   *n.* kind of tree. .

pòl   *n (comm.).* -. *CANIS LUPUS FAMILIARIS.* –

> **1 •** dog. **Ép pòl ki bubuar.** The dog is barking.
> **2 •** kind of plant.

pòlòm   .

pòpòlòm   *n.* kind of tree. .

pòpòs   *n.* kind of tree. .

pòr   *v.tr.* -. –

> **1 •** bury. **Palas kòbòt diat pòr sòi i.** The next morning they buried him.
> **2 •** plant. **Darau él pòr tóh tar i a sak a in ép yai na él góm.** We will plant this fruit to see if it grows.

pòròi   *v.tr.* -. –

> **1 •** cover. **Matòl pòròi sa kam kem.** We just covered the cassava bread.
> **2 •** **I tik a bakut i wòt ap i pòròi diat.**

pòs₁   *v.* strangle.

pòs₂   *Borrowed from* English 'post'. -. *See:* **silngah**. –

pòtpòt   *v.* short, small. **ép pòtpòt in ép usrai** a short story.

pu   kind of disease (something swollen). .

puai   *v.* deny, reject. *See:* **lém**. **Dit puai kòl matòl, dit puai kòl matòl.** They said we were lying, they said we were lying a lot. *Also:* **lóng puai** 'disobey (lit. 'listen lie')'.

puar   *v.itr.* be born. **É Suilik i puar pas ón i tik ép fain, ép risén é Mary.** Suilik was given birth by a woman named Mary.

pugur   *v.itr.* -. –

> **1 •** thunder. **Na i pugur ap di lóngrai ting sén talang an tapak.** When it was thundering they would even hear it from far away.
> **2 •** explode. **Na i lóngrai ap ép puklun ki pugur.** When they listened, his head exploded.

puk   *v.itr.* roll. **Dirau puk sòi tar i kata an lón bòn.**

pukai   *n.* club. .

puki   *v.* form, build up. **Ép pakan nibui ki puki.** The waves were forming.

puklu–   [puk.'lu] *Variant:* **palpuklu–.** *n (comm.).* head. **Dit él kuar ép barsan ap ép puklun él tapagal sòu.** They would cast a spell over the man and his head would break apart.

puklu– i taltal   *Lit:* head is wandering around. feel dizzy. .

puklun bòròi   *Lit:* pig head. *n.* kind of shell. .

puklun ngén   *Variant:* **East coast Siar (West coast Siar 'pulung ngén').** pillow. **A parai tar a puklungen ting lakan ép mungmung in ép lóng.** I put a pillow on the first bed.

puklun ngòngòt   *Lit:* head pain. *n.* headache. .

puklun rumai   *Lit:* head of house. *n.* roof. .

puklun warwar   *Lit:* head of speech. *n.* headline. .

pukpuk   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin. *n.* -. *See:* **wai.** –

pukun   *n.* -. –

     1 • place, location. **a pukun lik di warai tim an Sul** a little place they call Sul.

     2 • specific, certain. **I tik ma pukun rah bòng i é sira sin ning dira kès lik ma an lakan ép lóng.** One late afternoon the brothers were sitting on a bed .

pukun ngis   *Lit:* blessed place. *n.* heaven. **Bèl él rarakai karin lar ép barsan na anun ép pitkalang kòl na i rak él kawas kasai sup ón a pukun ngis anun é Kamgói.**

pukun war   *Variant:* **warwar.** *n.* -. –

     1 • word.

     2 • magic spell. **Ap i tik a pukun war ading na kón tur alar tar i i ding ép dèh.**

pukus   *adv.* **Marau muri ép ngas katim pukus an lón tik sén alò a lau, é Géréò.** We followed a path north into another valley called Géréò.

pul₂   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin. *v.* **Matòl pul dirau an òt ón ru natun bòròi.**

pul mata–₁   *n (comm.).* lid. **I sak sòi sa ép pul matan bòn.**

pulé   *n.* kind of bush animal. .

pulih

pulih matani   *n.* eyebrow. .

pultòh   *v.itr.* cut sugarcane. *Morph:* **pul tòh (incorporation?).** **A wòt tim an lón barim ap a pultòh pas.** I came down to the garden and cut sugarcane.

pulungén   *Variant:* **West coast Siar (East coast Siar 'puklungen').** -. *See:* **puklungen.** –

pumél   *n.* honey. .

pun   *n.* turtle. **Ép pun ki warai, "Arik, kawas!"** The turtle said, "Come, climb on my back!"

pung   *v.itr.* -. –

     1 • fall. **Ép bat sén alò ki pung.** The rain is falling again.

     2 • decrease. **Ép matan ón ep lamas i pung.** Copra prices have fallen.

pup   *v.itr.* hop into. **Ép Nataka i rak él pup sòu ta an lón bòn.** The Nataka wanted to hop into the sea.

pupu   **Ép kirai na ku wuwur sòu róp lar na ap u nidél pupu tar.**

pupul   *n.* **Ép pupul ki akwas kan lón ép món.**

pupuròi   .

pupuròi kiké–   *n.* sock. .

pupus   *n.* kind of tree. .

pupuyé   *n.* kind of disease. .

purak   *Variant:* **East coast Siar (West coast Siar 'lis tau').** *v.* loosen soil. **A purak ap ép kamis i són sai yau ting an lón barim.**

purpur   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin?. *n (dim.).* flower. **I ru ra purpur dirau ki pung sai gali an lakan ép yai katim ané.** Two flowers fell down from the top of tree.

purum   *v.tr.* -. –

     1 • pile up. **A purum kiòm tar ép yai.** I piled up the trees.

     2 • put together.

purut   **I an pukus, purut ting ón i tik a dèh matan ép sòi.**

pus   [pu:s] *v.itr.* come out, rise. **Ép kalang ki pus sai pirim an lakan arngas.** The moon was coming out behind the mountain. *Also:* **pus òt** 'come out'.

pusi₁   [pu.'si:] *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin 'pusi' < English 'pussy'. *n (comm.).* cat. **Ép pusi i kapsur ép kusup.** The cat is chasing the rat. *Also:* **pusi barsan** 'tomcat'; **pusi lik, natun pusi** 'kitten'.

pusi₂   *v.tr. Morph:* **pus-i.** douse. . *Transitive form of:* **pus.**

pusi lamas   *Lit:* cat coconut. *n.* kind of coconut (big). .

pusòn   *v.* **Di rèrè pusòn ép fat ón a pakan lamas ó a pakan sir.**

putun   *n (dim.).* -. –

1 • stem. **I parai a putun ép lamas.** It developed a coconut stem.

2 • stern. **ép putun wang** stern of a canoe.

R – r

ra   *article.* two (diminutive). **i ru ra natun** two children.

raba   *Borrowed from* English 'rubber'. –

Rabaul   *pn.* capital of East New Britain. **Mèt kél an ma kasai gali ón ép rumai sasam lamtin sai an Rabaul.** We will go to the big hospital in Rabaul.

radam   *n.* scorpion. .

radim   *n.* kind of bird. .

ragai   *v.* **Na di parai ragai sòi tar i, di kakat sa tó kio.** When they have put it there they pick up the scissors (?).

ragaya   -. *See:* **rakana**. –

ragòu   *n (dim.).* fishing hook. **A ragòu i lól kès an lón i a sis.** The hook hooked into the fish's mouth.

rah   *n.* afternoon. **Matòl angan tar ón ép rah ning ap matòl bòrbòr.** When we had eaten in the afternoon we went to sleep. *Phrase:* **Ép rah!** 'Good afternoon!'.

rahrah   *n.* kind of plant. .

rainsiat   -. *See:* **mèmèrèk**. –

rais   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'rice' / German 'Reis'. *n.* -. *See:* **lòi madar**. –

rak₁   [rak] -. -. –

1 • *mod.v.* want, like to. **A rak al usrai i tik kam usrai.** I want to tell a story.

2 • *v.itr.* and so on, like that.

3 • *v.atr.* expect.

rak₂   [rak] *n.* will. .

rakan   *n.* branch, twig. **I mumun tim anén tó rakan lès.** He was hiding under the nut tree branches.

rakat   *v.tr.* lift up. **Dirau rakat i kasai gali.** They lifted him up.

rakbi   *Borrowed from* English 'rugby'. *n.* rugby. .

rakónói   **Kél rakónói ma ép wakin?**

rak'a'na   *Morph:* **rak=(l)a(r)=n–a**. like that, thus. **Ól èkèt rak lar na ap ép yah i sòt.** So you scrape the firewood and the fire lights. *Contraction of:* **rak lar na**.

rak'a'nè   *Morph:* **rak=(l)a(r)=n–è.** . *Contraction of:* **rak lar nè**.

ral   *n.* **Ma bèl sa i nap él dat kòl tar al.**

ram   *v.* desire, wish, want. **Kél ram laulau ón ap él kinau i.** It will want it and steal it.

ramai   *v.* clear bush. **U bas ramai mugi ép lón tó buibui.**

ran   *n (comm.).* kind of oven made with hot stones and palm leaves. **Di dél sòi sa ép pakan tim an lón ép ran ap parai sòi sa ép bòròi tim an lón.** They spread out the leaves in the earth oven and put the pig inside.

rangai   *Variant:* **East coast Siar (West coast Siar 'ragai')**. *v.* -. *See:* **ragai**. –

rangil   *n.* kind of tree.

rangrang₁   *Variant:* **East coast Siar?**. *v.* **Di rèrè rangrang sén ón ép ngasa.**

rangrang₂   *n.* kind of shell (once used as money). .

rangrang₃   *n.* kind of custom. .

rarak   *Reduplication of:* **rak**.

rarakai   -. –

1 • strong (power). **ép barsan i rarakai** the man is strong.

2 • stable, sturdy, hard. **A rakan yai na bèl i rarakai.** the branch wsa not strong the Siar language is not difficult.

3 • difficult, tricky.

rarapuk   *n.* kind of fish. .

rarat   *v.itr.* follow shore in sea vessel. **I rarat it ma tim gau pukus.** He followed the shore south (in his canoe).

Rarawa   -. -. .

1 • *adj.* murky (slightly, water).

2 • *pn.* bathing place in the Yalui river.

rasras in small amounts. **Ap ép bat i inan ap i pung rasras.** And then the rain was falling slowly.

rat *n.* basket, bag. **A lós pas i tik ép rat ap a sòng kai sis ting an lón ép rat.** I took a basket and put fish into it.

raul *v.* **Tagórman é Tagórman, é Mading i raul yau.**

raun *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'around'. -. *See:* **taltal**. −

raut [ra.'ut] *v.tr.* pile up. **Matòl raut tó plastik kakau.** We filled the cacao bags.

Rei *pn.* Siar village on the east coast. .

réat *v.* **A són réat i ap a reat i ap na a rè aróp tar ép ngasin ép rumai ka nuknuk.**

rédi *Borrowed from* English 'ready'. -. *See:* **sang**. −

régéh *v.* destroy, break apart. **Ép wang i tarégéh.** The canoe fell apart.

réhréh *n.* **Ningan ép patun wit dit punpung an lakan ép réhréh.**

rékrék *v.* -. −
    1 • slim.
    2 • skinny.

réóréó *n (comm.).* early evening, late afternoon. **Ép kamis ki sup, ép réóréó ma.** The sun was setting, it was late afternoon.

rér *n (comm.).* bad? **ip rér i ma**

réréit *n.*

résrés *n.* kind of bird. .

rétrét **I arétrét ma ép ngingisén.**

rè₁ *Variant:* **ri**. *v.atr.* see. **Bèl dirau rè matòl.** They did not see us.

rè₂ *n (comm.).* sword grass. *IMPERATA ARUNDINACEA.* .

rè akak *Lit:* see good. *v.tr.* be envious. .

rè angis *Lit:* see cause to be beautiful. *v.tr.* *Morph:* **rè a‑ngis**. love. **Bèl ép tarai dit rè angis aróp ép tarai, ép tarai kòl bèl dit rak sur ningan.** The people did not love each other, some people did not like others.

rè lèlè *Lit:* see recognize. *ser.v.* recognize (by seeing), notice. **Ma bèl a rè lèlè dit, ma a lóngrai lik sa ép fagaya an lón a rónmòn na dit babait.** But I did not notice them, I only heard them make noises as they were fishing in the dark.

rè ló– *Lit:* see mouth. *v.* read lips. .

rè sakai *Lit:* see ruin. *ser.v.* -. −
    1 • hate.
    2 • Dat ki rè sakai na ki sasam ap dat ki ready sur i ma na kél kabas dat. When we see that he is very sick we prepare for his passing away.

rèdès *n.* kind of shell. .

rèdio *Borrowed from* English 'radio'. *n (comm.).* -. −
    1 • radio.
    2 • tape recorder.

rèrè *part.* usually, habitually. *Morph:* **rè~rè**. **Dit rèrè dòt kiòm i.** They used to tie it together. *Reduplication of:* **rè**.

rèrègèh *Morph:* **rè~règèh**. . *Reduplication of:* **règèh**.

rèrèh *n (dim.).* string, fishing line. **I kilang i a rèrèh na ki dadat.** He feels if there is pulling on the fishing line.

ri -. *See:* **rè**. −

rias **Ép falinón é Yesu ki rias ap ki nósnós masik.**

ribit *n.* dugong. .

rih *v.tr.* pull (with force?) **Ép malum i rih sòi kasai kawas an lón bòn.** The river took him out to the sea.

rikis *Variant:* **riu?**. *v.tr.* -. − *Also:* **rikis sòi** 'turn away'.
    1 • turn, turn around. **A rikis ép lamas an lón rumai lamas.** I turned the copra in the copra drier.
    2 • translate. **Rikis i ón ep warwar Siar.** Translate it to Siar.

rim *n (comm.).* **É Suilik i saki lik kai gurar anim an lón ép rim.**

ringah *n.* kind of saltwater fish. .

riri *n.* kind of tree. .

riringén *v.* cold (very), ice cold. .

ririukin *n.* kind of bird. .

risa– *n.* side. .

risé– *n (comm.).* -. −
    1 • name. **ép risén ép lakman anun dat na di warai é Lamassa** the name of our village they call Lamassa.
    2 • title.

ritó *n.* kind of tree. .

riu *Variant:* **rikis?**. *v.* turn around. **Tó gun dit riu i sur kanak na dit él wun i.** They turned around the guns in order to hide them.

riwawai *n. SOULAMEA AMARA.* kind of plant (used for certain magic spells).

ró₁ *v.* **I ró tisai an lón bòn ap él Lómtas.**

ró₂ *n.* kind of shell. .

róbói *v.tr.* blow. **Dit él róbói tar ép matan ép wuwu.** They blew it into the wind.

róbóng *n (comm.).* bag (made of palm leaves). **Dit él yai sòi ti tan róbóng.** They will bind a big bag.

rókói *n (comm.).* **I tik ép talung, di warai ép rókói in ép barsan.** *Also:* **mau rókói** 'toddy palm'.

rókrók *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < sound of frog's voice. *n.* frog. **Uring uring sén, ép kailam dirau é Rókrók dirau kinbalin akak kòl.** Long long ago, the lizard and the frog were very good friends.

róng *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'wrong'. *v.* -. *See:* **laulau.** –

róngróng **Ép balan i róngróng kòl.**

róp -. -. –

1 • *v.itr.* finish, be over. **Ép bat i róp sòu.** The rain stopped. all the people.
2 • *quant.* all.

róróm *v.* disappear, become less. **Na i an òt pali lik ap i rè lik ép gam i wók kón róróm.** When she came back to put some more seashells (there) she saw that the shells were disappearing.

rós *n (comm.).* rattan. **tó sungut ón ép rós ón ép pakan gah** traps made of rattan leaves.

rówói *v.tr.* carry in arms. **A rówói tar é Isiah.** I carried Isiah (in my arms).

ròbò *Variant:* **mólmól**. *v.* weak. **Ka kilang i é Wasu ki ròbò.**

ròh *v.tr.* grab, snatch, wrest. **A rak al ròh pas ti nat bòròi.** I wanted to grab a small piggy.

ròhròh stoop. **inan ròhròh**

ròkòs **A inan kating a ulut i ròkòs gau.**

rònmòn *n.* darkness. – **I warai kanak na él an sa ma an lón i a rònmòn ning.** He said that he would go alone through the dark.

ròp *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin 'rop' < English 'rope'. -. *See:* **su.** –

ròrògòm

ròròi *n.* breast.

ròrònmòn *Variant:* **West coastSiar (East coast Siar 'arinmòn')**. *v.* dark. **Na a palas ón ép bòng ki ròrònmòn ma.** When I got up at night it was dark.

ròwòi *v.itr.* fly. **Kai mani dit ròwòi kabas i.** The birds flew away from him.

ru -. -. –

1 • *num.* two. **i ru ra nat lik** two children.
2 • *npm.* noun phrase marker (non-diminutive noun class, dual). **i ru ru kinbalin** two friends.

ruan *num.* second. **ép ruan kirai** the second day.

ruan kirai *Lit:* second day. *n.* Tuesday. .

rugut -. *See:* **rungut.** –

ruk *n.* kind of bird. .

rumai *n (comm.).* house. **Matòl atòstòs aróp tar ép rumai.** We repaired the house.

rumai dòdòt *Lit:* tie-up house. *n.* prison, jail. .

rumai lamas *Lit:* coconut house. *n.* copra drier. .

rumai lótu *Lit:* worshipping-house. *n (comm.).* church. .

rumai sisirai *Lit:* selling house. *n.* store, shop. .

rung *v.* dig. **Matòl rung kòtòu.** We digged hermit crabs.

rungut [run.'gut] *v.itr.* move (suddenly). **Na i rungut an main i ép kusur ning di pirim masuk, a dat ais i.**

rup *v.itr.* enter, go inside. **I rup ting gau kawas lón buibui.** He went into the bush.

rus *v.* drop (fruit from tree). **Ép kaswai ki wus.**

rusngai *v.tr.* throw spear. **A rusngai sòi sa ép kusur sa kaptan é Tan.** I threw the spear at the mother (pig).

S – s

sa *part.* restrictive marker. **tòl sakan sa** just a little bit.

sabar *v.* rub off (e.g. dust). **I kawar òt ap i sabar ép falinók.**

saburkès *n.* kind of shell. .

sah *n.* -. –
1 • what? **Ép sah i da?** What's this?
2 • which?

sai₁ -. -. –
1 • *dem.adv.* there (up, in front). **I kès an lakan ép arngas.** He lives up on the mountain.
2 • *dem.adv.* there (away from New Ireland). **I wuwur sai an Óstérélia.** He works in Australia.
3 • *inj.* Go away!, Get lost!

sai₂ *v.* -. – We cracked the talis fruits open (with a stone?).
1 • break open with stone?
2 • burn (skin).

sairas *v.* stop somebody from doing something. .

sait *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'side' / German 'Seite'. *n.* -. *See:* **dèh.** –

sak₁ *v.* sing. **Dirau ki saki, "Ayap nana, bèl u lóngrai marau?"** They were singing, "Come mummy, can't you hear us?"

sak₂ *subord.* adversative subordinator. **Tumarang tar i sak él lók tar ti alin datòl!** Watch out, otherwise you might fall!

sak₃ *v.tr.* -. –
1 • blow? **A kali wuwur i sak pas i ting ón ép paradah gau.** The cyclone blew it to where the verandah was.
2 • turn (page).

sak *n.*

sakai *v.* mess up, ruin, unfortunately. *Morph:* sak–ai. **Él malik tòl sasakai tar anuk ép kusur an lakan tó mayat?** Will he again ruin my spear on the reefs? *Transitive form of:* **sak.**

sakan *adv?.* little bit. . *Also:* **tòl sakan** 'a little bit'.

sakat *v.* spotted. .

saki *v.tr.* -. –
1 • lift up.
2 • hold in high regard. **Dat él saki ép mangis ngis.** We will hold your name in high regard.

sakit **I sakit kiòm tar sén ón ép fain anun i.**

sakrai *v.* **I abóróng pas i ting gau an lón ép bòn ap i sakrai utih pas i.** And she pushed (the greens) down there in the sea water and (???) it.

saksak *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin. *n (comm.).* sago. .

sakum *n (comm.).* garfish. **Na é Laimén i nós tar ap i tik ép sakum dóng ma is.** When Laimen looked there was a garfish coming up.

sal *Morph:* s(ur)=a–l. – *Contraction of:* **sur al.**

salala *n (dim.).* kind of saltwater fish. .

salar *v.* **Ép wól di ki salar sòi tar i.**

salasap *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin 'sauasap' < English. –

salat *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin?. *n (comm.).* nettle, water cress. .

salim *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'sell'. *v.tr.* -. *See:* **sirai.** –

salòr *n (comm.).* sugarcane (wild). .

salus *v.tr.* pet. .

sam *v.tr.* be sick with. .

sam silik *Lit:* sick with blood. *v.* menstruate.

saman *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin?. *n.* outrigger. **Ép wang ning na marau yausai bèl al tók saman ón.** The canoe we were paddling in did not have an outrigger.

samap *Borrowed from* English 'sum up'. –

samarin *Borrowed from* English 'submarine'. *n.* –

samkut *Lit:* close-desease. *n.* kind of disease (sore eye). –

san₁ *Morph:* s(ai)=an. -. – *Contraction of:* **sai an.**

san₂ *Morph:* s(a)=an. -. – *Contraction of:* **sa an.**

sananan *n.* **Na dit ki angan ap dit ki mamasur ap dit parai kiòm ais pas to sananan dit, ap dit ainòi pas i fis ép rat.**

sang *v.atr.* prepare, get ready. **Al sang a rèrèh main ép wós ap al inan al babait.** I prepare the fishing line and the paddle and I will go fishing.

sangai *v.tr.* greet. **Ép tarai dit sangai pas mèt sa.** The people were just greeting us.

sangsang *n.* kind of tree. .

sangulih *Variant:* **i tik ép bònòt.** *num.* ten. .

sapak *n.* kind of banana. .

sapang *v.* Na i an kawas, eép ngasa di ki sapang tar ón labòng.

saprai *v.* sow. Di saprai sa ép kabang an lakan ép aun na tarai.

sapsap *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin 'sap'?. *n.* kind of tree. .

sapul *Variant:* **sirók**. *v.itr.* jump, leap. **A taun ning sapul lik sai an lón bòn.** A school of fish was leaping out of the sea.

sar₁ *n (comm.).* -. –
1 • conch shell (small).
2 • shell money. **Dirau lós pas i tik ép bònòt ón ép param sar.**

sar₂ *v.* rake. **Ól sar kiòm ani sén tó bèrèn liklik.** You will rake the rubbish together.

sara₁ *v.tr.* fumble for. **Na a sòng tar i lar na ap a sara is ning gau tik sén alò ning.** When I have packed it like that I fumble for another one.

sara₂ *v.* accept. **Ma yau bèl al sara pas anun amrau ép sar.** But me, I do not want your shell money.

sarah accidentally. **I ting sarah ép liman sai an lón barim ón ép kirai kòbòt sa.**

sarai *v.* look for, search. **Kai gurar anun ép Kamrai dit él sarai ma alò ép dal lar kai gurar Bóngyan.**

sarara *adv.* separately. **Na i rah matòl inan sarara ma.** When it was afternoon we went separate ways.

sarat *v.* **Ép bòròi aning gau ma él sarat tik in tar.**

sarsar *v.* -. – *Also:* **kam sarsar** 'chicken'; *Reduplication of:* **sar**.
1 • sweep. **A ut pas kam dókón ap a sarsar ting an lakman arik gau.** I take (?) the broom and I rake my front yard.
2 • search intensively.

sarunlès *Variant:* **yahrat**. *n (comm.).* year. **A rak al usrai ép finan anuk i ón ép sarunlès na an mur.** I want to talk about my journey in the next year.

sas *v.* I sas ép turai pòl.

sasa *n.* kind of tree. .

sasakarai *Variant:* **sasakir**. *n (comm.).* comb. .

sasakir -. *See:* **sasakarai**. –

sasam *v.* sick, ill. **Bèl tik i sasam ap bèl tik i mat.** Nobody was sick and nobody died.

sasarai *v.* search, look for. **Al sasarai ép ngas ngasin ép bòròi.** I will search for traces of a pig. *Reduplication of:* **sarai**.

sasaròt *v.* **Bèl ma marau pas tat tók sis, ap marau sasaròt sa ma.**

Satan *pn.* Satan.

sau *n (comm.).* smoke, steam. **Ép yah disai ma, i tur ép sau.** There was a fire creating smoke.

saur *v.*

saurai *v.* **Dirau saurai sa ép rat.**

sausau *v. Morph:* **sau-sau**. foggy. **Ép bat i ma sen, i ding wòt ki sausau wòt.** The light rain was coming closer. *Reduplication of:* **sau**.

sawur *v.* get out (of water). **Na i sawur tat pas i ap dirau inan dirau akas kuk.**

seket₂ *See:* **laukah**. –

seò *n.* kind of tree. .

sédéh *Variant:* **West coast Siar (East coast Siar 'séndéh')**. *Morph:* **sé(n)déh**. -. *See:* **séndéh**. –

ségér *v.* **I pung kata an piu ap i ségér it ma ap ép busai i tapék an lón.**

sék *Borrowed from* English 'check'. -. *See:* **wóng**. –

sél₁ *n.* kind of frog (small, black). **É Sél dirau main é Langai dirau arlè.** The frog and the prawn were swearing at each other.

sél₂ *Borrowed from* English 'cell'. *n (comm.).* **Ki arup sòi tar i an lón ép sél.** They have locked him up in a cell.

sél₂ *v.* slow, slowly. **Na a sél tur rak lar na ap a nós.** When I slowly stood up I looked.

sélér *Variant:* **East coast Siar**. -. *See:* **sélsél**.

sélsél *Variant:* **West coast Siar (East coast Siar 'sélér')**. *v.* slippery. **Ép fat an lón malum i sélsél.** The stone in the river is slippery.

sém₁ *n.* sprout. **Ép lamas ki lamantin sòu ap ki parai a sém ón.** The coconut palm grow bigger and developed some sprouts (?).

sém₂ *v.tr.* cut (e.g. copra). **Matòl sém lamas tim an Bólók.** We were cutting copra at Bólók.

sén -. emphatic marker. – *Also:* **sén alò** 'again'; **sén masik** 'alone ; lonely?'.
1 • *part.* very, much. **Dit mungmung tar sén.** They had left much earlier.

2 • *pro.* self. **i tik ép usrai ók sén** a story about myself.

séndéh *Variant:* **East coast Siar (West coast Siar 'sédéh').** *v.* **Babat róp tar, sirói, sirói róp tar, ap dit séndéh.**

sér *n.* kind of tree. .

sérim *n.* kind of shell. .

sésém *v.itr. Morph:* **sé–sém.** cut (copra only). **Na u pagal aróp tar ép marang u lós ép rat ap u dél sòi ap u sésém.** When you have broken apart all the dry coconuts, you take the bag and you spread out and you cut (them). *Reduplication of:* **sém.**

sésén *n.* kind of tree. .

sè -. *Morph:* **s(a)=(lar)=(n)è.** – *Contraction of:* **sa lar nè.**

sèkèt₁ *Borrowed from* English 'circuit'. –

si₁ -. *Morph:* **si(ra).** – *Reduced form of:* **sira.**

si₂ *n. Morph:* **si(n).** – *Reduced form of:* **sin.**

si₃ -. *Morph:* **s(a)=i.** – *Contraction of:* **sa i.**

siai *v.tr.* knock with object, tap with object. **Na dit ki sisiai tóh i ép kaptan ki nós na ki rarakai.** When they tapped the stem it looked as if it was strong.

Siaman German. –

Siamani *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'Germany'. *pn.* -. – *Also:* **warwar Siamani** 'German language'.
1 • Germany.
2 • German people.

Siapan *Borrowed from* < English/German 'Japan'. *pn.* -. – *Also:* **warwar Siapan** 'Japanese (language)'. -. **1** • Japan.
2 • Japanese people. **Mèt rup kiòm main dit bar Siapan.** We hid in the holes together with the Japanese.

siar₁ *Variant:* **East coast Siar (West coast Siar 'suk').** *v.* sew, stitch. **Lakman dit ki warai latu kòbòt dat él siar òkòbòt i ru ru kèh.**

Siar₂ [sja:r] *pn.* -. –
1 • east coast village in southern New Ireland. **A inan katim an Siar.** I go to Siar village.
2 • Siar-speaking population.
3 • Siar language. **Bèl a tasim akak ón ép warwar Siar.** I do not know Siar very well.

siaróh *v.* calm (sea, sky). **Ép tan ép tai i nangnang akak pas sén ép siaróh.** The operator waited for the sea to become calm.

siat *pers.dem.* personal demonstrative (paucal). **É Siat nim is sén alò.** The others came back.

sibóróbóró *n (dim.).* -. –
1 • kind of insect.
2 • helicopter, chopper (which flies like the insect).

sidikan *n.* kind of tree. .

sidòk *v.* -. –
1 • peek.
2 • visit. **Matòl an ma kasai an rumai sik gau ap matòl sidòk ma é Nana.** We went to the hospital and visited mummy.

sigil *v.* touch. **Ól inan ól sigil pas ép rumai arèrè ap ól is.** You will go, touch the classroom and then come back.

sih *n.* kind of tree. .

sik₁ *n (dim.).* flamingo flower (woolflower). *CELOSIA (SPIGATA?).* .

sik₂ *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'sick'. -. *See:* **sasam.** –

sikar *Borrowed from* English 'cigar'. *n.* –

siksik *n.* kind of bird. .

silawak *n.* kind of bird. .

Silbat *pn.* clan name. **I tik ép mangis lik ón ép Kónómbóa di warai dit na kanak na kai Silbat ón dit.** One subclan of the Kónómbóa is called Silbat.

silboh *n (comm.).* spinach. .

silék₁ *v.tr.* pluck with stick. **I silék lamas ap marau gang lamas pas basa.** He plucked coconuts with a stick and we drank some.

silék₂ *v.* flat (ball). .

silik *n (comm.).* blood. **Ép silik ón i takwér.** His blood was spilt.

siling *v.* heat up (stones in earth oven). **U riri pas tó atatat ap u siling sòi ép ran.** You gather stones and you prepare the earth oven.

silir *v.tr.* tear apart. **Na a lóngrai rak lar na, lar sa di silir ép puklun rumai.** I heard something like a roof breaking.

silngah -. –
n (dim.). **1** • stanchion. **Kakarai sén alò kón i tik ép lóng sai sòi i at a silngah.**

2 • in-law.

siló– *n.*

silòu *n.* kind of bird. .

silsil *n.* kind of tree. .

Silur *Variant:* **Irish Cove**. *pn.* Siar village on the east coast. **Ayapyap ép món madar katim an Weitin sur al ayap katim an Silur sur él nangan yau ón tók marasin.** Quickly go to Weitin river with the boat so they can help me with some medicine at Silur.

simén *Borrowed from* English 'cement'. -. -. –
1 • *n (comm.).* cement.
2 • *n (comm.).* grave. **Diat abòrbòr tar i ma an lakan ép simén.** They lay him down on the cement.
3 • *v.* pour cement. **tó simén tóng gau matòl simén tar i** the cement that they have poured.

simuk *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin? < English 'smoke'?. .

simuk *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin 'smok' < English 'smoke'. –

sin *n.* sibling. **é Ta(n) dit Suilik dirau sin é Tin Awe** His mother, Suilik and his sister Tin Awe.

sina .

sinam *n (dim.).* yam. .

sing₁ *v.* transport with means of locomotion. **Diat ki atòstòs ép ngas sur kanak ép món madar kél sing i katim an Bakók.** They were thinking about a way to transport her to Bakók in the boat.

sing₂ *n.* kind of banana. .

singah *Variant:* **silngah**. *n.* brother-in-law. **Singah, amtòl aning gau ma, ya ka wòt.** In-law, just stay there, I will come to you.

singit *n (dim.).* -. *See:* **kandas**. –

singur . *Also:* **burnai singur** 'night (deep)'.

sining -. -. –
1 • *v.* wander. **Marau lòs pas i ru ra sining ap marau sining an ma an ma ting gau òt.** We took two walking staffs and we walked up with them.
2 • *n (dim.).* walking staff. **Marau lòs pas i ru ra sining ap marau sining an ma an ma ting gau òt.** We took two walking staffs and we walked up with them.

sinip *n.* sandfly. .

sinòh *n.* steam.

sinring *n.* boil, blister. .

siók *n.* kind of bird. .

siól *n.* **I kèp pas ép pakan siól ning ap i mirsai i ón.** He took the (kumu grass leaves) and beat her with it.

sip [sip] *Borrowed from* English 'ship' / German 'Schiff'. *n.* -. *See:* **kam kurkur lón bòn**. –

sipai *Borrowed from* English 'spy'. –

sipak *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin 'spak' < English. -. *See:* **béngbéng**. –

sipit *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'speed'. *See:* **ayap**. –

sipuk *v.tr.* remove husk. **Marau sipuk pas i at a lamas.** We removed the shells of four coconuts.

sipun *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin 'spun' < English 'spoon'. –

sir₁ *n (dim.).* victory leaf. **Di rèrè pusòn ép fat ón a pakan lamas ó a pakan sir.**

sir₂ *v.* **I tik a pukun bòng a tikin bòng nè ap sir sòi i dè a pakan kiruk.**

sira *pers.dem. Morph:* **si(t=di)ra?**. personal demonstrative (dual). **Marau ne sira na dirau él um marau tan na.**

sirai *v.tr.* sell. . *Also:* **rumai sisirai** 'store ; shop'.

sirik *v.* **Dit sirik pas i tó rumai tim an lakman kasai anén ép yai.**

sirói *n.* rafter. **Babat róp tar, sirói, sirói róp tar, ap dit séndéh.**

sirók *v.itr.* jump, leap. **I sirók is kasai sup.** He jumped back inside.

siròi **Ka rup sén alò sai òt an lón buibui, a bus pas ép siròi.**

sis [sis] *n (comm.).* fish. **I dat i ma kai sis.** He pulls out the fish.

sis mèmèrèk *Lit:* red fish. *n.* bass, snapper. .

sis ròwòi *Lit:* flying fish. *n.* flying fish. .

sisi– [si.'si] *n.* -. –
1 • meat.
2 • flesh.

sisi [si.'si] *n.* kind of shell. .

sisih *v.* peel off skin. .

sisilik *Morph:* **si–silik**. bloody, bleeding. **Na ón na yau ka rat a sisilik u ma bòt na ón na.** I have bitten you and you are bleeding now. *Reduplication of:* **silik**.

sisilu *n.* . *Also:* **kam sisilu** 'strut'.

sisim *n.* kind of tree. .

sisimuk *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin? < English 'smoke'?. *v.* blue. .

sisingan *v.* -. –
1 • yellow.
2 • shy.

sisiór *Borrowed from* < English 'church'. *n.* church work. **Matòl taman kès tar tim an Bakók kón nós alar tar ép wuwur ón ép sisiór tim gau.** Me and my family we lived at Bakók to take care of the church work.

sisirók *v.itr.* jump. **Dirau sisirók lik ma tóng an lón kam pól.** They were jumping a little into the lake.

sit [sit] *pers.dem.* personal demonstrative (plural). **tó ngas ngasin é Sit na na dit kès tim an Malióm** the pathways of the people who live at Malióm.

sitiring *Variant:* **stiring**. *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'string'. *n.* -. *See:* **rèrèh**. –

siu *n.* **Ép yiwuk na ki kók róp ón ép siu.**

Siunai *pn.* place name (old name of Siar village). **Ép risén ép lakman Siar ning uring di warai é Siunai.** The old name of Siar village was Siunai.

Siur *Variant:* **Irish Cove**. *pn.* name of a bay on the west coast. .

siwòk *num.* nine. **i siwòk ép rumai** nine houses.

só *v.tr.* spear. **A kuk ading ma ané, diat ki rak ma diat él sósó i.** The crab was down below and they wanted to spear it.

sógór .

sóhsóh **Ayap kapit i sóhsóh ép fanat ap i tètèr kòl sén.**

sók *v.* **A sók i ón ép turai pòl.**

sókót *n.* kind of saltwater fish. .

sól₁ *v.* gather food. **A inan a sól tim pukus an bèl.** I went and gathered food in no-man's-land.

sól₂ *Morph:* **s(ur)=ó–l**. – *Contraction of:* **sur ól**.

sól₃ *n (comm.).* **Ép sól i rèrè awakak ép nénén sur él wakak.**

sóldia *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin 'soldia, solodia' < English 'soldier'. *n.* -. *See:* **arum**. –

sóló *v.*

sólóh *n.* -. –
-. 1 • haddock, marlin.
2 • kind of tree.

sólók kind of clothing.

sólsól *n (comm.).* -. –
-. 1 • sky.
2 • air. **I sara tar sa kón ép sólsól a i pung sòu sa sai pirim.** He grasped at nothing and fell down.

sólsól *v.* walk through bush.

sóm .

sómap *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin. *v.* *See:* **suk**. **Di sómap aróp ragai lar na.**

són inchoative marker / ingressive marker. **Matòl són kan i, matòl són kan i.** We were pulling and pulling it out.

sónbut *v.* **I an ap i sónbut tar i sén ép wang.**

sóng₁ *v.tr.* meet. **Marau wòt ap marau sóng ma é Déntén.** We arrived and met Denten.

sóng₂ *n.* wild man. .

sópén *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'saucepan'. -. *See:* **lus madar?**. –

sóping *Borrowed from* English 'shopping'. -. *See:* **lòulòu**. –

sór .

sórói take responsibility. **I nap ól tur sórói pas i, tó baran na?**

sóróp *n.* kind of tree. **Ól kès ma katóng gali an kaptikén sóróp.**

sósóból -. -. –
1 • *v.itr.* mix.
2 • *n.* mixing. **Ningan tó dèh ép sósóból bèl ma i mórót ón tó warwar.**

sósópén *Variant:* **sópen**. *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin 'sospen' < English 'saucepan'. *n.* -. *See:* **lus (madar)?**. –

sósór .

sòi₁   *n (comm.).* snake. **Ól an katim kawas an lón buibui ap ól rè ning ép sòi ading gau.** You will go into the bush and you will see a snake there.

sòi₂   *v. -.*
   1 • move away.
   2 • send away. **Ól sòi ais ma ép tarai.** Send the people back.

sòi kut   *n.* kind of snake. .

sòi lai   *n.* kind of snake. .

sòisòi   *n. Morph:* **sòi–sòi**. caterpillar, pupa. . *Reduplication of:* **sòi**.

sòkòt   *n (comm.).* **A inan a lili ting an lón ép sòkòt.**

sòl   *v.* **A sòl kón kès kiòm ón kai gurar ón ép lótu.**

sòm   *v.* catch fish. **A tangir lik ki sòm.** A little mackerel got caught on the hook.

sòng   *v.tr.* load, pack. **Mèt akór ais i tik sén alò ép sópen un ap mèt sòng i an lón ép món madar.** We warmed up one pot and put it inside the dinghy.

sòp   *Borrowed from* English 'soap'. *n.* soap. .

sòròm   *n.* needle. .

sòsòt   *v.itr. Morph:* **sò–sòt**. light (fire). **U sòsòt i ón a palin lamas.** You light it with coconut hair. *Reduplication of:* **sòt**.

sòt₁   *v.itr.* land on beach. **A yawas ap a sòt tim an bòn.** I paddle and land on the beach.

sòt₂   right (direction). **Marau rak sur él tik ón marau él kès ón a sòtin limam ap él tik ón a kais in limam.**

sòtin   **Marau rak sur él tik ón marau él kès ón a sòtin limam ap él tik ón a kais in limam.**

sòu   off. **Amtòl ki tapagal sòu kabas matòl Bóngyan.**

sòwòt   *v.* climb up mountain, go up mountain, ascend mountain. **A sòwòt katóng adèh an lón i tik a lau.** I climbed down the other side into a valley.

stiring   *Variant:* **sitiring**. *Borrowed from* English 'string'. *n. -. See:* **rèrèh**. –

stóp   *Borrowed from* English. *v. -. See:* **suah**. –

su   *n (dim.).* vine, bush rope. **Ép rat i taksilir, matòl dòtdòt pas i ón ep su.** The basket broke and we fixed it with a bush rope.

su rórós   *n.* thorn. .

suah   [swah] *v.tr. -.* –
   1 • stop, quit. **suah ép mismuk** stop smoking.
   2 • let escape.

suak   *v.* **I suak kòl ép món, ap dit rarakai kòl kón yawas.**

suan   .

suan matan sis   *n.* kind of plant (near the beach). –

suangwór   *n.* kind of bird. .

sugut   *v.* push, jostle. .

Suilik   *pn.* protagonist in traditional narratives (Kabatarai's brother). **É Suilik i tòl ningan tó baran akak kòl: i alaun ép tarai ón tó tinsaman ap i alaun ningan i tik ép barsan na ki mat tar.** Suilik did many good things: he healed the sick and he resurrected a man who had died.

suk   *v.tr. -.* –
   1 • sew, stitch?
   2 • pierce.
   3 • give injection.

suk dókó   *n.* kind of shell. .

sukan   **A sur pas ép lóng lai sukan ép pòng.**

suksuk   *n.* kind of disease (something swollen). .

sukul   [su.'kul] *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin 'skul' < English 'school'. *-. See:* **rumai arèrè**. –

sukun   *n. -.* –
   1 • thorn. **sukun kadas** rattan thorn.
   2 • spike.

sukur   *n.* **U atur sòi aróp tar tó sukur pós.**

Sul   *pn.* place name. **A lain Marnai dit tapagal sòu pas ón a pukun lik tim gali di warai tim an Sul.** The Marnai clan broke off at a place called Sul.

sulai   *v.* wave. **bòròi tabar anun i ép sulai minat.**

sum   *v.* **Ép tangir él sum sén.** *Also:* **alaur sum**.

sumai   *v.* join. **Diat datdat pas ép lòlòs di sumai kiòm i.**

sumi   *v.* **A lain dit sumi tar i dat ki alaur sum ma ning.**

sumrai   *v.tr.* push. **I sumrai tar ép lón an lón ép sungut.** He pushed his mouth into the trap.

Sumréu   *pn.* place name. **I tik adóng an Sumréu.** One was in Sumréu, at a place called Tamin.

sumun lucky, fortunate.

sung

sungan Kel ngòrngòr sungan tòk baran angan.

sungut *n (comm.).* trap. **Na él tólói akès ép sis ap ép fat i an sòu ap ép sungut i bók it.** When it has trapped a fish, the stones falls off and the trap floats up.

sup [su:p] -. -. –
1 • *adv.* inside, into. **I kawar it ma ting gau sup an lón rumai.** It crawled inside the house.
2 • *v.itr.* go under (sun). **ép kamis i sup** the sun is going under.

sur₁ *n (dim.).* bone. **Kai pòl dit rak kòl sur a sur.** Dogs love bones.

sur₂ -. intentive marker. –
1 • *conj.* for, in order to. **Matòl inan tar sur matòl él amrai pòl.** We went to hunt pigs.
2 • *prep.* for. **Matòl bòrbòr papalas sur ép kirai.** We slept, waiting for the daylight.

sur₃ *v.* remove obstacles. **É Néwól ki warai kanak marau él sur ép malum.** Newól said that we would remove the sand for the river (to flow again).

sur taru– *Lit:* back-bone. *n.* spine. .

surik *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < German 'zurück'. -. *See:* **karai**. –

surlóbó *n.* kind of freshwater fish. .

suruk *v.* hickup. .

surun *n.* bone. **I kukutus aróp i tó surun liman.**

surung Sél ó as i lailai pas ati u ép mantékén taprasang surung? The frog or who was it swearing at you, "You are a big asshole?"

surup *n.* kind of saltwater fish. .

surus *n (dim.).* hill. **Marau wòt sòu sai gali an lakan a surus ning.** We had come to the top of that hill.

sus₁ [sus] -. -. *See:* **susu**. – *Also:* **tanin sus** 'care mother'.

sus₂ *v.* Kai sòisòi dit sus ép falinón dit, bèl ditél suah.

susu– *n.* breasts. **susun ki turtur** her breasts are growing.

susuah *n.* meat (animal). **Dit an dit nósnós susuah tóng talang an bèl.** They went looking for meat up there at no-man's-land.

susuku -. -. *See:* **munang**. –

susukun *n.* **Na ép susukun i góm ap i aung ép wit.** *Reduplication of:* **sukun**.

susulai [su.su.'lai] *v. Morph:* **su–sulai**. shop for somebody. **Ap ép baran kuntan nim talang an bòn i pas susulai i ma i ép kam kurkur lón bòn.** And this huge thing by the sea, it pushed the ship put to the sea. *Reduplication of:* **sulai**.

susun [su.'sun] -. -. –
1 • *v.itr.* carry on head. **Mèt dòdòt pas, mèt susun mèt is sén.** We finished tying them up, we carried them on our heads.
2 • *adj.* high in sky (sun). **Ép kamis ki susun tòstòs.** The sun was high in the sky.

susun étrar *Lit:* young woman's breast. *n.* kind of shell. .

susup *Morph:* **su–sup.** **Ép pòl i nang panai tar na i susup tim ané lón ép bòn.** The dog was waiting in vain after he had jumped into the sea. *Reduplication of:* **sup**.

sut *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin 'sut(im)' < English 'shoot'. –

sutlam *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'shoot, lamp'. *n (comm.).* -. *See:* **manlar madar?**. –

sutsut *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'shoot'. shoot. **Mèt sutsut ma kai bòròi ón ting an lón buibui ón tó masket sa.** We shot the pigs in the bush with guns.

s'alò *adv. Morph:* **s(én)=alò.** yet again, one more time. – *Contraction of:* **sén alò**.

s'él -. *Morph:* **s(ur)=é–l.** – *Contraction of:* **sur él**.

T – t

ta₁ [ta] *article.* any (indefinite, diminutive). **Dit él bus pas ta yai.** They will cut off one of the trees.

ta₂ [ta] *dem.adv.* proximal locative adverb. *Morph:* **t–a.** **Matòl nós sur amrau ta gau.** We looked for you here.

ta– [ta] *n (hum.).* -. –

1 • mother. **É Lester i an kasai arisan é Tan.** Lester went to this mother.

2 • big x (lit. 'mother of x'). **I tik ép tan bakói sòm pas.** A big shark bit.

Tabai *pn.* ritual in which the human body is cut. .

tabam *v.tr.* fumble for. **I tabam tat pas i tik a tan kuk.** He fumbled for a crab.

tabar *v.tr.* -. –

1 • give food. **Ki tabar matòl ma ón ép lamas.** He gave us some coconuts (to eat/drink).

2 • feed. **Matòl bas tabar pas kai pòl ón ép lamas.** We had to feed the dogs some cocounuts.

tabun *n.* kind of banana. .

tabut *v.* have a hole. **Ki nuknuk ma ón ép wang na ki tabut.**

tadai *v.itr.* look up. **Na diat tadai òt lar na ap diat ki rè ép barsan mòmòl sai gali an lakan i ép yai.**

Taga *pn.* -. *See:* **Tangga**. –

tagar *v.tr.* -. –

1 • close. **A inan kawas ap a tagar ép mata rumai ap a inan ma a bòrbòr.** I went inside, closed the door and went to sleep.

2 • lock up.

3 • block.

tagar alar *Lit:* block-protect. *ser.v.* -. –

1 • lock in, lock away. .

2 • block, dam (up). **Amrau él sòi ép ngórngór sur kón tagar alar ép bòn.** Go to those points so you can block the water.

Tagórman *pn.* protagonist in traditional narratives. .

tagòi *n (comm.).* **Ép tagói kuntan sai gali ón ningan kai tatasin mèt na dit anisai gali.**

tagur *Variant:* **West coast Siar (East coast Siar 'tangur').** *v.tr.* chop (tree). **Na u tagur apung tar i ap an mur ón ól kutus i.** After you have chopped it down you cut it in two.

tah *dem.adv.* where? *Morph:* **t–ah. I kèp ép baran na i mamakan ón tah?** Where did she get that salty stuff for it?

tai *v.* steer (canoe or boat, by sitting at the back). **Kès an pótór, yau al tai ép món arin dat.** Sit in the middle, I will steer the canoe. *Also:* **ép tan ép tai** 'operator ; captain'.

taim *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'time'. *n.* -. *See:* **kirai.** –

taina *n.* kind of banana. .

takal *v.* break off (e.g. wind breaks of branch of a tree). **A rakan yai ning i takal sòu pas ón diat.** The branch broke off beneath them.

takil *v.* **Marau aim tik ép kaswai sigil ap i tik ép kaswai takil.**

takis *n.*

takisip [ta.ki.'sip] *v.itr.* crack, cracked. **I tik ép dèh ón ép wang i takisip.** One side of the canoe was cracked.

taksilir *v.itr.* torn. **Ép rat i taksilir, matòl dòtdòt pas i ón ép su.** The basket was ripped, we fixed it with a rope. *Anticausative form of:* **silir.**

takutus [ta.ku.'tus] *v.itr.* broken apart. **Ép tarai kinbalin anun darau i takutus ón i da ép kirai.** Our friendship ends today. *Anticausative form of:* **kutus.**

tal *v.* -. *See:* **taltal.** –

tala *v.itr.* err about. **Ép Nón ning i tala gutugutu ting gau an lón pal.**

talai [ta.'lai] *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin?. *n (dim.).* herring, sardine. **A só pas i tik a talai ap a wuk i ting ón a ragòu.** I speared a herring and put it on the fishing hook.

talang **I yél it ma sai talang an lón bòn.** He was swimming there in the sea.

talar *v.* confused. .

talasia *n.* kind of banana. .

talba *v.itr.* look around. **I talba rakana ap diat ki liuliu ma.** He looked around and they had run away.

talilis₂ *Morph:* **ta–lilis.** -. *See:* **kam pól.** –

talilis -. -. –

1 • -. adj.

2 • *v.* turn around. **Ép walis i talilis.** The radar was turning around.

3 • *v.* **Di tur talilis ép ran.** They stand around the earth oven.

talirit   *v.itr.* turn around. **Na i talirit pirim ap i é Doreen ading gau i kès lik.** When he turned around, Doreen was sitting there.

talis₁   *v.* **Di warai ning tó baran kón talis ma ép pók.**

talis₂   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin?. *n.* –

talnga–   *n (comm.).* -. –
    1 • ghost, spirit. **Ép talngan i a tasin barsan ning i wòt kamrisan ap i warai, "Góng u matutut."** The spirit of his (dead brother came to him and said, "Don't be afraid."
    2 • soul.

talngai   *v.*

talngan sógór   *n.* kind of saltwater fish. .

talngan tabu   *Lit:* taboo spirit. *n.* Holy Spirit. .

talngan tikul   *n.* kind of saltwater fish. .

talngan tòstòs   *n.*

taltal   *v.itr.* walk around, wander around, stroll around. **taltal òròs** walk around without purpose. *Also:* **ép mata– i taltal** 'get unconscious (lit. eye is wandering around')'.

talung   *n (comm.).* demon. **Kai talung dit wòt ap dit dat sòi i tik ép falin mèt.** The demons came and took one of us.

tam   *v.* **Ép lar i tam i.**

tam   *n. See:* **tan. A rak al usrai i tik ép tam umum ta gau an Siar.** I want to talk about a fighter here in Siar.

tam alélé   *n.* egret, heron. .

tam góm   *n.* dove. .

tam kòdòbilang   *n.* kind of saltwater fish. .

tam lóngón   *n.* kind of banana. .

tam pakawas   *n.* hawk. .

tam patkai   *n.* kind of bird. .

tam rebòn   *n.* kind of tree. .

tam saikòtòu   *n.* kind of bird. .

tam yamuritó   *n.* kind of saltwater fish. .

tama–   *n (hum.).* father, daddy. **É Taman i lili wòt.** His father came running.

tamai   *n.* kind of banana. .

tamala kusur   *n.* kind of saltwater fish. .

taman é móngót   *Lit:* Móngót's father. *n.* kind of bird. .

taman kaulak   *Lit:* father Kaulak. *n.* kind of bird. .

Tamarakup   *pn.* place name. .

Tamaret   *pn.* name of a cave. **Dirau an is kata an Tamaret ap dirau ki arup i ting gau an lón ép kulam ning.** They returned to Tamaret and they put him inside the cave there.

tamartai   *n.* kind of saltwater fish. .

tamató   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin 'tomato' < English 'tomato'. *n (comm.).* tomato. –

tambai

tambalis   *n.*

tambaró   *n.* kind of belt used for certain festivities.

Tamin   *pn.* -. **Tik adóng an Sumreu, ning na di warai é Tamin.** One was down at Sumreu, the place they call Tamin.

tamrai   *v.tr.* share. **É Yesu i tamrai tar ép bérét karin ép tarai.**

tamrawa   *v.* scattered about. **Ép baran angan róp ngan matòl i tamrawa róp ón ép lón bòn.** Our food was scattered everywhere over the sea.

tamrur   *n (dim.).* bigger flying insect (black). .

tan₁   *n (comm.).* person. **ép tan ép farum** fighter ; soldier.

tan₂   *Morph:* **t(a)=an.** – *Contraction of:* **ta an.**

tan ép arèrè   *Lit:* person that causes to see. *n (comm.).* teacher. **A arèrè sur al kamap ép tan ép arèrè.** I studied to become a teacher.

tan ép farum   *Lit:* person that fights. *n (comm.).* fighter, soldier. .

tan ép tai   *Lit:* steering person. *n (comm.).* operator, captain. .

tan liwan   *Lit:* mother of a knife. *n.* machete, bush knife. **A kèp pas a tan liwan ap a inan katim an kaptikén gòtò.** I take the machete and go to the base of the bamboo.

tan ulima–   *Lit:* mother-finger. *n.* thumb. .

tang   *v.tr.* trace. **Marau ki tang tik ép bòròi ónsa ning i angan tar.** We traced a pig that had just eaten.

Tangga   *Variant:* **Taga**. *pn.* -. – *Also:* **warwar Taga** 'Tangga language'.
    1 • Tangga Island.
    2 • people living on Tangga Island.

tangir *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin?. *n (comm.).* mackerel, kingfish. **I dat pas i tik ma ép tangir.** He pulled out one mackerel.

tangrai *n (dim.).* **Kapsur ais i an lakan i a tangrai kati pirim is an Biam.**

tangtang₁ *n (comm.).* rubber tree. .

tangtang₂ *v.* follow footprints. **Dit tangtang lik i a nat lik ti gau an lakan i a tung ón é Tan dit.**

tangtang is *Lit:* footprint-follower. *n.* kind of saltwater fish. .

Tangula *pn.* name of a river in the Siar area. .

tangur *v.tr.* -. *See:* **tagur.** –

tanin sus *Lit:* breast mother. -. -. –

1 • *n.* foster mother. **I mis sòi kòl pas tik a natun ning ép falin kai tanin sus.** He strongly hit the child of one of the foster mothers.

2 • *v.* act as foster mother, look after child, care for child. **Ép fain i tanin sus ón a natun mani.** The woman looked after a small bird.

tanir [ta.'nir] *n (comm.).* **Ka nuknuk ép tanir na matòl taman i ó atun i da ó ép sah i da?**

tanur *n.* male widow. **Amtòl rèrè main lik amtòl rèrè main lik, ón sa tó baran na kón tanur arimat i.**

tapagal *v.itr.* break apart. **Dit él kuar ép barsan ap ép puklun él tapagal sòu.** *Anticausative form of:* **pagal.**

tapak *Variant:* **East coast Siar?.** -. *See:* **bakbak.** –

tapék **I pung kata an piu ap i ségér it ma ap ép busai i tapék an lón.**

tapiók *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin?. -. *See:* **uh yai.** –

tapiól . *Anticausative form of:* **piól.**

taprasang **As i lailai pas ati u ép mantékén taprasang surung?** Who was swearing to you, saying that you are a big asshole?

tapulpul *n.* kind of banana. .

tapunuk *n (comm.).* sadness, grief, worry. .

tar₁ [tar] *v.atr.* -. –

1 • give. **Tar i arik.** Give it to me.

2 • give birth to. **É Mary i tar é Jesus.** Mary gave birth to Jesus.

3 • decide on something (e.g. date).

tar₂ [tar] *n.* kind of soil. **Ép yiwun dit él kus i ón ép mèmèrèk in ép tar.** They will paint their skin with red soil.

tar₃ *part.* -. –

1 • perfect marker. **Bèlbèl ma, dit ki an tar.** Nobody is here, they have gone.

2 • marker for immediate relevance.

taragau *n.* -. *See:* **targau.** –

tarai [ta.'rai] *n (comm.).* -. *HOMO SAPIENS SAPIENS.* – *Irregular plural of:* **barsan.**

1 • men. **I inan pukus tar sur ép rumai na kai nanat tarai dit bòrbòr gau.** It went to the house where the boys were sleeping.

2 • people. **I tik ép kirai, ép bòròi i yan aróp pas ép tarai.** One day, the pig ate all the people.

3 • humans, mankind.

taram *v.tr.* spread. **Ép waran dirau i rak lar a parar na i taram aróp ép anu.** Their speeches would be like the thunder spreading all over the world.

tarausérs *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin 'trausis' < English 'trousers'. *n.* -. *See:* **kayén kawas.** –

tarayu [ta.ra.'ju] *n (comm.).* -. –

1 • area for men only. **Diat sòt tar ma tim kawas ón ép tarayu anun kók gurar gau.** They landed at the women's area.

2 • kind of festivity (for men?) **Ép tarayu tóng an Kabatan i pagal sòi.** The festivities up at Kabatan began.

targau *Variant:* **taragau.** *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin?. *n.* sea eagle. *PANDION HALIAËTUS.* –

tari *adverbial.* maybe, perhaps. **Tari ép kónóm in dit, dit ana sa pukus an Lambóm.** Maybe most of them are down at Lambóm.

taru– -. -. –

1 • *n (comm.).* back. **Ning i kès kata ap ning i kès katan taruk.**

2 • *prep.* behind.

tarun ngòngòt *Lit:* back pain. *n.* backpain. .

tasi– *n.* -. –

1 • sibling.

2 • cousin.

tasim [ta.'si:m] *v.tr.* know. **Bèl a tasim ón.** I don't know.

tat₁ [tat] *v.tr.* -. –

1 • uncover. **Dirau tat sòi ép kabinuh.** They uncovered the earth oven.

2 • discover. **I rak él nós rak lar na ap ki rè tat ép sòi.** When she looked she discovered the snake.

tat₂   [tat] *n.* kind of tree. .

tata   [ta.'ta] *n (hum.).* father (own), daddy (own). **I tik ép kirai marau é Tata marau inan kasai an Ningin.** One day, me and my father we went over to Ningin.

tatal pipis   spiral. .

tatalar   **I ding ép warwar na dit warai pas i sén alò o tatalar kòl, ab bèl i arlar.**

tatami   *v.* **I kikisip to bérét ap i tar i arin kai nanat anun sur dit él tatami ép tarai ón.**

tatanu   .

tatapial   [ta.ta.pi.'jal] *n (dim.).* gecko. .

tatasi–   *n. Morph:* **ta–tasi–**. siblings. **Kai tatasik róp dit inan ap dit tólói ya sa ma.** All my siblings came and held my hand. *Reduplication of:* **tat**.

tatasim   *Morph:* **ta~tasim**. -. -. – *Reduplication of:* **tasim**.

     1 • *v.itr.* know. **Matòl tatasim ma.** We know (about it).

     2 • *adj.* intelligent, smart, clever.

     3 • *n (comm.).* knowledge. **Diat inan ma sur kanak na i ép tatasim kón wók i ép sip i kès ma sai kawas.** They went because the knowledge for building a ship was there.

tatat   [ta.'tat] *v.itr. Morph:* **ta–tat**. uncover (earth oven). **Dirau tatat lar na ap bèl al ma tók bòròi.** They uncovered the earth oven but there was no pig. *Reduplication of:* **tat**.

tataun   [ta.ta.'u:n] *n.* abandoned place. **I ding ép tataun anun dat róp i sén i ding.** This is an abandoned place for all of us.

tatór   *n.* kind of fish (big, red). **Kai talngan tikul, kai tatór ap kai kaburyah liklik na a dat dit.** I pulled out some xxx, yyy and zzz fish.

tau₁   *n.* soil. **A lós pas ép kurau ap a lis ép tau.** *Also:* **lis tau** 'loosen soil'.

tau₂   *n.* school (of fish). **Kai sis bèl ma dit mórót tar kón sisirók sai kawas an lón bòn, a tau.** The fish were plenty out in the sea, a school of fish.

taubar   [tau.'ba:r] *n (comm.).* south east trade wind. **Ép taubar ki wuwut.** The trade wind was blowing.

taulai   [tau.'lai] -. -. – *Nominalized form:* **tinaulai**.

     1 • *adj.* married. **I kès tóng an Kabóman, ap tóng gau ap i taulai ma tóng an Kabóman.** She lives in Kabóman and she is married there.

     2 • *v.* marry. **kisim ring ; marit long**

taulé   .

taun₁   *n.* in-law.

taun₂   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'town'. *n.* -. *See:* **fanu**. –

taun₃   *n (dim).* school of fish.

taun ain   *Lit:* female in-law. *n.* mother-in-law. .

taunam   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin. *n.* -. *See:* **kèh mumus**. –

tauru   **Dit él lós pas i ép fain ning ap dat él lus tauru dit.**

taus   [ta.'u:s] *n (comm.).* malay apple. *EUGENIA DOMESTICA.* **Dit kòt i gata anén ép taus na arin mèt.**

tawan₁   [ta.'wan] *v.* -. –

     1 • cover with stones. **Di tur talilis ép ran di tawan sòi.** They stand around the earth oven and cover the pig with stones.

     2 • put on top.

tawan₂   [ta.'wan] *n.* kind of tree. **É Solomon i warai kanak bèl i rak él kawas tók tawan.** Solomon said that he did not want to climb the (???) tree.

teten   *n (dim).* **Diat ki ting sòi i ding a teten.**

ték   *v.itr.* **Na dit tar sòi a sut lar na ép silik i ték.**

téké–   *n.* excrement. **Ép tékén i ma é Rókrók.** The frog's excreta.

tékén ép yah   *Lit:* excrement of fire. *Variant:* **kam lua**. *n.* ashes, dust. –

tékték   *n.* kind of saltwater fish. .

tél   *v.itr.* bloat. **Ól gat i tik ép tinsaman kanak na ép balam él tél.**

télipaun   *Borrowed from* English 'telephone'. *n.* telephone.

tér   *v.tr.* fetch non-drinkable liquid. **tér bensin** fill container with petrol.

térét   *Borrowed from* English 'thread'. -. *See:* **rèrèh**. –

tè   -. -. –

1 • *v.tr.* take by hand. **É Róbóam i an i tè pas dirau.** Róbóam went and took the two by the hand.

2 • *v.tr.* inform. **I inan katim an lakman ap i tè pas kai tarai.** He went to the village and informed the people.

3 • *dem.adv.* here, there (with pointing gesture). **Kes tè.** Sit (t)here (with pointing gesture).

tèkèn *inj.* Sorry!, I feel for you! **Òh tèkèn, u rak yau na a maris kòl i na ki an.** Oh sorry, you want me to feel sorry that he has gone.

tèlèh *v.* **Dirau tèlèh sai an mók.**

tènir *n (dim.).* kind of fish. **Marau só pas kai sis kès, i tik a tenir ón kai sis.**

tètè *n (hum.).* grandfather, grandpa. **É Tètè, a liwan i yan i ó ép bòròi i yan i?** My grandfather, did he cut himself with a knife or did a pig bite him. *Also:* **pal tètè** 'old man'.

tètèr *v.* **Ayap kapit i sóhsóh ép fanat ap i tètèr kòl sén.**

tètètèr

ti₁ *article.* indefinite noun phrase marker (non-diminutive). **Kai pòl dit él ngas tik ti alin kai bòròi ning.** The dogs will bite one of the pigs.

ti₂ -. *Morph:* **t-i(ng).** – *Reduced form of:* **ting**.

tibé *v.tr.* share. **Matòl tibé ón tó rumai taman kak tóng gali an Atat.**

tik *num.* one. **i tik ép kalang** one month.

tikai₁ *num.* first. **tikai bòng, a ruan bòng, a tòlin bòng** first night, second night, third night.

tikai₂ **Ki rè bebenge yau na tikai kukuk arin matòl kawan.**

tikin first. **Diat bòt ning diat ser a tikin bòng.**

tiktik *Lit:* one-one. *adv. Morph:* **tik~tik.** each. **Na ki kakabah tiktik ón dit lar na ap ki warai dit él pangang.** *Reduplication of:* **tik**.

tikul *n.* kind of fish. **Kai talngan tikul, kai tatór ap kai kaburyah liklik na a dat dit.**

tikur *n.* kind of bird. .

tim *dem.adv.* -. *Morph:* **t-im.** –
1 • down (there).
2 • there (following coast in anticlockwise direction). **Ép pal tètè ning i kès tim an Lambóm.** That old man lived down on Lambóm. (uttered in Lamassa to the north, following the coast anticklockwise).

tima *n.* -. –
1 • kind of tree (used for boat construction).
2 • kind of bird.

Timai *n.* **I nór sóu kati pirim an lón é timai di atòng lik i ma é Menering.**

timak *n.* name of a deadly spell. **Timak ép barsan ap ép barsan puklun él tapagal ap ép silik él nórnór sòu ting ón a kabusun.** When you cast the timak spell over somebody, his head breaks apart and blood will run out of his nose.

Tin *part.* particle that precedes female names (obsolete). **Suilik dirau sin é Tin Awe.** Suilik and his sister Tin Awe.

tin *Borrowed from* English. *n.* -. *See:* **galóng**. –

tinan -. -. *Morph:* **t-in-an?.** –
1 • *adj.* pregnant. **Ép fain i tinan.** The woman is pregnant.
2 • *n (comm.).* unborn child. **Di pòr kiòm tar é Tan main ép tinan ón.** They bury the mother and her unborn child.
3 • *n (comm).* pregnancy.

tinaulai *n (comm.).* -. *Morph:* **t-in-aulai.** **I tik ép tinaulai mètèk kón agómgóm pas i tik ép tarai anun ép fain.** *Nominalization of:* **taulai**.
1 • marriage.
2 • married person. **Tari kók tirai lélé anuk ón ép nósnós na ép taim na kamap ya i tik ép tinaulai yau.** Maybe this is the experience I have gained being a married person.

tinbórtin *n.* kind of tree. .

ting₁ *v.tr.* hack, cut in pieces. **A ting pas i tik sén alò ép pelir.** I cut another eel.

ting₂ *dem.adv. Morph:* **t-ing.** -. –
1 • there (at aforementioned place). **I tuk ga ting i ding kam usrai.** This story ends there.
2 • there (at the following place). **Aning gau sa ma a kès ting an lón rumai.** I was there now and I was sitting there now in the house.

tingatingo *n.*

tinsaman -. -. **Ól gat i tik ép tinsaman kanak na ép balam él tél.** You will have a sickness that will cause your belly to bloat. *Nominalization of:* **sam**.
1 • *n (comm.).* sickness, desease.
2 • *n (hum).* sick person.

tintin *v.* big, old. **ép tarai tintin**

tirai *v.tr.* search, look for, look at. **Na dit tirai tó pepa ap dit ki warai kanak na ép farum ki róp.** When they looked, the papers said that the war had ended.

tirai lélé *Lit:* search recognize. *n (mass.).* experience. **Tari kók tirai lélé anuk ón ép nósnós na ép taim na kamap ya i tik ép tinaulai yau.** Maybe this is the experience I have gained being a married person.

tiri -. -. –
1 • *v.* **Ap i ép pól ón piam ki tiri ma.**
2 • *n.*

tirtir *n.* kind of saltwater fish. **Ka dat i at a natun sis lik, kai natun tirtir liklik.** I caught four little fish, four small tirtir fish.

tis

tisai *Variant:* **sai**. *dem.adv. Morph:* **t–isai**. -. *See:* **sai**.

tit *n.*

titih *n.* kind of tree. .

titihi– *n.* end of somebody.

titikai *n.* kind of banana. .

tius *n.* stream. .

tiwit *Borrowed from* < sound of bird's voice. *n.* kiwi (bird). .

toalip *n.* wind coming from the sea toward New Ireland.

Tó *Borrowed from* Kuanua 'To'. *part.* particle that precedes male names. **Ép risén ép taman barsan nisai é Tó Malanu.** The name of that man over there is Tó Malanu.

tó *article.* the (plural, inanimate). **tó rumai** houses.

tóbólómó *n.* kind of freshwater animal. .

tóbón *n.* smell. .

tódóng *n (comm.).* feast, party, festivity. **Na diat ki wòt ap diat ki asòu sòu ón ép tódóng anun diat i.** When they arrived they had already started their feast.

tógér *n.* kind of custom. .

tógói *v.tr.* -. –
1 • line up. **A tógói ép yai ap a dòt i.** I line up the branches and tie them up.
2 • align.

tóh₁ *v.tr.* often used in serial verb constructions. –
1 • try. **Bèl dirau són yan tóh tar ning ngan kam payam.** They did not taste her meal.

2 • test.

tóh₂ *v.* support. **I sa na rè i na bèl ma tik ana an muruk su kón nangan yau, kón atòtòl yau ón ép sah na kón tóh pas matòl taman.** I realized that there is nobody behind me to help me, to support me with anything to help my family.

tóhtóh *n.* kind of bat (big). **Ép tan manmani is i ding òt lón bòn i ròwòi an, ép tóhtóh.** That is a huge bird coming to us, a big flying fox.

tói *n.* son. **Wai tói, ku móh ma nu rak lar ning?** Hey son, why are you doing that?

tók *article.* the (mass nouns). **Bèl al tók malum.** There is no water.

tókalók *n (comm.).* boar. .

tóktók *v.* spotted. **Na i rup lón i ép fur ning sur lar ma ning dat ki rè ép fón ning lar i tóktók lar ép wur.**

Tólai *Variant:* **Kuanua (language)**. *pn.* -. –
1 • ethnic group of East New Britain.
2 • Tólai language.

tólói *v.tr.* -. –
1 • hold. **I tólói tar ma a rop sai an mung ón ép món madar.** He held the dinghy by the rope at its front.
2 • touch.
3 • look after, care for somebody. **É Tó Aróng i tólói pas i é Tó Malanu, ap i tòltòl é Tó Malanu.** Tó Aróng passte.

tólói akès *Lit:* hold causing to sit. *ser.v (tr.).* *Morph:* **tólói a–kès**. trap. **Na él tólói akès dit ap ép fat i an sòu ap ép sungut i bók òt.** When it has trapped them a stone will fall off and the trap will float up.

tóm *v.itr.* smell well. **Ép kaswai i tóm akak kòl.** The mangoe smells beautifully.

tón   **Bèl ma u nap ól kók alèlè tón i sa.**

tónén *n.* kind of coconut (orange). .

tóng *v.*

tóng *dem.adv.* there. **I bèh tar i tóng an bòn an Kingén.** It was floating in the sea up at Kingen. (uttered in Lamassa, following the coast anticlockwise).

tóngtóng **I tik ép barsan ép talung laulau ading ón i tóngtóng kaptai pas i sén.**

tónó *n (comm.).* parrot fish. .

tóp *v.itr.* land (flying animals). **Kai bém dit wòt, dit tóp it lakan i tó purpur ting gau.** The butterflies landed where the flowers are.

tórók *n (dim.).* drop. .

tórón single. **Bèl i nap al aim pas él tik sa ti tórón baran ting sup an lón ép barim.**

tósó *n (dim.).* heart. .

tótókón *n.* handle (on paddle).

tótór .

tòh *n (comm.).* sugarcane. **A wun tar sa ngak ép tòh.** I hid my sugarcane. *Also:* **pakan tòh** 'kind of saltwater fish'.

tòi *v.* cut off banana. **Malawa i inan i tòi pas ép fun.** Malawa went and cut off a banana.

tòk **É Taman papas pas i tòk.**

tòkòm *v.tr.* -. –
1 • rent.
2 • pay fare. **É Nana i tòkòm tar ép bot ap mèt lili.**

tòl₁ *v.tr.* -. –
1 • do, make. **É Suilik i tòl ningan tó baran akak kòl.** Suilik did many good things.
2 • create. **É Kamgói i an ap i tòl pas ép barsan.** God went and created man.

tòl₂ *num.* three. **i tòl ép lóng** three tables.

tòlin *num.* third. **Matòl inan ap katóng ón a tòlin malum ap matòl ki par i.** We went up to the third river and we crossed it.

tòlin kirai *Lit:* third day. *n.* Wednesday. .

tòltòl *n (comm.).* -. –
1 • deed.
2 • habit. **ép usrai na ón ép tòltòl sa na u gang na u bòrbòr.** a story about the habit when you get drunk and you sleep.
3 • tradition(s), culture. **sur na ép warwar ngadarau i ap ép tòltòl ading gau sén él wakak tar.** so that our language and our traditions will all be good.

tòltòl *v.tr.* -. –
1 • do; make. **Yauh aróp kai bòròi ap dit él tòltòl i ma an lakan tó lóng.** They will mumu all of the pigs and they will put them on the tables.
2 • cast spell over, bewitch. **É Tó Aróng i tólói pas i é Tó Malanu, ap i tòltòl é Tó Malanu.** Tó Aróng looked after To Malanu, and he cast spells over Tó Malanu.

tòltòl laulau *Lit:* bad deed. *n.* sin. .

tòròt *v.* believe (in). .

tòstòs *v.* -. – *Also:* **warai tòstòs** 'make clear'; *Antonym of:* **dengdeng**.
1 • straight. **Matòl bók tòstòs ting an pótór in ép malum.** We were floating right in the middle of the river.
2 • correct, right.
3 • holy. **talngan tòstòs** Holy Spirit.

tòtòk *n.* -. –
1 • kind of liana, used to tie things together.
2 • kind of basket.

tòtòkòm *n.* freight (cost).

tòtòkròs weak (body). **Ép falinók ki tòtòkròs.** I feel weak.

tòtòl *v.tr.* grab, reach for. **I tòtòl sa ón a kódóran ap i dat i sa.** He grabbed the snake by its neck and just pulled it.

tòtòròt -. -. *Morph:* **tò–tòròt.** – *Reduplication of:* **tòròt.**
1 • *v.* believe. **Ól tòtòròt ón i ding ép minat anun é Suilik.** You will believe in the death of Suilik.
2 • *n (comm.).* belief.

tubu– *n.* -. –
1 • grandfather/grandmother relation. **A tar i arin é Tubun e Isiah.** I gave it to Isiah's grandfather.
2 • ancestor. **kai tutubun datòl** our ancestors.

tubul -. -. –
v.tr. 1 • hit with fist, punch.
2 • knock. **Él tubul kutus i tik a palang.**

tubun ain *Lit:* ancestor mother. *n.* grandmother, granny. **É Suilik ki yan tóh i kam payam ning na é Tubun Ain dirau i an titi tar i.** Suilik tasted the leftovers of their grandmother's vegetables.

tubun barsan *Lit:* ancestor man. *n.* grandfather. .

tubuna *Borrowed from* Kuanua?. *n.* -. *See:* **tubun.** –

tugus *v.* **Él tugus al sén alò karin amat.**

tuk *v.itr.* -. –
-. 1 • get stuck. **Na a basi sòi ap nak na a dat sòi, nak na a sakrai tim ané i tuk.** When I have cast it and when I pull it out quickly it gets stuck.
2 • be over. **Ép usrai anuk i i tuk sa ting gau.** My story ends there.

tukalayó   *n.* kind of saltwater fish. .

tuklun   *n.* piece (short). **Ép lamas ning ép tuklun lamas sa.** That coconut tree did not have a crown.

tul   *Borrowed from* < sound of horn. *n.*

tumtulus   *n.* kind of tree. .

tun   *v.tr. -. –*

1 • cook, roast. **Matòl tun ép fun.** We cooked bananas.

2 • burn. **Dit ki tun ép fanu sai gali.** They were burning down the village.

3 • dry. **U lós ép lamas katim an rumai lamas ap u tun sòi i.** You bring the copra to the copra drier and dry it.

tung   *n (dim.). -. –*

1 • hole. **Mèt kawas tar an lón a tung.** We climbed into a hole.

2 • grave.

tungtumus   *n.* kind of tree. .

tur   *v.itr. -. –*

1 • stand. **É Pasta adóng ma an piu i tur tar.** The pastor was standing outside.

2 • start, begin. **I tik ép falin tim talang an mas i tur pas ép mahlai.** His partner on the beach started laughing.

turai₁   *-. -. –*

1 • *v.* wait?

2 • *adj.* old. **A sarunlès turai i an sòu ap a sarunlès mètèk i an òt.** The old year was over and the new year had started.

turai₂   *n (comm.).* spear. **Bèl i lós tar ép turai.** He did not carry the spear.

turai pòl   *n.* leading dog (for hunting).

turbat   *v.* **Ép usrai kón suah, kón turbat i ding ép tinsaman is i da.**

tursup   *n (comm.).* kind of crab. **Ép tan tursup kuntan in adisai anén ép yai, i angan it.** This giant crab was there under the tree eating.

tutubu–   *n.* ancestors. **Uring uring sén kai tutubun dat dit rèrè yan ais dit.** Long long ago our ancestors used to eat each other. *Reduplication of:* **tubu–**.

tutui   *v.*

tutun   *Morph:* **tu~tun**. *-. -. –* *Reduplication of:* **tun**.

1 • *v.itr.* cook. **Matòl tutun pas ap matòl angan pas.** We cooked and we ate.

2 • *adj.* cooked, roasted. **ép fun tutun** roasted banana.

tuwul   *n.* cowrie shell. .

U – u

u   *-.* personal pronoun (2nd person singular). –

1 • *subj.pro.* you (singular). **U rak sur tók malum?** Do you want some water?

2 • *obj.pro.* you (singular). **É Tamam él um u.** You father will beat you.

ubén   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin. *n. -. See:* **kèh**. –

udam   *n.* kind of sweet potato. .

uh   *n.* .

uh bis   *n.* kind of coconut. .

uh yai   *n.* cassava, tapioka. .

uk   *Borrowed from* English 'hook'. *n. -. See:* **ragòu**. –

ulai   *n.* kind of flower. .

uli   *n (comm.).* thatch. .

ulima–   [u.li.'ma] *n (dim.).* finger. **Kep sòi, i sipuk sa ón a uliman.**

ulmi–   [ul.'mi] *n (dim.).* urine. .

ulut   *n (dim.).* whitebait. **A inan kating a ulut i ròkòs gau.**

um   [u:m] *Variant:* **fum**. *v.tr. -. –*

1 • hit, beat. **Góng u um ép pòl!** Don't hit the dog!

2 • catch. **Dira um pas i tik ep bòròi.** They caught a pig.

umi   *n (comm.).* **I tur pas ép umi.**

umum   *Variant:* **arum**. *n (comm.).* war, quarrel. *Morph:* **um–um**. **I tik ép tam umum ta gau an Siar na di warai ép tam umum ón, ép risen e Tómól.** *Reduplication of:* **um**.

umyan   [u:m'jan] *n.* catfish. .

un   *n. -. See:* **fun**. **A kèp pas i tik a kumlin un.** I took half a banana. *Also:* **kaptikén un** 'newly married woman'.

Undór   *pn.* place name. .

unu₁   *n.* dynamite. **Na a rèrè wòt kata an lakman ap ép wang lar sén di bas i tar a unu lar sa na.** When I come here to the village, my canoe usually looks as if I used dynamite for fishing.

unu₂   *n.* kind of tree. **Ka rè tar i tó kaptikén unu na nóng gau òt.** I have also seen the bases of unu trees up there.

Unu₃   *Variant:* **Kónum Unu**. *pn.* clan name. **Ta ané ón ép lain Kam Lapar, i tik ép lain sén alò dit ana ané di warai dit a Kunum Unu ón dit.** Below the Kam Lapar is another clan they call Konom Unu.

up   [u:p] *v.itr.* take off, get in gear, get going (infml.) **Matòl són kan i ap i an ap matòl up.**

ur   *n.* -. *See:* **fur**. –

urai   *v.* dry (clothes). **A inan ap a urai ép lamas.**

urang   -. *See:* **langai**. –

urat   *n.* kind of tree. .

uri   **Dit sòi uri sòi ais i.**

uring   *adverbial.* ago, earlier. **uring uring sén** long long ago.

urisai   *Variant:* **urisa**. day after tomorrow.

urit   *n.* -. *See:* **furit**. –

urlang tai   *n.* kind of plant. .

usai   *v.tr.* blow something. **Ép taubar i usai rèrègèh i ép wang ning.** The trade wind blew apart the canoe.

usrai   -. -. – *Also:* **usrai ép warwar** 'spread word'; **usrai ngis** 'gospel'.
     1 • *n (comm.).* story. **A ral al usrai i tik ép usrai.** I want to tell a story.
     2 • *v.atr.* tell a story.

usur   **tó tòltòl lar ép rèrè usur**

ut   *v.tr.* take. **A ut pas kam dókón ap a sarsar ting an lakman arik gau.** I took the broom and I swept my place.

ut   *Variant:* **fut**. *n (dim.).* -. *See:* **fut**. –

uti   *Variant:* **ati**. **Dit lós uti kai tinsaman karisan.**

utih   *v.atr.* fetch water. **A yawas katim an Biwa ap a utih pas.** I paddle to Biwa and fetch water.

W – w

wabókór   *n.* kind of banana. .

wah   -. -. –
     1 • *n (comm.).* poison.
     2 • *n (comm.).* sorcery. **Ép tarai tan Siar uring dit tasim kòl ón ép wah.** The Siar people long ago knew very much about sorcery.
     3 • *v.tr.* cast spell, bewitch.

wai₁   *n (comm.).* crocodile. **I tik ép natun wai adim ma pirim, i yélyél it.** There was a little crocodile swimming around.

wai₂   *v.itr.* bear fruit. **I tik a lès ki wai sòu róp tar.** One nut tree was full of nuts.

wai₃   [wai] *inj.* Hey! **Wai, ma ép tarai sén ón amat dit ning!** Hey, those are our people!

wain   *Borrowed from* English 'wine'. *n.* wine. **I tik ép barsan i aim tar i tik ép barim wain.**

waiwai   *n.* **I tik ép fain i wér ép waiwai an puklun é Yesu.**

wakak   *Variant:* **akak**. *v.* good, well. **Ka nós sòi wakak i ép baran ning.** I looked carefully at that thing. *Phrase:* **Wakak kòl!** 'Thank you (very much)! (lit. 'very good')'.

Wakar   *pn.* name of an abandoned place on the east coast. .

wakin   -. -. –
     1 • *n (comm.).* wallaby. **Matòl dòt pas ép wakin.** We tied up the wallaby.
     2 • *pn.* place name.

wakrin   *n.* root (of tree).

wal   *num.* eight. **i wal ép rumai** eight houses.

walis   *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin?. –

walwal   *v.* **Di datdat i a stiring tim òt ané kanak na di walwal.**

wan   *n.* woman (old). **A wan lik ning i an ap i pirim.** An old woman went out.

wang₁   *n (comm.).* canoe. **A dat lik ma kai sis kating lón wang.** I pull the fish into the canoe.

wang₂ *v.* whimper. **I lóngrai tat lik i sa i wang lik.** She found him because she heard him whimpering.

wangan *Variant:* **East coast Siar**. *v.* -. *See:* **nangan**. –

waninar **Dat ép tarai ón dat ki waninar.**

war₁ *n (comm.).* rumour. **Mèt ki lóngrai war nak é Wówó ki mat tar.** We heard a rumour that my grandmother had dies.

war₂ *n.* -. –

1 • kind of spear. **Na i maslan alar i, bèl él tik ti war inap kón kèp i.** When he was protected by the maslan spell, not a single spear would hit him.

2 • stingray.

warai *v.atr. Morph:* **war–ai**. tell. **Ka warai ma, 'Góng u ngék tar!'** I said, 'Don't cry!'. *Transitive form of:* **war**.

warai kukumi *Lit:* tell secretly. *v. Morph:* **war–ai ku–kum–i**. gossip. .

waras *n.* **Mèt yan i kam waras ning, mèt nénén i ón ép yam.**

warwar *Lit:* speak-speak. *Variant:* **warwar lakman**. -. -. – *Phrase:* **Bèl al tók warwar ón.** 'Don't mention it. (lit. 'there are no words with it')'; *Also:* **puklun warwar** 'headline'.

1 • *n (comm.).* language, word. **Ép warwar Siar i tarikis.** The Siar language is changing.

2 • *n (comm.).* speech. **Kók warwar anuk i tuk sa gata.** My speech ends here.

3 • *v.itr.* talk. **Dit warwar tar sa ón i ding a in ép yai.** They were just talking about that fruit.

warwarai *n.* kind of saltwater fish. .

was₁ [was] *v.tr.* -. – *Also:* **titir was** 'look in mirror'.

1 • read. **Ningan tó fakéréng dit was alaulau pas tó kirai.** Some of the people could not read well these days. It's not over yet, the counting has not yet finished.

2 • count.

3 • watch. **U ana gau ané ól was ma, yau al kawas.** You will stay down here and watch while I climb up.

was₂ -. -. –

1 • *n.* hibiscus.

2 • *n (comm.).* greens.

wasu *Variant:* **East coast Siar (West coast Siar 'kamis')**. *n.* sun. **Ka kilang i é Wasu ki ròbò.** I felt the sun was hiding behind the clouds.

wat₁ *v.* **Ka rak ki wat sén na ki nap.**

wat₂ *n (dim.).* melon. .

Wataria *Borrowed from* Kandas 'wat' (stone). *pn.* place name. **A yawas katim kawas an Wataria, i tik ép fat adim kawas lón bòn.** I paddle out to Wataria, there is a rock that rises out of the sea.

Watpi *pn.* -. –

1 • Kandas village. **Bar Unu, ép pukun na dit kaptur pas tar adóng an Watpi, an lakan i tik a arngas lik.** The Unu, the place they took off from is up at Watpi, on top of a little mountain.

2 • people living in Watpi village.

waum *n.* pandanus. .

wawaguai *Borrowed from* Kuanua 'vavaguai'. *n.* -. *See:* **inagói**. –

wawas [wa.'was] -. -. –

1 • -. read. **I wakak kòl ón ép wawas.** It is good for reading.

2 • -. count. **I tik basa ép falin dirau i malik mun ap i tik él malik wawas an lakan.** One of the two would dive and one would count (the seconds) on the surface.

3 • *n (comm.).* number, count.

Wawóm *pn.* -. **É Kabatarai i an ta pukus sur ép ngórngór tóng Wawóm tóng.** Kabatarai went to the point called Wawóm.

wawòm *n.* kind of tree. .

waya₁ *Borrowed from* English 'wire'. *n.* kind of banana. .

waya₂ *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'wire'. *n.* –

wék **Bèl amtòl rak amtòl él warai yau sur al pas wek balan?**

wél *Borrowed from* English 'oil'. oil.

wér *v.tr.* spill. **Matòl lós pas ép bòn ap matòl wér i kata an lón ap matòl akór i.** We get some sea water and we pour it into it and we boil it.

wétéwété **Él wétéwété akak tar arin amat ón tó tan tó tatasim ón ép wól.**

wès *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin 'westim' < English 'waste'. waste. *See:* **aróp òrsai**. –

wik *Borrowed from* English 'wick'. *n.* wick. –

winega *Borrowed from* English 'vinegar'. *n (dim.).* cycad. –

winim *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'win'. *v.tr.* -. –
  1 • be better than.
  2 • win over, beat.

wip *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin. *v.* -. –

wit *Borrowed from* English 'weed'. *n.* weed.

witpiu *n.* kind of bird that always sings a scale. .

wóh *v.* smell, sniff. **Kai pòl dit él wóh tat pas i kai bòròi ning.** The dogs will find the pigs by smelling.

wói *n (comm.).* **Dirau pòr i ón ép wói.**

wók *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'work'. *v.* -. *See:* **wur**. –

wókwók *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin < English 'work'. *v. Morph:* **wók–wók**. -. *See:* **tòltòl**. –

wól -. -. –
  1 • *n (comm.).* law, rule.
  2 • *n (comm.).* custom.
  3 • *v.* plan. **A wól sur al isis kasai an Óstérélia.** I am planning to go back to Australia.

wólèból *Borrowed from* English 'volleyball'. *n.* volleyball. –

wón *num.* six. **i wón ép rumai** six houses.

wóng *v.tr.* check, verify. **Mèt él wóng ma tim an Lainsilòu sur bar soldia.** We would check the place at Lainsilòu for soldiers.

wónón *num.* sixth. .

wónón kirai *Lit:* sixth day. *n.* Saturday. .

wór *n (comm.).* fence. **A atur ép wór kón sòng kai inagói.** I built a fence to put the animals inside.

wórkurai *n (comm.).* village chief. .

wós *n (comm.).* paddle. **Matòl lós ép wós ap matòl yawas.** We took the paddles and paddled.

wówó *n (hum.).* grandmother. **Matòl wòt kata an lakman karisan é Wówó.** We came to the village where my grandmother lives.

wòm *n.* kind of tree. .

wòt *Variant:* **òt**. *v.itr.* -. – *Also:* **pus òt** 'come out (e.g. sun)'.
  1 • come. **I wòt tar ma sai an Ningin.** He came to Ningin.
  2 • arrive.

wòwòn .

wuk *v.tr.* put on hook. **A só pas i tik a talai ap a wuk i ting ón a ragòu.** I speared a herring and put it on a fishing hook.

wukauka *n.* leprocy. .

wulpas *n.* **I is ap i kòt pas i ma tó wulpas.** He returned and cut the (???).

wun *v.tr.* hide. **Matòl wun tar ningan tó rat patpat.** We hid some of the baskets with dry betelnuts.

wungwung

wur *n.* grass. .

wur *v.tr.* -. –
  1 • work (on).
  2 • build. **I wur ép rumai ngasin ting ón ép yai.** He built his house on the tree.

wus *v.tr.* blow. **I wus ép kabang an matan ép wuwu.** He blew the lime into the wind.

wuwu *Variant:* **wuwut**. -. *See:* **wuwut**. –

wuwur -. -. –
  1 • *v.itr.* work, do. **Bèl dit wók al tók wuwur ón ép limak.**
  2 • *n.* work, job. **Al wur ningan tó wuwur kón nangan tó lótu.** I will work some things to support the church service.

wuwut -. -. –
  1 • *v.itr.* blow (wind). **Marau bas nangnang pas i ép labur na i wuwut.** We had to wait for the monsoon that was blowing.
  2 • *n.* wind. **Marau yawas an ma tóng is an lón bòn ap ép wuwut ki kaptur.** We paddled back out to the sea and wind was coming up. .

Y – y

ya -. *See:* **yau**. –

yah₁ *n (comm.).* -. – *Also:* **kam yah** 'hearth'; **tékén ép yah** 'dust'.

    1 • fire. **Marau atin sòi ép yah.** We light a fire.

    2 • hell.

    3 • kind of custom.

yah₂ *num.* hundred. **i tik ép yah ón tó rumai** one hundred houses.

yah madar *Lit:* foreign fire. *n.* cooker. .

yahkamis *Lit:* fire-sun. *Variant:* **East coast Siar.** *n.* -. *See:* **fakamis**. –

yahrat *Lit:* < Proto-Oceanic *apaRat 'northwest wind ; wet seas. *Variant:* **sarunlès**. *n (comm.).* year. **Uring ón ép yahrat 1987 matòl taman kès tar tim an Bakók.** Long ago in 1987, me and my family we lived at Bakók.

yahyah *Lit:* fire-fire. *n. Morph:* **yah–yah**. slash-and-burn. **É Wówó diat ki sar tar i tik ép yahyah.** Grandma and the other prepared the slash-and-burn. *Reduplication of:* **yah**.

yai [jai] -. -. –

    1 • *n (comm.).* tree. **Dit él bus pas ta yai ap dit él yai kèp.** They will chop a tree and carry it.

    2 • *n (comm.).* wood.

    3 • *v.tr.* weave. **Matòl ki yai tó pér liklik** We weaved some small pér.

yai babalus *Lit:* dove tree. *n.* kind of tree. .

yai bòròi *Lit:* pig tree. *n.* Helicopter tree; Propeller tree, Whirly Whirly Tree Burl, Stinkwood, Shitwood. *GYROEARPUS AMERICANUS*. .

yai bual *Lit:* forest tree. *n.* .

yai kòròt *n.*

yai kutus *Lit:* crossed tree. *n.* cross (religious). **É Pailat i warai sur dit él barbar é Yesu sai ón a yai kutus.**

yai mamaris *Lit:* weave pity. *v.itr.* suffer. **Matòl ngék kòl ón ép kès anun matòl i, matòl ki yai mamaris.** We have cried a lot over our lives, we have been suffering a lot.

yai mérmér *Lit:* decorated tree. *n.* croton. .

yai palal *n.* kind of tree. .

yai pas *Lit:* taro tree. *n.* kind of tree. .

yai tótór *n.* kind of tree. .

yai tóya *Lit:* toea tree. *n.* kind of tree. .

yainan *n (comm.).* uncle. **Ningan tó kirai ép yainan ép fain él dòt él tik ép tan bòròi.**

yais *Variant:* **ais?**. *v.tr.* **A yais ép yah.**

yakas *Variant:* **East coast Siar (West Coast Siar 'akas')**. *v.* -. *See:* **akas**. –

yakó *inj.* Right!, Okay!, Agreed! **Òh yakó, ka rè tar i.** Oh alright, now I have seen it.

yal₁ [jal] *v.* fast. .

yal₂ [jal] *Morph:* **y(au)=a–l**. – *Contraction of:* **yau al**.

Yalui *pn.* river in the Lamassa area. **Na matòl rak it lar ning tim an mimin é Yalui ap i tik ép fanat adóng an bòn an Kabul.** When we were down by the tail of the Yalui (river), a boy was there at Kabul beach.

yan *v.tr.* -. –

    1 • eat.

    2 • burn.

    3 • waste.

yangai₁ *Variant:* **East coast Siar.** -. *See:* **angai**. –

Yangai₂ *pn.* river name. **Ól an kati pirim an lón é Yangai, malum i ding.** You will go down to the Yangai, that's a river.

yangan *Variant:* **East coast Siar (West coast Siar 'angan')**. *v.itr.* -. –

    1 • eat. **Ép tursup adisai anén ép yai i angan it.** The crab (?) was under the tree, eating and eating.

    2 • bite (fish). **Kai sis dit ki angan laulau tar.** The fish bit damn well.

yangnai *v.* **Dit él yangnai palang kata an bòn.**

yanmu– *n.* father-in-law, mother-in-law, parents-in-law, son-in-law. . *Also:* **yanmu- ain** 'mother-in-law'.

yanyan *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin 'anian' < English 'onion'. *n (comm.).* onion, shallot. –

yaòh *n.* kind of tree. .

yar₁ *v.tr.* **yar ép ran**

yar₂ *Borrowed from* Tok Pisin?. *n.* kind of tree. .

yarngas *Variant:* **East coast Siar (West coast Siar 'arngas')**. *n (dim.).* mountain. **Marau sòwòt ón i tik a yarngas kasai wòt.** We climbed up a mountain.

yas [jas] *v.* **Marau yas sa kai sis ap marau tur pas ép fangan.**

Yat [jat] *pn.* place name. **Tó mangis dit ki tapagal tar tim gali an Yat.** The clans broke apart at Yat.

yau₁ [jau] *-.* personal pronoun (1st person singular). –

1 • *subj.pro.* I (emphatic), myself. **Yau ép tan ép babait.** I am a fisherman.

2 • *obj.pro.* me. **I kam yau.** He called me.

yau₂ *v.* hunt. **Latu kòbòt datòl él siar òkòbòt i ru ru kéh, tó kéh in bòròi dit rèrè yau kata an lón.** Tomorrow morning, we will sew two nets, nets that they used to trap pigs inside.

yauh *v.tr.* roast (in earth oven). **yauh ép bòròi** roast a pig in an earth oven.

yaunai *v.* **A bun link ning ki yaunai sai an mas.**

yaungim *n (comm.).* **Ép yaungim aning gau ma sén ón i a rope ning.**

yausai [jau.'sai] *v.tr.* paddle. **yausai ép wang** paddle a canoe.

yawa *n.* kind of banana. **.**

yawa buka *n.* kind of banana. **.**

yawai₁ [ja.'wai] *v.* **Dit yawai ati dit gau.**

yawai₂ [ja.'wai] *v.* light brown. **Ning ép dèh rakan i yawai.** This side of the branch is light brown.

yawai₃ [ja.'wai] *n.* kind of white nut. **Ép yawai ap ép gilah ap ép lès mòl.** Violet and brown and normal nuts.

yawas [ja.'was] *v.itr.* paddle. **I yawas katim an Lambóm.** He paddled to Lambóm.

yayauh [ja.ja.'uh] *v.itr. Morph:* **ya~yauh**. roast (in earth oven). **Mèt yayauh, mèt tatat ón ép rah ap mèt angan.** We mumued, we uncovered the mumu in the afternoon and we ate. *Reduplication of:* **yauh**.

yayawas [ja.ja.'was] *v.itr.* trawl. *Morph:* **ya–yawas**. **Marau yayawas ap i tik a sis i sòm sòu pas.** We were trawling and a fish got caught (in the net). *Reduplication of:* **yawas**.

yél *v.itr.* swim. **I parung sòu kata an lón bòn ap i yél.** He jumped into the sea and started swimming.

yélé *v.tr.* swim with something. **A yélé ép wang katim an mas.** I swam to the beach with the canoe.

Yésu *pn.* Jesus.

yèt *v.* serve food. **Diat yèt ngamèt kai nanat katóng an lón pal.** They served us children food in the mens' house.

yis *n (comm.).* **Amat él tumarang tar ón ép yis anun kai Farisaio ap ép yis anun é Erodes.**

yiwu– [ji.'wu] *n (comm.).* hair. **Ép yiwun ning di malau akak i sen.**

yó₁ *n.* kind of tree. **.**

yó₂ *inj.* Yo. **.**

yòwòn *-. -.* –

1 • *v.itr.* sweat. **A yòwòn pas an lakan ép yahyah ning.** I am sweating a lot over the fire.

2 • *n.* sweat.