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Volume 50

SIAR-LAK GRAMMAR ESSENTIALS

Karen Rowe

2005
SIL Ukarumpa
Papers in the series Data Papers on Papua New Guinea Languages express the authors’ knowledge at the time of writing. They normally do not provide a comprehensive treatment of the topic and may contain analyses which will be modified at a later stage. However, given the large number of undescribed languages in Papua New Guinea, SIL-PNG feels that it is appropriate to make these research results available at this time.

René van den Berg, Series Editor

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<thead>
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<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>first person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>second person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>third person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN</td>
<td>animate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART:1</td>
<td>article, class 1 singular (ep)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART:2</td>
<td>article, class 2 singular (a)</td>
</tr>
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<td>ART:1d</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART:2d</td>
<td>article, class 2 dual (ra)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART:1NR</td>
<td>article, class 1 non-referential (ti)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART:2NR</td>
<td>article, class 2 non-referential (ta)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART:AN.p</td>
<td>article, animate plural (kai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART:IN.p</td>
<td>article, inanimate plural (to ~ toh)</td>
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<td>ART:P</td>
<td>article, proper (ε)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL:C</td>
<td>classifier, container</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL:F</td>
<td>classifier, food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL:G</td>
<td>classifier, general</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMP</td>
<td>complementizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMPL</td>
<td>completive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>continuous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>dative</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>du</td>
<td>dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EV</td>
<td>eventive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HABIT</td>
<td>habitual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPR</td>
<td>impersonal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN</td>
<td>inanimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intr</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTS</td>
<td>intensifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k.o.</td>
<td>kind of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lit.</td>
<td>literally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>potential</td>
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</tr>
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<td>stative</td>
</tr>
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<td>tr</td>
<td>trial / paucal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tr</td>
<td>transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TR</td>
<td>transitivizer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Map 1: Papua New Guinea

Map 2: The Siar-Lak area in New Ireland Province
1 Introduction

1.1 Location and speakers

Siar-Lak is spoken by approximately 2,500 people living at the southern end of New Ireland Province in Papua New Guinea (see map 1). The villages are on both the east and west coasts of New Ireland, and on islands near the coast. The mountainous interior of the southern tip of New Ireland is uninhabited. Major villages are Lambom, Lamassa, Bakok and Matkamlagir (see map 2). The villages of Lambom and Lamassa have hamlets both on the mainland of New Ireland and on offshore islands. Siar village, on the eastern coast, is reported to have broken into smaller villages following an earthquake and tsunami in November 2000. The northernmost Siar-Lak speaking villages are Kabaman on the west coast and Rei on the east coast. Some Siar-Lak speakers live and work in other parts of Papua New Guinea, including the capital Port Moresby, and cities in New Ireland and Britain, such as Kavieng, Kokopo, and Kimbe.

1.2 Language name

The language this grammar sketch deals with is usually called Siar in the linguistic literature (Ross 1988; Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002). 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’. As with many Papua New Guinea languages, there is no single name for the language. 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’.

1.3 Linguistic affiliation and dialects

Siar is a Western Oceanic (Austronesian) language in the New Ireland/Northwest Solomonic linkage of the Meso-Melanesian cluster (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002: 883). Closely related languages are Tolai (Kuanua) on New Britain, Ramoaaina (on Duke of York island) and several neighbouring languages on New Ireland, including Label, Kandas and Konomala (see map 2).
No dialect variation has been observed between speakers from Lambom, Lamassa and Bakok. Reportedly there is minor variation on the east coast in the area of the former Siar village. A recent SIL survey indicates that there is some dialect variation on both the northern and eastern coasts at the northern end of the language group (Bonnie McKenzie and Philip Lambrecht, pers. comm.), but Siar speakers on Lambom exclude these villages in their discussion of the extent of the language, considering them to speak a mixture of Ramoaaina and Siar.

This description is based on data gathered during extensive stays on Lambom Island from 1994 through 2005, and represents the language as it is currently spoken on Lambom.

1.4 Siar culture

Siar speakers generally make their living from gardening and fishing. Men build outrigger canoes, which are owned and used by men, women and children for travel to gardens and between the closer villages. Formerly larger canoes without outriggers were used for travelling longer distances, but presently the people use fiberglass boats with outboard motors, or travel on the copra boats for longer distances. There are no roads suitable for vehicles in the Siar area.

The people’s diet consists mainly of garden produce and seafood, sometimes supplemented by tinned meats, rice, noodles and biscuits purchased at trade stores. The staple crop is manioc, which is made into a type of bread called gem. Taro, sweet potato, yams, pumpkin, and various types of greens are also grown. Pineapple, papaya, and citrus fruits are enjoyed in season. The main source of protein is fish and shell fish; chickens are sometimes eaten. Pigs are eaten mainly at funeral feasts or other special occasions.

The main source of cash is copra, the dried meat of coconuts. As the price of copra has fallen in recent years, other crops have been introduced, including vanilla and cacao. Other sources of income include gathering sea cucumbers and selling trochus shells.
Siar society is matrilineal, divided into two moieties and several subclans. There is some shift in the authority structure of the family. The mother’s brothers formerly had a great deal of authority over children, which is now shifting to the father. The relationship between a child and its mother’s brother is still a significant one. There is a tendency for newly married couples to live near the husband’s relatives, but there is variation according to family requirements, especially the need to look after older relatives. Traditionally the preferred marriage pattern has been to marry one’s mother’s brother’s child. It is forbidden to marry within one’s own clan or moiety. Often people marry within the same village; less frequently marriage takes place between villages. There is some marriage outside of the language group and people from Manus, the Sepik, Lae, and Mortlock are married into Lambom village. Some have married outside the language group and settled in other areas of Papua New Guinea.

Methodist missionaries arrived in the area before World War II. Siar village, on the eastern coast, was Roman Catholic. Until recently, the United Church, descended from the Methodist missionaries, was the only denomination found on the western coast. In 1994 some of the people started a Four Square church, having had contact with Four Square missionaries in other parts of Papua New Guinea. Presently there are United Church, Four Square, and New Life congregations in Lambom, as well as one family of Seventh Day Adventists. Traditional beliefs are stronger on the eastern side, in the area of Siar village. In Lambom traditional practices have been kept underground, but recently there are reports of the resurgence of sorcery among some of the young men.

1.5 Language vitality and education

Siar speakers are bilingual in Siar and Melanesian Pidgin (Tok Pisin). Most children speak Siar as their first language, unless one parent is not a Siar speaker. Those who have married into the community are encouraged to learn the language. English is also known, but spoken less readily in the villages, mainly by those who have gone on to secondary and tertiary education.

Lambom village has had a community school, from grades 1-6, since the early 1960s. Education has been entirely in English at the Community School. Previously there was a school operated by the Methodist/United Church, with education in Tolai (Kuanua), so some older speakers know Tolai. Hymns are still sung in Tolai in the United Church, but those under 50 or 60 have little understanding of the language. Some Siar speakers have written Christian songs in the vernacular.
Recently, elementary education has been introduced at Lambom, Lamassa, and some of the other villages. Grade 7 has been added to the Lambom Primary School (the former Community School). Education is now in Siar for the first three years, with English introduced. The Primary School is intended to facilitate a shift in the language of education, from the vernacular to English. With few materials available in Siar, it remains to be seen how successful the Elementary and Primary Schools will be. There are still many villages with no schools and as a result some children are sent from those villages to Lambom for education. It is rare for a Lambom child not to attend school. Most adults in Lambom are literate in Pidgin, and often in English. Reportedly there is a lack of literacy in Bakok and some of the other villages, especially among the women.

1.6 Earlier studies

Relatively little has been published on Siar. Erdman (1991) contains a detailed analysis of one Siar text within the framework of stratificational grammar. Erdman and Goring (1992) describe the use of the realis marker $k$- in Siar narrative, concluding that it marks mainline events. Ross (2002) is a 15-page sketch of Siar which has been very helpful in the analysis and presentation of the present work. It should be noted, however, that the analysis presented here differs in some respects from Ross’s work. Examples include the number of vowels (here analyzed as seven), the gender system and the structure of the noun phrase.

1.7 Typological overview

The phonology of Siar is relatively simple. The language has seven vowels and fifteen consonants, one of which, the bilabial fricative /ϕ/, has a number of unique features. Monosyllabic roots predominate, while stress in polysyllabic words occurs on the final syllable.

The pronoun system distinguishes dual and trial forms from plurals. Siar also has a rather complex noun classification system. It uses articles to code gender, number and animacy, and in addition it has three classifiers for alienable possessive constructions. The deictic system is another area of complexity, with six distinctions made on the basis of distance and cardinal direction.

Morphology is limited to direct possession on inalienable nouns, reduplication on both nouns and verbs and some verbal derivational morphology, mainly transitive, causative and reciprocal.
Syntactically the language has fairly strict SVO word order, as well as prepositions (some of which are inflected). Serial verb constructions are common, and although there is some subordination, coordination seems to be the most common way of combining clauses.

Acknowledgements
I would like to express my heartfelt appreciation to Malcolm Ross for his earlier, very insightful studies of Austronesian languages, Siar in particular. In addition I would like to thank my SIL colleagues, especially René van den Berg who has helped me in the writing of this paper.

I especially would like to thank the people of Lambom Village, New Ireland Province, who have patiently taught me their language, recorded numerous texts, written stories, and given me a home among them.
2 Phonology

2.1 Phonemes and allophones

Siar has the following fifteen consonant phonemes as outlined in Table 1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>dental-alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voiceless plosive</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced plosive</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td>η</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>ι</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trill</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>approximant</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 1: SIAR CONSONANT PHONEMES

The following points can be made about allophonic variation of the consonant phonemes:

1. /p t k/ are unreleased in word final position.
2. The final /p/ of the article /ep/ is deleted before /ι/, except in very careful speech:
   
   /ep ιain/ [eιain] ~ [epιain] ‘the/a woman’
   
   Also, the article /ep/ is a pronounced [eι] when a vowel follows:
   
   /ep aŋelo/ [eι aŋelo] ‘a/the angel’
   
3. /b d g/ are optionally prenasalized between vowels:
   
   /labom/ [ləbom] ~ [labom] ‘Lambom’ (village name)
   
   /ida/ [i da] ~ [ida] ‘this’

Prenasalization is more common among older speakers of the language. It is common for English names with a homorganic nasal-plosive cluster to be pronounced without the nasal; thus Rhonda pronounces her name [roda] although she spells it ‘Rhonda’.

The voiced plosives are never found syllable-finally.
4. The voiceless bilabial fricative /\phi/ is an unusual phoneme, in that its realization varies between [h], [\phi] and zero. The phoneme seems to be in transition, and it is sometimes difficult to be sure whether it is present in a given word. The main points regarding its realisation and distribution are as follows.

a. The phoneme /\phi/ is realized as a voiceless bilabial fricative [\phi] word-initially in utterance-initial position and following the article ep. Otherwise it is deleted word-initially:

```
/\phi in labom/ [\phi in labom]   ‘Lambom woman’
/ep \phi in/ [e\phi in] ~ [ep\phi in] ‘the/a woman’
/ep nat ain/ [ep nat ain]   ‘the/a girl’
```

(There is one word /\phi uk/ ‘beat (tr)’ in which /\phi/ is pronounced in any position: /al \phi uk ko3l u/ ‘I’ll beat you.’)

b. The phoneme /\phi/ is realised as [h] syllable or morpheme-finally:

```
/ma\phi lay/ [mahlay]   ‘mock’
/ya\phi/ [yah]   ‘fire’
/titih-in/ [titihin]   ‘his/her/its end’
```

Since [h] and [\phi] are in complementary distribution, they are here analysed as allophones of the phoneme /\phi/. However, they are not recognized as such by Siar speakers.

c. The allophone [h] is dropped by many speakers, especially in rapid speech.

d. As mentioned above, [\phi] can be an allophone of /p/ when /ep/ precedes a vowel:

```
/ep a\phi elo/ [e\phi a\phi elo]   ‘a/the angel’
```

Since the /p/ of the article ep is deleted before /\phi/, and ep is pronounced [e\phi] before vowels, it can be difficult to determine whether the noun starts with an underlying /\phi/ or with an initial vowel. Nouns are rarely spoken in isolation, and normally occur with a preceding article. Eliciting a citation form is therefore difficult, but when asked speakers will produce an initial /\phi/, rather than a vowel in such cases. The word urit ‘octopus’, for instance, should not have an initial /\phi/ (compare Proto Oceanic *kuRita ‘octopus’ with loss of initial *k and final *a in Siar). But with the article the pronunciation is [e\phi urit] rather than the expected [epurit], as if it were /ep \phi urit/. Similarly, the noun [e\phi nan] ‘the journey’ (derived from the verb inan ‘to go’) is either written as ep inan or ep finan by native authors.
On the other hand, the verbal prefixes /∅a-/ ‘causative’ and /∅ar-/ ‘reciprocal’, (cognate with Tolai va- and var-), should have an initial /∅/, but native speakers differ in their recognition of this, some preferring to write [∅arbɔn] as ep arbón for what is /ep ϕarbɔn/ ‘the praise’.

It appears then, that the phoneme /∅/ has developed an allophone [h] (no longer recognised as such by native speakers), that it is in free variation with zero in many contexts, and that through analogy it is being introduced on vowel-initial nouns following the article ep. As a result, true vowel-initial nouns are very rare.

The Siar vowel phonemes are presented in Table 2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid-high</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 2: SIAR VOWEL PHONEMES**

The mid-high vowel /e/ is described by Siar speakers as being between /i/ and /e/; likewise /o/ as being between /u/ and /o/. Phonetically these two vowels are lower than the centralised [ʊ] and [ɪ] which occur in English; they will be written as <ɛ> and <ɔ> in the remainder of this paper.

Minimal pairs distinguishing these vowels are rare, but the following words show some contrasts:

- el ‘potential’
- sis ‘fish’
- toh ‘to be able’
- rowoi ‘carry in arms’
- bél ‘not’
- kês ‘to sit’
- tôh ‘sugarcane’
- rówoi ‘to fly’

### 2.2 Orthography

Most symbols have their expected phonetic values; in addition the following conventions will be used in this paper.

a. To represent the phoneme /∅/, <f> is used word-initially while <h> is used syllable-finally:

- ep fun /ep ϕun/ [ep fəun] ‘banana (plant)’
- ep yah /ep yaϕ/ [ep ɣə] ‘fire’
When an underlying /φ/ is not pronounced (which is normal if it is not preceded by ep), it is not written:

\[a\ un\] /a fun/ [a un] ‘banana (fruit)’

b. The symbols <é> and <ó> represent /e/ and /o/, a decision introduced during a workshop in Kavieng in 1993. Formerly, some speakers used <e> and <o>; a few wrote <h> following <e>.

c. The phonemes /w/ and /y/ are represented as <w> and <y> in syllable onsets and as <u> and <i> in syllable codas:

\(\text{yau} \quad /\text{yaw}/\) ‘I’
\(\text{yai} \quad /\text{yay}/\) ‘tree’
\(\text{wuwut} \quad /\text{wuwut}/\) ‘blow’

In the rare cases where a word final /i/ must be distinguished from /y/, ii is used for /i/: Matataii [matata.i] ‘village name’.

2.3 Syllable Patterns

Sequences of vowels belong to two separate syllables when followed by a consonant in the same syllable: fa.in ‘woman’, ra.ot ‘raft’. Complex syllable nuclei are found in loan words only: taem ‘time’, raes ‘rice’. Both of these nouns are monosyllabic.

There are thus four syllable types in native Siar words: V, VC, CV and CVC as illustrated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>‘you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a.im</td>
<td>‘to plant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a.i.nói</td>
<td>‘to fill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VC</td>
<td>ep</td>
<td>‘article’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ar.ngas</td>
<td>‘mountain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>la.un</td>
<td>‘to live’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>‘now’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kó.bót</td>
<td>‘morning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ka.bu.suk</td>
<td>‘my nose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>la.tu</td>
<td>‘tomorrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>póp</td>
<td>‘puddle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gós.gós</td>
<td>‘to dance’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>la.man.tin</td>
<td>‘great’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ka.kau</td>
<td>‘to crawl’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The syllable pattern CVVC is found only in loan words such as taem ‘time’.
2.4 Phonotactics and stress

a. All consonants may occur syllable and word-finally, with the exception of the voiced plosives.

b. Consonant clusters are found at the junction of syllable boundaries only:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant Cluster</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kām.pōl</td>
<td>‘lake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāp.ti.ken</td>
<td>‘base’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kām.goi</td>
<td>‘lord’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mām.su.ai</td>
<td>‘sneeze’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bār.san</td>
<td>‘man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ar.ngas</td>
<td>‘mountain peak’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yah.rat</td>
<td>‘year’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>far.bōn</td>
<td>‘praise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fēt.rar</td>
<td>‘young woman’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


d. In a word-final sequence of ui or iu the u is stressed and i is pronounced as a glide: piu ‘ground’ is pronounced [pyu] and pakanibui ‘wave’ as [pakani’buy].

e. Double vowels are rare. They have been observed in the word daal ‘female initiate’ and at morpheme boundaries, e.g. ep faator ‘census’ (from fa-ator ‘cause to write’). In careful speech the vowel is rearticulated.

2.5 Reduplication

Reduplication has many functions in Siar, including marking plurality on nouns (§3.2.2), deriving nouns from verbs (§3.2), deriving adjectives from nouns and verbs (§3.5.1), deriving intransitive verbs from intransitives (§4.1.2) and marking iterative aspect on verbs (§4.1.3).

Formally, there are three types of reduplication which appear to be lexically specified. The most common form of reduplication is CV-reduplication of the initial syllable. It is found on words of any number of syllables:
gos  ‘wash’ (tr)  go-gos  ‘wash’ (intr)
tun  ‘roast’ (tr)  tu-tun  ‘roast’ (intr)
pirim  ‘go down, outside’  pi-pirim  ‘go down, outside’
longon  ‘be cold’  lo-longon  ‘cold’ (adj)
sai  ‘hit’  sa-sai  ‘hit’
ngise-m  ‘your tooth’  ngi-ngise-m  ‘your teeth’
laun  ‘live’  la-laun  ‘life’
suk  ‘sew’ (tr)  su-suk  ‘sew’ (intr)
líma-n  ‘his hand’  lí-li-ma-n dit  ‘their hands’
maris  ‘love’ (verb)  ma-maris  ‘love’ (noun)

When there is no initial consonant, or the initial phoneme is f (which is deleted in most environments), VC-reduplication is found: fanu ‘town’ is reduplicated as an-anu ‘towns’ and fat ‘stone’ reduplicates as at-at or even triplicates as at-at-at ‘stones’.

Reduplication of an entire root is also found, but only on words of one syllable. Its form is therefore (C)VC-:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wót</td>
<td>‘arrive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>is</td>
<td>‘return’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bok</td>
<td>‘float’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kés</td>
<td>‘sit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yan</td>
<td>‘eat’ (tr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tól</td>
<td>‘make, do’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Occasionally the final syllable of a word is reduplicated: ayap and ayap-yap are both found with the meaning ‘hurry, quickly’. The adjective lamantin ‘large’ can be reduplicated to lamantin-tin with plurals.

The word for ‘child’ has an irregular reduplicative form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ep fanat (barsan)</td>
<td>‘the (boy) child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ep nat ain</td>
<td>‘the girl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kai na-nat tarai</td>
<td>‘the boys’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kai na-nat gurar</td>
<td>‘the girls’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.6 Morphophonemics

The following points can be made regarding the changes of sounds across morpheme and word boundaries.

1. A sequence of two identical consonants across morpheme or word boundaries is pronounced as one, with no lengthening. At morpheme boundaries, only one consonant is written in such cases: képas ‘take’ (kép + pas). At word boundaries, both consonants are written ep pun ‘a/the turtle’.
2. When two identical vowels come together, the vowel is doubly articulated in careful speech. In rapid speech the two vowels coalesce: *i inan* [i inan] or [inan] ‘he/she goes’.

3. Word-final *a* is deleted before another vowel in the speech of younger people. Older speakers assimilate the *a* to the following vowel quality, resulting in a rearticulated geminate sequence: *a rak sa ep wang* /a rak sep wang/ or /a rak se ep wang/ ‘I just want the canoe’.

4. An underlying voiced plosive is pronounced as the corresponding nasal when it occurs syllable-finally. Among the derivations from the root *mug* ‘lead’, for example, are *mugai* ‘to lead (transitive)’, *mung* ‘to go first’, *mungmung* ‘leader’ and *mugan* ‘first (adjective)’.

5. Nasals may be deleted before a homorganic voiced stop at word or morpheme boundaries: /tīnj gaw/ [tigaw] ‘there’. In addition, /n/ may be deleted before /t/ or /l/, especially in rapid speech:

   - *an risan* [arisan] ‘at the side of’
   - *matan rumai* [mata rumay] ‘door of the house’
   - *an lon* [alon] ‘inside of’

6. The final -*au* of the dual pronouns is elided before a following vowel:

   - *dirau el an* [direlan] ‘they will go’

7. The article *ep* is a pronounced *ef* when the following word starts with a vowel (see also the discussion in §2.1).

8. The vowels *é* and *ó* change to *i* and *u* in certain compounds: *ré tat* ‘see find’ becomes *ritat* ‘recognize, notice’; *bél al* ‘not any’ is compounded as *bilal* and *a-wót* ‘cause to arrive’ becomes *aut*. This process is not entirely predictable and needs further research.

9. The initial *w* of *wót* ‘arrive’ is dropped in compounds and serial constructions: *anót* ‘go arrive’ (from *an wót*) and *rōwói ót* ‘fly arrive’ (from *rōwói wót*).

10. The addition of the transitivizing suffix -*ai* triggers the loss of the final vowel in verbs of the shape CV.CVC, e.g. *yawas* ‘paddle (intr)’ and *yaws-ai* ‘paddle (tr)’. See §4.1.2 for more examples.
### 3 Nouns and Noun Phrases

#### 3.1 Pronouns

Table 3 shows the Siar pronoun system.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>trial / paucal</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>first (exclusive)</td>
<td>ya(u) / a</td>
<td>mara(u)</td>
<td>mató ~ matól</td>
<td>mét</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>first (inclusive)</td>
<td>dara(u)</td>
<td>datól</td>
<td>dat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>amra(u)</td>
<td>amtól</td>
<td>amat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>third (personal)</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>dira(u)</td>
<td>diat</td>
<td>dit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>impersonal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inanimate, mass</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3: Independent Pronouns**

All of these pronouns are used as subject, object, and object of prepositions, with the exception of the third person pronouns *di* (which is used only as subject) and *in* (which is found only as an object). In the first person singular *ya(u)* is used as a clause-level subject or object, and *a* is found as the subject agreement pronoun in the verb phrase (see §4.2). For the other pronouns, the same forms are used for both subject agreement pronouns and clause-level independent subject pronouns. To differentiate them, the first set will be referred to as subject agreement markers.

There is a strong tendency for the final *u* of the first person singular and the dual forms to be elided in the subject position.

Native speakers report that the meaning of the trial/paucal forms is a group of three, and the relationship of the first and second person forms to *tól* ‘three’ is indeed clear. However, the numeral *tól* can mean ‘a few’ as well as ‘three’, and the trial forms are used for small groups, and especially family groups, of any number. Note that the third person form *diat* is related to the numeral *at* ‘four’.

Below follow examples of independent pronouns showing various grammatical roles, alone or in combination with subject agreement markers:

(1) *Yau, a rak al an ka-sai an Kokopo.*

1s 1s want 1s.POT at DIR-west at Kokopo

‘As for me, I want to go to Kokopo.’
(2)  *U, bél u réré inan ka-tong an Lawonai.*
2s NEG 2s HABIT go DIR-north at Lawonai
‘You don’t (habitually) go to Lawonai.’

(3)  *Diat, diat kés tim an Lilina.*
3tr 3tr sit down at Lilina
‘As for them, they live at Lilina.’

(4)  *As i nos-nos sur yau?*
who 3s RED-look for 1s
‘Who is looking for me?’

(5)  *As i um u?*
who 3s hit 2s
‘Who hit you?’

(6)  *Dira munmun tong an Lawonai.*
3du bathe north at Lawonai.
‘They are bathing at Lawonai.’

The impersonal pronoun *di* indicates an indefinite subject; such clauses are best translated as passives in English.

(7)  *Di atóng i ep sungut.*
IMPR call 3s ART:1 fish.trap
‘It’s called a *sungut*’ or ‘They call it a *sungut*.’

(8)  *Ap di réré mer ep rumai o-n.*
and IMPR HABIT decorate ART:1 house OBL-3s
‘It is used to decorate houses.’ or ‘Houses are decorated with it.’

The pronoun *in* is optionally used for inanimate mass plurals. It has been observed only as an object pronoun. In (9) the use of the article *ep* indicates that the fish are perceived as a mass, and not as living plural fish, in which case the article would be *kai* (see §3.2.1). In (10) the pigs are included with the food, and thus part of an inanimate mass.

(9)  *Dit képas in ep sis ning ap dit sirai in ma.*
3p take 3m ART:1 fish those and 3p sell 3m now
‘They catch those fish, and they sell them now.’
and they killed the pigs, and they stole their food, and then they ate it.’

The third singular pronoun *i* has several unexpected uses. Apart from its use as a regular pronoun, it occurs in the following syntactic environments:

- With numerals, where it precedes all cardinal numbers. In this environment it may be marked for eventive and potential moods (see §3.4).
- With demonstratives, where it precedes a prenominal demonstrative. If there is a postnominal demonstrative, *i* may precede the entire noun phrase. In this environment it is not marked for eventive or potential mood (see §3.3).
- In indirect possession, where it optionally follows the suffixed classifier, but only when the classifier is in postnominal position. Mood is not indicated in this construction (see §3.7.3).
- In the verb phrase. When eventive or potential mood is marked in the verb phrases with non-singular subjects, the third person singular forms *ki*, *el*, or *kel* follow the subject agreement marker. The pronoun not marked for mood is not found in this context (see §4.2).

### 3.2 Nouns and Articles

Nouns are classified according to possession type, gender, and animacy. Gender and animacy determine the articles which may be used with the noun. The two possession classifications are directly and indirectly possessed nouns, corresponding with semantic alienable and inalienable possession (see §3.7 for possession).

#### 3.2.1 Articles

The Siar language has a complicated system of articles. While only some nouns are inflected for number (singular, dual, plural), the article indicates number for the noun phrase. The article shows the gender of the noun in the singular, dual, and non-referential, but in the plural it shows whether the noun is animate or inanimate. The articles do not show whether the noun is definite or indefinite, and therefore they are variously translated as ‘a/the’. Table 4 shows the articles.
Common 1 Common 2 Proper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>referential</th>
<th>non-referential</th>
<th>referential</th>
<th>non-referential</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>ep</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>tok</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual</td>
<td>ru</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>animate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 4: ARTICLES**

For singular and dual number, nouns are assigned to Common 1 or Common 2 gender on semantic grounds. Common 1 gender includes all mass nouns, larger count nouns (such as buildings and bigger animals), artifacts, some body parts, temporal nouns and most loan words (marked L). Common 2 gender encompasses smaller count nouns, including all birds, insects, instruments, fruits and some body parts.

**Common 1**

- ep malum ‘water’
- ep fain ‘woman’
- ep rumai ‘house’
- ep lima-n ‘his/her hand’
- ep bón ‘salt water, sea’
- ep ran ‘earth oven’
- ep wang ‘canoe’
- ep sói ‘snake’
- ep lo-k ‘my mouth’
- ep yiwu-k ‘my hair’
- ep fek ‘axe’
- ep bot ‘speedboat’ (L)
- ep fanat ‘child’
- ep buk ‘book’ (L)
- ep kirai ‘day’
- ep bón ‘night’
- ep rah ‘afternoon’
- ep wik ‘week’ (L)
- ep yahrat ‘year’

**Common 2**

- a tatapial ‘gecko’
- a mum ‘grasshopper’
- a kuk ‘crab’
- a kah ‘k.o. insect’
- a su ‘vine’
- a kiukiu ‘kingfisher’
- a ngusun ‘piece’
- a liwan ‘knife’
- a pakai ‘club’
- a mata-k ‘my eye’
- a kabusu-m ‘your nose’
- a bit ‘small island’
- a kalang ‘moon’
- a mimia ‘papaya (fruit)’
- a pak an ‘leaf’
- a natu-m ‘your child’
- a kina ‘kina’ (L)
- a pen ‘pen’ (L)
- a mata-n kamis ‘hour of the day’
The question word sah ‘what’ also takes the article ep.

Nouns may change gender depending on the semantics of the referent. Notice the difference between mass nouns, marked by ep, and the individuated animals marked by a:

- a sis ‘a/the fish’
- ep sis ‘fish (mass)’ e.g. heaped in a basket or cooked in a pot
- a ut ‘a/the louse’
- ep fut ‘lice’ (perceived as mass)
- a kah ‘a/the k.o. insect’
- ep kah ‘the k.o. insect’ (when gathered as food)
- a lamas ‘a/the coconut’
- ep lamas ‘a/the coconut palm’
- a yai ‘a/the stick’
- ep yai ‘a/the tree’

A noun which is generally assigned to common 1 gender may be optionally assigned to common 2 gender when it is modified by lik ‘little’:

- ep bórói ‘a/the pig’
- a bórói lik ‘a/the little pig’

If a common 1 noun is a true mass noun the non-referential article is tok, if it is count (and singular) the article is ti. The non-referential article for common 2 nouns is ta.

- ep malum ‘the water’
- tok malum ‘some water’
- ep baran ‘the thing’
- tok baran ‘something’
- ep buk ‘the/a book’
- ti buk ‘a book’ (non-referential)
- ep yai ‘the/a tree’
- ti yai ‘a tree’ (non-referential)
- a yai ‘the/a stick’
- ta yai ‘a stick’ (non-referential)
- a sóróm ‘the/a needle’
- ta sóróm ‘a needle’ (non-referential)
The following clauses illustrate the singular articles (referential *a* and *ep*, non-referential *ti* and *tok*) in clauses:

(11) \[ A \text{ rak al} \text{ gang tok malum.} \]

1s want 1s.POT drink ART:NR.m water

‘I want to drink some water.’

(12) \[ Bél al tok baran. \]

NEG any ART:NR.m thing

‘It’s nothing.’

(13) \[ Bél tik ti rise-n barsan na mét laun o-n lar u. \]

NEG one ART:1NR name-3s man REL 1pe live OBL-3s like 2s

‘there is no other man’s name by which we live like you.’

(A line taken from a hymn.)

(14) \[ Na ep wang el buh ti yai o ti at... \]

if ART:1 canoe 3s.POT hit ART:1NR tree or ART:1NR stone

‘If the canoe hits a tree or a stone...’

The dual articles follow the gender assignment for singulars, *ru* is used with common 1 and *ra* with common 2 nouns:

- *ep pól* ‘the/a dog’
- *ru pól* ‘two dogs’
- *a sis* ‘the/a fish’
- *ra sis* ‘two fish’

In the plural, the choice of article is generally based on animacy. Usually human and animate nouns take *kai*, with inanimate nouns taking *toh*:

- *ep fanat* ‘the/a child’
- *kaï na-nat* ‘the children’
- *ep pól* ‘the/a dog’
- *kai pól* ‘the dogs’
- *a mani* ‘the/a bird’
- *kai mani* ‘the birds’
- *a sis* ‘a/the fish’
- *kai sis* ‘the fish (pl)’
- *ep rumai* ‘the/a house’
- *toh rumai* ‘the houses’
- *ep wang* ‘the/a canoe’
- *toh wang* ‘the canoes’
- *a liwan* ‘the/a knife’
- *toh liwan* ‘the knives’
- *ep lima-n* ‘his/her hand’
- *toh li-lima-n dit* ‘their hands’
The proper article *e* precedes proper nouns. Included in the class of proper nouns are names of persons or places, some kinship terms, terms of social relationship (e.g. *kinbali* ‘friend’), some professional titles (e.g. *dokta* ‘doctor’) and animals as characters in stories. The proper article is only found with nouns in the singular; most plural proper nouns take the article *kai*, except for ‘fathers’ and ‘mothers’, which take *toh*.

- *e tasi-m* ‘your sibling’ *kai ta-tasi-m* ‘your siblings’
- *e tubu-m mét* ‘our grandparent’ *kai tu-tubu-m mét* ‘our (excl) ancestors’
- *e kinbali-k* ‘my friend’ *kai kinbali-k* ‘my friends’
- *e tama-n dat* ‘our (incl) father’ *toh ta-tama-n dat* ‘our (incl) fathers’
- *e ta-n dit* ‘their mother’ *toh ta-ta-n dit* ‘their mothers’

Some other examples of articles:

(15)  
\[ E \ tasi-k \ ain. \]
\[
\text{ART:P sibling-1s woman}
\]
\[ ‘My sister.’ \]

(16)  
\[ Kai \ ta-tasi-k. \]
\[
\text{ART:AN.p RED-sibling-1s}
\]
\[ ‘My siblings.’ \]

(17)  
\[ E \ tama-m. \]
\[
\text{ART:P father-2s}
\]
\[ ‘Your father.’ \]

(18)  
\[ Ap \ e \ Lói \ sen \ malik \ i \ sur \ pas \ ep \ su. \]
\[ \text{and ART:P k.o.ant INTS again 3s fetch COMPL2 ART:1 vine} \]
\[ ‘And Ant himself again fetched the vine.’ \]

(19)  
\[ E \ Nika \ ki \ laun \ is. \]
\[ \text{ART:P Nika 3s.EV live return} \]
\[ ‘Nika is well again.’ \]

Note that while *tama-m* ‘your father’ and *tasi-k* ‘my sibling’ take the proper article, *natu-m* ‘your child’ takes the common article:

(20)  
\[ A \ natu-m. \]
\[ \text{ART:2 child-2s} \]
\[ ‘Your child.’ \]
Two other plural articles have been observed: *kabai* ‘all’ and *kok* ‘a small amount’. They look like quantifiers, but they differ from other quantifiers in that they cannot co-occur with an article, but replace it:

(22) _Dit ya-yauh kabai bóroi._

3p RED-mumu all pig

‘They cooked (in a pit) all the pigs.’

(23) _Kok warwar anu-k i, i nap sa ta-gau._

small talk CL:G-1s 3s 3s enough just here-place

‘My little message is finished here.’

### 3.2.2 Inflection of nouns

There is little nominal inflection in the Siar language. Some nouns, including kinship terms, are inflected for plural, most commonly by CV-reduplication:

(24) a. _E tama-n._

‘His father.’

b. _Toh ta-tama-n._

‘The fathers.’

(25) a. _E tubu-n._

‘His grandparent.’

b. _Kai tu-tubu-n._

‘His grandparents.’

(26) a. _A natu-n._

‘His child.’

b. _Kai na-natu-n._

‘His children.’

In some cases inflection of the noun is optional: _toh liman dit_ and _toh liliman dit_ both mean ‘their hands’. Although CV-reduplication is the most common inflection for plurality, occasionally other forms are found (see also §2.5). The plural of _ep fat_ ‘the stone’ is _to atatat_ ‘the stones’. _Ep fanu_ ‘the town’ becomes _toh ananu rop_ ‘the whole world’. _Barsan_ ‘man’ and _fain_ ‘woman’ are replaced by _tarai_ ‘men’ and _gurar_ ‘women’ in the plural.1

(27) a. _Ep fanat barsan._

‘The boy.’

b. _Kai na-nat tarai._

‘The boys.’

---

1 *Tarai* and *gurar*, as nouns, are used with either _ep_ or _kai_, with no apparent difference in meaning. Neither is ever counted: _i tik ep barsan_ ‘one man’, _i ru ru barsan_ ‘two men’, _i tól ep barsan_ ‘three men’ etc.
3.2.3 Derived nouns

In Siar there are three ways of deriving nouns from verbs and adjectives. These are zero-derivation, reduplication and infixation.

There is little word-level inflection or derivation indicating the part of speech to which a given lexeme belongs. A noun may be defined on syntactic grounds as “the head of a noun phrase”. Many verbs can fill this position with no derivational morphology (zero-derivation). Compare the following examples where the article ep indicates the following word is a deverbal noun:

‘The girl.’

b.  *Kai na-nat gurar.*  
‘The girls.’

(29)  
*I inan.*
3s go
‘He went/is going.’

(30)  
*Ep finan.*
ART:1 go
‘The journey.’

(31)  
*Ep finan anu-n.*
ART:1 go CL:G-3s
‘His journey.’

(32)  
*A-ré-ré.*
CAUS-RED-see
‘Teach, learn.’

(33)  
*Ep fa-ré-ré.*
ART:1 CAUS-RED-see
‘A/the lesson.’

(34)  
*I kabah.*
3s ask
‘He asks.’

(35)  
*Ep kabah.*
ART:1 ask
‘The question.’
Nouns formed without derivation from verbs are abstract nouns referring to the activity of the verb. For instance, the use of the verb *yawas* refers to the action of paddling, but the paddle with which the action is performed is *wos*.

(36)  
$I$ *yawas.*  
3s paddle  
‘He paddles.’

(37)  
*Ep* *yawas.*  
ART:1 paddle  
‘The paddling.’

(38)  
*Ep* *wos.*  
ART:1 paddle  
‘The paddle.’

The idiom for a person who performs an action, shows the freedom with which verbs can be nominalized without overt morphology:

(39)  
*Ep* *tan*\(^2\) *ep* *fa-laun.*  
ART:1 person ART:1 CAUS-live  
‘The one who makes alive.’ (i.e. the saviour)

(40)  
*Ep* *tan* *ep* *matutut.*  
ART:1 person ART:1 be.afraid  
‘A fearful person.’

(41)  
*Ep* *tan* *ep* *far-sói.*  
ART:1 person ART:1 RECIP-away  
‘A servant.’ (lit. ‘A person who goes about.’)

(42)  
*Ep* *tan* *ep* *fa-ré-ré.*  
ART:1 person ART:1 CAUS-RED-see  
‘A teacher.’

Many transitive verbs are nominalized with CV-reduplication, which also serves to mark iterative aspect and make a transitive verb intransitive:

(43)  
*Ep* *tan* *ep* *nu-numan.*  
cf. *numan* ‘forget’  
ART:1 person ART:1 RED-forget  
‘A forgetful person.’

\(^2\) *Tan* is homophonous with, and may be derived from *ta-n* ‘his/her mother’. It could also be related to Ramoaaina *tena* ‘person’, used similarly to mean ‘person who does x’ as in *tena pinapaam* ‘workman’ (Davies and Fritzell 1991:59). Compare also Kuanua *tena valaun* ‘saviour’. 
Two verbs have been observed to be nominalized by infixation with -in-:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>nominal forms</th>
<th>verbal forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>war</td>
<td>warwar</td>
<td>warwar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>warara-</td>
<td>warai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuk</td>
<td>nuknuki-</td>
<td>nuki</td>
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<td></td>
<td>nuknuke</td>
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<tr>
<td>mur</td>
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<td></td>
<td>muru-</td>
<td>muri</td>
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<td>muran mur</td>
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<tr>
<td>mug³</td>
<td>mungmung</td>
<td>mung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mungmung</td>
<td>mugai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sak</td>
<td>saksak</td>
<td>sak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>saksak</td>
<td>saksak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The stative verb sasam ‘be sick’ has an irregular nominal form tinsaman ‘sickness’.

In some cases there are related nominal and verbal forms from the same root, as shown in Table 5. (The hyphen following a noun indicates that is directly possessed, see §3.7.1.)
Nouns are commonly derived from adjectives. The adjective has no derivational affixation, but is preceded by the article *ep* and followed by the ligature *in* (see §3.6.2 for more details):

(48)  
\[
\text{Ep wakak in ep buk.}
\]
\[
\text{ART:1 good LIG ART:1 book}
\]
\[
\text{‘The good book.’}
\]

(49)  
\[
\text{Ep buk akak.}^4
\]
\[
\text{ART:1 book good}
\]
\[
\text{‘The good book.’}
\]

As the head of a noun phrase, such nouns followed by the ligature *in* can be used as substantives:

(50)  
\[
\text{Ep wakak in.}
\]
\[
\text{ART:1 good LIG}
\]
\[
\text{‘The good one.’}
\]

### 3.3 Demonstratives

Siar demonstratives encode four degrees of distance from the speaker. In the most distant set, direction is also indicated. The demonstratives are related to the predicate locatives (§5.1.2) and locationals (§5.3.4). It is difficult to define the directions precisely, perhaps because they do not align with a four-directional cardinal system. Attempts have been made to define them in terms of direction towards or away from the sea, but this fails as counter-examples are found. Something in the sea is *i dim/nim* or *i disai/nisai* depending on its position relative to the speaker. The basic meaning of *i dim* is ‘down’ but it is also used for south and east. *I disai* ‘up’ is also used for west and any great distance. *I dong* is ‘north’. The whole area of the exact meaning and usage of demonstratives requires much further research. Table 6 summarizes what is clear so far.

---

4 The initial *w* of *wakak* is found following the article *ep* and in the verb phrase, but not in the attributive position of the noun phrase.
singular | plural/postnominal | ‘this’ (in the hand, or within touch of the speaker)  
--- | --- | ---  
da | na | ‘this’ (slightly farther from speaker, or close to speaker but distant from addressee)  
dé | né | ‘that’ (a bit farther away, but still within sight; also used in narrative and other texts)  
ding | ning | ‘that’ (farther, but may still be visible)  
don | nong | ‘that, down, to the south or to the east’  
disai | nisai | ‘that, up, or to the west’ (or any great distance)

| TABLE 6: DEMONSTRATIVES |

The following example illustrates né ‘this’ in postnominal position:

(51) A rak al an, ap al an o-n ep wang né.  
1s want 1s.POT go and 1s.POT go OBL:3s ART:1 canoe this  
‘I want to go, and I want to go in this canoe.’ (Shouted from near the canoe to the owner of the canoe, about 75 meters away.)

When the demonstratives are preposed to the noun phrase or stand alone they are preceded by the third person singular pronoun i (see §3.1). In this position, the set beginning with d is used for singular, and the set beginning with n is used for duals, trials, and plurals.

(52) I da ep wang.  
3s this ART:1 canoe  
‘This canoe.’

(53) Ep wang na.  
ART:1 canoe this  
‘This canoe.’

The difference between (52) and (53) is not entirely clear in conversation. In narrative the type illustrated in (54) is used:

(54) Mét réré yan i a kuk na ap a papali-n  
1pe HABIT eat 3s ART:2 crab this and ART:2 shell-3s  
na, na i nos-nos lar na…  
this when 3s RED-look like this  
‘We eat this crab, and this shell, when it looks like this…’
(The speaker held the shell of the crab in her hand while talking about it.)
(55) διαμόρφωσα την εμπειρία αυτή την ανάρρηση.

Afterwards, that woman went...

(56) Η δεν έβγαλε σκάφος.

These canoes.

(57) Αυτός ο πειρακτικός ήταν πολύ ακριβές για αυτή τη νήπιο.

And that wild man was really afraid of that child.

(58) Ποιο είναι αυτό; 

What is that?

When a demonstrative is used postnominally, only the set beginning with $n$ is used, regardless of number. There is no $i$ preceding a postnominal demonstrative, but sometimes the $i$ precedes the entire noun phrase, with the demonstrative following, as in (60):

(59) Ο αυτός σκάφος.

This canoe.

(60) Η η πέτας-αυτός η κορινθιακή-αυτός η καβούρα.

This shell of a masan crab.

A demonstrative may function as the head of noun phrase, modified by a relative clause:

(61) Το ότι έβγαλε στην θάλασσα.

That (one) down at the sea.
3.4 Numerals and number marking

The Siar numbering system is a base ten system. The first ten numerals are as follows (notice the presence of the pronoun *i* before numerals):

- *i tik* ‘one’
- *i ru* ‘two’
- *i tól* ‘three’
- *i at* ‘four’
- *i lim* ‘five’
- *i won* ‘six’
- *i is* ‘seven’
- *i wol* ‘eight’
- *i siwok* ‘nine’
- *sanguli* ‘ten’

(or *i tik ep bónót*, literally ‘one ten’; *bónót* is a noun.)

The tens are then counted for the numbers up to 90:

- *i tik ep bónót* ‘ten’
- *i ru ru bónót* ‘twenty’
- *i tól ep bónót* ‘thirty’
- *i at ep bónót* ‘forty’
- *i lim ep bónót* ‘fifty’
- *i won ep bónót* ‘sixty’
- *i is ep bónót* ‘seventy’
- *i wol ep bónót* ‘eighty’
- *i siwok ep bónót* ‘ninety’

Numbers 10 through 99 are formed by indicating the number of tens and the number following. The word *pisir* has been observed only in this construction; its meaning is uncertain.

- *i tik ep bónót ya pisir i tik* ‘eleven’
- *(or *i tik ep bónót api pisir i tik)*
- *i tik ep bónót ya pisir i ru* ‘twelve’
- *i tik ep bónót ya pisir i tól* ‘thirteen’
- *i tik ep bónót ya pisir i at* ‘fourteen’
- *i tik ep bónót ya pisir i lim* ‘fifteen’
- *i tik ep bónót ya pisir i won* ‘sixteen’
- *i tik ep bónót ya pisir i is* ‘seventeen’
- *i tik ep bónót ya pisir i wol* ‘eighteen’
- *i tik ep bónót ya pisir i siwok* ‘nineteen’
i ru ru bónót  'twenty'
i ru ru bónót ya pisir i tik  'twenty-one'

Similarly, numbers for 100 and up are formed by indicating the number of hundreds, the number of tens, and the number of ones:

i tik ep mar  'one hundred'
i ru ru mar  'two hundred'
i tól ep mar  'three hundred'
i tól ep mar ap i ru ra bónót ya pisir i at  'three hundred twenty-four'
e etc.

For thousands, the hundreds may be counted:

i lim ep bónót in toh mar  'five thousand'
(lit: ‘fifty hundreds’)

Note that the singular article ep preceding mar ‘hundred’ has changed to the plural inanimate article toh, and that the ligature in joins ep bónót and toh mar. Commonly the loan word tausen is used, rather than counting the hundreds by tens. It is not uncommon for counting to be done in English or Pidgin.

When counting objects, the numeral precedes the core of the noun phrase. For small numbers (possibly under ten) the article is determined by the gender of the noun, for larger numbers a prepositional phrase follows, as in the fourth example below. Notice also that the numeral ru and the dual article ru can co-occur:

i tik ep börói  'one pig'
i ru ru börói  'two pigs'
i tól ep börói  'three pigs'
i tik ep bónót on toh börói  'ten pigs'
i tik a din gem lik  'one small piece of tapiok bread'
i ru ra din gem lik  'two small pieces of tapiok bread'
i tól a din gem lik  'three small pieces of tapiok bread'

In counting money there is a separate word mani ‘ten toea’ (cents in PNG currency), so that toea are counted by tens:

i tól a mani ap i lim a toea  ‘thirty-five toea’

The noun phrase containing the numeral may be marked for eventive or potential mood (see §4.2.1 for a discussion of mood), as is illustrated in the following exchanges:
(62) a. Tasi- k, u ku pastat i is ep kah?
sibling-1s 2s 2s.EV find 3s how.many ART:1 k.o.insect
‘Brother, how many kah have you found?’

b. Yau ki tól.
1s 3s.EV three
‘I (have found) three.’

(63) a. U rak ol lóu el is?
2s want 2s.POT buy 3s.POT how.many
‘How many do you want to buy?’

b. I is o-n i tik?
3s how.many OBL-3s 3s one
‘How much for one?’

c. I at a kina ap i lim a mani.
3s four ART:2 kina and 3s five ART:2 ten.toea
‘Four kina and fifty toea.’

d. El ru.
3s.POT two
‘(I want) two.’

(64) Al war-ai e nana sur el tun el ru ra
1s.POT say-TR ART:P mama for IR.3s roast 3s.POT two ART:2du
pas nga-k i.
taro CL:F-1s 3s
‘I’ll tell Mum to cook two taro for me.’

(65) Na el tik el kabah yau...
if 3s.POT one 3s.POT ask 1s
‘If someone asks me…’

(66) Dat el ré i tik ep nenen nga-dat adim
1i.p IR.3s see 3s one ART:1 meat CL:F-1p.i be.down
ma an bón.
now at ocean
‘We will see one piece of meat of ours there now at the shore.’
The ordinal numbers take the form of directly possessed nouns, with the third singular suffix -n. This is especially apparent in liman ‘fifth’, which also means ‘his/her hand’. Ordinals above seventh have not been found.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinal</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mugan</td>
<td>‘first’ (from mung ‘lead, go first’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruan</td>
<td>‘second’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tôlin</td>
<td>‘third’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atin</td>
<td>‘fourth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liman</td>
<td>‘fifth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wonon</td>
<td>‘sixth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isan</td>
<td>‘seventh’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Structurally the ordinals are inalienably possessed noun. The article preceding the ordinal numbers is a, irrespective of the gender of the following noun: a mugan kirai ‘the first day’ (cf. ep kirai ‘a/the day’). The following two examples illustrate noun phrases with ordinals in clauses:

(67) Ap i ding a atin kirai ki inan sóu.
    and 3s this ART:2 fourth day 3s.EV go COMPL3
    ‘And this, the fourth day went.’

(68) A ruan sak-sak anu-n dat.
    ART:2 second RED-sing CL:G 1pi
    ‘Our second song.’

Commonly loan words are used for ordinals, e.g. sekon las saksak anun dat i ‘our next to last/second last song’.

### 3.4.1 Quantifiers

Only a few quantifiers have been observed: ginomin or konomin ‘many’, ningan ‘some’, al ‘some’ and rop ‘all’. The numeral i tól ‘three’ is also used in the meaning ‘a few’.
Most quantifiers precede the article within the noun phrase. A plural pronoun can also be quantified, as in (71).

(69)  *Ginomin toh kirai.*
     many ART:IN.p day
     ‘Many days.’

(70)  *Ningan kai kinbali-k.*
     some ART:AN.p friend-1s
     ‘Some of my friends.’

(71)  *Ningan dit.*
     some 3p
     ‘Some of them.’

(72)  *Ningan o-n dit.*
     some OBL-3s 3p
     ‘Some of them.’

(73)  *Al los al tok kulór.*
     1sPOT carry some ART:NR.m wool
     ‘I’ll bring some wool.’

The quantifier *rop* ‘all’ (also a stative verb meaning ‘finished’) is exceptional in that it follows the head noun, occurring in the regular attributive position of the noun phrase. It may also follow a pronoun:

(74)  *Ep tarai rop.*
     ART:1 men all
     ‘All the people; everybody.’

(75)  *Dat rop.*
     1pi all
     ‘We all.’
3.5 Adjectives

There is an open class of adjectives in Siar, which encodes concepts such as colour, size and quality. They may be considered a subclass of stative verbs, as they can fill both the predicate slot of an intransitive clause and the attributive slot of a noun phrase. Notice that many adjectives show reduplicative morphology.

- méték  ‘new’
- turai  ‘old’
- lamantin  ‘large’
- lantin  ‘great’
- pōtpōt  ‘short’
- barah  ‘tall, long’
- kokok  ‘white’
- durdur  ‘black’
- mémérék  ‘red’
- sisingan  ‘yellow’
- kokorot  ‘purple’
- sisimuk  ‘blue, green’
- mamat  ‘heavy’
- butbut  ‘fat’
- rekrek  ‘skinny’
- bibilor  ‘yucky’
- ngis  ‘good, lovely’
- (w)akak  ‘good’
- laulau  ‘bad’
- tóstós  ‘straight, correct’
- dengdeng  ‘crooked’
- rarakai  ‘strong, hard’
- memelel  ‘weak’
- mómol  ‘true’
- mamaling  ‘in agreement’

There is disagreement among native speakers as to whether sisimuk means ‘blue’ or ‘green’. It is likely that historically it was used for both blue and green, but that as the people have come in contact with English and Pidgin, they prefer to express the distinction. There is a tendency to use loan words for colors such as blue, green, orange and brown, for which separate words did not exist in Siar.
Example (76) illustrates the predicative use of an adjective; for further examples, see §5.2.1.

(76) \[ I \ tik \ i \ barah \ ap \ i \ tik \ i \ pòt\pòt. \]
\[ 3s \ one \ 3s \ long \ and \ 3s \ one \ 3s \ short \]
‘One is long and one is short.’

### 3.5.1 Derived adjectives

Adjectives may be derived from nouns or verbs by CV-reduplication:

- **Pi-pikai** ‘muddy’
- **Ep pikai** ‘mud’
- **Lo-lotat** ‘full of sores’
- **A lotat** ‘sore’
- **Lo-longon** ‘cold’
- **Longon** ‘be cold’
- **La-lapang** ‘hot’
- **Lapang** ‘be hot’

With **longon** ‘be cold’ and **lapang** ‘be hot’, only the reduplicated form is seen in the attributive position of the noun phrase. The unreduplicated form is found as a predicate, seemingly perceived as an event:

(77) \[ Ku \ longon? \]
\[ 2s.EV \ cold \]
‘Are you cold?’ or ‘Have you become cold?’

(78) \[ Ep \ malum \ lo-longon. \]
\[ ART:1 \ water \ RED-cold \]
‘Cold water.’

If the quality is perceived as inherent, the reduplicated form is used in the predicate:

(79) \[ Ep \ malum \ tong \ an \ Lawonai \ i \ lo-longon \ akak. \]
\[ ART:1 \ water \ north \ at \ Lawonai \ 3s \ RED-cold \ good \]
‘The water at Lawonai is nice and cold.’ (lit. ‘cold good’)

The word for ‘little’ is exceptional. Within the noun phrase, the form used is **lik** or **liklik**, for singular and plural respectively:

(80) \[ A \ nat \ lik. \]
\[ ART:2 \ child \ little \]
‘The/a little child.’

(81) \[ Kai \ na-nat \ lik-lik. \]
\[ ART:AN.p \ RED-child \ RED-little \]
‘The little children.’
Lik is also used as a diminutive: a natu-m lik ‘your little child’ may be a fully grown man. In the predicate, however, the word for ‘little, small’ is burun:

(82)  E  Bila  i  burun.  
ART:P  Bila  3s  small  
‘Bila is small.’

Burun is also the form used as a substantive. In the plural it is reduplicated:

(83)  A  burun  (lik)  in.  
ART:1  small  little  LIG  
‘The/a little one.’

(84)  Toh  bu-burun  lik-lik.  
ART:IN.p  RED-small  RED-little  
‘The little ones.’

3.6 Basic noun phrase structure

It is convenient to divide the noun phrase into two types, the attributive, in which the head noun is followed by a modifier, and the possessive-attributive. This analysis follows Ross (1998), who discusses the possessive-attributive type of construction in Oceanic languages. The structure of the noun phrase is simplified if the two types are analysed separately.

3.6.1 The attributive noun phrase

The core of the attributive noun phrase consists of three positions, which are filled by an article, a noun (which may be derived from a verb, see §3.2.3) and a modifier, in that order. The modifier is optional; it may be an adjective, a verb or another noun. The following noun phrases illustrate the various modifiers: (85) - (89) show adjectival modifiers, (90) - (93) show verbal modifiers and (94) - (97) show noun modifiers.

(85)  Ep  rumai  turai.  
ART:1  house  old  
‘The/a old house.’

(86)  Ep  fain  akak.  
ART:1  woman  good  
‘The/a good woman.’
(87)  *Kai bem mόmόl.*  
ART:AN.p butterfly true  
‘The real butterflies.’

(88)  *A kalang kidόl.*  
ART:1 moon whole  
‘The full moon.’

(89)  *Ep tόl-tόl laulau.*  
ART:1 RED-make bad  
‘The sin.’ (lit: ‘The bad deed.’)

(90)  *Ep rumai mun-mun.*  
ART:1 house RED-dive  
‘The/a bath house.’

(91)  *Ep sop go-gos.*  
ART:1 soap RED-wash  
‘Washing soap, laundry soap.’

(92)  *Ep yai tu-tun.*  
ART:2 stick RED-roast  
‘Cooking wood.’

(93)  *Ep baran angan.*  
ART:1 thing eat  
‘Food.’

(94)  *Ep rumai talatala.*  
ART:1 house minister  
‘The/a parsonage.’

(95)  *Ep ran bόrόi.*  
ART:1 earth.oven pig  
‘The/a pig mumu.’

(96)  *Ep palsai pόl.*  
ART:1 mother.animal dog  
‘A mother dog.’

(97)  *E tasi-n ain.*  
ART:P sibling-3s woman  
‘His/her sister.’
This attributive noun phrase is also used to refer to specific family or social units, using the head noun *tarai* ‘men’:

(98) *Ep* tarai sin.
ART:1 men sibling
‘A family. (of siblings)’

(99) *Ep* tarai tama-n.
ART:1 men father-3s
‘A family. (of two generations only)’

(100) *Ep* tarai ta-n.
ART:1 men mother-3s
‘A family. (consisting of a mother and her children)’

(101) *Ep* tarai tubu-n.
ART:1 men grandparent-3s
‘A family. (of three or more generations)’

(102) *Ep* tarai kinbali-n.
ART:1 men friend-3s
‘A group of friends.’

(103) *Ep* tarai mokson.
ART:1 men spouse
‘A married couple.’

*Kam* ‘group (of things)’ can be followed by another noun defining the group. In some cases this works as a compound:

(104) *Ep* kam dokon.
ART:1 group coconut.leaf.spine
‘A broom.’

(105) *Ep* kam waya.
ART:1 group wire
‘A group of wires.’ (This was used to describe a cake rack, the purpose of which was unknown to the speaker.)

(106) *Ep* kam ngas.
ART:1 group road
‘The shore.’
It is unusual, but not impossible, to have more than one modifier in an attributive noun phrase:

(107) Kai na-nat gurar lik-lik.
    ART:AN.p RED-child women RED-little
    ‘The little girls.’

What has been described so far is the core of the noun phrase; other elements, such as quantifiers, demonstratives, or possessors may be added. Quantifiers precede the core noun phrase (§3.4). The demonstrative may either precede or follow the core noun phrase. If the demonstrative precedes the core noun phrase there is a distinction between singular and plural (see §3.3). A possessor may also either precede or follow the core noun phrase (see §3.7).

### 3.6.2 The possessive-attributive noun phrase

The possessive-attributive noun phrase consists of two noun phrases joined by the ligature in:

(108) Ep wakak in ep saksak.
    ART:1 good LIG ART:1 song
    ‘The/a good song.’ (lit: ‘The goodness of a/the song.’)

(109) Ep méték in ep rumai.
    ART: new LIG ART:1 house
    ‘The/a new house.’ (lit: The newness of a/the house.’)

The structure is: NP + LIG + NP. It closely resembles a possessive construction, as the attribute (‘good’) is encoded as a noun, possessed by the item (‘song’). What is remarkable is that the attribute is the syntactic head of the noun phrase. The ligature in, which is only found in this construction, functions as a possession marker for the attributive noun, which cannot take a possessive suffix. The core noun phrases in this construction must consist of only the article and noun. See Ross (1998) for a detailed discussion of this type of construction in related languages.

Most head nouns are adjectival nouns, but non-derived nouns may also be found in this construction:

(110) I ning ep tanruan in ep barsan.
    3s that ART:1 bush.spirit LIG ART:1 man
    ‘That bush-spirit man.’ (lit. ‘That bush-spirit of the man.’)

In (110) the demonstrative i ning is not part of either of the noun phrases internal to the possessive-attributive construction, but is added to the entire structure.
The articles show agreement in number between the attribute and the item:

(111)  *Toh méték in toh barumayat.*

   ART:IN.p new  LIG  ART:IN.p  sea.shell

   ‘The new seashells.’

This construction is freely used for loanwords, whereas the attributive noun phrase is not:

(112)  *Ep nambawan in ep rumai i da.*

   ART:1  excellent  LIG  ART:1  house  3s  this

   ‘This is a very good house.’ (lit: ‘The excellence of the house is this.’)

The possessive-attributive noun phrase is similar in structure to part-whole phrases such as *a pakan lamas* ‘a coconut leaf’ (§3.7.2), but note that in this case there is an article preceding the second noun, showing that it is specific, not generic.

The attribute as a noun phrase, followed by *in*, but without a following noun phrase, is used as a substantive:

(113)  *A rak sur toh méték in sa.*

   1s  want  for  ART:IN.p  new  LIG  just

   ‘I want just the new ones.’

As with the attributive noun phrase, other elements, such as demonstratives (§3.3), possessives (§3.7) or numbers and quantifiers (§3.4) may be added.

### 3.6.3 Co-ordinate noun phrases

There are a few different ways for noun phrases to be coordinated. First of all, the conjunction *ap* ‘and’ may be used:

(114)  *A paih ap ep kusur.*

   ART:2  torch  and  ART:2  spear

   ‘The torch and the spear.’

(115)  *A kótóu ap a kiukiu.*

   ART:2  hermit.crab  and  ART:2  kingfisher

   ‘The hermit crab and the kingfisher.’

(116)  *Kai sis ap kai pun.*

   ART:AN.p  fish  and  ART:AN.p  turtle

   ‘Fish and turtles.’
(117) Toh ma-mata-n dit ap toh pelenga-n dit.
   ART:IN.p RED-eye-3s 3p and ART:IN.p ear-3s 3p
   ‘Their eyes and their ears.’

Secondly, when referring to persons, including animals as characters in a story, there is a strong tendency to use dual and plural pronouns to join noun phrases. The final syllable of the dual pronouns is elided before a vowel, as in (119):

(118) E Daal dira mora-n.
   ART:P Daal 3du namesake-3s
   ‘Daal and her namesake.’

(119) E Wodia dir e Annette.
   ART:P Wodia 3du ART:P Annette
   ‘Wodia and Annette.’

(120) E Nika diat si-n.
   ART:P Nika 3tr sibling-3s
   ‘Nika and her siblings.’

(121) E Saiding diat tama-n.
   ART:P Saiding 3tr father-3s
   ‘Saiding and her family.’

When there is no second element in such cases, it means ‘X and another one/others’:

(122) E Lula dirau.
   ART:P Lula 3du
   ‘Lula and another person.’

(123) E Saiding diat.
   ART:P Saiding 3tr
   ‘Saiding and others.’

Thirdly, there is a special construction to coordinate people in a family relationship. In this case, pronouns are combined with kin terms. The pronoun, which comes first in the noun phrase, indicates person and number; the following kin term indicates the number of generations and the relationship. These kin terms are directly possessed with the third person singular suffix -n. When these coordinate phrases are used as subjects of clauses they fill the subject agreement slot in the verb phrase; there is no additional subject agreement marker, as there would be with a subject noun phrase.
(124) Ap diat tubu-n inan ma.
and 3tr grandparent-3s go now
‘And they (grandparent and grandchildren) went now.’

The use of the word *tama-n* ‘his/her father’ in this construction refers to a father and his children, here translated as ‘family’. The mother may or may not be included, depending on the context; see also (121). It is usual to use the trial/paucal pronouns in these cases, regardless of the size of the family, unless it refers to only two, as in (129):

(125) Matóh tama-n.
1tr.e father-3s
‘My family’ or ‘Our (exclusive) family.’

(126) Datól tama-n.
1tr.i father-3s
‘Our (inclusive) family.’

(127) Amtól tama-n.
2tr father-3s
‘Your family.’

(128) Diat tama-n.
3tr father-3s
‘Their family.’

(129) Dirá tama-n.
3du father-3s
‘A father and one child.’

*Ta-n* ‘his/her mother’ is used in the same way, but the father is excluded from this group:

(130) Diat ta-n.
3tr mother-3s
‘They and their mother.’

(131) Amra(u) ta-n.
2du mother-3s
‘You and your mother.’
Si-n, instead of the expected tasi-n, is used for a family of siblings only:

132) *Mara(u) si-n.*

1du.e sibling-3s

‘My sibling and I.’

133) *Amtól si-n.*

2tr sibling-3s

‘You and your siblings.’

*Tubu-n,* ‘grandparent, grandchild’ used in this construction refers to a combination of grandparents and grandchildren. It may include the middle generation as well.

134) *Diat tubu-n.*

3tr grandparent-3s

‘A grandparent and grandchildren’ or ‘A grandchild and grandparents’ or ‘Grandparent(s), child, and grandchild(ren).’

*Mora-n* ‘his/her namesake’ is used in the same way, with dual pronouns:

135) *Dira mora-n.*

3du namesake-3s

‘The two having the same name.’

Finally, the preposition *mai-* ‘with’ is also used to coordinate noun phrases. *Mai-* is inflected as a directly possessed noun (§3.7.1):

136) *Kai kinbali-k mai-k.*

ART:AN.p friend-1s with-1s

‘My friends and I.’

137) *Yau mai-n i tik ep kinbali-k mara dik.*

1s with-3s 3s one ART:1 friend-3s 1du.e shine.light

‘I with one of my friends, we went fishing at night.’
3.7 Possession

There are two syntactic types of possession in Siar, direct and indirect possession. In direct possession possessor pronouns are suffixed to a noun, in indirect possession they are suffixed to a classifier. Only the singular of all persons, and all second person forms are suffixed to the noun or classifier. The second person non-singular forms appear to be elided forms of the free pronouns. The dual, trial and plural forms for first and third person use the free-form pronoun, following the suffix -n, which assimilates to -m before the initial m of the first person exclusive set. Table 7 shows all the possessive forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>trial / paucal</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>first</td>
<td>-k? (i)</td>
<td>-m marau (i)</td>
<td>-m matol (i) ~</td>
<td>-m mató (i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(inclusive)</td>
<td>-n darau (i)</td>
<td>-n datol (i)</td>
<td>-n dat (i)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second</td>
<td>-m (i)</td>
<td>-mrau (i)</td>
<td>-mtol (i)</td>
<td>-mat (i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>third</td>
<td>-n (i)</td>
<td>-n dirau (i)</td>
<td>-n diat (i)</td>
<td>-n dit (i)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 7: BOUND (POSSESSOR) PRONOUNS**

Notice that in all persons the suffixed classifier is optionally followed by the third singular pronoun i, when it is in post-nominal postion (§3.1). 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.

3.7.1 Direct Possession

Direct possession is used to encode semantic inalienable possession. The categories of inalienably possessed nouns include most kin terms, some terms of social relationship, body parts, and other parts in a part-whole relationship. The pronouns shown in Table 7 are suffixed to the possessed noun, indicating the person and number of the possessor.

Directly possessed terms include the following:

- **ta-** ‘mother’
- **tama-** ‘father’
- **tubu-** ‘grandparent; grandchild’
- **tasi-** ‘sibling’
- **nati-** ‘child’

6 The form -ng is found for the first person singular with one noun, mora-ng ‘my namesake’.
Kinship terms not directly possessed include *singah*, which is used as a term of address for all in-laws, *mal* ‘cousin’ and *yainan* ‘mother’s brother’ (but notice *kawa*- ‘mother’s brother’). Husbands and wives are indirectly possessed; the words *barsan* ‘man’ and *fain* ‘woman’ are used with the general classifier *anu-* (see §3.7.3).

Most body parts are directly possessed but *silik* ‘blood’ is not. To indicate the possessor or location a prepositional phrase with *o-* is used: *silik o-n e Abel* ‘Abel’s blood’, *silik o-n ep kike-n* ‘the blood from his leg’.

The non-singular first and third person forms have the pronouns cliticized to the third person singular -*n*. This is on the phrase level; there may be an intervening modifier, as in (139):

(138) \[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{Toh} & \text{kabusu-n dit.} \\
\text{ART:IN.p} & \text{nose-3s 3p} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Their noses.’

(139) \[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{Tubu-n} & \text{ain dirau.} \\
\text{grandparent-3s female 3du} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Their grandmother.’

When the possessor is a full noun phrase in direct possession, the noun phrase follows the suffixed noun:

(140) \[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{Ta-n} & \text{e Wolin.} \\
\text{mother-3s ART:P Wolin} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Wolin’s mother.’
It is ungrammatical for the directly possessed terms for parents and grandparents to be used in the first person singular, as in (141). Terms of address, nana or nang ‘mother’, tata or mam ‘father’, wowo ‘grandmother’ and tété ‘grandfather’ are used instead. It is possible, however, to use these kin terms with non-singular first person forms:

(141) *Tama-k.
    father-1s
    ‘My father.’

(142) Tama-m mét.
    father-3s 1pe
    ‘Iur (exclusive) father.’

(143) Tama-n dat.
    father-3s 1pi
    ‘Our (inclusive) father.’

In the first person singular the directly possessed word tubu-k can only mean ‘my grandchild’, not ‘my grandparent’. The terms for ‘uncle’ (father’s brother) and ‘aunt’ (mother’s or father’s sister) are the terms for ‘father’ and ‘mother’ followed by the modifier lik ‘little’:

(144) $E$ ta-m lik.
    ART:P mother-2s little
    ‘Your aunt.’

(145) $E$ tama-n lik.
    ART:P father-3s little
    ‘His/her uncle.’

Some nouns have both directly possessed and non-possessed forms, as shown in Table 8.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem of possessed noun</th>
<th>non-possessed noun</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>natu-</td>
<td>(fa)nat</td>
<td>‘child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bala-</td>
<td>bal</td>
<td>‘stomach’ (seat of emotions)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kati-</td>
<td>kat</td>
<td>‘liver’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wara-</td>
<td>warwar</td>
<td>‘talk’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8: Directly possessed and non-possessed forms of nouns
Historically the possessed forms have retained a final vowel, which is lost in the non-possessed form.

- *a natu-k* ‘my child’
- *ep fanat barsan* ‘the/a boy’
- *ep nat ain* ‘the/a girl’
- *ep wara-n ep Kamgoi* ‘The Lord’s talk’
- *ep warwar anu-n ep Kamgoi* ‘The Lord’s talk’
- *ep kat* ‘liver’ (e.g. pork liver, as food)
- *a kati-k* ‘my liver’

There is an idiom using the words *ta-n* ‘mother-of’, *tama-n* ‘father-of’ and *natu-n* ‘child of’ as modifiers meaning ‘large’ (*tan*, *taman*) and ‘small’ (*natun*). Structurally these are the head of the noun phrase. This follows the possessive form, but again the second noun has no article:

(146) | *Ep* | *ta-n* | *bat.*
| ART:1 | mother-3s | rain
   | ‘A large rainstorm.’ (lit. ‘A mother of rain.’)

(147) | *Ep* | *tama-n* | *bat.*
| ART:1 | father-3s | rain
   | ‘A large rainstorm.’ (lit. ‘A father of rain.’)

It is more common to hear *tan* used this way than *taman*. *Natun* ‘child of’ has only been observed used with animate beings, meaning the young of the species:

(148) | *A* | *natu-n* | *pusi.*
| ART:2 | child-3s | cat
   | ‘A kitten.’ (lit. ‘A child of cat.’)

(149) | *A* | *natu-n* | *pól.*
| ART:2 | child-3s | dog
   | ‘A puppy.’

(150) | *A* | *natu-n* | *wai.*
| ART:2 | child-3s | crocodile
   | ‘A baby crocodile.’
3.7.2 Part-whole constructions

Part-whole constructions are a type of inalienable possession, with the part encoded as the inalienably possessed noun. The whole is encoded as a possessor noun. In this construction there is no article preceding the noun which indicates the whole. In some cases, body parts are used metaphorically as parts of inanimate objects, e.g. mata-n ‘eye’ for ‘door’. All these nouns end in -n, the third singular possessive suffix, but as no other forms are attested for many of these nouns, they are analysed as units.

(151) \textit{Ep kumlin kalang.}
\text{ART:2 half moon}
‘The half moon.’

(152) \textit{A pakan lamas.}
\text{ART:2 leaf coconut}
‘The coconut leaf.’

(153) \textit{Nga-n ep kumlin lamas.}
\text{CL:F-3s ART:1 half coconut}
‘His coconut halves.’

(154) \textit{A mata-n rumai.}
\text{ART:2 eye-3s house}
‘The door of the house.’

In (155) the use of the second article indicates that the reference is to the front of a specific canoe:

(155) \textit{Ep palaru-n ep wang.}
\text{ART:1 face-3s ART:1 canoe}
‘the front of the canoe.’

(156) \textit{A ngusun yai.}
\text{ART:2 piece tree}
‘a piece of wood.’

(157) \textit{A din pas.}
\text{ART:2 slice taro}
‘A slice of taro.’
3.7.3 Indirect Possession

In indirect possession the pronominal suffixes, realizing the possessor, are attached to one of three classifiers, which reflects the class of the possessed noun. The classifiers are:

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{ngasi-} \quad \text{container} \\
& \text{nga-} \quad \text{food, drink, and related items} \\
& \text{anu-} \quad \text{general}
\end{align*}
\]

Native speakers explained that \textit{ngasi-} is used for something big, that you can go inside. \textit{Ngas} ‘road’ was given as an example. While ‘container’ is not entirely satisfactory as a label, it provides a clue as to which nouns will require it. There is some flexibility in the use of \textit{ngasi-} according to the use of the possessed item. Table 9 shows examples of various nouns which go with each of the classifiers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>\textbf{ngasi-}</th>
<th>\textbf{nga-}</th>
<th>\textbf{anu-}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rutu</td>
<td>malum</td>
<td>wos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wang</td>
<td>gem</td>
<td>surum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngas</td>
<td>mulis</td>
<td>pól</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bak</td>
<td>pilal</td>
<td>kolos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kadi</td>
<td>pas</td>
<td>liwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lakman</td>
<td>gomon katmu</td>
<td>barim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bit</td>
<td>sisin bóroi</td>
<td>bóroi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pelet</td>
<td>pelet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a un</td>
<td>ep fun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sis</td>
<td>barsan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kaukau</td>
<td>fain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 9: Classifiers with Illustrative Nouns**

It is possible for nouns to shift from the container or food class to the general class, according to the perceived use.

The classifier with its suffix may either precede or follow the core noun phrase. The third singular pronoun \textit{i} may optionally follow the suffixed classifier when the classifier follows the noun phrase (see §3.1).

\[(158) \quad \text{Ep wang ngasi-n diat (i).} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ART:1} & \quad \text{canoe} \\
\text{CL:C-3s} & \quad 3\text{tr} \\
\text{3s} & \quad \text{Their canoe.}
\end{align*}
\]
The classifiers may also be used as prepositions (see §5.3.3). The possessive classifier may either precede or follow the possessed noun phrase, as in the pairs (166) - (167) and (168) - (169). This appears to be limited to pronominal possessors. If the possessor is a full noun phrase, the suffixed classifier follows the possessed noun phrase, and the possessor follows the classifier, as in (170) - (172):

(159)  Ep  bak  ngasi-n  a  bőrói  lik.
      ART:1  fence  CL:C-3s  ART:2  pig  little
     ‘The little pig’s fence’ (inside of which he lives).’

(160)  Dit  akas  toh  tung  ngasi-n  dit.
      3p  dig  ART:N,p  hole  CL:C-3s  3p
     ‘They dug their holes (in which they would hide).’

(161)  Ep  rumai  ngasi-k  (i).
      ART:1  house  CL:C-1s  3s
     ‘My house (in which I live).’

(162)  Ngasi-k  ep  rumai.
      CL:C-3s  ART:1  house
     ‘My house.’

(163)  Ep  rumai  anu-k.
      ART:1  house  CL:G-1s
     ‘My house (in which I myself do not live).’

(164)  Ep  pun  anu-n.
      ART:1  turtle  CL:G-3s
     ‘His/her turtle (a pet).’

(165)  Nga-m  ep  pun
      CL:F-2s  ART:1  turtle
     ‘Your turtle (to eat).’

(166)  Ngasi-k  ep  rumai  méték.
      CL:C-1s  ART:1  house  new
     ‘My new house.’

(167)  Ep  rumai  méték  ngasi-k.
      ART:1  house  new  CL:C-1s
     ‘My new house.’
(168) *Anu-k a mata-n painap.*
   CL:G 1s ART:2 eye-3s pineapple
   ‘my pineapple crown.’

(169) *A mata-n painap anu-k.*
   ART:2 eye-3s pineapple CL:G-1s
   ‘My pineapple crown.’

Post-nominal classifiers with full possessor noun phrases:

(170) *Ep rumai ngasi-n e tama-m.*
   ART:1 house CL:C-3s ART:P father-2s
   ‘Your father’s house.’

(171) *Ep wang akak ngasi-n e Sionel.*
   ART:1 canoe good CL:C-3s ART:P Sionel
   ‘Sionel’s good canoe.’

(172) *A mata-n painap anu-n e Domen.*
   ART:2 eye-3s pineapple CL:G-3s ART:p Domen
   ‘Domen’s pineapple crown.’

The possessive classifier for containers *ngasi* can also be used in the form *ngasin* as a noun meaning ‘container, case’. As a noun *ngasin* takes the general possessive classifier *anu-*.  

(173) *E Natasa ading an lo-n anu-n ep ngasin.*
   ART:P Natasha be.there at inside-3s CL:G-3s ART:1 coantiner
   ‘Natasha (the cat) is there inside her (travelling) case.’

Instead of the expected possessive classififier *ngasi-*, sometimes the preposition *ari-* is used to indicate ownership of land. *Lakman* ‘village’, *barim* ‘garden’ and *kamngas* ‘shore, bay’ are all found with *ari-* in the data.
3.8 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses follow the head noun. The usual relativizer is the demonstrative *na*, but *ning* is also found; *na* and the pronoun *i* often merge to *ni*. The relativizer may also be omitted. The relativized item will have a pronoun trace in the relative clause.

The following examples show the subject relativized:

(174) *I ding ep kirai diat sin pastat pas*  
*3s that ART:1 day 3tr sibling find COMPL2*  
*i tik ep pun i söt.*  
*3s one ART:1 turtle 3s come.ashore.*  
‘That day the three brothers found a turtle that came ashore.’

(175) *A pól lik na i pastat pas tar i.*  
*ART:2 dog little REL 3s find COMPL2 COMPL1 3s*  
‘The little dog that first found him.’

(176) *Ep tarai na dit anim an piu.*  
*ART:1 men REL 3p be.down at ground*  
‘The people who are on the earth.’

A demonstrative may serve as the head of a relative clause:

(177) *Ning na tim an bôn.*  
*that REL down at sea*  
‘The one down at the sea.’

A relativized direct object is illustrated below:

(178) *Ep tatasim na ep Kamgoi ki tar tar i ari-n.*  
*ART:1 knowledgeREL ART:1 Lord 3s.EV give COMPL1 3s DAT-3s*  
‘The knowledge that the Lord gave to him.’

(179) *Ep barsan ning i parai pas ep palaru-n baran*  
*ART:1 man that 3s put COMPL2 ART:1 face-3s thing*  
*di atong i e Bun Latau.*  
*IMPR call 3s ART:P old.man Latau*  
‘That man put on the face thing they call Old Man Latau.’

(180) *Bél ep kauh na di aim i.*  
*NEG ART:1 k.o.greens REL IMPR plant 3s*  
‘It’s not the (kind of) greens that they plant.’
Relativized location:

(181) *Ep wàng na e Lula ading ma tar an lo-n.*
    ART:1 canoe REL ART:P Lula be.there now COMPL1 at inside-3s
    ‘The canoe that Lula was already inside of.’

(182) *I ding ep yai na ep fanat i kès an laka-n.*
    3s that ART:1 tree REL ART:1 child 3s sit at top-3s
    ‘That tree on top of which the child was sitting.’

In the following example the head of the relative clause is the third person singular
suffix found on *risa-n* ‘its side’. The locational adverb *ting* serves as the relativizer:

(183) *Arisa-n ting i pastat tar i ep manmani gau.*
    beside-3s there 3s find give 3s ART:1 flying.fox place
    ‘Next to where he found the flying fox.’

Finally, there are also examples of relativized time phrases (184), instruments (185),
and other obliques (186):

(184) *Ep kirai na i puar ep lo-n i burun laulau kól.*
    ART:1 day REL 3s be.born ART:1 mouth-3s 3s small bad very
    ‘The time when she was born her mouth was terribly small.’

(185) *
    A suan tangtang na dit pirim lik o-n.
    ART:2 vine ficus REL 3p exit little OBL-3s
    ‘The vine of the ficus, by which they get down.’

(186) *I ding a din kaien na di suk a-kut tar a mosol o-n.*
    3s that ART:2 piece cloth REL IMPR sew CAUS-close COMPL1
    hole OBL-3s
    ‘That piece of cloth on which they sewed the hole closed.’
4 Verbs and Verb Phrases

Two classes of verbs are found Siar: intransitive verbs, which include statives, and transitive verbs. Stative verbs can be further subdivided into adjectival and non-adjectival stative verbs. The following chart gives illustrative examples of all four categories.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>angan</em></td>
<td>‘eat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mur</em></td>
<td>‘follow, be last’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mung</em></td>
<td>‘lead, be first’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gógós</em></td>
<td>‘dance’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>inan</em></td>
<td>‘go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kés</em></td>
<td>‘sit, dwell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>asal</em></td>
<td>‘walk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bas</em></td>
<td>‘throw’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tur</em></td>
<td>‘stand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yan</em></td>
<td>‘eat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gos</em></td>
<td>‘wash’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>um</em></td>
<td>‘hit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tar</em></td>
<td>‘give’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>los</em></td>
<td>‘carry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tun</em></td>
<td>‘roast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yauh</em></td>
<td>‘cook in an earth oven’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>aim</em></td>
<td>‘plant’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjectival stative</th>
<th>Non-adjectival stative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>méték</em></td>
<td>‘new’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>turai</em></td>
<td>‘old’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kokok</em></td>
<td>‘white’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>durdur</em></td>
<td>‘black’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mómól</em></td>
<td>‘true’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sasam</em></td>
<td>‘be sick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>longon</em></td>
<td>‘be cold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lapang</em></td>
<td>‘be hot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sisingan</em></td>
<td>‘be embarrassed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>talar</em></td>
<td>‘be confused’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The adjectival stative verbs can be used in the attributive position of the noun phrase without further derivation; the non-adjectival statives can not, see §3.6.1. With the addition of affixes verbs may shift classes.
4.1 Verbal derivation and inflection

4.1.1 Derivation of verbs

The most common way to derive verbs from nouns is without overt derivational morphology (zero-derivation). Such denominal verbs are intransitive and usually mean ‘be or have X’. Examples include the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kabinsik</td>
<td>‘king’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tama-n</td>
<td>‘father (of)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wan</td>
<td>‘old woman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girismas</td>
<td>‘Christmas’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kabinsik</td>
<td>‘be king’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tama-n</td>
<td>‘own’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wan</td>
<td>‘be/become old’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girismas</td>
<td>‘spend Christmas’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Such verbs form the head of a verb phrase, taking the appropriate verbal markers:

(187) El kabinsik ma ti-gau.
3s.POT king now there-place
‘He’ll be king there now.’

(188) El tama-n i o-n a bit.
3s.POT father-3s 3s OBL-3s ART:2 island
‘He’ll own the island.’

(189) Ep fain ki wan.
ART:1 woman 3s.EV old.woman
‘The woman was/became old.’

(190) E Nika ki etrar tar.
ART:1 Nika 3s.EV young.woman COMPL1
‘Nika has become a young woman.’

(191) Al girismas ta an Labom.
1s.POT Christmas here at Lambom
‘I’ll spend Christmas here at Lambom.’

Adjectival stative verbs are sometimes derived from nouns by reduplication (see also §3.5.1):

(192) Ep ngas i pi-pikai kól. (ep pikai ‘the mud’)
ART:1 road 3s RED-mud very
‘The road is very muddy.’
4.1.2 Valency changing affixes

Only a few verbs have been found to have the same form both as transitives and intransitives (e.g. gang 'drink'). At least one verb has separate forms for transitive and intransitive: yan ‘eat (tr)’ and angan ‘eat (intr)’. The majority of verbs are either transitive or intransitive, but may be changed to the other class by affixation.

The following valency changing prefixes have been found:

1. The reciprocal or distributive (f)ar-. With transitive bases, this creates a reciprocal intransitive verb, where no grammatical object is allowed, as the dual or plural subjects are acting on each other. If the base is an intransitive verb, the meaning is distributive:

   - ar-um ‘fight’
   - ar-balkut ‘be angry at each other’
   - ar-lar ‘be alike’
   - ar-bas ‘throw around’

   In some cases this derivation is interpreted almost as a continuative aspect:

   - ar-nanai ‘wait around; be waiting’
   - ar-laumai ‘be visiting’

2. The causative (f)a-, with the following uses:

   a. A stative verb becomes an active causative verb, with the causer as the subject:

      - a-laulau ‘ruin’
      - a-tóstós ‘straighten, fix’
      - a-la-lapang ‘heat, make hot’
      - a-inói ‘fill’
      - a-ngis ‘bless’

      - laulau ‘bad’
      - tóstós ‘straight, correct’
      - la-lapang ‘hot’
      - inói ‘full’
      - ngis ‘good, beautiful’

7 The initial f of both the reciprocal and causative prefixes is pronounced only when the verb is nominalized, directly following the article ep (see §2.1). The prefixes are cognate with the Tolai prefixes var- and va-, which have similar meanings.
b. An active intransitive verb becomes transitive, with the causer as subject and the original actor or patient as the object:

- a-bórbór ‘put to sleep, make lie down’
- bórbór ‘sleep, lie down’
- a-kawas ‘cause to enter, bring inside’
- kawas ‘enter’
- a-kor ‘heat to boiling’
- kor ‘boil (intr)’
- a-pung ‘cause to fall, drop’
- pung ‘fall’
- a-réré ‘teach’
- ré ‘see’
- réré ‘habitual’

A transitive verb remains transitive, as with a-gang ‘give to drink’ (from gang ‘drink’), with the causer coded as subject, the original actor as object, and the patient (if expressed) as an oblique:

(194) *Dit a-gang i o-n ep malum.*

3p CAUS-drink 3s OBL-3s ART:1 water

‘They made him drink water.’

3. Stative (anti-causative) ta(k)-. This prefix changes a transitive to a stative verb. The environment determining the presence of the final \(k\) of the prefix is not yet entirely clear.

- tak-silir ‘torn’
- silir ‘tear (tr)’
- tak-wer ‘spilled, poured out’
- wer ‘pour, spill’
- tak-bói ‘broken’
- bói ‘break’
- ta-regeh ‘broken apart’
- regeh ‘break apart’
- ta-pagal ‘split’
- pagal ‘split (tr)’
- ta-kutus ‘cut off’
- kutus ‘cut’

4. Reduplication. This suppresses the object, making a transitive verb intransitive:

- gos go-gos ‘wash’
- wur wu-wur ‘work’
- tun tu-tun ‘roast’
- yauh ya-yauh ‘cook in an earth oven’
- los lo-los ‘carry’

It is possible for a verb to be reduplicated in form and yet be transitive, e.g. lólós ep sis ‘catch fish’. In this case, there is no unreduplicated form and lólós is just a transitive root.

5. Transitivizing -i and -ai. The choice between these two suffixes is lexically determined. The suffix -ai is the more common one. In some cases the addition of the suffix shows segments that do not appear in the unsuffixed form.
Examples of -i:

- **mur** ‘follow (intr), be last’
- **bas** ‘throw (intr)’
- **nuk** ‘think (intr)’
- **balkut** ‘be angry’

Examples of -ai:

- **mung** ‘lead (intr), be first’
- **par** ‘get (oneself) down’
- **warwar** ‘talk’
- **long** ‘respond’
- **yawas** ‘paddle (intr)’
- **wuwut** ‘blow’
- **patak** ‘chop firewood’

Notice that verbs with CV.CVC syllable structure lose the vowel of the second syllable before this suffix. The pair *long - longrai* is exceptional in that the expected base *longor* does not occur in Siar.

Certain adverbs may also be suffixed with the transitivizer -ai, incorporating them into the verb. This includes the adverbs kapit ‘quickly’ and órös ‘without purpose, without reason’.

(195) *Del lóu kapt-ai i.*
IMPR.POT buy quickly-TR 3s
‘They’ll buy it quickly.’

(196) *Marau kés órös sa.*
1du.e sit no.purpose only
‘We are just sitting without purpose.’
(cf. Tok Pisin mitupela sindaun nating).

(197) *Bél a rak al gang órs-ai tok marasin.*
NEG 1s want 1s.POT drink no.purpose-TR ART:NR.m medicine
‘I don’t want to take medicine for no reason.’ (i.e. that is not the correct medicine or is not prescribed by the nurse)
4.1.3 Other affixes: reduplication and -it

Reduplication marks iterative aspect on both transitive and intransitive verbs, indicating that the action is repeated. It may be a case of several actors each doing the same thing separately, or one actor repeating the same action over and over. In translation it can be difficult to express the sense of repeated action. (Note that if the verb has only one syllable, the entire root is reduplicated. If the verb has more than one syllable only the initial CV is reduplicated; see also §2.5).

   and ART:AN.p demon 3p RED-exit
   ‘And the demons went outside.’

(199) Mét kês-kês sa.
   1pe RED-sit just
   ‘We’re just sitting.’

(200) A kôt-kôt bu-burun i ma.
   1s RED-cut RED-small 3s now
   ‘I cut it into little pieces now.’

(201) Dira el bok-bok sai lon bôn o-n ep raót.
   3d 3s.POT RED-float west inside ocean OBL-3s ART:1 raft
   ‘They’ll float out in the ocean on a raft.’

(202) Kailam sa i yan-yan a-rop pas ep bórói.
   Lizard just 3s RED-eat CAUS-finish COMPL2 ART:1 pig
   ‘…only Lizard was eating up the pig.’

Note that this reduplication takes place after the stative prefix ta(k)- is added to the verb, and so it is this prefix which is reduplicated, rather than the root:

(203) Ap ningan toh rumai i ta-ta-regeh sóu.
   and some ART:IN.p house 3s RED-STA-break COMPL3
   ‘And some of the houses were broken apart.’

The last affix to be discussed, the suffix -it, is similar in meaning to reduplication, marking iterative or continuous action. It is not often found in connected texts in the data. Further study is needed as to its meaning and the conditions under which it is used rather than, or in combination with, reduplication, as in (207).
(204) *Ap ep puklu-n ma i bok-it ap i bok-it*  
and ART:1 head-3s now 3s float-CONT and 3s float-CONT  
kating sen an kam ngas ari-n ep fain anu-n i.  
to.there INTS at group road DAT-3s ART:1 woman CL:G-3s 3s  
‘And now his head was floating, and it was floating over to the shore to  
his wife.’

(205) *A taltal-it sa.*  
1s wander-CONT just  
‘I’m just wandering around.’

(206) *I ka-kawar-it.*  
3s RED-crawl-CONT  
‘It was crawling.’

(207) *Mét kés-kés-it sa.*  
1pe RED-sit-CONT just  
‘We’re just sitting.’  
(in this case, the reduplication is due to the plural subject).

(208) *Ap dira inan-it ta an lo-n buibui.*  
and 3du go-CONT here at inside-3s bush  
‘And they were going here inside the bush.’

(209) *I inan-it ap i inan-it ap i pastat*  
3s go-CONT and 3s go-CONT and 3s find  
pas i tik a sur.  
COMPL2 3s one ART:2 bone  
‘He was going and he was going and he found a bone.’

### 4.2 Basic verb phrase structure

The verb is the central element of the verb phrase. Other elements include the subject agreement marker (which is obligatory), mood markers (eventive and potential), and various aspectual markers and adverbs. Mood markers are discussed in §4.2.1, while the place of aspectual markers and adverbs in the verb phrase is covered in §4.2.2.
The subject agreement markers seem to be in a transitional stage. They are identical to the free pronouns, except in the first person singular, where the free pronoun has the shape ya ~ yau and the subject agreement marker a. In the singular, the subject agreement markers fuse with the potential and eventive markers (see Table 10 below). The sign of the eventive mood is k-; the potential mood is marked by -l, and, in the second and third persons, by a lowering of the vowel. With non-singular subjects, the third person singular forms (ki, el, kel) follow the free pronouns when eventive and/or potential moods are added.

4.2.1 Fused modals

The singular subject agreement markers fuse with modals in the verb phrase as shown in Table 10.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>pronoun</th>
<th>pronoun with eventive</th>
<th>pronoun with potential</th>
<th>pronoun with both eventive and potential</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>first</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>al</td>
<td>kal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>ol</td>
<td>kol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>third</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>el</td>
<td>kel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 10: SUBJECT AGREEMENT MARKERS FUSED WITH MODALS

The subject agreement markers are shown in the third person singular and plural, with the intransitive verb inan ‘go’.

(210) I inan.
     3s go
     ‘He is going.’

(211) Dit inan.
     3p go
     ‘They are going.’

(212) Ki inan tar.
     3s.EV go COMPL1
     ‘He has gone.’

(213) Dit ki inan tar.
     3p 3s.EV go COMPL1
     ‘They have gone.’
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. They have different functions in connected texts than they do in conversation or isolated utterances and further research is needed on their use in texts of all genres.

Many verb phrases occur without modals. The reference may be to events in the present or in the past:

(218)  
\[
\text{Labóng a yan sa ep gem.} \\
\text{Yesterday 1s eat only ART:1 tapiok.bread} \\
\text{‘Yesterday I just ate tapiok bread.’}
\]

(219)  
\[
\text{A yan sa ep gem.} \\
\text{1s eat only ART:1 tapiok.bread} \\
\text{‘I’m just eating tapiok bread.’}
\]

The potential mood is used for future events, in purpose clauses, ‘lest’ clauses, conditionals, and sometimes for habitual past:

(220)  
\[
\text{Latu al yan sa ep gem.} \\
\text{tomorrow 1s.POT eat only ART:1 tapiok.bread} \\
\text{‘Tomorrow I’ll just eat tapiok bread.’}
\]

(221)  
\[
\text{Al an ka-tong an Lawonai sur al munmun.} \\
\text{1s.POT at DIR-north at Lawonai for 1sPOT bathe} \\
\text{‘I’ll go to Lawonai to bathe.’}
\]
(222) *Tumarang tar, sak ol pung!*
be.careful COMPL1 be.bad 2s.POT fall
‘Be careful lest you fall.’ or ‘Be careful, it’s no good if you fall.’
(Equivalent to Tok Pisin *Lukaut! Nogut yu pundaun.* )

(223) *Na e Lula el wót is ap al war-ai i.*
when ART:P Lula 3s.POT arrive return and 1s.POT say-TR 3s
‘When/if Lula returns, I’ll tell him.’

(224) *Ap na dira el yan lamas ap bobolos e kailam*
And when 3du 3s.POT eat coconut and always ART:P k.o.lizard
el malik a-pung ep kumlin lamas sur el
3s.POT again CAUS-fall ART:1 half coconut for 3s.POT
mun i sur el tat-tat ep ran bórói...
dive 3s for 3s.POT RED-uncover ART:1 earth.oven pig
‘and when they would eat coconut, always Lizard would again drop the
coconut halves, so that he would dive, so that he could uncover the pig
earth oven…’

When the eventive is used it may refer to an event in the past, or to a state that has changed and is perceived as an event:

(225) *Ku wót is.*
2s.EV arrive return
‘You’ve come back.’

(226) *E Nathan ki laun is.*
ART:P Nathan 3s.EV live return
‘Nathan is (has become) well again.’

(227) *Ku longon?*
2s.EV be.cold
‘Are you cold?’ or ‘Have you become cold?’

Often the eventive co-occurs with a completive aspect marker:

(228) *Ka munmun tar.*
1s.EV bathe COMPL1
‘I’ve bathed.’
In narrative texts, both eventive *ki* and the unmarked *i* are used to describe past events. The eventive seems to mark the mainline events of the narrative, as noted by Erdman and Goring (1992). Note the presence of *ki* in the following examples (the full story is given in the appendix):

(230) *Dit inan ka-sai sup an lo-n ep rumai, ap dit nos-nos,*
3p go DIR-up inside at inside.of ART:1 house and 3p RED-look
*ap bél dit pastat ep móróu. Kí rup is and NEG 3p find ART:1 k.o.snake 3s.EV go.inside return*
*ka-tim sup an lo-n a gil. Ap dit ki DIR-down inside at inside.of ART:2 coconut.shell And 3p 3s.EV*
*pirim ka-tim an piu, ap dit ki kapsur s-aló exit DIR-down at ground and 3p 3s.EV chase only-again*
*kai kakaruk. ART:AN.p chicken*

‘They went up into the house, and they looked, and they didn’t find the *móróu*. He went back inside the coconut shell. And they went outside, and they just chased the chickens.’

The eventive is not found with negation:

(231) *Bél a angan kóbót. NEG 1s eat morning*

‘I didn’t eat breakfast.’

The eventive can also be combined with the potential, generating the forms *kal, kol* and *kel*. In conversation this marks a more definite future, either an event that will certainly come to pass, or something that will happen in the immediate future:

(232) *Datól kel an.*
1tr.i 3s.EV.POT go
‘We’re about to go.’
(This is often used where in English one might say, ‘We’re going now.’)

(233) *Kel milau rop.*
3s.EV.POT near finish
‘It’s almost finished.’
(234) **Latu kal an ka-sai an Kokopo.**

'Tomorrow I will go to Kokopo.'

It would not be common to use the eventive with the potential for an event in the distant future, where there is a perceived lack of control on the part of the speaker:

(235) **Al is o-n September.**

'I'll return in September.'

If there is a sequence of independent pronouns and subject agreement markers, the first instance is a clause-level subject noun phrase, and not part of the verb phrase. As mentioned before, only in the first person singular is there a separate form of the subject agreement marker.

(236) **I ki war-ai.**

3s 3s.EV say-TR

'He said.'

(237) **Tasi-k, u ku pastat i is a kah?**

sibling-1s 2s 2s.EV find 3s how many ART: 2 k.o.insect

'Brother, how many kah have you found?'

(238) **Amrau, amra el inan ma amrau el rung kuk, ma yau al aim tapiok.**

2du 2du 3s.POT go now 2d 3s.POT dig crab

now 1s 1s.POT plant cassava

'You two, you'll go now, you'll dig for crab, but I'll plant cassava.'

Some speakers leave off the subject agreement markers when a verb is used to recapitulate the action of a preceding sentence, linking it to the main clause of a new sentence, as in the following example:

(239) **…ap dit ki kapsur ep bórói….**

…and 3p 3s.EV chase ART: 1 pig

**Kapsur ep bórói ap i lili kan lon ep keh.**

chase ART: 1 pig and 3s run to inside ART: 1 net

'…and they chased the pig …Chased the pig and it ran into the net.'
4.2.2 Other elements in the verb phrase

There are additional slots in the verb phrase for negation, adverbs, and aspect. In Table 11 below, the verb is labelled C as the central element; preceding and following elements are labelled P and F respectively, and numbered out from C. These slots will be discussed in turn.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P3 negation</th>
<th>P2 pronoun + modality</th>
<th>P1 adverb</th>
<th>C verb complex</th>
<th>F1 manner adverb</th>
<th>F2 adverb</th>
<th>F3 completive aspect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bel ‘not’</td>
<td>see §4.2.1</td>
<td>malik ‘again’</td>
<td>akak ‘good’</td>
<td>malik ‘again’</td>
<td>tar</td>
<td>COMPL1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bisen ‘not yet’</td>
<td></td>
<td>bas ‘must’</td>
<td>laulau ‘bad’</td>
<td>bas-a ‘must only’</td>
<td>pas</td>
<td>COMPL2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gong ‘don’t’</td>
<td></td>
<td>bót ‘later’</td>
<td>panai ‘in vain’</td>
<td>bót ‘later’</td>
<td>sóu</td>
<td>COMPL3</td>
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</table>

Table 11: The Verb Phrase

The filler of the P3 slot is a negator; the negators bel ‘not’ and bisen ‘not yet’ are found in declarative clauses, whereas gong ‘don’t’ is used for prohibitions (see §5.4.2). The P2 slot combines person and mood, as outlined above in §4.2.1. In the P1 slot three adverbs have been observed: malik ‘again’, bas ‘must’ and bót ‘later’. These may also be found in the F2 slot following the verb.

The filler of the Central slot, the verb complex, is the subject agreement marker with its verb, which may be either a single verb, a serial verb construction, or a verb followed by a noun (nominal incorporation). See §4 for a discussion of verb types and §4.3 for a discussion of serial verbs.
Nominal incorporation is typically used when the object noun is generic. It is clear that nominal incorporation is a feature of the verb phrase, as there is no article preceding the noun. Also, if a completive aspect marker is present, it occurs after the noun, as illustrated in (240) and (241). In (242) by contrast, the aspect marker pas precedes the object noun phrase, which is definite.

(240) Yo, e Lói sen malik i an, i pit pakan pas.
well ART:P ant INTS again 3s go 3s pick leaf COMPL2
‘Well, Ant himself again went, he leaf-picked.’

(241) Ap na e Lói ki war-ai Kailam sur el sur su...
and when ART:P ant 3s.EVT say-TR lizard for 3s.POT fetch vine
‘And when Ant told lizard to vine-fetch…’

and ART:P ant INTS again 3s fetch COMPL2 ART:1 vine
‘And Ant himself again fetched the vine.’

Following the verb complex is the F1 slot, filled by an adverb of manner. In some cases these have the same form as the adjectives, e.g. akak ‘good, well’ and laulau ‘bad, badly’. These adverbs may be modified by kól ‘very’.

The filler of the F2 slot is another class of adverbs. These include the adverbs also found in the P1 slot, with the addition of bobolos ‘always’. Except for basa ‘must only’, these are all temporal adverbs.

The final slot F3 is filled by the completive aspect markers tar, sóu and pas. Tar is the most common of these; in combination with the eventive mood it forms the perfective aspect and is translated as such by native speakers. Further study is needed as to the difference between these three markers and the conditions under which they are used, either alone or in combination, but the following examples illustrate their basic usage.

Perfective use of tar:

(243) E Tapbet ki sol tar.
ART:P Tapbet 3s.EVT go.work COMPL1
‘Tapbet has gone (to work).’

(244) Ka angan tar.
1s.EVT eat COMPL1
‘I’ve eaten.’
Tar may also occur in commands and prohibitions:

(245) Gong u numan tar i.
    don’t 2s forget COMPL1 3s
    ‘Don’t forget it.’

(246) Bas-i sói tar i.
    throw-TR away COMPL1 3s
    ‘Throw it away.’

It may also combine with potential:

(247) El an tar.
    3s.POT go COMPL1
    ‘He will leave.’

The meanings of sóu and pas are not entirely clear. When asked, native speakers have not been able to explain the meaning.

(248) Ol gos i ap ep pen el an sóu.
    2s.POT wash 3s and ART:1 paint 3s.POT go COMPL3
    ‘You’ll wash it and the paint will come off.’ (lit. ‘…and the paint will go.’)

(249) I mat sóu.
    3s die COMPL3
    ‘He/she died.’

Pas may have to do with an ordering of events:

(250) A los pas ep bulat ap a togoi
    1s carry COMPL2 ART:1 large.stone and 1s make.circle
    i kon ep ran.
    3s PURP ART:1 earth.oven
    ‘I carry the stones and I make them into a circle for the earth oven.’

(251) A a-ut pas e dokta diat tama-n, ap
    1s CAUS-arrive COMPL2 ART:P doctor 3tr father-3s and
    kai na-natu-n ma dit sang toh kusur ap
    ART:AN.p RED-child-3s now 3p prepare ART:IN.p spear and
    toh lamrót.
    ART:IN.p fish.spear
    ‘I fetched the doctor and his family, and then his children prepared the
    spears and the fish spears.’
Serial verbs share arguments (subject and/or object), mood and aspect. The subject agreement marker is found in the verb phrase preceding the serial verbs; the subject and mood are the same for all verbs in the series. Often the first verb in the series expresses the way in which the second verb was accomplished. Completive aspect, if present, follows the serial verb construction, and again applies to all of the verbs in the series.

Historically the completive aspect markers discussed in §4.2.2 were most likely verbs in a serial construction. The most general aspect marker tar also occur as a free verb ‘give’. However, sou is not found as an independent verb in the data, while pas is only found in compounds (e.g. pastat ‘find’) and idioms (pas lakman ‘open’; cf. lakman ‘village’), but no independent meaning has been found for pas.

In the following examples of the first verb indicates how the second verb happened. One could also say that the second verb presents the result of the action of the first verb:

(255) I gósgós a-mónóng pas dit.
3s dance CAUS-busy COMPL2 3p
‘It distracted them by dancing.’

(256) Dit ngas a-mat sói a-rop dit.
3p bite CAUS-die away CAUS-finish 3p
‘They bit them all dead.’
(257) *Ap i woh tat pas i tik ep*
and 3s smell uncover COMPL2 3s one ART:1
*palsai kakaruk anu-m matóh tama-n i.* mother chicken CL:G-3s 1tr.e father-3s 3s
‘and it found by smelling one mother chicken of ours.’

(258) *I rówói ót sai o-n a bit lik.*
3s fly arrive west OBL-3s ART:2 island little
‘He arrived flying out on the little island.’ (wót ‘arrive’ loses its initial w as a second verb)

Lele ‘know’ is found only as the second element in a serial construction, never as an independent verb. It occurs in combination with several other verbs:

(259) *A longr-ai lele ep felnge-m.*
1s hear-TR know ART:1 sound-2s
‘I recognized your voice.’ (knew by hearing)

(260) *Bél a ré lele i.*
NEG 1s see know 3s
‘I did not recognize him/her.’ (know by seeing)

(261) *Tirai lele ep rak anu-n i.*
see know ART:1 want CL:G-3s 3s
‘Recognize his will.’ (know by seeing)

Some further examples of serial verb constructions:

(262) *I los pas i tik a din pepa ap i*
3s carry COMPL2 3s one ART:2 piece paper and 3s
*kót ar-lar pas i tik a bem*
cut RECIP-resemble COMPL2 3s one ART:2 butterfly
‘He brought a piece of paper, and he cut out a butterfly.’

(263) *Ka sang a-inói tar ep rumai ngasi-k*
1s.EV prepare CAUS-full COMPL1 ART:1 house CL:C-1s
*o-n ep baran angan.*
OBL-3s ART:1 thing eat
‘I got my house ready by filling it with food.’
(264) *Ep sói i kawas tat pas matól.*  
ART:1 snake 3s enter uncover COMPL2 1tr.e  
‘A snake came in and found us.’

(265) *I ngot kubat i.*  
3s bite break 3s  
‘He broke it by biting.’

(266) *Al an tat e Palum.*  
1s.POT go find ART:P Palum  
‘I’ll go find Palum.’

(267) *E Tagorman i longr-ai tat i.*  
ART:P Tagorman 3s hear-TR find 3s  
‘Tagorman found him (by hearing).’

(268) *Ap ki nuk-nuk is-is e tama-n.*  
and 3s.EV RED-think RED-return ART:P father-3s  
‘And he thought again about his father.’

*Kabas* ‘leave’ is not found outside of serial constructions. It follows an intransitive verb of motion, but is itself transitive:

(269) *A rak s-al inan kabas amrau.*  
1s want only-1s.POT go leave 2du  
‘I just want to go leave you.’

*Kabas* appears in the only examples found in the data in which the object of a serial verb construction is the subject of the next verb. It is possible to analyse *kabas* as a preposition with restricted use:

(270) *I ting sói ma a kuk kabas a ulima-n e ta-n.*  
3s cut away now ART:2 crab leave ART:2 finger-3s ART:P mother-3s  
‘He cut away the crab; (it) left his mother’s finger.’

(271) *...kon um sói a-mat i kabas ep kakaruk anu-m matól.*  
PURP hit away CAUS-die 3s leave ART:1 chicken CL:G-3s 1tr.e  
‘…to hit away and kill it; (it) leaves our chicken.’

Habitual aspect is encoded as the first element of a serial verb construction by the word réré, a reduplicated form of ré ‘see’:

(272) *U réré mamai?*  
2s HABIT chew.betel.nut  
‘Do you chew betel nut?’
Serial constructions may function as lexicalised compounds, as in some cases the meaning is not immediately clear from the meanings of the two parts, e.g. ré a-ngis ‘desire’ (lit. ‘see CAUS-good’), nuktat ‘remember, think of’ (lit. ‘think find’) and anót ‘arrive’ (lit. ‘go-arrive’).

4.4 Verbal compounds

In some cases serialization has evolved into compound verbs. The verbs are phonologically bound together. Included are:

- anót ‘arrive’
- kaptur ‘rise, stand up’
- kapsur ‘chase’
- képas ‘take, get’
- pastat ‘find’
- nosalar ‘look after’

Kap is not found in the data as an independent verb, but only in compounds. It seems to bring an element of motion to the verb, or possibly inchoative aspect. It is also found in the phrase kap kirai kóbót which is the full phrase meaning ‘morning’, although kóbót by itself also means ‘morning’ (kirai means ‘day’). In the compound képas, pas is not just the completive aspect marker here with kép, as it can be followed by pas as the aspect marker: i képas pas i ‘he/she has taken it’.
5 Clause Structure

Both verbal and verbless clauses are found in Siar. There are two types of verbless clauses: equative and locative-existential, and similarly two types of verbal clauses: intransitive and transitive. The usual word order in verbal clauses is SV(O).

5.1 Verbless clauses

5.1.1 Equative clauses

Equative clauses consist of the simple juxtaposition of subject and predicate noun phrases, without a copula. There is no modal.

(274)  
\[ E \ tata \ e \ Manurai. \]
\begin{align*}
\text{ART:P} & \quad \text{dad} & \quad \text{ART:P} & \quad \text{Manurai} \\
\end{align*}

‘My dad is Manurai.’

(275)  
\[ Ep \ rise-n \ i \ ding \ ep \ bórói \ lik \ e \ Gumgum. \]
\begin{align*}
\text{ART:1} & \quad \text{name-3s} & \quad \text{3s this} & \quad \text{ART:1} & \quad \text{pig small} & \quad \text{ART:p} & \quad \text{Gumgum} \\
\end{align*}

‘The name of this little pig is Gumgum.’

(276)  
\[ E \ Bila \ ep \ burun \ in \ ep \ fain. \]
\begin{align*}
\text{ART:P} & \quad \text{Bila} & \quad \text{ART:1} & \quad \text{small} & \quad \text{LIG} & \quad \text{ART:1} & \quad \text{woman} \\
\end{align*}

‘Bila is a small woman.’

(277)  
\[ Ep \ yai \ na \ di \ ki \ parai \ kon \ a \]
\[ \text{ART:1} \quad \text{wood REL IMPR 3s.EV put for ART:2} \]
\[ \text{goyo ep magas.} \]
\[ \text{float ART:1 k.o.tree} \]

‘The wood which is used for the float is magas.’

The order of the noun phrases may be reversed. In example (278) the first pronoun is a clause topic, while the second, which comes last in the clause, is the subject of the equative clause.

(278)  
\[ Ma \ yau, \ ep \ talung \ sa \ yau. \]
\begin{align*}
\text{now 1s} & \quad \text{ART:1} & \quad \text{demon just 1s} \\
\end{align*}

‘But me, I’m just a demon.’
5.1.2 Locative-existential clauses

In locative-existential clauses, the subject is filled by a noun phrase or pronoun, while the predicate is filled by a predicate locative proform. The subject is encoded by a noun phrase or a pronoun, but not both. Unlike verbal clauses, there is no subject agreement marker. There is also no mood, but aspect may be added. Locative-existential clauses serve both to assert the existence of something and to specify its location at the same time.

The locatives proforms (hereafter just ‘locatives’, see Table 12) are related to the demonstratives (§3.3) and the locationals (§5.3.4). They appear to be derived from the demonstratives, prefixed by the preposition an. They show the same marking for singular (-d-) and plural (-n-) as the demonstratives. The final n of an is deleted before the voiced plosive of the singular forms; the geminate sequence that would be found in the plural forms undergoes coalescence (§2.6).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ada</td>
<td>ana</td>
<td>‘here’ (in the hand, or within touch of the speaker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adé</td>
<td>ané</td>
<td>‘here’ (slightly farther from speaker, or close to speaker but distant from addressee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ading</td>
<td>aning</td>
<td>‘there’ (a bit farther away, but still within sight)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adong</td>
<td>anong</td>
<td>‘there, to the north’ (farther, but may still be visible)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adim</td>
<td>anim</td>
<td>‘there, down, to the south or to the east’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adisai</td>
<td>anisai</td>
<td>‘there, up, to the west’ (or any great distance)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12: Locatives

Examples of locative-existential clauses:

(279) Adisai ma o-n a bit lik.
    be.there.up now OBL-3s ART:2 island small
    ‘He was over on the little island.’

(280) Kirai na matóh anisai...
    day DEM 1tr.e be.there.up...
    ‘When we were there…’

(281) Anu-k a liwan ada.
    CL:G-1s ART:2 knife be.here
    ‘My knife is here.’ or ‘Here is my knife.’
The Tok Pisin form *gat* ‘to have; there is’ is often used to assert the existence of an object without specifying its location:

(286) *I gat a liwan lik.*  
3s have ART:2 knife little  
‘There is a little knife.’

Properly in Siar its position would have to be indicated:

(287) *A liwan lik ana.*  
ART:1 knife little be.here  
‘There is a little knife here.’

The clitics *ga(u)* and *gali* may follow the locatives, making a proform. These clitics are also found with the locationals discussed in §5.3.4. *Aning gau* is usually contracted to *aniga(u).*

(288) *...ap toh kabusu-n dit ma ani-ga.*  
and ART:IN.p nose-3s 3p now be.there-place  
‘...and their noses were there now.’

(289) *E Tapbet diat anong gali.*  
ART:P Tapbet 3tr be.there.north place  
‘Tapbet and others are there (to the north).’
Although in general the set with \( d \) is singular and the set with \( n \) plural, in the command often used as a farewell, \( n \) is found even in the singular.

(290)  \( U \ an\text{-}i\text{-}gau \ ma. \)
\[ \begin{align*}
2s & \quad \text{be\_there\_place} \quad \text{now} \\
& \quad \text{‘You stay there.’}
\end{align*} \]

5.2 Verbal clauses: core arguments

The only obligatory constituent of intransitive clauses is the verb phrase. In transitive clauses an object is also required.

(291)  \( I \ bōrbör. \)
\[ \begin{align*}
3s & \quad \text{sleep} \\
& \quad \text{‘S/he is sleeping.’}
\end{align*} \]

(292)  \( I \ yan \ ep \ gem. \)
\[ \begin{align*}
3s & \quad \text{eat} \quad \text{ART:1 tapiok\_bread} \\
& \quad \text{‘S/he is eating tapiok bread.’}
\end{align*} \]

5.2.1 Intransitive clauses

Intransitive clauses, which include stative clauses, consist of an optional noun phrase subject, with a subject agreement marker in the verb phrase.

(293)  \( Kai \ na\text{-}nat \ gurar \ dit \ sak-sak. \)
\[ \begin{align*}
\text{ART:AN:p RED-child female} & \quad 3p \quad \text{RED-sing} \\
& \quad \text{‘The little girls are singing.’}
\end{align*} \]

(294)  \( Dit \ sak-sak. \)
\[ \begin{align*}
3p & \quad \text{RED-sing} \\
& \quad \text{‘They are singing.’}
\end{align*} \]

(295)  \( Ep \ fo\text{-}n \ dira \ i \ memelel. \)
\[ \begin{align*}
\text{ART:1 skin\_3s 3du} & \quad 3s \quad \text{weak} \\
& \quad \text{‘Their skin was weak.’}
\end{align*} \]

(296)  \( Ep \ fo\text{-}k \ ki \ memelel \ rop \ tar. \)
\[ \begin{align*}
\text{ART: skin\_1s 3s.EV weak all COMPL1} & \quad \text{COMPL1} \\
& \quad \text{‘My skin has become completely weak.’}
\end{align*} \]

(297)  \( Ep \ wang \ ngasi\text{-}n \ e \ Lula \ i \ mémérék. \)
\[ \begin{align*}
\text{ART:1 canoe CL:C\_3s ART:P} & \quad \text{Lula 3s red} \\
& \quad \text{‘Lula’s canoe is red.’}
\end{align*} \]
(298) El tak-wer.
3s.POT STA-pour.
‘It will spill/be spilt.’

(299) Dirak ki ar-bal-kut ma.
3du 1s.EV RECIP-stomach-close now
‘They are angry at each other now. (lit: ‘Their stomachs are closed to each other now’.)

(300) Ki nos-nos laulau kól.
3s RED-look bad very
‘It looked very bad.’

So far, all intransitive clauses have had SV order. Examples of the subject following the verb in an intransitive clause are found in (299) and (300); these are probably best analysed as afterthoughts.

(301) I ta-kubat sôu a sua-n tangtang.
3s STA break COMPL3 ART:2 vine-3s ficus
‘It was broken, the ficus vine.’

(302) I mat sôu sen ep song ning.
3s die COMPL3 INTS ART:2 wild.man that
‘He died, that wild man.’

In (303) the patient i rop ‘all of it’, which would ordinarily be the object of a transitive clause, is the topic of an intransitive clause, not a fronted object. The clause is intransitive, as the verb los ‘carry’ is made intransitive by reduplication. This is an unusual clause construction in the data.

(303) I rop sa, i lo-los ma ka-sai arisa-n e ta-n.
3s all just 3s RED-carry now DIR-west beside-3s ART:P mother-3s
‘All of it, he carried up to his mother now.’

5.2.2 Intransitive clauses with additional elements

Intransitive clauses may include a prepositional phrase to encode various semantic roles. For some verbs, e.g. taulai ‘be married’ this is optional:

(304) A natu-k ain ki taulai tar.
ART:2 child-1s woman 3s.EV be.married COMPL1
‘My daughter is married.’
(305) Ki taulai o-n ep tan Kavieng.
3s.EV be.married OBL-3s ART:1 person Kavieng
‘She married someone from Kavieng.’

For other verbs, this is obligatory. Tasim ‘know’, for instance, is always followed by the preposition o-. This is found so often with the third singular suffix -n that some mother-tongue speakers write and pronounce it as one word: tasimon. A modifier, however, may come in between the two parts, as in (306). If the verb is followed by a complement clause, o-n precedes the complementizer, as in (307). It is possible for the object not to be specified, in which case the o-n is still present, and third person singular by default (308).

(306) Bél a tasim akak o-n dit.
NEG 1s know well OBL-3s 3p
‘I don’t know them well.’

(307) A kiukiu i tasim o-n na a kotóu
ART:2 kingfisher 3s know OBL-3s COMP ART:2 hermit.crab
bél i réré inan ayap-yap.
NEG 3s HABIT go quickly-RED
‘The kingfisher knew that the hermit crab didn’t move quickly.’

(308) I tasim o-n.
3s know OBL-3s
‘He knows.’

Less commonly first and second person forms are heard following tasim:

(309) I tasim o-k.
3s know OBL-1s
‘S/he knows me’

(310) A tasim akak o-mtól.
1s know good OBL-2tr
‘I know you well.’

The nominal and adjectival form of this verb is tatasis: ep ta-tasim ‘knowledge’, dit ta-tasim kól ‘they are very knowledgeable’.
Lasan ‘be accustomed to’ also requires an oblique argument. It is followed by the prepositions o-n or sur.

(311) Ka lasan o-n ep baran angan lakman.
1s.EV be.accustomed.to OBL-3s ART:2 thing eat village
‘I’m used to village food.’

(312) Ki lasan sur yau.
3s.EV be.accustomed.to for 1s
‘S/he’s used to me.’

Finally, nos-nos sur means ‘look for’, but nos-nos by itself refers to one’s appearance:

(313) I nos-nos sur i tim an bón rakana.
3s.RED-look for 3s down at ocean like that
‘He looked for him down by the shore like that.’

(314) U nos-nos akak kól.
2s.RED-look good very
‘You look very good.’

5.2.3 Transitive Clauses
The basic constituent order of transitive clauses is SVO, although some variation is found. The subject is marked on the verb phrase with a subject agreement marker, and may optionally be present as a noun phrase or a pronoun in the clause.

(315) Bél al um u.
NEG 1s.POT hit 2s
‘I’m not going to hit you.’

(316) A kiuki u i rère um kai kôtou.
ART:1 kingfisher 3s HABIT hit ART:AN.p hermit.crab
‘The kingfisher kills hermit crabs.’

(317) Yau ka pastat i tik a kah.
1s 1s.EV find 3s one ART:2 k.o.insect
‘Me, I’ve found one kah.’
The object may be realized by both a pronoun and a noun phrase, as in (318) where the object is coded twice: first by the pronoun *i*, then by a complex noun phrase:

(318)  
\[ \text{Dira gos i ma ep kah} \]  
\[ 3du \text{ wash } 3s \text{ now } \text{ ART:1 k.o.insect} \]  
\[ \text{nga-n e tubu-n ain dirau.} \]  
\[ \text{CL:F-3s ART:P grandparent-3s woman 3du} \]  
‘They washed it now, their grandmother’s *kah*.’

A reflexive needs no other marking than context to show that the object is the same as the subject:

(319)  
\[ I \text{ a-burun pas i.} \]  
\[ 3s \text{ CAUS-small COMPL2 3s} \]  
‘He humbles himself.’

Although (319) is translated as a reflexive, it could in another context also mean ‘He humbled him’, in which case the subject and the object are not co-referential.

There are no ditransitive clauses. Only one object is allowed and any ‘second’ object must be marked as an oblique. The word for ‘give’ has two forms: *tar*, with patient direct object (320), and *tabar*, with recipient direct object (321). In either case, the oblique argument is optional.

(320)  
\[ E \text{ Goro i tar a sis lik ari-k.} \]  
\[ \text{ART:P Goro 3s give ART:2 fish little DAT 1s} \]  
‘Goro gave the little fish to me.’

(321)  
\[ E \text{ Goro i tabar yau o-n a sis lik.} \]  
\[ \text{ART:P Goro 3s give 1s OBL-3s ART:2 fish little} \]  
‘Goro gave me a little fish.’

(322)  
\[ As \text{ i tabar u?} \]  
\[ \text{who 3s give 2s} \]  
‘Who gave you (something)?’

5.3 Verbal clauses: peripheral arguments

Several peripheral arguments may be added to the core constituents of the clause. These include topic, time, location, and various obliques. These are encoded as either noun phrases in a particular position, as temporal and locational adverbs, or as prepositional phrases. Only topic or time is placed before the subject. Following the SV(O) core various obliques are found, realized as prepositional phrases, in addition to location and time.
5.3.1 Topic

Topic is found in the first position of the clause. It may be a topicalized object, as in (323):

(323)  
\[
\text{Ep yah ning i yan ep rumai, e Matthew} \\
\text{ART:1 fire that 3s eat ART:1 house ART:P Matthew} \\
\text{s-i par-ai tar i.} \\
\text{only-3s get.down-TR COMPL1 3s} \\
\text{‘The fire that consumed the house, Matthew set it.’}
\]

When there is a clause-level pronoun marking the subject (in addition to the subject agreement marker in the verb phrase), this may often be interpreted as a topic.

(324)  
\[
\text{U, u réré wa-was.} \\
\text{2s 2s HABIT RED-read} \\
\text{‘As for you, you (habitually) read.’}
\]

In (325) \text{yau} is topic, co-referential with the possessive suffix \text{-k} ‘my’ on the subject noun:

(325)  
\[
\text{Yau, a kati-k adim sen an lakman.} \\
\text{1s ART:2 liver-1s be.down INTS at village} \\
\text{‘As for me, my liver is down at the village.’}
\]

An example of an oblique topic is (326):

(326)  
\[
\text{O-n ep kés tarai kinbali-n anu-n dirau i bél} \\
\text{OBL-3s ART:1 sit men friend-3s CL:G-3s 3du 3s NEG} \\
\text{dira réré ar-bal-kut.} \\
\text{3du HABIT RECIP-stomach-close} \\
\text{‘In their friendship they did not get angry at each other.’}
\]

5.3.2 Temporals

Temporals are found preceding the subject but also occur at the end of the clause. Time may be encoded by a temporal adverb or phrase, or a prepositional phrase, or a noun phrase. The most common temporal adverbs are shown below:

- \text{labóng} \quad \text{‘yesterday’}
- \text{langin} \quad \text{‘yesterday’}
- \text{latu} \quad \text{‘tomorrow’}
- \text{(na) misana} \quad \text{‘today, now’}
- \text{uring} \quad \text{‘before’}
naona ‘now’

(na) onsen ‘right now’

naoning ‘then’

(na) onsening ‘right then’

an mur ‘later’

mungmungin ‘at first’

bobolos ‘always’

Examples of temporals in clause-initial position:

(327) \[\text{Latu al inan.}\]
\[\text{tomorrow 1s.POT go}\]
‘Tomorrow I’ll go.’

(328) \[\text{An mur ep fain el mat o-n.}\]
\[\text{at follow ART:1 woman 3s.EV die OBL-3s}\]
‘Later the woman will die because of it.’

(329) \[\text{Palas kóbót ning a kiukiu ki is.}\]
\[\text{early morning that ART:2 kingfisher 3s.EV return}\]
‘Early that morning the kingfisher returned.’

(330) \[\text{An mur ti-gau ki a-gang a natu-n lik o-n.}\]
\[\text{at there-place 3s.EV CAUS-drink ART:2 child-3s little OBL-3s}\]
‘After that she gave it to her child to drink.’

(331) \[\text{Bobolos e Kailam el malik a-pung ep kumlin lamas.}\]
\[\text{Always ART:1 Lizard 3s.POT again CAUS-fall ART:1 half coconut}\]
‘Always Lizard would drop the half coconuts.’

(332) \[\text{Ap i tik ma ep kirai kai na-nat}\]
\[\text{And 3s one now ART:1 day ART:AN.p RED-hild}\]
\[\text{lik-lik dit ki wót.}\]
\[\text{RED-little 3p 3s.EV arrive}\]
‘And one day some little children came.’
A temporal may precede a topic:

(333)  *Misana, toh bit lik-lik rop, a kótóu*
now ART:IN.p island RED-little all ART:2 hermit.crab

*adi-gau.*
be.there-place.

‘Now, as for all the little islands, hermit crabs are there.’

Examples of temporals in clause-final position:

(334)  *Al inan latu.*
1s.POT go tomorrow
‘I’ll go tomorrow.’

(335)  *Ep barsan i mat langin an bón.*
ART:1 man 3s die yesterday at night
‘The man died last night.’

(336)  *I da ep barsan i mat kóbót.*
3s this ART:1 man 3s die morning
‘This man died in the morning.’

(337)  *A inan tar o-n a kalang na uring.*
1s go COMPL1 OBL-3s ART:2 moon REL before
‘I went last month.’

(338)  *Onsena al tur pas ep finan ka-sai o-n i*
right.now 1s.POT stand COMPL2 ART:1 go DIR-up OBL-3s 3s
*a bit lik nisai, sur al an-ót sai latu kóbót.*
ART:2 island little that.up for 1s.POT go-arrive up tomorrow morning
‘Right now I’ll begin the journey to that little island, so that I’ll arrive there tomorrow morning.’

*Na*, which optionally precedes *onsena* ‘right now’ and *onsening* ‘right then’, is homophonous with the demonstrative of closest distance. These adverbs also contain the intensifying particle *sen*. The words *naona* ‘now’ and *naoning* ‘then’ can be analysed as consisting of *na o-n na* ‘REL OBL-3s DEM’, with the geminate sequence of nasals coalescing. Similarly, *misana* ‘now, today’ is derived from: *ma i sa na* ‘now 3s only DEM’.
5.3.3 Prepositional phrases

There are two classes of prepositions, those which take the possessive pronoun endings, optionally followed by a noun phrase, and those which are followed by a free pronoun or a noun phrase.

The first set includes:

- **o-** various obliques, including instrument, object of comparison, topic of discussion.
- **ko- (ka o-)** purpose (often followed by verb)
- **ari-** or **kari- (ka ari-)** recipient, source
- **mai-** comitative

Examples of prepositional phrases with *o-*:

(339) \[ E \quad Lula \; dira \; dira \; pusi \; ep \; yah \; o-n \; ep \; malum. \]
\[
\text{ART:P Lula 3d 3d douse ART:1 fire OBL-3s ART:1 water} \]
\[ \text{‘Lula and he doused the fire with water.’} \]

(340) \[ Di \; réré \; mer \; ep \; rumai \; o-n. \]
\[
\text{IMPR HABIT decorate ART:1 house OBL-3s} \]
\[ \text{‘They decorate the house with it.’} \]

(341) \[ E \; ta-n \; i \; got-got \; kól \; o-n. \]
\[
\text{ART:P mother-3s 3s RED-be.happy very OBL-3s} \]
\[ \text{‘His/her mother was very happy with him/her.’} \]

(342) \[ U \; butbut \; kól \; o-k. \]
\[ 2s \text{ fat very OBL-1s} \]
\[ \text{‘You are fatter than I’} \]

(343) \[ Ep \; fain \; ki \; wan \; kól \; o-n \; e \; bun. \]
\[
\text{ART:1 woman 3s.EV old.woman very OBL-3s ART:P old.man} \]
\[ \text{‘The woman was older than the old man.’} \]

(344) \[ Al \; usrai \; o-n \; a \; gil. \]
\[ 1s.POT talk OBL-3s ART:2 coconut.shell \]
\[ \text{‘I’ll talk about the coconut shell.’} \]

(345) \[ Ep \; wu-wur \; i \; rarakai \; kól \; o-m. \]
\[
\text{ART:1 RED-work 3s hard very OBL-2s} \]
\[ \text{‘The work is too hard for you.’} \]
Examples of prepositional phrases with ko-:

(347) Di parai i ting an lo-n ep rumai
IMPR put 3s there at inside-3s ART:1 house
ko-n ep minmer
for-3s ART:1 decoration
‘They put it there inside the house for a decoration.’

(348) Del suk i ko-n a kadi.
IMPR.POT sew 3s for-3s ART:1 rain.cape
‘They’ll sew it into a rain cape.’

(349) Bél ma i rak el kar lamas ko-n ep sopan raes.
NEG now 3s want 3s.POT grate coconut for-3s ART:1 saucepan rice
‘Then she didn’t want to grate coconuts for the saucepan of rice.’

Examples of prepositional phrases with (k)ari-:

(350) Tar i ari-k.
give 3s DAT-1s
‘Give it to me.’

(351) Tar i ari-n e ta-m.
give 3s DAT-3s ART:P mother-2s
‘Give it to your mother.’

(352) As i ding i war-war kari-mét.
who 3s that 3s RED-speak DAT-1pe
‘Who is that talking to us?’

(353) A lóu i ari-n e Neklin.
1s buy 3s DAT-3s ART:P Neklin
‘I bought it from Neklin.’

Mai- can always be translated ‘with’; it is used for accompaniment, not for instrument:

(354) O ma yau mai-n i tik ep kinbali-k mara dik.
EXCL now 1s with-3s 3s one ART:1 friend-1s 1du.e shine.light
‘Oh now I, with a friend of mine, we fished at night (by torchlight).’
The possessive classifiers *anu-*, *nga-* and *ngasi-* could be included in this set of prepositions, as they may be used to mark recipient or beneficiary:

(355) *El tun el ru ru pas nga-m*
3s.POT roast 3s.POT two ART:1d taro CL:F-2s
‘She will cook two taro for you.’ (lit: ‘She’ll cook your two taro.’)

(356) *E ta-n el yai el tik ti mat anu-n.*
ART:p mother-3s 3s.POT weave 3s.POT one ART:1NR mat CL:G-3s
‘Her mother will weave a mat for her.’ (lit: ‘Her mother will weave her mat.’)

The possessive classifier for food is also used for the person at whom one is angry.

(357) *E Daal ep bala-n i kut kól nga-ne mora-n.*
ART:P Daal ART:1 stomach-3s 3s close very CL:F ART:P namesake-3s
‘Daal was very angry with her namesake.’ (lit: ‘Her stomach was closed.’)

The second set of prepositions (directly followed by a pronoun or noun phrase) includes the following:

- *sur* ‘for’ (reason, purpose, goal)
- *lar* ‘like’ (resemblance)
- *an* ‘at’ (general location)

*Sur* and *lar* are also verbs, meaning ‘fetch’ and ‘resemble, be like’ respectively. Here they function as prepositions, followed by a pronoun or a noun phrase with its initial article:

(358) *I butbut akak lar ep pusi barsan.*
3s fat good like ART:1 cat male
‘She’s nice and fat, like a male cat.’

(359) *Ki lasan sur yau.*
3s.EV be.accustomed.to for 1s
‘She’s used to me.’

(360) *A tapunuk kól sur u.*
1s sad very for 2s
‘I was very sad because of you.’

(361) *Ki an tar sur kai kinbali-n.*
3s.EV go COMPL1 for ART:AN:p friend-3s
‘He went for (i.e. to get) his friends.’
(362) *Ningan kól dit réré rak kól sur i, a papali-n some very 3p HABIT want very for 3s ART:2 shell-3s a kuk masan na.*
ART:2 crab k.o.crab this
‘Many want it very much, the shell of this masan crab.’

The basic meaning of the general locative preposition *an* is ‘at’, but its translation varies with context. It cannot be followed by an article in the noun phrase and it is never followed by a pronoun. It normally follows a locational (§5.3.4) or a predicate locative:

(363) *Al los i ka-tim an Lilina.*
1s.POT carry 3s DIR-down at Lilina
‘I’ll carry it down to Lilina.’

(364) *Adong an pal.*
be.north at men’s.area
‘He’s at the men’s area.’

There is also a preposition *anen* ‘beneath’, of which the -n may be the third person singular suffix. The related adverb *ane* ‘below’ is used when the location is not further specified:

(365) *Par-ai i tim anen ep rumai.*
get.down-TR 3s down beneath ART:1 house
‘Put it down beneath the house.’

(366) *Par-ai i tim ane.*
get.down-TR 3s down below
‘Put it down below.’

(367) *Al pirim rak moh ka-tim ane?*  
1s.POT exit want how DIR-down below
‘How will I get down below?’
Position may be further specified by a directly possessed noun following *an*. The noun specifying position may have a noun phrase following, specifying the referent of the possessor suffix.

- **an laka-**
  - ‘on top of, above, on behalf of’
- **arisa-** or **an kam risa-**
  - ‘beside’
- **an lo-**
  - ‘inside’
- **an muru-**
  - ‘behind’

(368)  *I mat an laka-n dat.*
  - 3s die at top-3s 1pi
  - ‘He died on our behalf.’

(369)  *Ol kés an laka-k.*
  - 2s.POT sit at top-1s
  - ‘You’ll sit on top of me.’

(370)  *Ap mét ki wok sói tar i tik ep ngasa and 1pe 3s.EV make COMPL2 COMPL1 3s one ART:1 feast an laka-m.*
  - at top-2s
  - ‘And we have made a feast on your behalf.’

(371)  *A rak al an an muru-m*
  - 1s want 1s.POT go at behind-2s
  - ‘I want to go behind you.’

(372)  *I réré kés an lo-n a gil.*
  - 3s HABIT sit at inside-3s ART:2 coconut.shell
  - ‘It lived in a coconut shell.’

(373)  *Kés arisa-k*
  - Sit beside-1s
  - ‘Sit beside me.’

---

8 Derived from the inalienably possessed noun *lo- ‘mouth’*. 
The locationals, shown in Table 13, are formally related to the demonstratives (§3.3) and the predicate locatives (§5.1.2). See §3.3 for a discussion of the meanings of tim, tong and sai. A positional and a directional set (marked by ka-) can be distinguished.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>position</th>
<th>direction</th>
<th>‘here’ (close to speaker, within touch)</th>
<th>‘here’ (a bit farther from speaker)</th>
<th>‘there’ (a bit farther, usually within sight, or an indefinite location)</th>
<th>‘there down, to the south or east’</th>
<th>‘there to the north’</th>
<th>‘there, up, to the west’ (or any great distance)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ta</td>
<td>ka-ta</td>
<td>‘here’ (close to speaker, within touch)</td>
<td>‘here’ (a bit farther from speaker)</td>
<td>‘there’ (a bit farther, usually within sight, or an indefinite location)</td>
<td>‘there down, to the south or east’</td>
<td>‘there to the north’</td>
<td>‘there, up, to the west’ (or any great distance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>té</td>
<td>ka-té</td>
<td>‘here’ (close to speaker, within touch)</td>
<td>‘here’ (a bit farther from speaker)</td>
<td>‘there’ (a bit farther, usually within sight, or an indefinite location)</td>
<td>‘there down, to the south or east’</td>
<td>‘there to the north’</td>
<td>‘there, up, to the west’ (or any great distance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ting</td>
<td>ka-ting</td>
<td>‘here’ (close to speaker, within touch)</td>
<td>‘here’ (a bit farther from speaker)</td>
<td>‘there’ (a bit farther, usually within sight, or an indefinite location)</td>
<td>‘there down, to the south or east’</td>
<td>‘there to the north’</td>
<td>‘there, up, to the west’ (or any great distance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tim</td>
<td>ka-tim</td>
<td>‘there down, to the south or east’</td>
<td>‘there to the north’</td>
<td>‘there, up, to the west’ (or any great distance)</td>
<td>‘here’ (close to speaker, within touch)</td>
<td>‘here’ (a bit farther from speaker)</td>
<td>‘there’ (a bit farther, usually within sight, or an indefinite location)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tong</td>
<td>ka-tong</td>
<td>‘there down, to the south or east’</td>
<td>‘there to the north’</td>
<td>‘there, up, to the west’ (or any great distance)</td>
<td>‘here’ (close to speaker, within touch)</td>
<td>‘here’ (a bit farther from speaker)</td>
<td>‘there’ (a bit farther, usually within sight, or an indefinite location)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sai</td>
<td>ka-sai</td>
<td>‘there down, to the south or east’</td>
<td>‘there to the north’</td>
<td>‘there, up, to the west’ (or any great distance)</td>
<td>‘here’ (close to speaker, within touch)</td>
<td>‘here’ (a bit farther from speaker)</td>
<td>‘there’ (a bit farther, usually within sight, or an indefinite location)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The positional set is used to indicate the place at which an event occurs, including the place at which one arrives. These locationals precede a prepositional phrase if there is one, as in (376):

(376) Ap diat kés tim an Matataii.
    and 3tr sit down at Matataii
    ‘And they lived down at Matataii.’

(377) Kés té.
    sit here
    ‘Sit here.’
In (378) the positional *sai* is used rather than the directional *kasai*. This is the case when the subject has arrived at a place, and the arrival, rather than the going, is in focus. There is no set to mark the direction from which an action takes place; hence the usual way to ask where someone has been is as follows:

(379)  
\[ U \text{ an } \text{ tah } \text{ ap } \text{ ku } \text{ wót?} \]  
2s go where and 2s.EV arrive  
‘Where have you been?’ (lit. ‘You went where, and you’ve come?’)

The directional set is used to indicate the place to which someone or something is going:

(380)  
\[ ...a \text{ kiukiui } \text{ ki } \text{ an } \text{ ka-tim } \text{ an } \text{ bón...} \]  
ART:2 kingfisher 3s.EV go DIR-down at ocean  
‘…the kingfisher went down to the shore…’

(381)  
\[ Ep \text{ rah } \text{ akak } \text{ ma } \text{ ka-ting } \text{ ari-m.} \]  
ART:2 afternoon good now DIR-there DAT-2s  
‘Good afternoon to you.’

(used in a letter, writer and addressee are not in the same place)

The clitics *gau* and *gali*, both glossed as ‘place’, may follow any of the locationals above, making proforms. They are more commonly found with the positional set, but are also found with the directional set. They are more often used when the place is not named, but may be followed by a prepositional phrase in which the place is named. *Gali* seems to be used for something farther away than *gau*, and is not found with *ta* or *té*. *Ta* may be either preceded or followed by *gau*; the off-glide is elided if *gau* comes first, giving the variants *tagau* ~ *gata* ‘here’.

(382)  
\[ Na \text{ dira go-gos } \text{ ta-gau...} \]  
While 3du RED-wash here-place  
‘While they were washing here…’

(383)  
\[ Ku \text{ an } \text{ ka-tim } \text{ an } \text{ Lilina?} \]  
2s.EV go DIR-down at Lilina  
‘Are you going down to Lilina?’

(384)  
\[ Ku \text{ an } \text{ ka-tim } \text{ gali?} \]  
2s.EV go DIR-down place  
‘Are you going there?’
A relative clause may separate the locationals from *gau*:

(385) *Arisa-n ting i pastat tar i ep manmani gau.*
    beside-3s there 3s find give 3s ART:1 flying.fox place
    ‘Next to where he found the flying fox.’

5.4 Negation
The negators in Siar are *bél*, *bisen*, and *bélal* for indicative clauses, and *gong* for prohibitions and negative purpose clauses.

5.4.1 Negation of verbless clauses
Equative clauses are negated with *bél* ‘not’:

(386) *E Natasa bél ep pól.*
    ART:P Natasha NEG ART:1 dog
    ‘Natasha is not a dog.’

Existential clauses are negated with *bélal* ‘not any’ *bél tik* ‘not one’ or simply *bél*, followed by one of the non-referential articles *ti* or *tok*. In this case, since the referent does not exist, its position is not specified. Compare the obligatory use of the locationals in positive existential clauses in §5.1.2.

(387) *Bélal tok malum.*
    NEG.some ART:NR.m water
    ‘There is no water.’

(388) *Bél tik ti rise-n barsan na mét laun o-n lar u.*
    NEG one ART:1NR name-3s man REL 1pe live OBL-3s like 2s
    ‘There is not one man’s name by which we live, like you.’

(389) *Bél tok rereh ari-n dit.*
    NEG ART:NR.m string DAT-3s 3p
    ‘There was no string for them.’ ‘They had no string.’

The negative for locative clauses is *bali*:

(390) *Bali ma ti-gau.*
    NEG now there-place.
    ‘He wasn’t there.’
5.4.2 Negation of verbal clauses

Verbal clauses are negated with bél ‘not’ or bisen ‘not yet’, a contraction of bél sen. The negative precedes the subject agreement marker in the verb phrase.

(391) Bél i mamapak.
NEG 3s bitter
‘It’s not bitter.’

(392) Ngasi-k ep rumai bél i lamantin kól.
CL:C-1s ART:1 house NEG 3s large very
‘My house is not very large.’

(393) E Julianne bél i réré babait.
ART:P Julianne NEG 3s HABIT fish
‘Julianne doesn’t fish.’

(394) E Tapbet diat bisen diat wót is.
ART:P Tapbet 3tr not.yet 3tr arrive return
‘Tapbet and the others have not yet returned.’

Negation is found with the potential mood to mark future, but not with eventive mood:

(395) Bél al um u.
Neg. 1s.POT hit 2s
‘I won’t hit you.’

Imperatives and purpose clauses are negated with gong. Prohibitions are introduced by gong, followed by a second person subject marker:

(396) Gong u numan tar i.
don’t 2s forget COMPL1 3s
‘Don’t forget it.’

(397) Gong amra dót tar yau o-n ta su n-i rarakai.
don’t 2du tie COMPL1 1s OBL:2NR vine REL:3s strong
‘Don’t you two tie me up with a strong vine.’

Gong is used for negative hortatives and third person prohibitions:

(398) Gong dat ki-kinau.
don’t 1pi RED-steal
‘Let us not steal.’
Gong dit a-laulau ep kés anu-n dat i.
don’t 3p CAUS-bad ART:1 sit CL:G-3s 1pi 3s
‘Let them not ruin our way of life.’

Gong is also used in negative purpose clauses:

Kai Siapan dit a-réré dit ma sur dit el
ART:AN.p Japan 3p CAUS-RED-see 3p now for 3p 3s.POT
bing a-kut toh ma-mata-n dit ap toh
press CAUS-close ART:IN.p RED-eye-3s 3p and ART:IN.p
pelenga-n dit, sur gong dit ré a binik na i pugur.
ear-3s 3p for don’t 3p see ART:2 bomb REL 3s explode
‘The Japanese taught them now that they should close their eyes and their ears, so that they would not see the bombs exploding.’

5.5 Particles

Three clausal particles have been found in Siar: ma ‘now’, sa ‘only, just’, and the intensifying sen. Sen corresponds to Tok Pisin yet; its English translation varies, including ‘still, yet’ and ‘self’. These particles cliticize onto various types of words and phrases (e.g. m-aló ‘now again’, s-aló ‘only again’).

I tik sa.
3s one only
‘Just one’

I tik sen aló.
3s one INTS again
‘One yet again.’

I tik m-aló.
3s one now-again
‘One again now.’

Mét kés-kés-it sa.
1pe RED-sit-CONT only
‘We’re just sitting.’

Ap i da, i burun sa i da.
and 3s this 3s small only 3s this
‘And as for this one, this one is only small.’
(406) *Na ol ngau i sa o-n a ngise-m.*
when 2s.POT chew 3s only OBL-3s ART:2 tooth-2s
‘if you just chew it with your teeth.’

(407) *Di utih sa ep malum o-n.*
IMPR carry.liquid only ART:1 water OBL-3s
‘They just carry water in it.’

(408) *Dira dik sen.*
3du shine.light INTS
‘They were still fishing at night (by torchlight)’

(409) *Ap matóh yawas sen, matóh yawas,*
and 1tr.e paddle INTS 1tr.e paddle
mató yawas is ma ka-ta pirim an Niu Ailan.
3tr.3 paddle return now DIR-here go.down at New Ireland
‘And we still paddled, we paddled, and we paddled back then to here,
down at New Ireland.’

(410) *A babait m-aló tim an kamngas sa.*
1s fish now-again down at shore only
‘I was fishing again just down at the shore.’

(411) *Matóh kés pas i tól sa.*
1tr.e sit COMPL2 3s three only
‘We sat for just a little while.’

(412) *Ap an mur s-aló ka inan, a los pas ep*
and at follow only-again 1s.EV go 1s carry COMPL2 ART:1
peleran, a ka tawan m-ep baran angan
large.stone 1s 1s.EV put.on.top now-ART:1 thing eat
ting an lo-n ran.
there at inside-3s earth.oven
‘And later just again I go, I carry the stones, I put then the food on top there in the earth oven.’
6 Imperative and Interrogative Sentences

6.1 Imperative sentences

The verb in an imperative clause lacks a subject pronoun when the addressee is singular:

(413) Kawas ma!
    enter now
    ‘Get in now!’

(414) Amrau kawas ma!
    2du enter now
    ‘You two get in now!’

The potential mood may also be used for imperatives:

(415) Ol inan ol utih!
    2s.POT go 2s.POT carry.liquid
    ‘Go and get water!’

Hortatives also use the potential mood:

(416) Dat el tar sói tar i.
    1pi 3s.POT give away COMPL1 3s
    ‘Let us give it away.’

(417) Datól kel an.
    1tr.i 3s.EV.POT go
    ‘Let’s go (right now)’

For prohibitives, see §5.4.2

6.2 Interrogative sentences

6.2.1 Polar Questions

Polar questions take the same form as basic indicative clauses, but with rising intonation. The tag aro ‘or’ is optional, but often used in rhetorical questions. It anticipates that the answer will be affirmative.
I rak el an?
3s want 3s.POT go
‘Does he want to go?’

El an, aro?
3s.POT go or
‘He is going, isn’t he?’

6.2.2 Content Questions

In content questions a question word takes the place of the questioned element. The following list gives all the question words in Siar:

- as ‘who’
- ep sah ‘what’
- langsing ‘when’
- adah ‘where’ (predicate locative)
- tah ‘where’ (locational adverb)
- katah ‘to where’
- i is ‘how many’
- kon moh, i moh ‘why, for what purpose’
- rak moh ‘how’ (lit: ‘want why’)

The order in questions may be the same as the order of an indicative clause, or the questioned element may be fronted (topicalized):

(420) a. Ep rise-n as?
   ART:1 name-3s who
   ‘What is his/her name?’
   
   b. As ep rise-n?
      who ART:1 name-3s
      ‘What is his/her name?’

(421) Ol an mai-n as?
   2s.POT go with-3s who
   ‘Who will you go with?’

(422) As el an mai-m?
   Who 3s.POT go with-2s
   ‘Who will go with you?’
If *ep sah* ‘what’ is topicalized, it is followed by a relative clause, creating a cleft construction, as in (424):

(423) \[I \text{ los ep sah?} \]
\[3s \text{ carry ART:1 what} \]
\[‘What is he/she carrying?’ \]

(424) \[Ep \text{ sah na i los i?} \]
\[ART:1 \text{ what REL 3s carry 3s} \]
\[‘What is it that he/she is carrying?’ \]

*Sah* can also be used in the attributive position of a noun phrase:

(425) \[Ol \text{ lòu ep kaien sah?} \]
\[2s.POT \text{ buy ART:1 cloth what} \]
\[‘What cloth are you going to buy?’ \]

Clauses illustrating the other question words:

(426) \[Langsing ol \text{ is?} \]
\[when 2s.POT \text{ return} \]
\[‘When will you come back?’ \]

(427) a. \[Adah e ta-m? \]
\[where ART:P \text{ mother-2s} \]
\[‘Where is your mother?’ \]

b. \[E ta-m \text{ adah?} \]
\[ART:P \text{ mother-2s where} \]
\[‘Where is your mother?’ \]

(428) \[U réré kés tah? \]
\[2s \text{ HABIT sit where} \]
\[‘Where do you live?’ \]

(429) \[U an katah? \]
\[2s \text{ go where} \]
\[Where are you going? \]

(430) \[I \text{ is o-n i tik?} \]
\[3s \text{ how.many OBL-3s 3s one} \]
\[‘How much (money) for one?’ \]
(431) *I moh mómól na e Nika i lagar?*  
3s why true REL ART:P Nika 3s laugh  
‘Why did Nika really laugh?’

(432) *Kon moh na i matutut?*  
for why REL 3s be.afraid  
‘Why is he afraid?’

(433) *Ol pirim rak moh ka-tim ane?*  
2s.POT exit want why DIR-down below  
‘How will you get down?’

(434) *Al pirim rak moh ka-tim ane?*  
1s.POT exit want why DIR-down below  
‘How will I get down below?’
7 Complex Sentences

Siar has both coordination and subordination, but the contrast is often more a matter of semantics than syntax. The exception to this statement are nominalized clauses, which show unique properties (§7.3).

7.1 Coordination

Coordination of clauses is marked by the conjunctions *ap* ‘and’ or *isa* ‘but’. *Ap* is extremely common in the language.

(435) *Ningan dit dit ta-tasim kól ap ningan dit bél dit ta-tasim.*
some 3p 3p RED-know very and some 3p NEG 3p RED-know.
‘Some of them are very intelligent, and some of them are not intelligent.’

(436) *I tik ep kirai e kailam dirau e lói dira pastat* 3s one ART:1 day ART:P k.o.lizard 3du ART:P k.o.ant 3du find
pas i tik ep böröi ap dira yauh i.
COMPL2 3s one ART:1 pig and 2du mumu 3s
‘One day Lizard and Ant found a pig and they mumued (cooked) it.’

(437) *I an-ôt ap i ongon pas ning na tim an bón.*
3s go-arrive and 3s waken COMPL2 this REL down at ocean
‘He arrived and he woke up the one at the shore.’

(438) *Yo, *emading* na sai gali i is kasai gali, ap* well that.one REL west place 3s return to.west place and
*emading na tim an bón i is katim an bón.*
that.one REL down at ocean 3s return to.down at ocean
‘Well, the one from up above returned up above, and the one from the shore returned to the shore.’

---

9 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.
(439) I an ap i suah sa a paih ap ep kusur ap 3s go and 3s left just ART:2 torch and ART:1 spear and i kēs an mung ap i tur pas sa ep yawas. 3s sit at before and 3s stand COMPL2 just ART:1 paddle ‘He went and he left the torch and the spear, and he sat in front and he began to paddle.’

(440) Ki asam i ma toh kam palai ap kasai gali sur EV.3s join 3s now ART:IN:p group plank and to.west place for a mata-n ki parai ma i ru ra tuklun palai. ART:2 eye-3s EV.3s put now 3s two ART:2d short.piece plank ‘Now he joins the planks, and up there for the prow he puts two short planks.’

Sometimes the clauses are merely juxtaposed without an overt conjunction:

(441) Ki an tar, ning ep kinbali-n ki an-ót 3s:EV go COMPL1 this ART:1 friend-3s 3s:EV go-arrive tar i képas i dira ki an tar, dira dik. COMPL1 3s get 3s 3du 3s:INC go COMPL1 3du shine.light ‘He has gone; this friend of his arrived, he (the friend) got him, they have gone, they are fishing.’

In (441) the demonstrative ning is unexpected; i ding is the form normally found preceding the article in the noun phrase. The final four clauses of this example are a sequential elaboration of the first clause. The order of the clauses reflects the order of events.

Contrast is indicated by the conjunction isa ‘but’:

(442) Dat lotu isa ep la-laun o-n ep falino-n dat 1pi worship but ART:1 RED-life OBL-3s ART:1 body-3s 1pi bèl i a-gōt-gōt e Kamgoi. NEG 3s CAUS-RED-glad ART:P lord ‘We worship, but the life in our bodies does not make the Lord glad.’
Her nose: two little holes were there now, but it had not all grown well.’

Contrast may also be indicated by the adverb *ma* ‘now’ as in (444), where there is a topic noun phrase contrasting the subject of the second clause (‘only I’) with the subject of the first clause (‘all the people’):

(444)  
\begin{equation}
\text{Ep tarai rop dit ré ep fanat na i puar na ep}
\end{equation}
\begin{equation}
\text{ART:1 men all 3p see ART:1 child when 3s born when ART:1}
\end{equation}
\begin{equation}
\text{fa-kés i wakak rop tar, ma ya sen masik a ré ting CAUS-sit 3s good all COMPL1 now 1s INTS only 1s see there}
\end{equation}
\begin{equation}
\text{o-n e Gwenda na ep fa-kés bél i OBL-3s ART:P Gwenda when ART:1 CAUS-sit NEG 3s}
\end{equation}
\begin{equation}
\text{kidól rop tar. complete all COMPL1}
\end{equation}

‘All the people see a child when it is born when the creation is good and finished, but only I saw there in Gwenda when the creation was not completely finished.’

### 7.2 Subordination

The following divisions can be made for subordinating clauses in Siar: purpose, conditional, temporal, cause-effect, reason-result and complement clauses. There are probably other semantic types and this area needs more investigation.
1. Purpose clauses. Purpose clauses follow the main clause and are introduced by the preposition *sur* ‘for’. The potential mood is used in purpose clauses:

(445)  
I tik ep taem, ep tarai\(^{10}\) kinbali-n dira ar-patar
3s one ART:1 time ART:1 man friend-3s 3du RECIP-arrange

tar sur dira el an dira el dik.
COMPL1 for 3du 3s.POT go 3du 3s.POT shine.light

‘One time two friends arranged to go fishing at night.’

(446)  
I ongon pas ning ep kinbali-n na tim an bón
3s woke COMPL2 this ART:1 friend-3s REL down at ocean

sur dira kel an.
for 3du 3s.EV.POT go

‘He woke up the friend at the shore so they two would go.’

The use of the demonstrative *ning* in (447) above is not entirely clear; *i ding* is the expected form. *Ning* in this position is a feature of this particular text; cf. (441) above.

In (448) the demonstrative *ning* follows *sur*:

(447)  
Dit tun i sur ning dit el yan i.
3p roast 3s for this 3p 3s.POT eat 3s

‘They roasted it so that they could eat it.”

For an example of a nominalized purpose clause, see §7.3.

Purpose clauses also follow the verb *rak* ‘want’. If the subject of the two clauses is the same, *sur* is lacking.

(448)  
I rak sur dat el ré lele i.
3s want for 1i.p 3s.POT see know 3s

‘He wants us to recognize it.’

(449)  
A rak al yan tok mimia.
1s want 1s.POT eat ART:NR.m papaya

‘I want to eat some papaya.’

\(^{10}\) When *tarai* is used to signify a group of people in relationship the article is always *ep*. Although *tarai* is the noun used for the plural of *barsan*, it is not counted. ‘Two men’ is *i ru ru barsan*; ‘three men’ is *i tól ep barsan*. 
If a potential clause precedes a purpose clause marked by *sur*, this functions as an exhortation followed by a purpose:

(450) Dat el tar sói tar sen ep falino-n dat
1pi 3s.POT give away COMPL1 INTS ART:1 body-3s 1pi
sur el mur-i ep rak anu-n e Kamgoi.
for 3s.POT follow-TR ART:1 want CL:G-3s ART:P lord

‘Let us give our body so that it will follow the Lord’s will.’

2. Temporal clauses. There are several ways to show temporal arrangement. If the dependent clause (the temporal setting) precedes the independent clause, it is marked by the conjunction *na* ‘when’, with the conjunction *ap* ‘and’ introducing the main clause:

(451) Na i malik yan pas i, ap ki is ka-sai
when 3s again eat COMPL2 3s and 3s.EV return DIR-west
arisa-n e lói.
beside-3s ART:P ant

‘When he had eaten it, he returned to the side of Ant.’

(452) Na matóh angan rop matóh kès pas i tól sa
when 1tr.e eat all 1tr.e sit COMPL2 3s three only
ap matóh ki sang sur matóh kel bórbó
and 1tr.e 1s.EV ready for 1tr.e 3s.EV.POT sleep

‘When we had eaten, we sat for just a little while and we got ready to sleep.’

If the temporal clause follows the independent clause it is marked by *na*, but there is no conjunction:

(453) E Gwenda i puar tar tong an Halis, Namatanai seket,
ART:P Gwenda 3s be.born COMPL1 north at Halis Namatanai circuit
na matóh tama-n wu-wur tar gau.
when 1tr.e father-3s RED-work COMPL1 place

‘Gwenda was born up at Halis, Namatanai Circuit, when our family was working there.’
3. Conditional clauses. Conditional clauses are similar to temporal arrangements. The conjunction *na* may mean ‘if’ or ‘when’:

(454) *Na e Lula el wót, ap al war-ai i.*

    when ART:P Lula 3s.POT arrive and 1s.POT say-TR 3s

‘When/if Lula arrives, I’ll tell him.’

4. Cause/effect relationships. If the effect precedes the cause, the cause is marked by the complementizer *nak na*, or *na* (see also below under complement clauses):

(455) *Bal-kut kól ngan a kotóu nak*

    stomach-closed very CL:F-3s ART:2 hermit.crab COMP

    na ki mung-ót tar sai o-n a bit.

    COMP 3s.EV go.first-arrive COMPL1 west OBL-3s ART:2 island

‘(He was) very angry at the hermit crab, because he had arrived first over at the island.’

5. Reason/result arrangements. The reason precedes the result, with the result marked by *na*:

(456) *Ap diat mónóng tar ma sai kawas na bél ma diat*

    and 3tr busy COMPL1 now up enter COMP NEG now 3tr

    *tasim o-n ep pun na ki is ka-ting o-n*

    know OBL-3sART:1 turtle REL 3sR return DIR-there OBL-3s

    *ep ngasi-n.*

    ART:1 CL:C-3s

‘And they were busy now up inside (the bush) so they didn’t know about the turtle, which had returned to its place.’

6. Complement clauses. Clauses that function as objects of verbs of speaking, thinking or knowing are introduced by *na, kanak, kanak na* or *nak na*. These words are used interchangeably. The first two examples are indirect quotes.

(457) *Mét nuk-i kanak ku mat tar.*

    1pe think-TR COMP 2s.EV die COMPL1

‘We thought that you had died.’

(458) *Ku war-ai nak na ku rak ol yan sói yau.*

    2s.EV say-TR COMP REL 2s.EV want 2s.POT eat away 1s

‘You say that you want to eat me up.’
‘The kingfisher knew that the hermit crab didn’t move quickly.’

Direct quotes do not require a complementizer, but may use one:

‘The boy said, “That’s fine, I want to go behind you, I must see your village.”’

‘And John said, “What is it that stops you so that you don’t want to grease the saucepan of rice?”’

### 7.3 Nominalized clauses

In nominalized clauses there is no subject agreement marker. The subject, if expressed, is coded as a possessive phrase following the verbal noun. Example (462) illustrates a nominalized temporal clause:

‘On their second arriving here at the village’ (or: ‘the second time they came here to the village’) they got into a ship named the Limali.’
A purpose clause is nominalized if its subject is the same as the subject of the main clause. In this case *sur* is followed by the *kon* and the subject is not overtly marked in the purpose clause:

(463) A inan sa, a sur pas ta su sur kon
    1s go just 1s go.for COMPL2 ART:2NR vine for PURP
    dót-dót ep pun ari-matól kinbali-n.
    RED-tie ART:1 turtle DAT-1tr.e friend-3s

‘I’m just going, I’m going for a vine to tie up the turtle for us friends.’

Nominalized clauses are also found following the verbs *tur* ‘stand’ (which in this configuration means ‘begin to’) and *lasan* ‘be accustomed to’. In these cases the subject is the same as that of the independent verb, and hence not overtly expressed:

(464) Dit tur pas ep finan kabas e Dion.
    3p stand COMPL2 ART:1 go leave ART:P John

‘They began to leave John.’

(465) Ka lasan ka o-n ar-nanai.
    1s.EV be.accustomed.to DIR OBL-3s RECIP-wait

‘I’m used to waiting.’
Tagorman, as told and written by Rulyne Goro, in July 2003. The story was first recorded on tape, transcribed, and then edited.

(1) \( I \ tik \ ep \ barsan, \ ep \ rise-n \ i \ Tagorman, \ i \ kès \ 3s \ one \ ART:1 \ man \ ART:1 \ name-3s \ 3s \ Tagorman \ 3s \ sit \ ting \ o-n \ i \ tik \ a \ pukun, \ i \ sen \ masik. \)  
there OBL-3s 3s one ART:2 place 3s INTS alone  
‘One man, his name is Tagorman lived at a place, by himself.’

(2) \( Ting \ o-n \ ep \ lakman \ ngasi-n, \ kai \ kakaruk \ kól \)  
there OBL-3s ART:1 village CL:C-3s ART:p chicken very  
anu-n, \ ap \ i \ kès masik tar, \ i \ sen \ masik. \)  
CL:G-3s and 3s sit alone COMPL1 3s INTS alone  
‘There at his place he had many chickens, and he lived alone, he by himself.’

(3) \( Ap \ i \ pastat \ pas \ i \ tik \ ep \ sói, \ ep \ móróu. \)  
and 3s find COMPL2 3s one ART:1 snake ART:1 k.o.snake  
‘And he found a snake, a móróu.’

(4) \( Ap \ i \ képas \ i, \ ap \ i \ nosalar \ i, \ tabar \ akak \ i, \ ap \ i \ lamtin. \)  
and 3s take 3s and 3s look.after3s give good 3s and 3s great  
‘And he took it, and he looked after it, he fed it well, and it was big.’

(5) \( Ap \ e \ Tagorman \ i \ tasim \ akak \ o-n \ ep \ sói, \ i \ ré \)  
and ART:P Tagorman 3s know good OBL-3s ART:1 snake 3s see  
a-ngis \ i \ ep \ sói \ ning, \ ep \ móróu, \ ap \ ep \)  
CAUS-good 3s ART:1 snake that ART:1 k.o.snake and ART:1  
móróu \ i \ tasim \ o-n \ ep \ felnge-n \ e \ Tagorman. \)  
k.o.snake 3s know OBL-3s ART:1 voice-3s ART:P Tagorman  
‘And Tagorman knew the snake well, he liked that snake, the móróu, and the  
móróu knew Tagorman’s voice.’
And it lived in a coconut shell, there inside the house.

And when Tagorman went off to work, the móróu looked after the house, and it looked after Tagorman’s place, and it looked after Tagorman’s chickens.

And one day some little children came.

Many little children from that village came to Tagorman’s place.

‘And the little children chased Tagorman’s chickens, and the chickens cried and ran.’
(11) Na dit longr-ai tar, ap ep móròu ki war-war, when 3p hear-TR COMPL1 ART:1 k.o.snake 3s.EV RED-talk ap ki rak, “Wai! As dit ma i i ning dit ki and 3s.EV want hey who 3p now 3s 3s that 3p 3s.EV kapsur kai kakaruk anu-n e Tagorman?” chase ART:AN.p chicken CL:G-3s ART:P Tagorman ‘When they listened they heard the móròu speak, and he said, “Hey Who are they, these ones who are chasing Tagorman’s chickens?”’


(13) Kai na-nat lik-lik, dit ki an, dit nos-nos. ART:p RED-child RED-little 3p 3s.EV go 3p RED-look ‘The little children went, they looked.’

(14) Dit ki rak, ”As i ding i warwar kari-mêt?” 3p 3s.EV want who 3s that 3s RED-talk DAT-1pe ‘They said, “Who is it that is talking to us?”’

(15) Dit inan ka-sai sup an lo-n ep rumai, ap dit 3p go DIR-up inside at inside-3s ART:1 house and 3p nos-nos, ap bél dit pastat ep móròu. RED-look and not 3p find ART:1 k.o.snake ‘They went up into the house, and they looked, but they didn’t find the móròu.’

(16) Ki rup is ka-tim sup an lo-n a gil. R.3s enter return DIR-down inside at inside-3s ART:2 coconut.shell ‘He had gone back into the coconut shell.’

11 Rak ‘want’ is often used to introduce speech, with or without a verb of speaking preceding it. Rak is also used in texts to indicate that the same action continues for an extended time, rather like Tok Pisin i go.
(17) *Ap dit ki pirim ka-tim an piu, ap dit ki* 
and *3p 3s.EV exit DIR-down at ground and 3p 3s.EV* 
*kapsur s-aló kai kakaruk.* 
chase only-again ART:AN.p chicken

‘And they went out down to the ground, and they chased the chickens again.’

(18) *Ap dit longr-ai tar, ep móróu ki malik warwar,* 
and *3p hear-TR COMPL1 ART:1 k.o.snake 3s.EV again RED-talk* 
*“Wai! As dit ma i ning dit kapsur kai* 
hey who 3p now 3s that 3p chase ART:Anp 
kakaruk anu-n e Tagorman?”* 
chicken CL:G-3s ART:P Tagorman

‘And they heard the snake again said, “Hey! Who are they who are chasing Tagorman’s chickens?”’

(19) *Ap kai na-nat lik-lik, dit ki war-ai, “E, dat el* 
and ART:p RED-child RED-little 3p 3s.EV say-TR hey, 1pi 3s.POT 
kavas s -aló sur dat el nos saló sur i.” 
enter only again for 1pi 3S.POT look only again for 3s

‘And the little children said, “Hey, we’ll go inside again so that we’ll look for him again.”’

(20) *Na dit nos sur i, bél dit pastat i.* 
when 3p look for 3s not 3p find 3s

‘When they looked for him they didn’t find him.’

(21) *Dit ki wol pas kanak ningan o-n dit, dit* 
3p 3s.EV plan COMPL2 COMP some OBL-3s 3p 3p 
*aning gau sen sup.* 
be.there place INTS inside

‘They planned that some of them would stay there inside.’

(22) *Ap ningan o-n dit, dit el pirim, dit el kapsur kai* 
and some OBL-3s 3p 3s.POT exit 3p 3s.POT chase ART:AN.p 
kakaruk, sur dit el asosong pas ma ep móróu. 
chicken for 3p 3s.POT trick COMPL2 now ART:1 k.o.snake

‘And some of them would go outside, they’d chase the chickens so they would trick the móróu.’
(23) *Ningan dit ki pirim ka-tim an piu,*
some 3p 3s.EV exit DIR-down at ground
*ap dit kapsur kai kakaruk tim an piu.*
and 3p chase ART:AN.p chicken down at ground
‘Some of them went outside to the ground, and they chased the chickens there outside.’

(24) *Ap ningan dit anisai sup, dit sidók tar.*
and some 3p be.there.up inside 3p peek COMPL1
‘And some of them were there inside, they looked.’

(25) *Ap na dit nos, ap ep móróu ki pus ót*
and when 3p look and ART:1 k.o.snake 3s.EV come.out arrive
*an lo-n a gil, ap ki malik bal-kut-i*
at inside-3s ART:2 coconut.shell and 3s.EV again stomach-closed-TR
*dit, "Eeh, as dit malik i ning dit kapsur kai kakaruk*
3p Hey! who 3p again 3s that 3p chase ART:AN.p chicken
*anu-n e Tagorman?*
CL:G-3s ART:P Tagorman
‘And when they looked the *móróu* came out from inside the coconut shell,
and again it spoke angrily at them, “Hey!, who are these again they are chasing Tagorman’s chickens?”’

(26) *Ap ningan kai na-nat lik-lik na dit anisai sup,*
and some ART:p RED-child RED-little REL 3p be.up inside
*dit ki rê, “O, i emada na i war-war lik nga-dat,*
3p 3s.EV see oh 3s this.one REL 3s RED-talk little CL:F-1pi
*i sa i da an lo-n a gil.”*
3s only 3s this at inside-3s ART:2 coconut.shell
‘And some of the little children, who were inside, they saw, “Oh, this is who is talking to us, just this one inside the coconut shell.”’

(27) *Dit inan, ap dit képas a gil, ap dit bas puar i.*
3p go and 3p take ART:2 coconut.shell and 3p throw separate 3s
‘They went, and they took the coconut shell, and they broke it by throwing.’
(28) Ap dit képas ep móóróu.

and 3p take ART:1 k.o.snake

‘And they got the móóróu.’

(29) Ap dit atin ep ta-n yah, ap dit tun ma ep móóróu.

and 3p light ART:1 mother-3s fire and 3p roast now ART:1 k.o.snake

‘And they lit a big fire, and they cooked the móóróu.’

(30) E Tagorman bisen i wót.

ART:P Tagorman not:yet 3s arrive

‘Tagorman had not yet arrived.’

(31) Dit tun ma ep móóróu anu-n e

3p roast now ART:1 k.o.snake CL:G-3s ART:P

Tagorman, dit par-ai ka-ting lo-n yah.

Tagorman 3p get.down-TR DIR-there inside-3s fire

‘They cooked Tagorman’s móóróu; they put it inside the fire.’

(32) Dit tun i sur ning dit el yan i.

3p roast 3s for that 3p 3s.POT eat 3s

‘They cooked it so that they would eat it.’

(33) Ap ep móóróu ki sak-sak, sak-sak

and ART:1 k.o.snake 3s.EV RED-sing RED-sing

ma an lo-n ep yah.

now at inside-3s ART:1 fire

‘And the móóróu sang, sang inside the fire.’

(34) Ki sak-sak sur e Tagorman el longr-ai tat

R.3s RED-sing for ART:P Tagorman 3s.POT hear-TR uncover

pas i.

COMPL2 3s

‘He sang so that Tagorman would hear and find him.’
“Tagorman e Tagorman emading i raule, mading i tun-tun, Tagorman ART:P Tagorman this.one 3s *** this.one 3s RED-roast mading i tar yau lo-n yah, mading i tar yau lo-n yah.” this.one 3s give 1s inside-3s fire this.one 3s give 1s inside-3s fire “Tagorman, Tagorman, this one raule, this one cooks, this one puts (lit: gives) me inside the fire, this one puts me inside the fire.”

Ap i sak-sak lik sur e Tagorman el longr-ai tat i. and 3s RED-sing little for ART:P Tagorman 3s.POT hear-TR uncover 3s ‘And he sang a little so that Tagorman would hear and find him.’

Ap kai na-nat lik-lik, dit aning, dit ki tun i. and ART:AN.p RED-child RED-little 3p be.there 3p 3p 3s.EV roast 3s ‘And the little children were there, they cooked him.’

Dit ri-rikis i, ap i ading i sak-sak-it. 3p RED-turn 3s and 3s be.there 3s RED-sing-CONT ‘They turned him, and there he was, still singing.’

I sak-sak-it, ap i sak-sak-it, “Tagorman e 3s RED-sing-CONT and 3s RED-sing-CONT Tagorman ART:P Tagorman emading i raule, mading i tun-tun, mading i Tagorman this.one 3s *** this.one 3s RED-roast this.one 3s tar yau lo-n yah, mading i tar yau lo-n yah.” give 1s inside-3s fire this.one 3s give 1s inside-3s fire ‘He was singing and he was singing, “Tagorman, Tagorman, this one ??, this one cooks, this one gives me inside the fire, this one gives me inside the fire.’

Dit ki yas i, ap ading i sak-sak-it. 3p 3s.EV take.off 3s and be.there 3s RED-sing-CONT ‘They took him off, and there he was, still singing.’

The meaning of raule is unknown to Siar speakers. Many of the traditional stories include songs. Although the basic meaning of the song is clear, there are often a few words that are unknown.
And they went and they took him off, and they began to eat him; there the mórōu was, still singing.

And they were close to eating him all up.

And when Tagorman found him by hearing, and when he arrived outside, and oh, the mórōu, they had eaten it all up.

And now he had no mórōu, and oh, his stomach was heavy for his mórōu.

The end.
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