MORPHOSYNTAX OF SARE

By

KENNETH MEMSON SUMBUK

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Unless otherwise acknowledged

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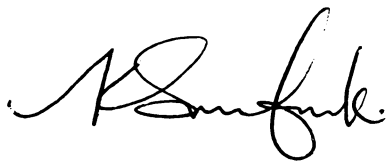

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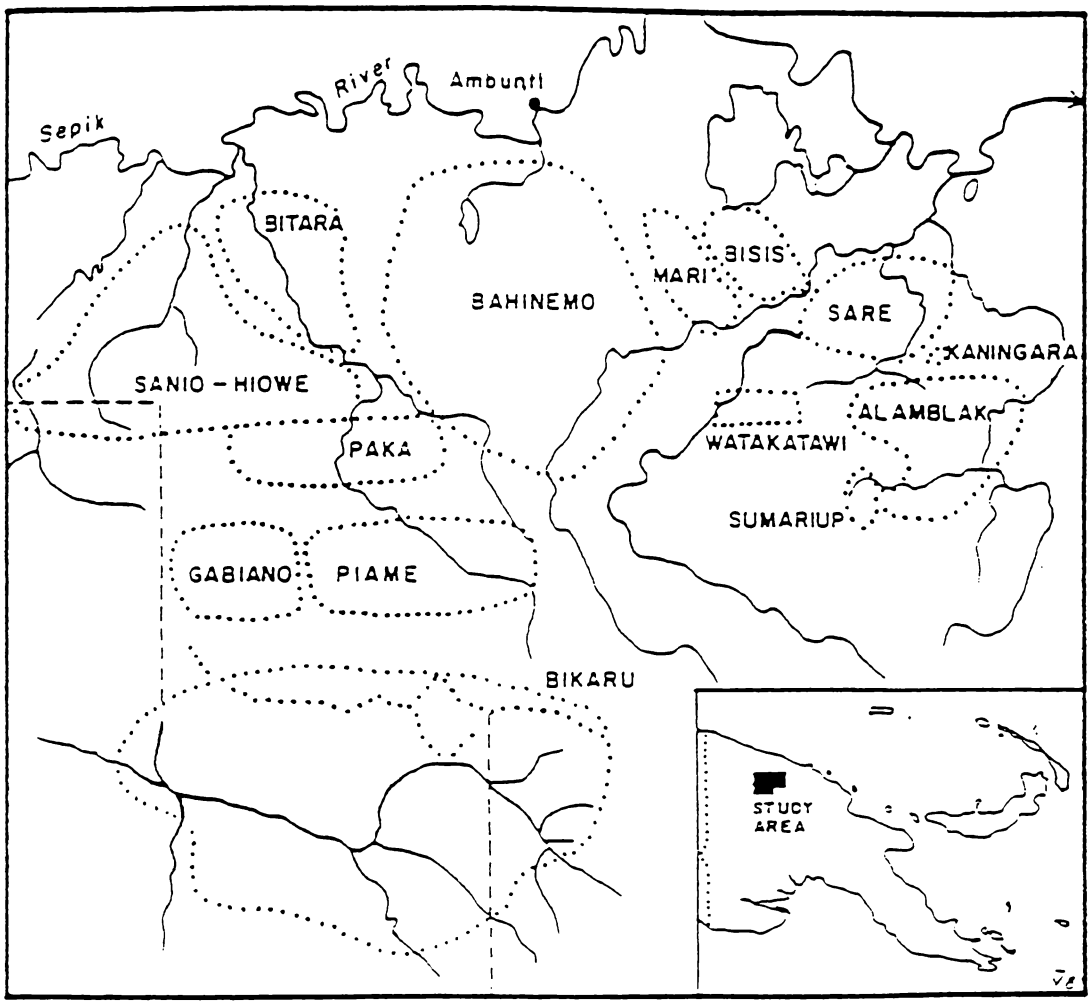
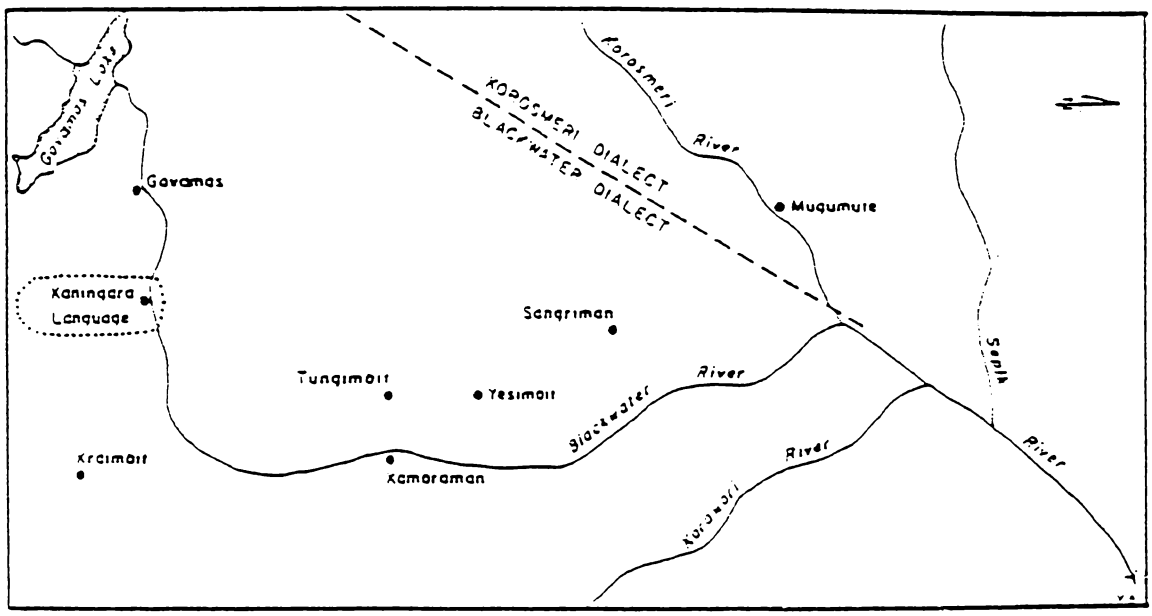
ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	agent/actor
ABS	absolutive
ACC	accusative
ADJ	adjective
AH	accessibility hierarchy
ASPT	aspect
ASS	assertive
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
COL	collective
COMD	command
COM	comitative
COMP	compound
CONT	continuous
CONJ	conjunction
DECL	declarative
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
DL	dual
DOBJ	direct object
EXC	exclamative
EFF	effective
F	female/feminine
FOC	focus
FUT	future
GENT	genitive
GEN	gender
HORT	hortative
IMP	imperative
IMPR	imprecative
INCL	inclusive
INTRANS	intransitive
INTS	instrumental
IN. RET	in return
IOBJ	indirect object
IRR	irrealis
LIKE	likely
LOC	locative
M	male/masculine
MANN	manner
MODT	modality
MOOD	mood
N	noun
NEG	negative
NP	nominal phrase
NOM	nominal
NOMT	nominative
NUM	number

OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
OCOMP	object of comparison
OPT	optative
P	person
PERF	perfective
PL	plural
PREST	present
PROG	progressive
PROH	prohibitive
PST	past
PUR	purpose
PNG	Papua New Guinea
POSS	possessive
REAL	realis
REAS	reason
RC	relative clause
REC	reciprocal
RECT	recent
REF	reflexive
REMT	remote
REQ	requestive
S	sentence structure
SEQ	sequential
SG	singular
SPAT	spatial
SUB	subordinate
SUBJ	subject
SVC	serial verb construction
TAM	tense aspect mood
TEMP	temporal
TIM	time
TNS	tense
TRANS	transitive
TOP	topic
TP	Tok Pisin
VB	verb
VP	verb phrase
VOC	vocative
W.DIR	wrong direction
W.PL	wrong place
*	ungrammatical



Map 1: Sepik Hill languages, from Bruce (1984).



Map 2: Sare-speaking villages and Sare dialects.

ABSTRACT

This thesis provides a descriptive account of the previously undescribed Sare language, a Papuan language spoken by about 2,000 people in the middle Sepik River area of the East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea. This thesis describes in particular the morphosyntactic aspects of the language.

The description begins by giving a general introduction to the language and its speakers in Chapter One. This chapter also describes the dialectal variation within the language, the sociocultural background of its speakers, the status of the language, and the general grammatical features of the language. Chapter Two describes the phonemic inventory and the phonological processes found in the language. Chapter Three introduces the various word classes, along with their subclasses, as a preliminary to the description of the morphology and syntax in the remaining chapters.

Chapter Four describes the morphology of nouns. It begins by describing the noun-deriving processes of suffixation, compounding and reduplication. There then follows a description of the inflectional processes of case-marking and the marking of number and gender. Chapter Five describes the structure of the noun phrase. The determiners that precede the head are described first, then the head slot and its exponents, followed by the nominal postmodifiers. There is then a description of complex noun phrases and appositive noun phrases. Chapter Six describes the morphology of the verb. The description begins with an account of verbal inflectional processes involving the subject marking of subjects, the tense-aspect-mood-marking system, negation, elevationals and directionals, and time-when constructions. This chapter concludes with an account of irregular verbs.

Chapter Seven and Eight are concerned with syntax. Simple sentences are described in Chapter Seven. We begin with an account of non-verbal sentences including copulative and extensive sentences. Verbal sentences are then described, including declaratives, imprecatives, caveat clauses, assertives, optatives and interrogatives. This chapter also includes a discussion of adverbs, serial verb constructions, derived clause types and the behaviour of non-core noun phrases. The final chapter describes complex sentences, beginning with coordinate constructions, followed by subordinate constructions. This chapter concludes with an account of complement constructions.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 General Orientation

The Sare language, also known in the literature as Wasare or Kapriman, is a Papuan[1] language (Wurm 1975:733-736, and Dye, Townsend and Townsend 1968). It is spoken by the Kapriman people on the Blackwater River and along the Korosmeri River of the East Sepik province of Papua New Guinea [cf. Map 1]. Laycock (1977, 1975, 1973) and Z'graggen (1977, 1971), who were the first linguists to propose the Sepik-Ramu Phylum, designated Sare as a Sepik Hill language of the Sepik Hill Stock, which belongs to the Middle Sepik Super Stock of the Sepik Sub-Phylum (cf. Chart 1.1).

For the majority of the Sepik area languages (cf. Chart 1.1), very little grammatical and phonological information is available. Of the Sepik Hill Family, to which Sare belongs, only Alamblak (Bruce 1984), has a comprehensive description. In classifying the Sepik area languages, and also the rest of the languages of the island of New Guinea and the whole of Melanesia, the lexicostatistical method, a technique which determines the degree of similarity between languages simply by comparing their vocabularies, has often been used, since the languages of this region have had very little non-lexical data available.

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[1] The Papuan languages are also known as Non-Austronesian languages. The term Papuan does not refer to a genetically related language family as does Austronesian, in that Papuan languages cannot be traced back to a common Proto-Papuan. The present linguistic evidence suggests that they belong to at least sixty different families. There also exist a couple of dozen isolates with no evidence so far of being related to any of the Papuan families. (Foley 1986: 2-3). Papuan languages are generally spoken in the inland and coastal areas of mainland New Guinea, and as well as on some of the adjacent islands, while the Austronesian languages are mostly spoken in the coastal areas.

It should be noted that the terminology used by the lexicostatisticians to refer to the different levels of subgroupings of languages is different from that used by the traditional comparativists. According to the comparative tradition of classifying languages, all languages that are descended from a common ancestor are said to belong to the same "family", below which we simply refer to different levels of "subgroups". Lexicostatisticians, on the other hand, classify languages into subgroups based on shared cognate percentages in their core vocabularies. Grouping of languages that share more than 36 percent of their core vocabularies are said to constitute single 'families'. A stock is a grouping of languages that shares 12 to 36 percent of core vocabulary, a super stock is a grouping sharing 4 to 12 percent of their core vocabularies, a sub-phylum is a grouping that shares 1 to 4 percent of core vocabulary and a phylum is a grouping that shares 0 to 1 percent of their core vocabularies (Wurm, 1975b. and Crowley, 1992:171-186).

Despite its (lexicostatistical method) usefulness in determining the subgroupings of previously undescribed languages, it is not without limitations. A number of problems both practical and theoretical have been noted (Crowley, 1992:183-186). The first problem the lexicostatisticians have to deal with is deciding which words are core vocabulary and which are not. This depends on the researcher and the society he/she is working in, then there is the task of identifying genuine cognate forms from the copied vocabulary. There is also the danger of two linguists working on the same word list from two different languages arriving at significantly different cognate figures. This says Crowley (*ibid*) is due to the fact that there is no objective way of determining what are cognates and what are not. This type of inconsistency on the part of researchers lead to subgrouping of two languages to different subgroupings, i.e. both may be grouped as belonging to the same family or to the same stock. Then there is the problem of different

linguists using different cognate percentages to indicate the different levels of subgroupings and this leads to the disagreement of what terminology to be used to refer to different subgroupings of languages. Considering this limitations of the lexicostatistical method, the Sepik Hill languages and the languages of other families, whose members were subgrouped using this method, would appear on lexicostatistical grounds to be only very tenuously related.

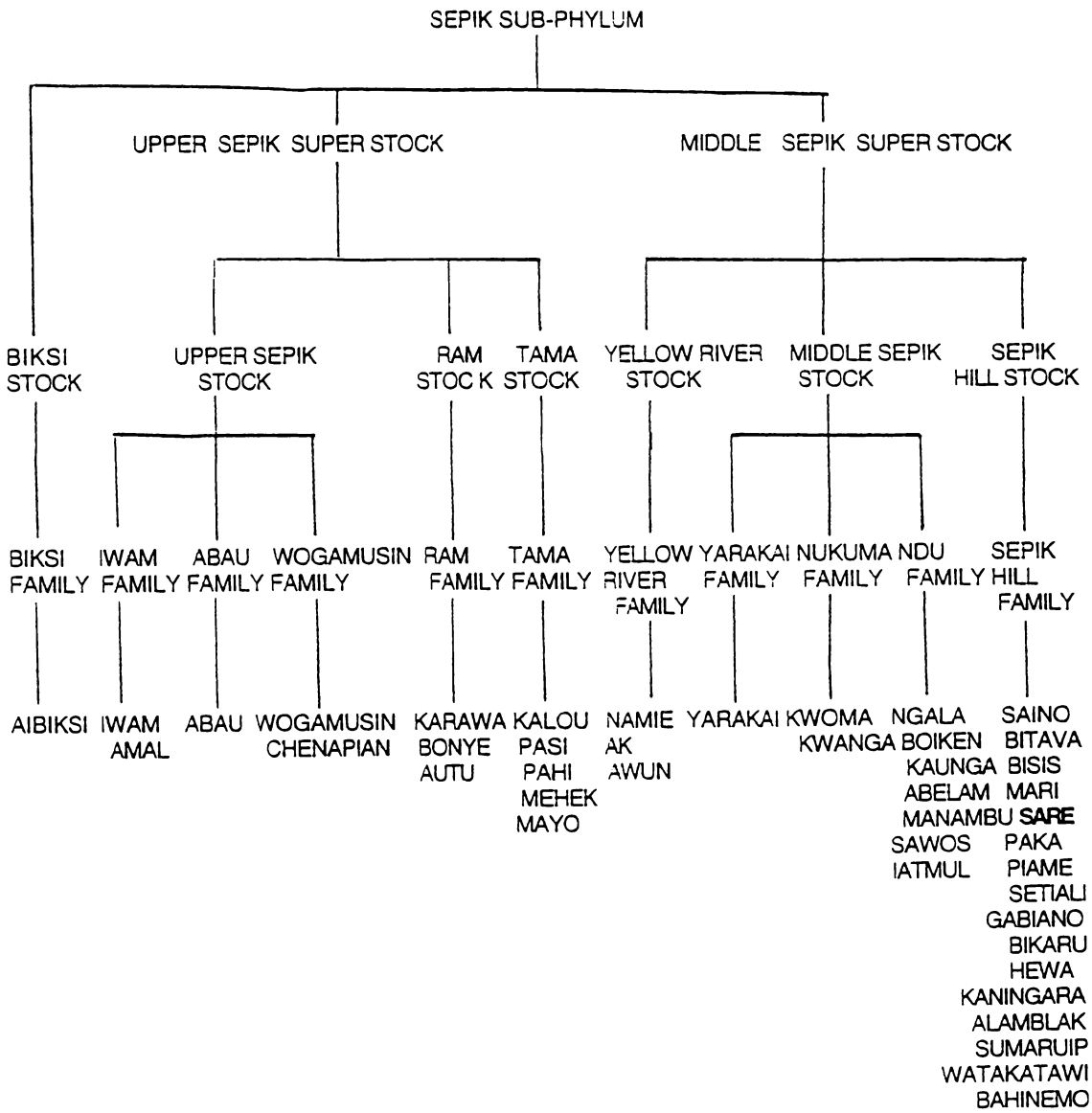

Chart 1.1 The position of Sare within the Sepik area Papuan languages.

(Laycock 1973)

According to the 1990 Papua New Guinea national census figure, there were altogether 1,339 native speakers of Sare counted. This is only 19 speakers more than the 1980 national census figure of 1,320 and 175 speakers more than the 1968 figure of 1,164 reported by Dye, Townsend and Townsend (1968). The number of speakers per village is given in Table 1.1

Table 1.1 Number of Sare speakers per village

Village Name	Number of Speakers per village
Govamas	269
Kraimbit	284
Kambraman	167
Tungimbit	122
Yesimbit	96
Sangriman	335
Mugumute	66
Total number of Sare speakers	1,339

Figures from the 1990 Papua New Guinea National Census

These census figures, however, do not include the number of Sare speakers who live outside of the ancestral Sare area, i.e in towns and plantations. A significant number of Sare speakers have left the villages for towns and plantations, especially to the Morobe and Madang provinces. Many have not returned to their villages for years and it is unlikely that they will ever do so. Many have married outside the Sare speech community and their children have very little knowledge of Sare. Also, it is a widespread attitude of many people in the villages not to show interest in such national events as the census, and simply do not take part and as a result are not counted. Sare speakers outside of the ancestral Sare area are not included in the above figure because the census does not have a question which seeks to establish

people's first language. Considering these factors, the above census figure is not an accurate representation of the current number of Sare speakers. I would estimate it to be at least two thousand speakers.

The language has no indigenous name. The name by which the English educated people of Blackwater refer to themselves is Kapriman. I am not using the terms Blackwater or Kapriman to refer to the language for a number of reasons. Firstly, there are three languages in addition to Sare spoken in the Blackwater area. To the west are three villages whose inhabitants speak the Govamas dialect of the Alamblak language (Bruce 1984: 2-3). There is also the Kanengara language, spoken in a single village of the same name, which is located in the midst of Sare-speaking villages. Finally, to the north is the Iatmul-speaking village of Mumeri. Thus, using the term Blackwater to refer to only one language spoken in this geographical area would be a misrepresentation of the peoples living in this area.

Secondly, local politics prevent me from using the term Kapriman to refer to the language. Traditionally, a name, be it a personal name, village name, name of a lake, river, canoe, house, mountain, animal or plant is owned by a particular family, clan or a village. There is an ongoing debate over the ownership of the term Kapriman, with the people of Kambraman village claiming this term to be theirs, and referring to themselves and their men's house. I have therefore decided to use what I see as the most neutral term 'Sare'. This is the uninflected form of the verb meaning 'speak'. This term, and wasare 'you speak', have been used by other linguists, including Laycock (1973) and Wurm (1975), to refer to the language.

Speakers of Sare, as stated above, live in seven villages (cf. Map 2). The original area of the Sare villages is the site of the present day Govamas

village, and Govamas is today usually referred to as the "old village". Because of continual internal conflicts, extended family groups moved downstream at three different times, leaving behind the ancestors of the inhabitants of the present day Govamas village. The first to move were the ancestors of people living in the present-day Mugumute village, who had to cross over to a different river system. Soon after, the ancestors of the present day Sangriman people moved from Govamas to their present location. Then followed the ancestors of the people of Yesimbit, Tungimbit, Kambraman and Kraimbit villages. After leaving Govamas, these people settled together for some time at a site between the Tungimbit and Yesimbit villages. Then another split resulted in the settlement of the Yesimbit and Kraimbit villages, leaving behind the Tungimbit and Kambraman people. The most recent split after the Second World War, again as a result of infighting between family groups, saw the settlement of the author's home village, Tungimbit, and also Kambraman village.

The manner of interaction between Sare speakers today reflects the history of communal fragmentation which resulted in the settlement of the various Sare villages. For instance, the people of Tungimbit and Kambraman villages are much closer socially to each other than they are to people from the other villages. The kinship and interpersonal relationships are much stronger between the peoples of Tungimbit and Kambraman, and there is much more inter-marriage between members of these two villages. They also share many traditional hunting and fishing sites.

1.1 Dialects

Sare is spoken in two slightly different dialect forms, which I will refer to as the Blackwater dialect, (hereafter B) and the Korosmeri dialect (hereafter K)

respectively. The more widely used B dialect is spoken by people living in the Blackwater villages and the K dialect in Mugumute village along the Korosmeri river. The differences between the two dialects are mostly found in the lexicon, with only a few differences in grammar or phonology. The most notable lexical differences between the two dialects are set out in Table 1.2. On a Swadesh word list these two dialects would then have over 96 percent shared cognacy. In fact, the lexical items set out in Table 1.2 are the only ones I found to differ in my search for lexical differences.

Table 1.2 Lexical difference between B and K dialects

	B dialect	K dialect
mouth	bidsimixa	ayəxə
knee	bangutoxu	bangu
stone	oba	ubaxa
small	kirekixa	kəre
fire	medsoxu	məte
smoke	yiərika	keka
frog	kəkirəxi	gərixo
fish	amara	ainə
arrow	kegira	ina
red	kokoka	kukutoxa
when	oɸokori	okiyəxəyo
turtle	tixe	baku

A number of factors have contributed to these differences in the lexicon. Firstly, the people of Mugumute village being the first to have moved out of the traditional Sare location, the period of separation between them and the rest of the Sare speakers is much longer than the period of separation between

the peoples of the other Sare villages. Secondly, Mugumute village, as shown on Map 2, is geographically apart from the rest of the Sare villages. In fact, it is located on a different river system. Thirdly, the people of Mugumute village seldom mix or socialise with Sare speakers living in the Blackwater villages. Thus, the period of separation, plus the geographical and social isolation of the people of Mugumute village from the Blackwater Sare speakers have all contributed to the lexical difference shown in Table 1.2

The two dialects also differ in the number of borrowed lexical items from Tok Pisin (hereafter TP). I observed a great number of borrowings from TP in the B dialect than the K dialect, as shown in Table 1.3. The TP forms borrowed into the B dialect have completely replaced the indigenous forms. I have also observed that more TP is spoken in the Blackwater villages than in Mugumute and is not uncommon to find children growing up speaking TP as a first language in the Blackwater villages (Sumbuk 1991).

Table 1.3 Lexical difference between borrowed items from Tok Pisin

Gloss	B Dialect	K Dialect	Tok Pisin
garden	gaden	onte	gaden
island	ailan	mɨtoxɨ	ailan
ocean	solwara	marombə	solwara
crab	kuka	ugorə	kuka
old man	lapun wuiagɨ	kəsəxə wiyadə	lapun man
old woman	lapun tuxanɨ	kəsəxə təxwanə	lapun meri
father	papa/aitsa	etyomə	papa
mother	mama/maindsa	miyomə	mama

[2] The indigenous terms for father and mother are completely replaced by the words of TP origin for younger B dialect speakers. The indigenous terms can only be heard from much older speakers.

The number of borrowings from TP and the number of people speaking TP as a first language in the villages very much reflects the attitude of the speakers of the two dialects, in that, speakers of B dialect travel widely, accept changes more freely, are more innovative and are more outward looking than the speakers of K dialect, who are inward looking and conservative. Also B dialect speakers readily accept change than the K dialect speakers who are normally sceptical about outsiders and what they stand for.

1.2 Socio-Cultural Background

A Sare village is an autonomous political entity. A men's house (TP haus tambaran or haus man) symbolises this autonomy in that it is the most important building in the village, as well as representing the pride of the village. Each village tries to out-do the others in building the most impressive men's house. It is in the men's house that men meet adult male visitors from other villages, discuss important issues, make decisions, and initiate the young men. The men's house is divided into four quarters, each with a separate fire-place. These four fire-places represent the four clans or family lines in the village. Every member of the village belongs to one of these clans and the men sit according to their clan grouping in the men's house and use the fire-place of their own clan.

A woman belongs to her father's clan, and marriage to a man from another clan does not change this affiliation. Women do not take part in the decision-making process, which, as stated above, takes place in the men's house. Women and young uninitiated boys are prohibited from entering or going near the men's house. In the old days women transgressors were severely punished, which most often meant death. Boys caught transgressing

underwent premature initiation. Nowadays transgressors are heavily fined to the tune of K100.00 (i.e. approximately $US100.00), which represents a heavy burden in an area where people generally have little cash income.

Being the dominant participants in the village, it is the men who inherit wealth. A woman marries into her husband's family to produce the next generation of his family. At marriage, a woman is not required to bring with her any form of wealth or possession (as is commonly the case in Melanesian societies), but most families feel obliged to give away their daughters in marriage with at least some possessions, such as cloth, cooking utensils, money, and items such as a big radio or an outboard motor. This is one way of demonstrating the wealth of the woman's family.

Sare speakers have been described by Dye, Townsend and Townsend (1968) as the culturally dominant group in the Karawari, Kapriman and the Korosmeri area, and as well as being the most acculturated people in the Sepik Hill Language group. Compared to their neighbours, Sare speakers have a much more outward looking attitude to life. They take schooling more seriously and Sare speakers are more frequently found with well paid jobs, and more of their daughters and sons have entered tertiary educational institutions including university. The Sare often run small businesses such as trade stores and petrol selling ventures, and try out other projects such as taverns, and guest houses for the increasing number of western tourists who now visit the area.

The Sare-speaking area is flat with a lot of lakes, rivers and streams, and much of the area is swampy. Sare speakers subsist on fish and sago, which is supplemented with wild game and greens. Small scale gardening of banana, sweet potato, taro, sugarcane, and different types of greens, is

practised. However, those who make subsistence gardens often have problems with the rising water which often floods over the banks and covers the food gardens. The Sare, like many Sepik River communities, are known for their carved designs on wood, arrows, shields, canoes, drums and houses. They produce distinctive string bags (TP - bilum), baskets of different types, and mats.

There is a clear division of labour between the Sare men and women. Tasks such as building a house, carving and canoe-making, as well as hunting, fall to the men. The women specialise in child rearing, cooking and cleaning of the house and the village. Different aspects of the tasks of gardening, sago production and fishing are divided. With regard to sago preparation, the men cut the trees and pound the sago, while women wash the pounded sago to separate out the flour, and both share the task of carrying the end product home. The men do the clearing of garden sites, while women do the planting, weeding and harvesting of the crop. Men fish with spears, while women fish with nets, baskets or fishing lines.

Houses are built on stilts and have sago bark floors. The walls are made of sago fronds and the roofs are thatched with sago leaves. Houses in the area are generally big enough to house three or four nuclear families. They require a lot of material and can take between six and twelve months to complete. When a big house or a canoe is completed, a feast follows to celebrate the completion. The owner of the house or the canoe, and his extended paternal family provide food, and these days, alcohol. Members of the owner's mother's family come with presents in the form of money and goods, which are distributed among the owner's paternal family.

1.3 Previous work on the language

There has been relatively little research, linguistic or otherwise, carried out on Sare Society. In 1968 a preliminary study was conducted by a group of linguists from the Papua New Guinea branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Dye, Townsend and Townsend 1968). They collected a word list of Sare and three other Sepik Hill languages, namely Alamblak, Bahinemo and Saino. Haberland (1966) also did some ethnographic research on speakers of Sepik Hill languages including Sare, though, he did not do any linguistic work on these languages.

1.4 Status of the language

The language does not have a writing system, and there is no known written literature available in it. Like many other PNG languages, there is not even a single hymn or prayer printed in Sare. The predominant Catholic church that has operated in the area for many decades relies solely on TP as its medium. As is the case in other parts of the country, the two primary schools in the area have showed no interest in Sare. No Sare songs or plays are taught in the schools. The entire school curriculum is western-based and is taught exclusively in English.

Sare used to be the predominant language in all village-based activities such as feasts and ceremonies, decision making in the men's house and so on, with TP being restricted to church, school meetings, local government meetings, trade/marketing and village courts. This has, however, changed dramatically in the last two decades or so. There is now a shift towards the use of TP in many of the village based-activities. This dramatic change has come about due to a combination of a number of factors. Firstly,

the reasons observed for language shift by Kulick (1992) in the Gapun village, also of the same region as Sare, and the attitudes towards TP are quite similar. The Sare speakers like the Gapun people perceive the knowledge and the use of TP as a sign of modernisation, education, richness and knowledgeable. The lack of knowledge of use and comprehension of TP is related to backwardness, lack of education, poverty and stupidity. It is quite common to hear during quarrels such comments as - yu save we long Tok Pisin - 'when did you know how to speak Tok Pisin'. Thus, like in Gapun, the arrival of the white men and the introduction of TP changed the world view of 'self' among the Sare. In order to have that acceptable image of 'self', one is expected to use TP regularly in the village setting, which contributes to language shift. The second most common cause of language shift is due to the now common inter-ethnic marriages. It is now very common for a Sare speaker to have a spouse from another ethnic or linguistic group. Children from such exogamous marriages obviously grow up speaking TP as their first language. Traditionally, before the advent of TP, children of such exogamous marriages grew-up speaking Sare if the father was a Sare speaker, since the bride moves to the grooms village and her children grow-up speaking their father's language. The other reason is the failure of parents to foster the use of Sare. A lot of young couples are using TP to their children, instead of Sare. There is also a feeling of unease about using Sare in front of speakers of other languages, which Sare speakers feel is rude. Even in casual intra-village conversations, TP is used more and more, with a constant code switching between Sare and TP.

1.5 General Grammatical Features of the Language

Morphologically, Sare is agglutinative with some fusional and isolating elements. The language is predominantly suffixing, with less prefixing and no

infixing. The basic constituent order of the clause is SOV, which is in line with Foley's (1986:12) statement that Papuan languages are generally verb-final. The demonstrative, numeral and adjective almost always precede the noun they modify, though a head first order is also encountered.

There are no articles, and nouns are grouped on the basis of gender marking. Nouns referring to body parts of humans and kinship terms are inherently possessed. The language has ten pronouns, with dual and plural members for all three persons, with no inclusive-exclusive distinction made. The Sare counting system is based on five but also exhibits a decimal and vigesimal nature for numbers higher than five. Phonologically, Sare is a typical Sepik language, having seven vowels, with a three way contrast in vowel height in the central vowels (Foley 1986:56), and fifteen consonants.

1.6 The Present Study

The goal of this study is to provide a description of the Sare language in order to add to our understanding of the typological diversity of the languages of the world, and specifically those of PNG. Relatively few of the approximately 215 languages of the Sepik area of Papua New Guinea have, in fact, been studied in a comprehensive way. I will focus especially on providing a description of the morphosyntactic aspects of the language.

Chapter Two of this study presents a description of the phonology and phonological processes of the language. Word classes are described in Chapter Three, noun morphology in Chapter Four, the structure of the noun phrase in Chapter Five, verbal morphology in Chapter Six, simple sentences in Chapter Seven, and complex sentences in Chapter Eight.

The material used in this thesis was collected between October of 1994 and February of 1995. My native speaker intuition of the language greatly helped me to analyse the recorded material and, for the most part, I have relied on my native-speaker knowledge of the language in providing the analysis which follows.

CHAPTER TWO

PHONOLOGY AND PHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES

2.0 Introduction

Phonologically, Sare reflects the areal characteristic of Papuan languages in having a simple phonemic system (Foley 1986:9). In fact, when compared with other Papuan languages of the Sepik region, like Yessan Mayo (Foreman 1974), Alamblak (Bruce 1984) and Yimas (Foley 1991), Sare is simpler in terms of both its phoneme inventory and its morphophonemics.

2.1 Segmental Phonology

A total of twenty-two phonemes are recognised for Sare, with fifteen consonants and seven vowels. Of the fifteen consonant phonemes, seven have notable allophonic variations, with less notable allophonic variation for the vowel phonemes and the remaining consonants.

2.1.1 Consonant Phonemes

In terms of the place of articulation of the consonant phonemes, Sare again reflects the general trend for consonant articulation reported in Papuan languages (Foley 1986:9) in having only three places of articulation, these being bilabial, alveolar and velar. There are six stop consonants, with a contrast between voiced and voiceless stops for each of the three places of articulation, and three fricatives, one each for the three places of articulation. There are only two nasals /m/ and /n/, a lateral /l/, a rhotic /r/ and two semi-vowels /w/ and /y/. The contrasting consonants are therefore as set out in Table 2.1

Table 2.1 Consonant Phonemes

	BILABIAL	ALVEOLAR	PALATAL	VELAR
STOP voiced	b	d		g
voiceless	p	t		k
FRICATIVE	ɸ	s		x
NASAL	m	n		
LATERAL		l		
RHOTIC		r		
SEMI-VOWEL	(w)		y	(w)

The segments /b/, /d/ and /g/ are invariably realised as voiced stops at the bilabial, alveolar and velar points of articulation respectively. For example:

/baba/	[baba]	'maternal grandparent'
/abu/	[abu]	'rat'
/doxu/	[doɣu]	'canoe'
/axandai/	[aɣandai]	'laugh'
/godu/	[godu]	'ginger, yellow'
/ago/	[ago]	'fly'

The segments /p/, /t/ and /k/ are realised as voiceless aspirated stops word initially, and as voiceless unaspirated stops in any other environment at the bilabial, alveolar and velar points of articulation respectively. For example:

/pandai/	[pʰandai]	'armband'
/pomboxuni/	[pʰomboɣuni]	'wooden stool'
/kapa/	[kʰapa]	'metal sheet'
/kokioka/	[kʰokioka]	'sweet potatoe'
/tekawaxta/	[tʰekawaɣta]	'push down'
/tɑtoruwa/	[tʰatoruwa]	'ladder/house steps'

The segment /ɸ/ is realised as the voiced bilabial fricative [β] intervocalically and as the voiceless bilabial fricative /ɸ/ elsewhere. For example:

/ɸu/	[ɸu]	'firewood tree'
/netsəxiɸ/	[netʃəɣiɸ]	'married couple'
/kɸara/	[kʰɸaře]	'weapon'
/ɸiniɸini/	[ɸiniβini]	'lightning'
/aɸa/	[aβa]	'imprint'
/tiɸa/	[tʰiβa]	'fat'

The phoneme /s/ has three allophones: [ʃ], [ʒ] and [s]. It is realised as [ʃ] after the front vowels /i/ and /e/, as well as after the voiceless alveolar stop /t/. It is realised as [ʒ] after the voiced alveolar stop /d/, and as [s] in all other environments. For example:

/sagɪm/	[sagim]	'water'
/naso/	[naso]	'call by name'
/wudas/	[wudas]	'female of a duck type'
/mes/	[meʃ]	'light'
/sərɪs/	[səřiʃ]	'hand'
/nisoru/	[niʃořu]	'to close eyes'
/metsas/	[metʃas]	'water snake'
/asagidso/	[asagidʒo]	'bathe'
/dsa/	[dʒa]	'come'

The phoneme /x/ has three allophones: [x], [ɣ] and [h]. It is realised as the voiceless velar fricative [x] word-initially and adjacent to voiceless consonants, as the voiced velar fricative [ɣ] intervocalically and adjacent to voiced consonants, and as the glottal fricative [h] word-finally. For example:

/xudarɪ/	[xudařɪ]	'axe'
/masxa/	[masxa]	'smell'
/nɪxte/	[nɪxte]	'disappear'
/saxɪm/	[saɣɪm]	'river spirit (T.P masalai)'
/araxdarɪ/	[ařaɣdařɪ]	'pond'
/kamxaɪ/	[kʰamɣaɪ]	'pull out from a bundle or a stack'
/bɪdsox/	[bɪdʒoh]	'stronger, harder'
/bɪtsox/	[bɪtʃoh]	'brush teeth'

The segment /m/ is invariably realised as a voiced bilabial nasal. For example:

/maindsa/	[maɪɲdʒa]	'mother' (addressive)
/kamxai/	[kʰamɣai]	'pull out from a bundle or stack'
/sagim/	[sagim]	'water'

The phoneme /n/, on the other hand, has three allophones: [ŋ], [ɲ] and [n]. It is realised as the voiced velar nasal [ŋ] before the voiced velar stop /g/, as the voiced palatal nasal [ɲ] before the consonant cluster /ds/ and after /t/, and as [n] in all other environments. For example:

/ɸɨn/	[ɸɨn]	'you two'
/mɨna/	[mɨna]	'breastfeed'
/axandai/	[aɣandai]	'laugh'
/nonxo/	[nonɣo]	'send'
/nongai/	[noŋgai]	'run'
/angitna/	[aŋgitɲa]	'sneeze'
/maindsa/	[maɪɲdʒa]	'mother'
/ndsɨdɨ/	[ɲdʒɨdɨ]	'this'

The segment /l/ invariably appears as a voiced alveolar lateral. Originally, Sare had only the single liquid /r/ and there is no evidence of the lateral /l/ in any traditional Sare words. However, in TP there is a phonemic contrast between /l/ and /r/, and many items containing these segments are now fully incorporated into the Sare lexicon with this contrast retained intact. This has led me to include /l/ as an additional phoneme in the modern language. We therefore find this segment in forms such as the following:

/lamɨ/	[lamɨ]	'lamp'
/pilo/	[pilo]	'pillow'
/lapun/	[lapun]	'old'

The phoneme /r/ has two allophones in complementary distribution. The alveolar trill [r̃] occurs initially and adjacent to consonants, while the tap [ř] occurs in all other environments. For example:

/rago/	[r̃ago]	'hungry'
/tragɨxar/	[tʰr̃agɨɣař]	'shoulder'
/tabra/	[tʰabř̃a]	'coconut/betelnut bearing fruit'
/rɨwurɨ/	[r̃ɨwuř̃ɨ)	'defecate'

The phoneme /w/ is realised as a voiced bilabial semi-vowel, while /y/ invariably appears as a voiced palatal semi-vowel. For example:

/wanɨxasɨtɨ/	[wanɨɣasɨtɨ]	'listen, hear'
/tawe/	[tʰawe]	'carry over shoulders (especially a child)'
/yiago/	[yiago]	'moon'
/yiuxa/	[yiuɣa]	'egg'

The phonemic contrast of the consonant phonemes just described is demonstrated by the following pairs:

/b/ and /p/	/bana/	'also'	/pandai/	'armband'
/d/ and /t/	/doxu/	'canoe'	/toxu/	'head'
/g/ and /k/	/tuga/	'spoon'	/tuka/	'coconut shell'
/p/ and /ɸ/	/pandai/	'armband'	/ɸandɨmɨxa/	'navel'
/x/ and /k/	/xo/	'give'	/ko/	'bird of paradise'
/g/ and /x/	/gaɸɨ/	'nail'	/xaɸa/	'good/nice'
/m/ and /n/	/mɨna/	'breastfeed'	/nɨna/	'fight'
/x/ and /ɸ/	/xu/	'adze'	/ɸu/	'firewood tree'

/s/ and /t/	/sagɪ/	'lake'	/tagɪ/	'chew'
/r/ and /n/	/rarɨ/	'son'	/narɨ/	'mat'
/r/ and /l/	/ramə/	'carve'	/lamɨ/	'lamp'
/l/ and /n/	/lamɨ/	'lamp'	/namɨna/	'sago root'
/w/ and /y/	/wɪaxa/	'like'	/yɪago/	'moon'

2.1.2 Vowel Phonemes

The seven vowel phonemes are set out in Table 2.2

Table 2.2 Vowel Phonemes			
	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
HIGH	i	ɨ	u
MID	e	ə	o
LOW		a	

The phonetic value of each of these vowel phonemes is given below.

The high front tense vowel /i/ has two allophones: [i] and [ɪ] which occur in free variation. For example:

/tɪka/	[tɪka]~[tɪka]	'sweet'
/sɨkɪka/	[sɨkika]~[sɨkɪka]	'light (of weight)'
/mɨnɪka/	[mɨnika]~[mɨnɪka]	'breast'
/xərɪ/	[xəǐi]~[xərɪ]	'stringbag'
/sɪngo/	[siŋgo]~[sɪŋgo]	'fishing hook'
/tɪn/	[tin]~[tɪn]	'tin'
/maindsa/	[maiɲdʒa]~[maɪɲdʒa]	'mother'
/mɪt/	[mit]~[mɪt]	'meat'

The phonemes /e/, /o/ and /u/ have two allophones each, one tense and one lax, occurring in unrestricted free variation. For example:

/yienedsa/	[yienedʒa]~[yiɛnɛdʒa]~[yienɛdʒa]~[yiɛnedʒa]	'sun, day'
/te/	[t^he]~[t^hɛ]	'throw'
/weɸəri/	[weɸəri]~[wɛɸəri]	'wind'
/ogo/	[ogo]~[ɔgɔ]~[ogɔ]~[ɔgo]	'wash (child)'
/ago/	[ago]~[agɔ]	'fly'
/togoniai/	[t^hogoniai]~[t^hɔgɔniai]~[t^hogɔniai]~t^hɔgoniai]	'wait for'
/oxotu/	[oɣotu]~[ɔɣɔtʊ]~[oɣɔtʊ]~[ɔɣotʊ]	'cough'
/nuka/	[nuka]~[nʊka]	'collect firewood'

The vowel phoneme /ɨ/ is invariably realised as a high central lax vowel. For example:

/bɨbɨxa/	[bɨbɨɣa]	'ground/land'
/nɨwarɨ/	[nɨwaɾ̆ɨ]	'peep'

The vowel phoneme /ə/ is invariably realised as a mid central lax vowel. For example:

/sənə/	[sənə]	'fry sago pancake'
/ərəmɨ/	[əɾ̆əmɨ]	'lizard, goanna'

The vowel /a/ is invariably realised as a low central lax vowel. For example:

/ago/	[ago]	'fly' (verb)
/tagogo/	[tʰagogo]	'stuck, tight'
/ota/	[ota]	'call'

The phonemic contrast of these vowel phonemes established above is demonstrated by the following pairs.

/i/ and /e/	/ti/	'bandicoot'	/te/	'throw'
/e/ and /ɨ/	/se/	'rack'	/sɨ/	'she, her'
/ɨ/ and /ə/	/sɨ/	'she, her'	/sə/	'uproot'
/ɨ/ and /a/	/nɨna/	'fight'	/nana/	'earthquake'
/i/ and /u/	/kɨ/	'vomit'	/ku/	'sago hammer'
/ɨ/ and /i/	/kɨ/	'vomit'	/ki/	'to tie'
/ə/ and /a/	/rəri/	'to roll'	/rari/	'son'
/o/ and /ə/	/bonɨ/	'greens (TP aibika)'	/bəni/	'cut (on forehead)'
/e/ and /ə/	/se/	'rack'	/sə/	'uproot'
/e/ and /a/	/tegogo/	'touch'	/tagogo/	'stuck, tight'
/u and /o/	/tuka/	'coconut shell'	/toka/	'a thicket of'
/o/ and /a/	/ogo/	'bathe a child'	/ago/	'to fly'

2.1.3 Neutralisation

Two instances of neutralisation of phonemic contrasts have been identified for Sare. The non-front high vowels /ɨ/ and /u/ lose their contrast adjacent to /w/ and /x/. The archiphoneme, which will be represented arbitrarily below as /U/, is realised as [u] and [ɨ] in free variation. For example:

/wUnɨ/	[wɨnɨ] ~ [wunɨ]	'house'
/wUraɸa/	[wɨřaβa] ~ [wuřaβa]	'footprint'
/tUxanɨs/	[tɨɣanɨs] ~ [tuɣanɨs]	'woman, wife'
/wUraboxU/	[wɨřaboɣɨ] ~ [wuřaboɣu]	'thigh'
/doxU/	[doɣɨ] ~ [doɣu]	'canoe'

The instance of neutralisation of the phonemic contrast of /u/ and /ɨ/ is represented as /u/ throughout this thesis.

The other instance of neutralisation involves the loss of contrast between the non-front central vowels /o/ and /ə/ in the first syllable of a word when there are surrounding alveolar and/or velar consonants. The archiphoneme, which will be represented below as /O/, is realised as [o] and [ə] in free variation. For example:

/tOrbuka/	[torbuka] ~ [tərbuka]	'tongue'
/wOnbatɨ/	[wonbatɨ] ~ [wənbatɨ]	'wrap in leaves and cook'
/gOntua/	[gontua] ~ [gəntua]	'letter, banana leaf, paper'
/asagidsO/	[asagidso] ~ [asagidsə]	'bath'
/OrOxu/	[oroxu]~[ərəxu]	'whose'

The instance of neutralisation of the phonemic contrast of /o/ and /ə/ is from this point represented as /o/ throughout this thesis.

2.1.4 Morphophonemics

Sare is a language which has very little evidence of morphophonemic derivation, with only two general processes of this type being evident. The first involves the deletion of /ɨ/ morpheme-finally before another morpheme, but only when the preceding morpheme of which /ɨ/ is the final vowel has more than one syllable, and when the following morpheme also consists of more than one syllable. The following examples illustrate the loss of /ɨ/ morpheme-finally between disyllabic and trisyllabic morphemes.

/soganɨ-ota/	→	/soganota/	'call someone'
ask-call			
/soganɨ-kukri/	→	/sogankukri/	'ask someone to return'
ask-pull back			
/tabəri-oru/	→	/tabəroru/	'sick and cry'
sick-cry			

When the preceding morpheme of which /ɨ/ is the final vowel is monosyllabic, the /ɨ/ is retained. For example:

sɨ-ma	→	/sɨma/	'with her'
3SGF-SPAT.			
rɨ–ma	→	/rɨma/	'with him'
3SGM-SPAT.			

kɨ–ngombraɨ	→	/kɨŋgombraɨ/	'vomit on'
vomit-on			

Also, when the segment /ɨ/ appears at the end of a word and the following morpheme consists of just a single-consonant suffix, it is not affected by this deletion rule. This restriction prevents the generation of word-final consonant clusters.

wunɨ-r	→	/wunɨr/	'big house'
house-SGM			

weɸəɾɨ-s	→	/weɸəɾɨs/	'wind'
wind-SGF			

ɸɨnɨɸɨnɨ-r	→	/ɸɨnɨɸɨnɨr/	'lightning'
lightning-SGM			

tuxanɨ-m	→	/tuxanɨm/	'women'
woman-PL			

The other morphophonemic process has two parts to it. Firstly, it involves the deletion of /a/ morpheme-finally before a polysyllable morpheme that begins with an /a/. This rule can be expressed formally as:

a → ø/ _____ a,#

For example:

wura-aɸa → /wuraɸa/ 'footprint'
leg-imprint

nata-axotu → /nataxotu/ 'path used when making sago'
make sago-road

gɨruxa-aioxu → /gɨruxaioxu/ 'the dance'
dance-ABST.

xedsa-abiai → /xedsabiai/ 'paddle and bring a person over'
paddle-take (i.e a person)

xedsa-axɨməna → /xedsaxɨməna/ 'paddle and look for'
paddle-look for

Secondly, it involves the changing of /a/ to /i/ morpheme-finally before a monosyllabic morpheme that begins with an /a/. This rule can be represented formally as:

a → i/ _____ a, #

For example:

amara-ai → /amariai/ 'fishing'
fish-get

amara-a → /amaria/ 'eat fish'
fish-eat

sedsa-a → /sedsia/ 'drink and eat'

drink-eat

2.1.5 Phonotactics

A syllable in Sare consists minimally of a single vowel or a diphthong. There can also be up to three consonants in sequence at the syllable onset, and a single consonant at the syllable closure. Words in Sare can therefore begin with either consonants or vowels, and syllables can be either open or closed. For instance, following are examples of the various permissible syllable types, where the underlining represents a single syllable.

V	a	'eat'
CV	te	'throw'
VC	an	'I, me'
VV	aitsa	'father'
CVC	tombridsaxu	'to cut, chop'
CVVC	maindʒa	'mother'
CCV	sangamangrika	'dew'
CCCV	ndsoti	'this way, like this'

With a few exceptions, most of the uninflected roots in Sare are exclusively vowel-final. Whereas uninflected forms are often consonant-final. Those uninflected roots that have consonant s occurring word finally includes:

- mass nouns and individual words like
- toxunkam 'face'
- bidsox 'harder'
- bitsox 'brush teeth'
- kokorian 'greeting'

Sare displays evidence of both homorganic and heterorganic consonant clusters. Most consonant clusters consist of two consonants, with only a small number of consonant clusters consisting of three consonants. There is no evidence in the language of consonant clusters with four or more consonants, and geminates do not occur in the language.

Two-member consonant clusters can occur word-initially and word-medially. In word-initial position, the whole consonant cluster constitutes the onset of the initial syllable. In word-medial position, the two-member consonant cluster occurs at the syllable boundary and is part of two syllables. For example:

/traguxa/	'shoulder'
/anboxu/	'burn, cook'
/pandai/	'armband'
/bandaingoni/	'fork for taking food out from fire'

Initially, we find three-member consonant clusters only in the words ndsidi 'this' and ndsoti 'this way, like this', with no evidence of any consonant clusters at all in word-final position. All other instances of three-member consonant clusters are found word-medially. Table 2.3 shows the range of attested word-initial clusters of two consonants.

Table 2. 3 Initial Two-member Consonant Clusters

	b	d	g	k	ɸ	s	m	r	w
b	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
g	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
t	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
k	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+
ɸ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
s	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
x	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
m	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
n	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-

Permissible consonant clusters in Sare are amorphous, in that no clear cut pattern emerged on the clustering of consonants. This does not allow for a tidy and simple set of general statements. Thus, what Tables 2.3 and 2.4 and the following examples do is to simple state all the possible consonant clusters found in Sare. Permissible two-member word initial clusters in Sare are therefore restricted to the following:

(i) voiced peripheral stops /b/ and /g/ followed by /r/. For example:

brika 'black ant'

gruxa 'traditional dancing'

(ii) any voiceless stops, except /p/, followed by /r/. For example:

trate 'eyes turn when fainting or when in rigor'

kri 'chicken'

/iii/ bilabials /ɸ/ and /m/ followed by /r/. For example:

ɸri	'eel'
mrari	'bark for chewing with betelnut'

(iv) stops /t/ and /k/, and fricatives /s/ and /x/ followed by /m/. For example:

tma	'start a basket or mat'
kme	'penis'
smarika	'dreadlock'
xmuxta	'place, hold under armpit'

(v) /n/ only before the alveolar stop /d/ and the velar stop /g/. For example:

ndari	'piece of firewood'
ngambri	'tie'

(vi) fricatives /s/ and /x/, and the stop /k/ followed by /w/. For example:

swonɨ	'dead person's spirit, ghost'
xwaigrumtɨ	'snore'
kwetsaɸa	'shell'

(vii) /b/ after /m/ and /s/. For example:

mbabəri	'immediately, right now'
sbaxnabi	'yam'

(viii) /ɸ/ after /k/ and /s/. For example:

kɸax	'shout, scream'
sɸaxna	'hit something hard to make a point'

(ix) /k/ can only appear after /s/ in the initial position. For example:

sku	'broken pieces (i.e of bottle)'
skika	'light (of weight)'

(x) /s/ can only appear after /t/ in the initial position. For example:

tsate	'loosen'
tsɨngɨna	'to wet sago pancake'

Table 2.4 indicates the range of permissible two-member consonant clusters intervocalically.

Table 2.4 Two-member Intervocalic Consonant Clusters

	b	d	g	t	k	ɸ	s	x	n	r
b	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
d	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
g	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
t	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+
k	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
ɸ	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+
s	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+
x	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
m	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+
n	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-
r	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-

Permissible two-member intervocalic clusters in Sare are therefore restricted to the following:

(i) initial consonant clusters (Table 2.3) of which /r/ is the second consonant also occur intervocalically. The first consonant in these clusters is either a stop, a fricative or a nasal. For example:

kobrika	'grass'
kegra	'arrow'
nitra	'eyebrow'
bakra	'pandanus'
aɸrai	'hold'
gaisri	'sand'
komri	'commotion

(ii) alveolar nasal /n/ can precede all stops except /p/ and the velar fricative /x/ intervocalically. For example:

pandai	'armband'
angitna	'sneeze'
yionbiɸa	'forehead'
wantəxanai	'stobborn'
toxunkam	'face'
singainxade	'necklace'

(iii) velar fricative /x/ can be followed by any alveolar stop or a nasal, and the bilabial fricative /ɸ/. For example:

kimaxdari	'coconut and pumpkin podding'
waxta	'fall, lie down'
sbaxnabi	'yam'
axɸa	'make waves by jumping up and down in a canoe'

(iv) the alveolar fricative /s/ can be followed by /b/, /k/ and /x/. For example:

oxukaisbi	'swear'
ainəskə	'deal, divide'
masxa	'smell'

(v) the rhotic /r/ can be followed by the stops /b/, /g/, /k/ and the fricative /ɸ/ intervocalically. For example:

torbuka	'tongue'
xargo	'heavy'
arkə	'carry something on a stick over shoulders'
aitsarɸa	'pinch'

(vi) the alveolar stop /t/ can be preceded by the bilabials /m/, and /ɸ/ intervocalically. It does not follow any consonant in the initial position. For example:

yimti	'floating grass'
oɸta	'where, which way'

(vii) the nasal /m/ is followed by /b/ and /x/. For example:

bəmbəmbri	'naked'
tekamxai	'stop'

(viii) the stop /t/ followed by the nasal /n/. For example:

watnaɸa	'five corner fruit'
taitna	'bite when eating'

(ix) the alveolar fricative /s/ preceded by /t/ both initially and intervocalically but only intervocalically by /d/ and /ɸ/. For example:

tedsai	'take food out from fire'
tetsɨrati	'sharpen'
aɸsɨboxu	'post'

Only five three-member intervocalic consonant clusters are permitted: /mtn/, /ɸts/, /mbr/, /ngr/ and /nds/. The cluster /mtn/ is attested in only the single word /yimtna/ 'ashamed', while /ɸts/ is attested in only the following four words:

soɸtsa	'carry on shoulders lengthwise'
axiɸtsa	'wash one's feet'
yiəɸtsa	'carry child on shoulders'
toɸtsa	'rinse a container'

The other three three-member consonant clusters, however, are encountered in a much larger number of words, of which the following examples are representative:

/mbr/	taitsambra	'bite'
	təmbridsaxu	'cut'
	tambra	'tap, knock'
	xumbri	'three'
/ngr/	sangamangrika	'dew'
	kangru	'stern (of canoe or boat)'
	niŋgru	'bush'
	nangramiɨ	'tree type'
/nds/	maindsa	'mother'
	weindsəx	'song, sing'
	nindsəɸiɨ	'tail (of animal)'
	aindsari	'spear (for hunting pigs)'

While words can begin with vowels in Sare, the only vowels that are permitted in this environment are the non-high and non-front vowels, /ə/, /o/ and /a/. For example:

əɸita	'which way'
ota	'call someone/thing by name'
abu	'rat'

There is, however, a single word that begins with /e/, i.e. eɸie 'who(m)'. The remaining vowels are encountered, therefore, exclusively in non-initial position in the word. For example:

tika	'sweet'
ki	'tie'
tekonate	'stop'
ɸisi	'fart'
wuna	'breath, out of breath'
wabu	'possum'

Vowel sequences are also permitted in the language. Most of these vowel sequences are two-member sequences and are restricted to the word medial position with only two types observed in the word initial position, and only one in the word final position. Following are examples of word initial and final vowel sequences.

ai	→	aitsa	'father'
au	→	aute	'move under something'
ai	→	togai	'get , receive'

The vowel sequences that occur word medially are indicated on Table 2.5 below.

Table 2.5 Two-member Word Medial Vowel Sequences

	i	e	ɨ	ə	a	u	o
i	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
e	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
ɨ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ə	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
a	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
u	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
o	-	-	-	-	-	+	-

Thus:

(i) /e/ or /a/ followed by /i/. For example:

weidsai	'accompany'
taitsambra	'bite'

(ii) /o/ followed by /u/. For example:

gouta	'young sago palm'

(iii) /i/ followed by any vowel other than /i/. For example:

yiəɸa	'chew betelnut'
dɨbɨyiaxa	'morning'
kiori	'tool for pounding sago'

ɸɨrɪuxu 'testicle'

yiedsa 'sweat'

(iv) /ɨ/ followed by /i/. This vowel sequence is not stated in Table 2.5 above, as all those VV sequences refer to intra-morphemic vowel sequences only. The sequence /ɨ/ followed by /i/ is only possible inter-morphemically and not intra-morphemically. For example:

Maria-s yiuxoɸɨ sɨ-iə-təbərɨ-rə

Mary-SGF yesterday 3SGF-PERF.-sick-RECT.PST.

Mary was sick yesterday.

Three member VVV sequences are also observed for the language, but not as common as the two member VV sequences, and are restricted only to the non-medial positions. For example:

aio	→	aioxai	'yawn'
		Taio	'personal male name'

2.2 Suprasegmental Phonology

2.2.1 Stress

Stress is not phonemically contrastive in Sare and is partially predictable in that stress rules depend on a division of the word into syllables. For the purposes of stress assignment, the number of syllables corresponds to the number of vowels, with the exception that diphthongs consisting of non-high vowels followed by high vowels (ai, ei, ou) counting as single syllables. In all the words examined, despite their length or number of syllables, the secondary stress (marked as `) always falls on the first syllable. For example:

tì	'bandicoot'
tògai	'get, receive'
sògani	'call, ask'
tàɸi	'tie'
kìmeyiaru	'grass knife'
tàitsambra	'bite'

The marking of the primary stress, however, is determined by the length or the number of syllables a word has. Thus the primary stress (marked as (´)) falls on the last syllable of disyllabic words. For example:

tòxú	'head'
tùgá	'spoon'
nàná	'earthquake'
nàxú	'shave'

In trisyllabic, quadrisyllabic and other polysyllabic words, the primary stress falls on the penultimate syllable. For example:

sògáni	'call, ask'
tèkátu	'show'
wònóxa	'back of head'
sìngíɸa	'nose'
kìrekúxa	'small'
kàdibóxu	'chair'
kàsarédsai	'to lie'

When words receive affixes (or enter into compounds), the resulting longer form still maintains stress on the root. For example:

nòngaí	'run'	nòngaí-rə-r	'he ran'
àsagídso	'bath'	àsagídso-go-r	'he is taking a bath'
kòbrí	'grass'	kòbrí-dari	'thicket of grass'
àmára	'fish'	àmára-bogi	'parcel of fish'
ɸòxú	'pig'	ɸòxú-ogu	'piglet'

CHAPTER THREE

WORD CLASSES

3.0 Introduction

In this short chapter I will introduce the various word classes, along with their subclasses, as a preliminary to the description of the morphology and syntax in the chapters which follow. Word classes are defined according to specific shared distributional properties of forms. While this classification is based on grammatical characteristics, I will also be drawing attention to semantic correlates of word classes. Semantic considerations are not, however, used as a basis for establishing word class membership. The grammatical features that are taken into consideration include a word's distribution, its range of syntactic functions and the morphological or syntactic categories that are marked on the word (Schachter 1985:4). A word in Sare can thus be defined as: (a) any form that can not be morphologically broken down further into smaller units, (b) any form that can occur by itself without being affixed to another form, but may accept affixes itself, (c) any form that meets (a) and (b) and has an independent meaning, and (d) any form that is syntactically and phonologically a single unit.

Word classes can be either open or closed. Open word classes are those whose membership is in principle unlimited, varying diachronically and between one speaker and another, while closed classes are those that contain a fixed and usually small number of members, which are essentially the same for all the speakers of the language, and which do not lose or add members without a structural alteration in the grammar of the language as a whole (Robins 1980:214).

I will begin by looking at the open word classes, which in Sare are nominals and verbs. The remainder of the classes, i.e. nominal modifiers, (which are further divided into adjectives, demonstratives and quantifiers), adverbs, locatives, temporals, conjunctions and interjections are closed classes.

3.1 Open Classes

3.1.1 Nominals

Nominals are grouped into a single class in Sare because they (a) can occur as heads of the nominal phrase, and (b) are marked for case roles. Nominals are divided into the two major sub-classes of pronouns and nouns. Nouns are further divided into two sub-classes of non-count and count nouns. Non-count nouns are further sub-divided into personal names, toponyms and mass nouns. Count nouns are further sub-divided into free and linked nouns.

Table 3.1 Nominal Subclasses

Nominals	Pronouns		
	Nouns	Non-count nouns	Personal names Toponyms Mass nouns
		Count nouns	Free nouns Linked nouns

3.1.1.1 Pronouns

Sare pronouns (cf.5.1.2) constitute a closed set within the open class of nominals. These forms mark three persons (first, second and third), and three

numbers (singular, dual and plural). Gender is distinguished in the third person singular, with a distinction being made between masculine and feminine. The pronouns are different from nouns in that they can only take quantifiers but cannot take modifiers such as demonstratives or adjectives, but are similar to nouns in that they can accept case markers. For a complete discussion of pronouns see Chapter Five. The forms an, si, ni and ri in the examples below are pronouns:

an asagidso-go-yan

1SG bathe-PREST.1SG.

I am bathing.

si ni si-iox-xo-r tame-s

3SGF 2SG 3SGF-FUT.-give-FUT. stick-SGF

She will give you a stick.

si ri si-sogan-ə

3SGF 3SGM 3SGF-ask-PREST

She is asking him.

3.1.1.2 Nouns

Nouns can be classified into two sub-classes of non-count nouns and count nouns. These two subclasses are again subclassified. The non-count nouns are classified into personal names, toponyms and mass nouns, while count nouns are subclassified into free and linked nouns. Together with the features stated in 3.1.1, nouns can also be accompanied by adjectives and other nominal modifiers such as number markers and demonstratives. Only count nouns are morphologically marked for number and gender by means of

suffixes (cf. 3.1.1.2.1). Semantically, nouns in a discourse refer to participants in actions and states, in both the real and the imaginary world.

3.1.1.2.1 Non-count Nouns

(a) Personal names

Personal names are similar to pronouns in that they cannot be accompanied by NP modifiers. Morphologically, the nouns in this subclass are obligatorily inflected with singular number and gender markers when used referentially (i.e. in statements or questions). This is true for both traditional Sare names and introduced names such as Christian names. Note that roots of traditional Sare names only end in vowels as the inflected forms end in consonants. As for borrowed names that end in consonants, the vowel /ɨ/ is added to the borrowed root before the number and gender suffix is added. This pattern of reshaping observed in borrowing in fact prevents final consonant clusters. For example:

Gunme-s tabər-iə-s

Gunme-SGF sick-PREST.-SGF

Is Gunme sick?

Gunme-s Maria-s si-teretse-ø

Gunme-SGF Mary-SGF 3SGF-push.-PREST.

Gunme is pushing Mary.

Kami-r Joni-r ri-ota-iə

Kami-SGM John-SGM 3SGM-call-PREST.

Kami is calling John.

However, such nouns appear without these inflectional suffixes. Borrowed names that end in consonants do not have the vowel /i/ added to them when used vocatively, as in imperative constructions. This is true for both native Sare names and borrowed names. For example:

Kami w-asagidso-ø

Kami IMP.-bathe-PREST.

Kami you take a bath.

Jon w-asagidso-ø

John IMP.-bathe-PREST.

John you take a bath.

Kami do-n oxu-asagidso-r

Kami VOC.-2SG FUT.-bathe-FUT.

Kami will you take a bath?

Jon do-n oxu-asagidso-r

John VOC.-2SG FUT.-bathe-FUT.

John will you take a bath?

(b) Toponyms

Nouns in this class cannot be preceded by adjectives, or followed by postmodifiers. Semantically all the nouns in this class refer to places, such as: Wiwek, Tungimbit, Angorum, Australia, etc, and morphologically, these nouns are characterised by the fact that they are never marked for gender or number. For example:

Wiwek omtoxu-r yiənɨmari-r

Wewak place-SGM nice-SGM

Wewak is a nice place.

Wiwek nom oxu-i-r yiuxoɸɨ

Wewak 1PL FUT.-go-FUT tomorrow

We will go to Wewak tomorrow.

Kami-r Mosbi rɨ-xungɨna-otəx

Kami-SGM Moresby 3SGM-work-stay

Kami works and lives in Port Moresby.

Toponyms cannot be marked by goal/locational markers. To indicate that a particular village or town is the goal/location of an action, the common noun omtoxu 'village or town' immediately follows the village or town name and it is to omtoxu that the goal/location marker is attached. For example:

Wiwek omtoxu-r-ma nom oxu-i-r yiuxoɸɨ

Wewak village-SGM-SPAT. 1PL FUT.-go-FUT. tomorrow

We will go to Wewak tomorrow.

* Kami-r Wiwek-ma də-r

Kami-SGM Wewak-SPAT. at-SGM

(c) Mass nouns

Mass nouns differ from other non-count nouns morphologically in that they are obligatorily marked for plural number which is expressed by the suffix -m. This suffix can not be replaced by either the singular or the dual suffixes

that we find on count nouns. Semantically all the nouns of this type refer to uncountable entities such as sagi- 'water', soru- 'salt', kuke- 'blood', kwe- 'lime powder' and so on. For example:

an xo sagi-m
1SG give water-PL
Give me some water.

Unlike nouns referring to personal names and toponyms, these nouns can receive modifiers. For example:

an xo mɨndəx genuxu sagi-m
1SG give plenty cold water-PL
Give me plenty of cold water.

Also when these nouns function as subjects, they are cross-referenced on the verb by the plural subject marker. For example:

sagi-m naɸra-ne-rəm
water-PL pour-PREST.-3PL
The water is pouring.

3.1.1.2.2 Count nouns

This subclass comprises of all the nouns that are morphologically marked for the number categories singular, dual and plural. These nouns in their singular form obligatorily take either of the suffixes -r (masculine) and -s (feminine). The dual number for both genders is marked by the suffix -ɸ, and

-m marks plural. The subclassification of these nouns into free and linked nouns is based on structural grounds.

(a) Free count nouns

This is by far the largest subclass of count nouns in Sare. Members of this subclass have independent phonological existence and only take the appropriate gender and number suffix. For example:

yio-r	'one male dog'
yio-s	'one female dog'
yio-ϕ	'two dogs'
yio-m	'three or more dogs'

(b) Linked count nouns

This is a subclass of count nouns (cf.4.1.2.2) whose members are formed by combining a free form noun with a bound noun which refers to a part of the referent of the free form noun. For instance, the form -xa 'fruit' can not occur alone. It must always occur with a free form noun referring to a plant type that produces the fruit. Thus, in the following examples the free form noun is tia 'coconut'.

tia-xa-r
coconut-fruit-SGM
coconut fruit

tia-tota

coconut-leaf

coconut leaf

tia-niniɸa

coconut-root

coconut root

3.1.2 Verbs

Verbs constitute a separate formal class in that they are (a) obligatorily inflected for tense and aspect, (b) optionally inflected for mood/modality categories (cf.6.2.3.2), (c) coreferenced for person, number and gender categories of the subject and they (d) function as the heads of the VP. In the following examples, asagidso 'bathe' functions as a verb.

si bəri ə-asagidso-go-s

3SGF already PERF.-bathe-PREST.-SGF

She has already bathed.

Taio-r aisiti ri-asagidso-go

Taio-SGM quickly 3SGM-bathe-PREST.

Taio is quickly bathing.

Semantically, verbs refer to actions and processes, and can be divided into three formal subclasses of transitive, intransitive and ditransitive verbs. The majority of the verbs in Sare are either transitive or intransitive, with ditransitive verbs consisting of only small subsets.

Transitive verbs differ from intransitive verbs in that they can occur with objects, and subject coreference is marked as a prefix rather than a suffix. For example:

Reau-r kaɸenɨdarɨ-s rɨ-ramə-ɨə

Reau-SGM carving-SGF 3SGM-carve-PREST.

Reau is carving a carving.

Intransitive verbs can not occur with objects, and the subject marking pronominal affix is expressed instead as a suffix. For example:

Reau-r asagidso-go-r

Reau-SGM bathe-PREST.-SGM

Reau is bathing.

Ditransitive verbs differ from monotransitive verbs in that they can take two objects, one indirect and one direct, in addition to the subject. There are only three underived ditransitive verbs in the language, these being:

xo	'give'
tekatu	'show'
togai	'receive, get from, to get back from after giving'

Besides these ditransitive verbs, transitive verbs can productively become ditransitive by means of the benefactive suffix -dsaxo (cf.6.1.3.1 (ii) (a)) and the ditransitivising prefix xa- (c.f 6.1.3.1 (i) (b)).

3.2 Closed Classes

3.2.1 Nominal Modifiers

All words that constitute this class are included together on the grounds that they function as modifiers to the nominal head of a nominal phrase. These different types of modifiers can be subcategorised as follows.

3.2.1.1 Adjectives

Syntactically, adjectives can function both as attributes and predicates. Adjectives functioning predicatively receive inflectional marking for number and gender of the noun which they describe. When used attributively, i.e as modifiers within a noun phrase, adjectives receive no such inflectional marking. Semantically, adjectives ascribe to the referents of the noun they modify some state. They constitute a closed set of twenty-five items, many of which appear in antonymous pairs. An exhaustive list of adjectives in the language is given below:

marbe	'big, wide, large'
kɨrekuxa	'small, little, narrow, thin'
kaisux	'strong, hard'
tɨbɨ	'soft, weak'
yiənɨmari	'nice, good, smooth'
mbaxaɸa	'bad, rough'
xagɨrɨ	'tall, long'
mɨrɨboxuni	'short'
genuxu	'cold'
yietsətɨ	'hot, warm'

soguru	'shrivelled up'
guru	'wet'
sɨkɨka	'dry, light'
xargo	'heavy'
norɨ	'raw, unripe'
oɸa	'ripe'
soduxu	'whole'
kɨrɨmɨ	'black'
godu	'yellow'
kokoka	'red'
yɨɸiai	'white'
yɨəgi	'new' (inanimate objects)
wamɨ	'old' (inanimate objects)
yampela	'young' (animate beings) (from TP)
lapunɨ	'old' (animate beings) (from TP)

Exemplification of the use of adjectives and their relative order in the NP is given in section 5.1.1.6.

3.2.1.2 Demonstratives

There are three demonstratives in Sare, distinguishing degrees of proximity, i.e.

ndsɨdɨ	'this'
dɨdɨ	'that' (closer to addressee) and
ngɨdɨ	'that' (away from addressee)

Demonstratives always immediately precede the noun which they introduce. When no noun is present the number and gender marker of the noun is marked on the demonstrative itself. For example:

ndsɨdɨ yima-r
this person-SGM
this male person

ndsɨdɨ-r
this-SGM
this (male person)

an xo dɨdɨ tai-s
1SG give that knife-SGF
Give me that knife.

an xo dɨdɨ-s
1SG give that-SGF
Give me that one.

3.2.1.3 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are items which express the quantity of the referent of the head of the nominal phrase. Quantifiers fall into the general class of nominal modifiers in that they precede the nominals which they modify, in the same way that we find with adjectives and demonstratives. However, they differ from other modifiers in that they cannot accept inflectional suffixes for number and gender when used predicatively. This set includes the numerals discussed in section 5.1.1.5 as well as the following non-specific quantifiers.

mɨndəx	'many, more, plenty'
kɨrekuxa	'few, not many, not much, less, some'
boga	'all, every, plenty, rest of, both of'

For example:

wa-wekiniai xuti

IMP.-buy two

Buy two.

wa-wekiniai xuti yioɸɨsuka-ɸ

IMP.-buy two betelnut-DL

Buy two betelnuts.

wa-guxai mɨndəx yioɸɨsuka-m

IMP.-get plenty betelnut-PL

Get plenty betelnuts.

an xo rom boga

1SG give 3PL all

Give me all of them.

an xo kɨrekuxa sagi-m

1SG give little water-PL

Give me a little water.

3.2.2 Adverbs

Functionally, adverbs are modifiers of verbs, which specify the actions denoted by the verbs in the predicate. Twenty one adverbs have been identified for the language, and these are subdivided into three categories of speed, time and manner, according to semantic criteria.

There is only one true free example of a speed adverbial in Sare, i.e, aisiti 'quickly, fast'. For example:

Kami-r aisiti ri-sedsa-iə

Kami-SGM quick 3SGM-drink-PREST.

Kami is drinking fast/quickly.

Other senses of speed, i.e. slow, are expressed through serial verbs (cf.7.4).

Three time markers bori 'already, before, earlier', kotoxu 'later' and awi 'still' can be used in combination with the appropriate tense and aspect markers. For example:

Kami-r wuni-r bori ə-ki-rə-r

Kami-SGM house-SGM already PERF.-build-RECT.PST.-SGM

Kami has already built the house.

Kami-r wuni-r kotoxu ri-iox-ki-r

Kami-SGM house-SGM later 3SGM-FUT.-build-FUT.

Kami will build the house later.

Kami-r awi xwe-ø-r

Kami-SGM still sleep-PRST.-SGM

Kami is still sleeping.

The rest of the adverbs in Sare are manner adverbs and describe how the action denoted by the verb is carried out. There are altogether seventeen manner adverbs identified for Sare. Thus:

marbe	'loudly, strongly, regularly, very'
yiənɨmari	'nicely, well'
bidsoxotu	'vigorously'
mbaxaɸa	'badly'
kɨrekɨre	'carefully, softly, slowly'
banuwaxu	'nicely, well'
aintsəxu	'hesitantly'
mɨrɨtɨmbrixina	'waste of time or for no good reason'
sɨmbrɨsɨmbrɨ	'bit by bit'
sodɨxɨma	'wrong location or wrong direction'
sawonɨ	'in-return'
sawonɨsawonɨ	'on both sides'
wosowose	'simultaneously'
wuto	'intensity'
mɨrɨ	'limiter'
biətɨ	'excessively'
wuto	'really'

For example:

Pita-r marbe tabər-iə-r

Peter-SGM very sick-PREST.-SGM

Peter is very sick.

Kami-r yiənɨmari natən-iə-r

Kami-SGM well play-PREST.-SGM

Kami is playing well.

Kami-r aintsəxu rɨ-te-ø gaɸɨtoka-r

Kami-SGM hesitantly 3SGM-throw-PREST. fishing spear-SGM

Kami is trhowing the fishing speak hesitantly.

In section 3.2.1.1, the forms marbe 'big', mbaxaɸa 'bad', and yiənɨmari 'nice/good/well' are given as adjectives. They can also function as adverbs without any overt marking to distinguish them from adjectives. This is a case of multiple-class membership (Robins 1980:214). However, not all adjectives are multi-functional in this way, and only the forms just presented behave in this way. It is, therefore, not appropriate to assign adjectives and adverbs on these grounds to a single broad class of modifiers.

3.2.3 Locatives

Locatives refer to the location of the participants in a speech event. The locative class consists of two subclasses, these being specific locatives and general locatives.

The specific locative forms mark the exact location of an entity or an event in relation to the speaker. The three specific locative forms in the language are:

niɸo	'here'
diɸo	'there'
ngoɸo	'over there (away from both the speaker and the addressee)'

For example:

Kami-r niɸo ri-iə-tatə-rə

Kami-SGM here 3SGM-PERF.-fall-RECT.PST.

Kami fell here.

Kami-r diɸo ri-iə-tatə-rə

Kami-SGM there 3SGM-PST-fall-RECT.PST

Kami fell there.

General locatives refer to locations other than with reference to the speaker or the addressee. There are altogether eleven general locatives in Sare. Note how nine of the eleven general locatives end in /-ri/. This stems from the fact that these general locatives are derived by adding the elevational prefixes set out in Table 6.7 with the verb əri which roughly states the 'its there' meaning in English. This is one of the few evidences of diachronic change in the language. Thus:

boxo	'middle'
yiəkəmake	'behind (a person)'
gaxuri	'on, on top, above, up inside, up hill'
rəkiri	'at the side, beside, outside'
guwari	'at the bottom, below, down inside, lower location'
yiukiri	'underneath', 'at the back (of canoe)'

kaxuri	'up in front (of canoe, boat), front (of the village)'
kari	'in, inside, downstream'
waxuri	'over the other side, at the back (of object)'
rəri	'on the other side, across (of river/lake)'
yaxuri	'upstream'

For example:

wa-ridsə boxo
IMP.-sit middle
Sit in the middle.

w-akata asuxuri-m seboxu-s-ma gaxuri
IMP.-put food-PL table-SGF-SPAT. on top
Put the food on top of the table. (= Put food on the table top.)

3.2.4 Temporals

Temporals are words that refer to the time setting of an event. They can be divided into the following semantically based subclasses of: general temporals and time in reference to the day of speech. General temporals occur preverbally while temporals in terms of days may precede or follow the verb. The set of general temporals includes:

mbabəri	'right now'
ɸimbəmbəri	'early'
dogoxuma	'a long time ago'

For example:

si ɸimbəmbəri si-iox-i-r

3SGF early 3SGF-FUT.-go-FUT.

She will go early.

The following express periods of time counted in terms of days before or after the present:

dogoxu	'today'
yiuxoɸi	'one day removed before or after'
yiuxoɸiyiəti	'two days removed before or after'
yiuguyiəti	'three days removed before or after'
dogoxuniris	'tonight'
yiuxoɸiniris	'one night removed before or after'

For example:

ri yiuxoɸi ri-iox-dsa-r

3SGM tomorrow 3SGM-FUT.-come-FUT.

He will come tomorrow.

si yiuxoɸi si-iə-rago-rə

3SGF yesterday 3SGF-PERF.-hungry-RECT.PST.

She was hungry yesterday.

si ə-rago-rə-s yiuxoɸiyiəti

3SGF PERF.-hungry-RECT.PST.-SGF the day before yesterday

She was hungry the day before yesterday.

3.2.5 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are joining words and there are altogether ten identified for Sare. Of these three are coordinators and the rest are subordinators. The coordinators are: sa 'and', de 'but', o[1] 'or'. For example:

Gunme-s xingina-iə-s sa Kami-r asagidso-go-r

Gunme-SGF work-PREST.-SGF and Kami-SGM wash-PREST.-SGM

Gunme is working and Kami is washing.

Maria-s-yɑ o Pita-r-ya oxu-dsa-r

Mary-SGF-FOC. or Peter-SGM-FOC. FUT.-come-FUT.

Mary or Peter will come.

The subordinators are: didiyiogoxu 'immediate sequential', kotoxu 'delayed sequential', wuiaxa 'resemblance (physical and behavioural features)', nowaxu 'resemblance (actions)', ngə 'so that', a/ya 'quotative' and andəxu 'for, about'. For example:

si-ndəxu-xwai-sin didiogoxu ni-iox-asagidso-r

3SGF-FUT.-sleep-when then 2SG -FUT.- wash-FUT.

When she sleeps then you can wash.

Patiə-r sare-dsə-r a i-ri-ioxə

priest-SGM speak-PREST.-SGM QUOT. go-3SGM-FUT.

The priest is saying that he will go.

---

[1] The conjunction o 'or' in Sare is not a borrowing from Tok Pisin or English. With a lack of any synchronic evidence that might prove otherwise, it is originally a Sare word and its resemblance in both form and meaning to that of Tok Pisin or English is a pure coincidence.

3.2.6 Interjections.

Most of these words do not enter into any relationship with words in the above classes in sentences. They are therefore in many respects marginal grammatically to the structure of Sare. Some examples of interjections include the following:

yio	'warning' (with rising intonation)
a	'what' (with rising intonation)'
a	'be careful' (with rising intonation)
owa	'longing or wishing for something'
sa	'so, and ?' (with rising intonation)
mba	'stop' (with rising intonation)
mba	'no, none, no more, with a sustained levelled pitch'
mba	'enquiring, i.e. isn't there any more?, is it not there? (with a gradual rising pitch from low to high as in a question')

3.2.7 Imprecatives

Also commonly used are the one word imprecatives borrowed from Tok Pisin. For instance:

ɸak	'fuck'
sit	'shit'
kan	'cunt'

CHAPTER FOUR

NOUN MORPHOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

Nouns in Sare can be morphologically either simple or complex. Simple nouns consist only of nominal roots plus the appropriate number and gender suffix, while complex nouns, which are formed through affixation, compounding or reduplication, consist of a noun root plus an affix, or may consist of two noun roots, or a noun and a verb plus the appropriate number and gender suffix.

4.1 Noun derivation

Not all derivational processes are equally productive in Sare. Suffixation and compounding are both widely attested, while reduplication is only marginal.

4.1.1 Suffixation

While nouns can be derived by means of suffixation, there are no derivational prefixes. Five derivational suffixes have been identified, these being described in turn below.

(a) -yioxu 'agentive'

The suffix -yioxu can be added to any verb. When added to an active verb, the resulting derived noun refers to a person carrying out an action or a thing affected by the action. When added to a stative verb, the derived noun refers to a person or a thing characterised by the state.

The agentive morpheme has three phonologically determined allomorphs: -dsoxu, -goxu and -yioxu, with the distribution of these forms being determined by the nature of the verb-final segment. The allomorph -dsoxu is found with verbs that end in front vowels /i/ and /e/, -goxu with verbs that end in the back vowels /o/ and /u/, and -yioxu with verbs that end in any other segment. This can be represented by the following general statement:

/AGENTIVE/ :
- /-dsoxu / i, e ———
- /-goxu / o, u ———
- /-yioxu / elsewhere

For example:

Verb Stem		Derived Agentive Noun	
xwai	'sleep'	xwai-dsoxu	'person sleeping'
sare	'speak'	sare-dsoxu	'person speaking'
sonto	'request'	sonto-goxu	'person requesting'
tu	'weave'	tu-goxu	'person weaving'
tatə	'fall'	tatə-yioxu	'person/thing falling'
tika	'sweet'	tika-yioxu	'thing that is sweet'
ɸisi	'fart'	ɸis-yioxu	'person farting'
natəni	'play'	natən-yioxu	'person playing'

In the last two examples the phoneme /i/ is lost at the morpheme boundary, as discussed in section 2.1.4.

This process of noun derivation also applies to verbalised adjectives described in section 6.1.3.2. For example:

Verb Stem		Derived Agentive Noun	
kɨrɨmɨta	'blacken'	kɨrɨmɨta-yɪoxu	'blacken one'
genuxuta	'cold'	genuxuta-yɪoxu	'cold one'
marbetaɸɨ	'big'	marbetaɸɨ-yɪoxu	'bigger one'
yɪənɨmaritaɸɨ	'nice'	yɪənɨmaritaɸɨ-yɪoxu	'nice one'

(b) -aɪoxu 'abstract noun'

To derive abstract nouns, the suffix -aɪoxu can be attached to intransitive verbs. Such derived nouns refer to the actual action performed or the state experienced. This suffix has three phonologically determined allomorphs: -dsaɪoxu, -gaɪoxu and -aɪoxu, with the final segment of the verb determining the distribution of these allomorphs. The form -dsaɪoxu is suffixed to verbs that end in the front vowels /e/ and /i/, -gaɪoxu to verbs that end in the back vowels /u/ and /o/, and -aɪoxu occurs with the verbs that end in any other segment. The only exception observed for this rule is the verb rago 'hungry' which takes the suffix -aɪoxu, instead of the expected -gaɪoxu. This is represented by the following general statement.

/ABSTRACT NOUN/ :
- / -dsaɪoxu / i, e ———
- / -gaɪoxu / o, u ———
- / -aɪoxu / elsewhere

For example:

Verb Stem		Derived Abstract Noun	
nongai	'run'	nongai-dsaioxu	'running'
sare	'speak'	sare-dsaioxu	'speaking/speech'
xoriɸo	'whistle'	xoriɸo-gaioxu	'whistling/whistle'
oruʔ	'cry'	oru-gaioxu	'crying/cry'
natənɨ	'play'	natən-aioxu	'game/play'
tabərɨ	'sick'	tabər-aioxu	'sickness'
rago	'hungry'	rago-aioxu	'hunger'

(c) -soɸɨ 'male resident of'

This suffix is attached to toponymic nouns to derive new nouns which refer to a male person who is a resident of the place expressed by the toponym. Singular nouns derived by means of this affix can only be marked with the masculine gender suffix -r because the suffix -soɸɨ intrinsically refers to a male resident. For example:

Place Name	Derived Noun	
Worimən	Worimən-soɸɨ-r	'male resident of Worimən'
Angorum	Angorum-soɸɨ-r	'male resident of Angoram'
Morobe	Morobe-soɸɨ-r	'male resident of Morobe'
Moim	Moim-soɸɨ-r	'male resident of Moim'

(d) -tawətɨ 'female resident of'

Like -soɸɨ, the suffix -tawətɨ is attached to toponymic nouns but this suffix refers to the female residents of these places. The following examples will use the

same place names as the examples in (c), but this time with the suffix -tawəti added to them. The gender of the derived nouns is always feminine, marked in the singular by -s, since -tawəti intrinsically refers to a female resident of a place. For example:

Place Name	Derived Noun	
Worimən	Worimən-tawəti-s	'female resident of Worimən'
Angorum	Angorum-tawəti-s	'female resident of Angoram'
Morobe	Morobe-tawəti-s	'female resident of Morobe'
Moim	Moim-tawəti-s	'female resident of Moim'

(e) -ø zero suffix

Nouns can also be derived by adding a zero suffix -ø to verbs. This partially productive noun derivational process is discussed below as:

(i) -ø 'cognate objects'

Nouns can be derived by adding a zero suffix -ø to stative verbs, expressing what are often referred to as 'cognate objects' i.e., entities which inevitably result from the performance of an action or occurrence of a state denoted by a particular intransitive verb. In fact, the following roots are bifunctional in that, they function both as verbs and as nouns. The following list is exhaustive for the language. Thus:

Verb Stem		Derived Noun	
kɨ	'vomit'	kɨ-ø	'vomitus'
tabəɾɨ	'sick'	tabəɾɨ-ø	'sickness'
rago	'hungry'	rago-ø	'hunger'
weɸəɾɨ	'windy'	weɸəɾɨ-ø	'wind'
yino	'urinate'	yina-ø	'urine'
sɨyiəx	'dream'	sɨyiəx-ø	'dream'
sɨmbɾi	'have a runny nose'	sɨmbɾi-ø	'mucus'

(ii) Nouns can also be derived by adding a zero -ø suffix to transitive verbs. The following list is exhaustive for the language. Thus:

Verb Stem		Derived Noun	
taki	'tie'	taki-ø	'bundle'
xade	'string'	xade-ø	'string of'
tawoni	'roll up'	tawoni-ø	'roll of'
mɨkɨɾi	'fence'	mɨkɨɾi-ø	'wall/fence'

These forms could easily be regarded as nouns from which verbs are derived by means of zero-derivation. I have, however, decided to regard them primarily as verbs since there are no other instances of zero-derived verbs from nouns of the same form. These zero-derived nouns from verbs are in fact linked nouns and are discussed in section 4.1.2.2.

4.1.2 Compounding

Compound nouns can be formed by combining two nouns, a noun and verb, or by attaching a bound noun to a free form. Compounds constitute single lexical items in that they have only a single set of gender and number markers, which are marked on the final element of the compound. The two parts of the compound cannot be separated by any conjunction, nor can the constituent elements independently take any adjuncts. Semantically, compounds have a meaning which is not always fully predictable from the meanings of the constituent elements.

Nominal compounds can be of the three semantic types: endocentric, exocentric and copulative. Endocentric compounds are those that denote a sub-class of the items denoted by one of their constituent elements. For example:

ruwuri	'defecate'	+	wuni	'house'	→	ruwurwuni	'toilet'
xwai	'sleep'	+	wuni	'house'	→	xwaiwuni	'sleeping house'

Exocentric compounds are those whose constituent parts do not represent a sub-class of either of the constituent parts. For example:

giruxa	'dance'	+	suwoni	'spirit'	→	giruxasuwoni	'one legged carving figure'
wendsəxi	'sing'	+	wagirami	'neck'	→	wendsəxwagirami	'tune'

Finally, copulative compounds are those where the meaning of the whole compound represents the sum total of the meanings of the constituent parts. For example:

sori	'hand'	+ wura	'leg'	→	soriwura	'limbs'
aitsa	'father'	+ maindsa	'mother'	→	aitsamaindsa	'parents'
motɨ	'daughter'	+ rari	'son'	→	motrari	'children'
tuxanɨ	'woman'	+ wuiagɨ	'man'	→	tuxanwuiagɨ	'couple or people'

In the discussion of nominal compounds which follow, derived forms are classified on the basis of the word class membership of the constituent parts.

4.1.2.1 Noun-noun compounds

These types of nominal compounds are formed by compounding two noun roots. Each of these roots can occur by themselves as nouns with independent meanings. Thus:

(a) masuxa 'smell'

The noun masuxa means smell when it occurs as a free form. Derived nominal compounds in which masuxa is the second element refers to the smell of the referent of the noun with which it is compounded. For example:

Noun Stem		Derived Noun	
ri	'excreta'	ri-masuxa	'smell of excreta'
yina	'urine'	yina-masuxa	'smell of urine'
bia	'beer'	bia-masuxa	'smell of beer'

(b) sagim 'water'

The noun sagim 'water' can be compounded with other nouns to form new nominal compounds. The derived nominal compounds refer to types of liquids. For example:

Noun Stem		Derived Noun	
tia	'coconut'	tia-sagim	'coconut juice'
bia	'beer'	bia-sagim	'beer'
ti	'tea'	ti-sagim	'tea'
bensin	'petrol'	bensin-sagim	'petrol'

(c) yima 'person'

A number of nouns can be combined with the noun yima 'person' to form new nouns. The derived nominal compounds refer to different types of persons. For example:

Noun Stem		Derived Noun	
wuiagi	'man'	wuiag-yima	'male person
tuxani	'woman'	tuxan-yima	'female person'
suwoni	'dead person's spirit'	suwon-yima	'dead person'

(d) tuxanɨ 'woman/wife'

The noun tuxanɨ means woman or wife when it occurs independently as a free form. It can be however, combined with nouns referring to different occupations borrowed from TP. The derived noun compounds in which tuxanɨ is the second element refer to the female of the occupation which the first element in the compound refers to. For example:

Noun Stem		Derived Noun	
titsa	'teacher'	titsa-tuxanɨ	'female teacher'
dokta	'doctor'	dokta-tuxanɨ	'female doctor'
polis	'police'	polis-tuxanɨ	'policewoman'

The noun wuiagɨ 'man' is not compounded in this manner since names of professions borrowed from Tok Pisin are assumed to be associated with male practitioners, whether or not there is any overt expression of masculinity involving the form - man. As with names of borrowed professions where the practitioner is stereotypical female (e.g. nes 'nurse'), the Sare do not freely compound this with wuiagɨ when referring specifically to a male nurse. The Sare instead use a general term doktaboi 'medical orderly' to refer to any male health worker other than a male medical doctor.

(e) xoɸuxu 'noise/sound'

The noun xoɸuxu means noise or sound when it occurs independently as a free form. Derived nominal compounds in which xoɸuxu appears as the

second element refer to the noise produced by the referent of the noun with which it is compounded. For example:

Noun Stem		Derived Noun	
balus	'plane'	balus-xoɸuxu	'noise of plane'
seka	'rain'	seka-xoɸuxu	'noise of rain'
mio	'slit drum'	mio-xoɸuxu	'noise of a slit drum'

Other types of noises are expressed by compounding this free form noun (xoɸuxu) with verbs and this is discussed in Verb plus Noun structures (4.1.2.3 (b)).

(f) se 'floor of house on stilts'

The noun se 'floor of house on stilts' can be attached after a semantically homogeneous collections of nouns referring to canoe, fish and trees. When se is compounded with doxu 'canoe', the derived nominal compound refers to a fleet of canoes. When added to names referring to fish, the nominal compound may refer to either a school of fish, or to a collection of smoked fish on a rack. The compound derived by compounding se and names of types of trees can refer either to a raft made of that particular kind of a tree, a floating group of trees (especially during high water), or tied bundles of logs that men float through waterways to bring them back to the village to use for a particular purpose. For example:

Noun Stem		Derived Noun	
doxu	'canoe'	doxu-se	'fleet of canoes'
mi	'tree'	mi-se	'raft, group of floating logs'
amara	'fish'	amara-se	'school of fish, a rack of smoked fish'

(g) Compounds referring to people

Compound nouns can also be formed by compounding kin terms or nouns referring to people. Thus:

1. A number of kin terms which have reciprocal meanings, can be compounded in copulative constructions to refer to the generic kinship relation expressed by the constituent kin terms. For example:

Noun Stem				Derived Noun	
aitsa	'father'	+ maindsa	'mother'	aitsamaindsa	'parents'
moti	'daughter'	+ rari	'son'	motrari	'offspring'
moti	'daughter'	+ yinaitsi	'son-in-law'	motyinaitsi	'daughter and spouse'
mami	'maternal uncle'	+ babi	'maternal grandparent'	mambabi	' mother's family'
oxəti	'parent-in-law'	+ soxuri	'brother-in-law'	oxətsoxuri	'in-laws'
tuxani	'wife'	+ yimansəri	'children'	tuxanyimansəri	' man's dependents'

2. The nouns tuxani 'woman' and wuiagi 'man' can be attached before other nouns referring to people to derive noun compounds with human reference.

Both endocentric and copulative compounds can be derived through this process. For example:

Noun Stem				Derived Noun	
tuxanɨ	'woman' +	motɨ	'daughter'	tuxan-motɨ	'young woman'
wuiagɨ	'man' +	damiagɨ	'fellow'	wuiag-damiagɨ	'young man'
tuxanɨ	'wife/ woman' +	wuiagɨ	'husband/ man'	tuxan-wuiagɨ	'couple, people'

(h) sorɨ 'hand', sorɨnaɸɨ 'index finger ', gɨnaɸɨ 'little finger'

Compounds can be formed by compounding nouns referring to banana and betelnut fruits with the nouns referring to sorɨ 'hand' sorɨnaɸɨ 'index finger' and gɨnaɸɨ 'little finger' The compound nouns formed through this derivational process refer to a bunch of either banana or betelnut. To form nouns referring to bunches of other types, the linked noun wanɨ 'bunch' (4.1.2.2) is attached to a free form noun. The use of the terms sorɨ 'hand', sorɨnaɸɨ 'index finger' and gɨnaɸɨ 'little finger' depends on the number of bananas and betelnuts on the bunch. The noun sorɨ is used when there are more than ten fruits on the bunch, sorɨnaɸɨ implies five to ten and gɨnaɸɨ implying fewer than five. For example:

Noun Stem		Derived Noun	
gonɨ	'banana'	gon-sorɨ	'bunch of bananas'
gonɨ	'banana'	gon-sorɨnaɸɨ	'bunch of bananas'
yɨəɸɨ	'betelnut'	yɨəɸ-sorɨ	'bunch of betelnuts'
yɨəɸɨ	'betelnut'	yɨəɸ-sorɨnaɸɨ	'bunch of betelnuts'
yɨəɸɨ	'betelnut'	yɨəɸ-gɨnaɸɨ	'bunch of betelnuts'

(i) seka 'rain'

The noun seka 'rain' can be compounded with another noun referring to weather conditions to form nouns that refer to semantically related weather conditions involving precipitation. The following such compounds are exhaustive for the language, all being copulative compounds. Note that in these noun-noun compound types, seka is the initial element, whereas in the other noun-noun compounds described so far, the compounded nouns are more recurrent second elements than first elements. Thus:

Noun Stem				Derived Noun	
seka	'rain' +	weɸəri	'wind'	seka-weɸəri	'storm'
seka	'rain' +	sini	'small pieces'	seka-sini	'drizzling rain'
seka	'rain' +	dibi	'fog'	seka-dibi	'rain cloud'

4.1.2.2 Linked noun compounds

In Sare, a part-whole relationship between referents of two nouns is expressed simply by directly attaching an obligatorily bound noun, which refers to a part of something to another noun which expresses the whole. Following Crowley (1995:383-432, 1991, 1982:91), this type of noun construction is referred to as a linked noun construction (cf. 3.1.1.2.2 (b)). Most parts of wholes are expressed as linked nouns in Sare. Thus the defining feature of linked nouns is that they are bound forms. There is some semantic correlation with this, in that most linked noun compounds refer to parts of wholes, but we also have linked noun compounds meaning things like "string of" and "bunch of" which look semantically like free form nouns meaning "bunch of bananas". Below is a

classification of the linked noun constructions according to semantic categories, which are further classified into major and minor classes. Major classes are those that are more productive than the minor ones.

(i) Major classes of linked nouns

Nine major semantic classes of linked nouns have been identified for Sare. The first consists of nouns referring to plants and their parts, the second consists of nouns referring to body parts of animals, the third consists of nouns referring to parts of houses, canoes and other artefacts, the fourth major class refers to pieces of the referents of nouns, the fifth class refers to 'short pieces of the referents of nouns, the sixth class refers to a parcel or pack of, the seventh class refers to offsprings, the eight class refers to thicket of shrubs and the ninth class refers to thicket of tall plants.

(a) Plants and their parts.

The largest category of linked noun compounds in Sare refers to the constituent parts of plants. The free form nouns to which these linked nouns are attached refer to plants, while the linked nouns refer to various parts of the plants. For example:

Noun Stem		Derived Linked Noun Compound	
-tuwa	'leaf'	tɨbɨrɨ-tuwa	'waterlily leaf'
-ta	'leaf'	ruge-ta	'tulip leaf'
-tota	'leaf'	mangi-tota	'sugar cane leaf'
-xa	'fruit'	tia-xa	'coconut fruit'

-ka	'fruit'	rugo-ka	'tulip fruit'
-yioka	'fruit'	ɸini-yioka	'ficus fruit'
-dsoka	'fruit'	yikai-dsoka	'kwila fruit'
-sibe	'seed'	melen-sibe	'watermelon seed'
-sibe	'area under a tree'	warib-sibe	'under a mango tree'
-tiɸi	'branch'	warib-tiɸi	'branch of mango'
-tuxa	'bark'	warib-tuxa	'bark of mango tree'
-tuxa	'skin (fruit)'	warib-tuxa	'skin of mango fruit'
-taxəɸi	'husk'	tia-taxəɸi	'coconut husk'
-mi	'tree'	tia-mi	'coconut tree'
-gini	'stem of leaf'	popo-gini	'stem of pawpaw leaf'
-bintuwa	'new leaf'	ruge-bintuwa	'new tulip leaf'
-buntoxu	'shoot'	tia-buntoxu	'coconut shoot'
-kutuxa	'top of plant'	na-kutuxa	'top of sago palm'
-ɸika	'sap'	popo-ɸika	'sap of pawpaw'
-niniɸa	'root'	warb-niniɸa	'mango root'
-sami	'sapling'	wusən-sami	'breadfruit sapling'
-tuka	'shell'	tia-tuka	'coconut shell'
-wasuxa	'shell'	tia-wasuxa	'coconut shell'
-yako	'new fruit'	tia-yiako	'new coconut fruit '
-tibi	'soft'	tia-tibi	'young coconut fruit'
-ruxa	'joint'	mangi-ruxa	'joint of sugarcane'

As shown in the above list of linked nouns referring to parts of plants, the noun referring to leaf has three forms. There is no clear cut semantic or phonological basis for determining the distribution of the three forms of the noun meaning leaf. The form -tuwa is the generic term for leaf, -ta refers to a handful

of leaf types such as: tulip leaf, mustard leaf, silver fern and betelnut leaf, while -tota refers to leaves that are mostly long and slim in size and shape, i.e, coconut leaf, pandanus leaf, sugarcane leaf and so on.

There are also four different linked nouns, expressing the meaning of 'fruit': -yioka, -dsoka, -ka and -xa. The occurrence of these noun forms with the nouns referring to plant types is phonologically determined, with the final segments determining the distribution of these forms. Thus the form -xa occurs with plant names that end with the vowels /i/ and /a/, except for bakra-yioka 'pandanus fruit' and nangra-yioka 'fruit/seed type', -ka with the plant names that end with /o/, except tineɸi-ka 'fruit type', -dsoka with plant names that end in /i/, except ɸini-yioka 'ficus fruit', and -yioka with plant names that end in any other segment, This distribution of the noun forms of fruit/seed types can be represented in the following general statement.

/NOUNS REFERRING to FRUITS/ :

- /-xa / i, a _____
- /-ka / o_____
- /-dsoka / i _____
- /-yioka / elsewhere

While most nouns referring to plants and plant parts are expressed as linked nouns, nouns referring to the sago plant and its parts are expressed as free forms. For example:

na	'sago palm (generic term)'
ɸidsuwa	'sago palm type'
ge	'wild sago palm (not used for consumption)'

naba	'sago starch'
nangɨni	'sago skin'
oxoru	'sago thorn'
dedsa	'stem of sago frond'
kɨba	'sago frond'
kɨbaɸa	'skin of sago frond'
kuta	'sago leaf'
maraxa	'new sago leaf shoot'
tagərɨnaɸɨ	'sago broom stick'
yiri	'matured sago palm tree'
nasɨgainɨ	'front part of the sago stem'
natamɨ	'back part of the sago stem'
genoworu	'left over bit of the front of the stem sago'
nanguru	'waste from washed sago pulp'
namɨna	'sago root'
gowu	'young sago plant'

(b) Body parts

Body parts constitute the next major semantic set of linked nouns. Nouns referring to body parts of humans and animals are expressed as linked nouns which are attached after a free form noun root which refers to a human or an animal. For example:

Noun Stem		Derived Linked Noun Compound	
-sərɨtɨkəni	'finger nail'	tuxan-sərɨtɨkəni	'lady's finger nail'
-kaisɨbɨ	'chin'	ɸoxu-kaisɨbɨ	'pig's chin'

-torbuka	'tongue'	ɸoxu-torbruka	'pig's tongue'
-toxu	'head'	ɸoxu-toxu	'pig's head'
-nika	'eye'	maxau-nika	'talapia's eye'
-wura	'leg'	moguru-wura	'crocodile's back leg'
-tɨra	'hand'	moguru-tɨra	'crocodile's front leg'
-tuxa	'skin'	moguru-tuxa	'crocodile skin'
-wasuxa	'shell'	tuxe-wasuxa	'turtle shell'
-nitsua	'tail'	maxau-nitsua	'tail of talapia fish'
-nindsəɸɨ	'tail'	yio-nindsəɸɨ	'dog's tail'
-xedsa	'paddle'	ɸɨri-xedsa	'eel tail'
-yiuxa	'egg'	kɨri-yiuxa	'chicken egg'
-sonta	'feather	dumo-sonta	'pigeon-feather'
-mogo	'large intestine'	ɸoxu-mogo	'pig's large intestine'
-we	'fin'	maxau-we	'talapia fish fin'
-tiɸa	'fat'	maxau-tiɸa	'talapia fish fat'
-gɨrɨbika	'scale'	maxau-gɨrɨbika	'talapia fish scale'

(c) Parts of house, canoe and other artefacts

The third major set of linked nouns is constituted by nouns referring to parts of house, canoe or other artefacts. For example:

Noun Stem		Derived Linked Noun Compound	
-toxunɨka	'face'	wun-toxunɨka	'front of house'
-mogaxu	'top'	wun-mogaxu	'top of house'
-se	'rack'	wun-se	'floor of house'
-rawoɸɨ	'interstine'	wun-rawoɸɨ	'inside of house'

-mɨkɨri	'fence'	wun-mɨkɨri	'wall of house'
-axotu	'road'	wun-axotu	'door'
-koru	'side'	wun-koru	'side of house'
-toxu	'head'	wuntoxu	'conner of house'
-sɨruxa	'bow'	doxu-sɨruxa	'bow of canoe'
-kanguru	'stern'	doxu-kanguru	'stern of canoe'
-kɨbo	'side'	doxu-kɨbo	'side of canoe'
-toxu	'head'	tai-toxu	'knife handle'
-bi	'tooth	tai-bi	'knife point'
-kɨbo	'side'	kaɸ-kɨbo	'side of cup'
-gɨni	'handle'	kaɸ-gɨni	'cup handle'
-mogumɨ	'back'	doxu-mogumɨ	'back of canoe'

(d) -dari 'piece of'

Bound noun -dari when added after other nouns refer to a piece of the referent of the initial element of the linked noun compound. For example:

Noun Stem		Derived Noun	
melen	'watermelon'	melen-dari	'piece of watermelon'
popo	'pawpaw'	popo-dari	'piece of pawpaw'
anana	'pineapple'	anana-dari	'piece of pineapple'
doxu	'canoe'	doxu-dari	'piece of canoe'

(e) -boxuni 'short piece of'

The bound noun -boxuni, when added after other nouns, refers to a short piece of what is referred to by the initial element of the linked noun compound. For example:

Noun Stem		Derived Noun	
taria	'cane'	taria-boxuni	'short piece of cane'
gɨge	'mustard'	gɨge-boxuni	'short piece of mustard'
waia	'wire'	waia-boxuni	'short piece of wire'
kɨni	'bamboo'	kɨn-boxuni	'short piece of bamboo'
damiexe	'cigarette'	damiexe-boxuni	'short piece of cigarette'

(f) -bogɨ 'parcel or pack of'

This bound noun is attached to nouns referring to objects that are wrapped into a parcel in some kind of a wrapper. For example:

Noun Stem		Derived Noun	
amara	'fish'	amara-bogɨ	'parcel of fish'
gebuka	'sago grub'	gebuka-bogɨ	'parcel of sago grubs'
gɨge	'mustard'	gɨge-bogɨ	'pack of mustard fruit'
pepa	'paper'	pepa-bogɨ	'parcel of paper'

(g) -yiəni, -ogu, -gogu and -dsogu 'offspring'

The bound forms -yiəni, -ogu, -gogu and -dsogu are all forms of the noun that expresses the general meaning of 'offspring' in Sare. It is the final segment of the nouns referring to the animals that determines which of these forms the bound noun takes. With the exception of the nouns yio 'dog' and koru 'duck type', nouns that end in the rounded vowels /o/ and /u/ take the form -yiəni, while nouns that end with /i/ take -dsogu, and nouns ending in any other segments take the form -ogu. The nouns yio 'dog' and koru 'duck type' are irregular in that they unexpectedly accept the form -gogu. For exmple:

Noun Stem		Derived Noun	
moguru	'crocodile'	moguru-yiəni	'young of crocodile'
dimo	'pigeon'	dimo-yiəni	'young of pigeon'
kiri	'chicken'	kiri-dsogu	'chick'
ti	'bandicoot'	ti-dsogu	'bandicoot joey'
ɸoxu	'pig'	ɸoxu-ogu	'piglet'
koriwe	'wallaby'	koriwe-ogu	'wallaby joey'
wuda	'duck type'	wuda-ogu	'wuda duckling'
koru	'duck type'	koru-gogu	'koru duckling'
yio	'dog'	yio-gogu	'puppy'

(h) -dari 'thicket (of shrubs)'

The bound noun -dari, when added to nouns referring to plants, refers to thickets of shrubs and small plants, including reeds and some grass types. For example:

Noun Stem		Derived Noun	
yime	'smelly grass'	yime-dari	'thicket of smelly grass'
godu	'ginger'	godu-dari	'thicket of ginger'
kuna	'reed'	kuna-dari	'thicket of reeds'
kəbri	'grass	kəbri-dari	'thicket of grass'

(i) -toka 'thicket (of tall plants)'

The bound noun -toka, when attached to nouns also expresses the meaning of thicket. This bound noun differs from -dari in that, it is attached to nouns which refer to plants that grow much taller than the referents of the nouns that take the bound noun -dari. For example:

Noun stem		Derived Noun	
tia	'coconut'	tia-toka	'thicket of coconut trees'
na	'sago palm'	na-toka	'thicket of sago palms'
bakra	'pandanus'	bakra-toka	'thicket of pandanus'
marmar	'rain tree'	marmar-toka	'thicket of rain trees'

(ii) Minor classes of linked nouns

Nine minor semantic classes of linked nouns have been identified for Sare. The first consists of nouns referring to sides and insides of objects, the second referring to the brightness of light of the referent of the free form noun, the third class referring to pieces of referents of other nouns, the fourth referring to bundles of objects, the fifth class referring to strings of objects, the sixth referring to roll of things, the seventh referring to the wall of, the eighth class referring to

imprints of referents of nouns and the ninth class referring to environmental features and results of natural processes. Thus:

(a) Sides and Insides of Objects

Nouns relating to sides and insides of objects are expressed as linked nouns. For example:

Noun Stem				Derived Noun	
sagi	'lake'	+-kori	'side'	sagi-kori	'side of lake'
doxu	'canoe'	+-kibo	'side'	doxu-kibo	'side of canoe'
ningai	'plate'	+-kibo	'side'	ningai-kibo	'side of plate'
doxu	'canoe'	+-rawoɸi	'intestine'	doxu-rawoɸi	'inside of canoe'
wuni	'house'	+-rawoɸi	'intestine'	wun-rawoɸi	'inside of house'
mi	'tree	+-kutuxa	'top'	mi-kutuxa	'top of tree'
arax	'river'	+-bəgi	'depth'	arax-bəgi	'depth of the river'
mi	'tree'	+-sibe	'stem'	mi-sibe	'area underneath a tree'

(b) -me 'light of'

The noun referring to light or brightness occurs as a linked noun and is attached after free form nouns whose referents give off light. For example:

Noun Stem		Derived Noun	
yienedsa	'sun'	yienedsa-me	'sunlight'
yiago	'moon'	yiago-me	'moonlight'

tos	'torch'	tos-me	'torchlight'
medsoxu	'fire'	medsoxu-me	'light from fire'

(c) -tiri/-sini 'small pieces'

Nouns relating to small pieces are also expressed as linked nouns. There are only two bound nouns in this class and these being: -tiri and -sini. The bound noun -tiri only occurs only with the noun referring to sago pancake, while -sini is used as the general bound noun referring to small pieces of most objects that result in pieces when broken or cut. For example:

Noun Stem		Derived Noun	
arami	'sago pancake'	aram-tiri	'small pieces of sago pancake'
mi	'tree'	mi-sini	'small pieces of wood'
tia	'coconut'	tia-sini	'small pieces of coconut'
botol	'bottle'	botol-sini	'small pieces of broken glasses'

(d) -taki 'bundle'

The bound noun -taki 'bundle' is addded after the nouns denoting objects that are bundled together. These objects are normally slender and long objects such as paddles, and plants such as small trees, bamboos, sugarcanes, reeds and mustard fruits (TP daka). For example:

Noun Stem		Derived Noun	
kini	'bamboo'	kin-taki	'bundle of bamboo'
mangi	'sugarcane'	mangi-taki	'bundle of sugarcane'

kuna	'reed'	kuna-taki	'bundle of reeds'
gɨge	'mustard'	gɨge-taki	'bundle of mustard fruit'
xedsa	'paddle'	xedsa-taki	'bundle of paddles'

(e) -xade 'string of'

The bound noun -xade 'string of objects' can be used to form new nouns by adding it after the referent of the nouns being strung together. For example:

Noun Stem		Derived Noun	
amara	'fish'	amara-xade	'string of fish'
sɨngaɨnɨ	'bead'	sɨngain-xade	'string of beads'
sɨngo	'fish hook'	sɨngo-xade	'string of fishing hook'

(f) -tawonɨ 'roll of something'

The bound noun tawonɨ 'roll of something' can be used to form new nouns by adding it after the nouns referring to the objects being rolled up. The nouns derived through this derivational process refer to objects being rolled up. For example:

Noun Stem		Derived Noun	
mɨtuwa	'leaf'	mɨtuwa-tawonɨ	'roll of leaves'
narɨ	'mat'	narɨ-tawonɨ	'roll of mat'
damɨəxe	'smoked leaves'	damɨəxe-tawonɨ	'roll of smoked leaves'
aramɨ	'sago pancake'	aram-tawonɨ	'roll of sago pancake'

(g) -mikiri 'wall/fence'

The bound noun -mikiri 'wall/fence' can be added after nouns referring to the material the wall is made of. The derived nouns refer to the different wall and fence types. For example:

Noun Stem		Derived Noun	
kiba	'sago frond'	kiba-mikiri	'sago frond wall'
waia	'wire'	waia-mikiri	'wire fence'
simeni	'brick'	simen-mikiri	'brick wall'

(h) Imprints

Another group of nouns that are expressed as linked nouns are imprints left by something on the ground, grass, water and even on the body of an animate being. The bound nouns referring to imprints are attached after the free form nouns whose referents make the imprints. For example:

Noun Stem				Derived Noun	
wura	'leg'	+ -aɸa	'imprint'	wur-aɸa	'footprint'
moguru	'crocodile'	+ -aɸa	'imprint'	moguru-aɸa	'mark of crocodile on the ground'
moguru	'crocodile'	+ -bini	'track'	moguru-bini	'track of crocodile'
xedsa	'paddle'	+ -ɸinaruxa	'bubble'	xedsa-ɸinaruxa	'bubbles from paddling'
xedsa	'paddle'	+ -wunduxa	'wave'	xedsa-wunduxa	'waves of canoe'

(i) Environmental features and results of natural processes

There is a single bound noun, -yiərɨka 'smoke', which is attached to a noun referring to something that is burnt, thereby producing a linked noun meaning "smoke of". For example:

Noun Stem		Derived Noun	
medsoxu	'fire'	medsoxu-yiərɨka	'smoke of fire'
damiəxe	'cigarette'	damiəxe-yiərɨka	'smoke from cigarette'

4.1.2.3 Verb-Noun noun compounds

Noun compounds can also be formed by combining a verb and a noun. The following are instances of noun compounds that are formed by adding a verb before a noun.

(a) axotu 'road'

The Sare distinguish between roads, tracks and paths according to what they are used for, such as, whether they are used for regular walking, for going to work in the bush, or the route for paddling canoes and so on. To distinguish these different paths and roads, the verbs which denote the actions that are carried out when using a particular road are attached to the general term axotu 'road'. For example:

Verb Stem		Derived Noun	
tetsəx	'walk'	tetsəx-axotu	'footpath'
xedsa	'paddle'	xeds-axotu	'paddling path'
nongai	'run'	nongai-axotu	'running track'
xingina	'work'	xingin-axotu	'track used when going to work'
nata	'make sago'	nat-axotu	'track used when making sago'

(b) xoɸuxu 'sound/noise'

The noun xoɸuxu 'sound/noise' can be attached to verbs to derive new nouns. The derived noun compounds refer to the sound or noise being produced when the action denoted by the verb is being carried out. For example:

Verb Stem		Derived Noun	
ɸisi	'fart'	ɸis-xoɸuxu	'farting noise'
nongai	'run'	nongai-xoɸuxu	'running noise'
ago	'flying'	ago-xoɸuxu	'flying noise'
xedsa	'paddle'	xedsa-xoɸuxu	'paddling noise'

(c) boxuni 'location'

The noun boxuni which means a location or a place can be attached after active verbs to derive nouns. Nouns derived by this derivational process refer to locations where the actions denoted by the verbs are carried out or happen. It is possible for any active verb in Sare to enter into this construction. For example:

Verb Stem		Derived Location Noun	
asagidso	'bath'	asagidso-boxuni	'bathing place'
xwai	'sleep'	xwai-boxuni	'sleeping area'
ridsə	'sit'	ridsə-boxuni	'sitting area'
natəni	'play'	natən-boxuni	'playground
wuniki	'build house'	wuniki-boxuni	'building site'
sedsa	'drink'	sedsa-boxuni	'drinking place'

(d) suxuri 'collection of tools or things'

This noun translates as 'collection of tools or things', can be attached to verbs to derive nouns. Nouns derived in this way refer to the general class of implements that are used in the performance of the action denoted by the verb. For example:

Verb Stem		Derived Implement Noun	
xwai	'sleep'	xwai-suxuri	'linen'
xingina	'work'	xingina-suxuri	'tools'
naxu	'shave'	naxu-suxuri	'shaving gear'
nina	'fight'	nina-suxuri	'weapons'
omedsərəx	'cook'	omedsərəx-suxuri	'cooking utensils'

(e) wuni 'house'

A number of verbs can be combined with the noun wuni 'house' to form new nouns. The derived noun compounds refer to a building that is used for the purpose of performing the activity expressed in the verb root. For example:

Verb Stem		Derived Noun	
asagidso	'bathe'	asagidso-wuni	'bathroom/shower'
ruwuri	'defecate'	ruwur-wuni	'toilet'
xwai	'sleep'	xwai-wuni	'house for sleeping'
asuxuria	'eat'	asuxuria-wuni	'restaurant/mess'
suguru	'school'	suguru-wuni	'classroom'

Sare also borrows from Tok Pisin what are already compounds and adds the noun wuni to them to form noun compounds in Sare. For example:

haus-kuk	→	hauskuk-wuni	'kitchen'
house-cook		kitchen-house	
kitchen			
haus-balus	→	hausbalus-wuni	'hangar'
house-plane		hangar-house	
hangar			
haus-lotu	→	hauslotu-wuni	'church'
house-pray		church-house	
church			

(f) seboxu 'platform'

A number of verbs can be combined with the noun seboxu 'platform' to derive new nouns. The derived noun compounds refer to wide flat constructed objects that can be used for sitting, lying or putting things on. For example:

Verb Stem		Derived Nouns	
xwai	'sleep'	xwai-seboxu	'bed'
asuxuria	'eat'	asuxuria-seboxu	'dining table'
xingina	'work'	xingina-seboxu	'work bench'
ridsə	'sit'	ridsə-seboxu	'bench'
suxuriakata	'put things'	suxuriakata-seboxu	'shelf'

(g) kibi 'well'

There are only three verbs which can be combined with the noun kibi 'well' to form new nominal compounds. The nominals derived through this process refer to the different types of wells. Thus:

Verb Stem		Derived Noun	
sedsa	'drink'	sedsa-kibi	'drinking well'
asagidso	'bath'	asagidso-kibi	'bathing well'
yise	'wash sago'	yise-kibi	'well for washing sago'

(h) tuka 'coconut shell'

A number of verbs can be combined with the noun tuka 'coconut shell' to form new noun compounds indicating the purpose to which the coconut shell is put. For example:

Verb Stem		Derived Noun	
sedsa	'drink'	sedsa-tuka	'shell used for drinking'
asagidso	'bathe'	asagidso-tuka	'shell used for bathing'
yise	'wash sago'	yise-tuka	'shell used for washing sago'

(i) sagim 'water'

A number of verbs can be combined with the noun sagim 'water' to form new nouns. The derived nouns refer to water that is used for the purpose of performing the activity expressed in the verb root. For example:

Verb Stem		Derived Noun	
sedsa	'drink'	sedsa-sagim	'drinking water'
asagidso	'bathe'	asagidso-sagim	'bathing water'
omedsərəx	'cook'	omedsərəx-sagim	'cooking water'

(j) nari 'mat'

There are two verbs that can be combined with the noun nari 'mat' to form new nominal compounds. The derived noun compounds refer to different types of mats. Thus:

Verb Stem		Derived Noun	
xwai	'sleep'	xwai-nari	'mat for sleeping on'
ridsə	'sit'	ridsə-nari	'mat for sitting on'

(k) yiəɸisuka 'betelnut'

Verbs can be also combined with the noun yiəɸisuka 'betelnut' to form new nominal compounds. The nominals derived through this process refer to betelnuts that are used for the purpose of performing the activity expressed by the verb root. For example:

Verb Stem		Derived Noun	
yiəɸa	'chew betelnut'	yiəɸa-yiəɸisuka	'betelnut for ones own use'
ainəskə	'distribute'	ainəskə-yiəɸisuka	'betelnut for distribution'
xobre	'give out in a party/ceremony'	xobre-yiəɸisuka	'betelnut for giving out in a party/ceremony'
xita	'plant'	xita-yiəɸisuka	'betelnut for planting'

4.1.3 Reduplication

The derivation of nominals through the reduplication process in Sare is only marginal in that only the nouns wuiagi 'man', tuxani 'woman', nika 'eye' and yima 'person' can be reduplicated. Complete reduplication of the first two noun roots has a restrictive function in that only the referents of that noun will carry out the action denoted by the verb in the predicate. These nouns can only be reduplicated when functioning as verbal subjects. Thus: wuiagi 'man' → wuiag-wuiagi 'only men', and tuxani 'woman' tuxan-tuxani 'only women'. When used in a clause, these reduplicated nouns must always be introduced by the limiter miri. For example:

miri wuiag-wuiagi-m rəm-əxi-i-r
LIMT. man-REDUP.-PL 3PL-FUT.-go-FUT.
Only men will go.

When the other two nouns are reduplicated, they have meanings that are clearly related to the meanings of the unreduplicated forms, though it is impossible to offer any generalisation about the semantic effect given the small number of

examples involved here, i.e, nika 'eye', nika-nika 'public', and yima 'person', yima-yima 'the public'.

4.2 Inflection

Grammatical categories inflected on Sare nouns are number, gender and case. I have chosen to discuss number and gender in this chapter on noun morphology instead of in the chapter which deals with the nominal phrase on the grounds that the number and gender markers are obligatorily marked on both single nouns (i.e. non-modified nouns) and in noun phrases (i.e. modified nouns).

4.2.1 Case system

Foley (1986:92) defines case categories as those expressing "relations between the nominal and its governing verb or between it and another nominal". We can distinguish between core case categories of subject, direct object and indirect object, and peripheral case categories, which refer to the semantic roles of instrument, location, benefactive, ablative, allative and so on. Foley (ibid) identifies three methods of expressing case relations in the world's languages: (i) word order and prepositions/postpositions, (ii) bound case affixes to nominals and (iii) the presence of affixes to the governing verb agreeing in person, number and gender with a nominal of a particular case relation. All three methods are found to be used by Papuan languages to express case relations. Sare is one of the Papuan languages that uses bound affixes to nominals. The case markers in Sare all occur after the number and gender marker. There are seven categories of morphologically marked peripheral cases in Sare. Core case marking is discussed in section 7.2.1.1.2.

i) Instrumental case

The instrumental case is morphologically marked by the suffix -in on the noun whose referent is used in the performance of the action in the verb. The case category expresses, on the one hand, the direct instrument role, i.e, the entity that is used directly by an agent to perform an action or to bring about a particular state. For example:

si kini-r si-buku-go tai-s-in

3SGF bamboo-SGM 3SGF-cut-PREST. knife-SGF-INS.

She is cutting a bamboo with a knife.

It is also used to express what we can refer to as the indirect instrument role i.e, the entity that is used indirectly by an agent to perform an action or to bring about a particular state. For example:

si gonuxa-m-in si-iə-togai-rə ten kina-s

3SGF banana-PL-INS. 3SGF-PERF.-get-RECT.PST. ten kina-SGF

She received ten kina for the bananas.

The instrumental case can also be used to refer to the means of conveyance. For example:

ri rimənі-s-in ri-iox-i-r

3SGM ship-SGF-INS. 3SGM-FUT.-go-FUT.

He will go by ship.

ii) Spatial case

I refer to this case type as such in that it covers a number of specific semantic roles. This case is morphologically marked by the suffix -ma. The semantic roles covered by this case are described below:

The spatial case role can be divided into a number of sub-types according to the nominals that the suffix -ma is attached to. It can indicate the stationary location of a person or thing. Stationary location in Sare is indicated by the verb do, which translates approximately as 'at' in English, and does not occur with other verbs in the same sentence. The suffix -ma is attached to the noun referring to the location where the person or thing is located. The suffix -ma can also indicate the location where a person is performing a particular action or where a particular event is taking place. For example:

ri do-ø-r wuni-r-ma

3SGM at-PREST.-SGM house-SGM-SPAT.

He is at the house. (= He is in the house.)

Kami-r wendsəx-ə-r wuni-r-ma

Kami-SGM sing-PREST.-SGM house-SGM-SPAT.

Kami is singing in the house.

* Kami-r do-ø-r wendsəx-ə-r wuni-r-ma

Kami-SGM at-PREST.-SGM sing-PREST.-SGM house-SGM- SPAT.

The stationary location of a person or thing can be specified by adding the locative words identified in 3.2.3, either immediately before or after the form carrying the suffix -ma. These locative words specifically indicate whether the location is inside, on top, outside, beside, on the other side of the river or lake, upstream, down stream, upstairs, down stairs, underneath, etc,. For example:

Kanau-r do-ø-r kari wuni-r-ma

Kanau-SGM at-PREST.-SGM inside house-SGM-SPAT.

Kanau is inside the house.

Taio-r do-ø-r yiaxuri omtoxu-r-ma

Taio-SGM at-PREST.-SGM upstream village-SGM-SPAT.

Taio is in the village upstream.

Kawi-s omedsərəx-ə-s wuni-r-ma gaxuri

Kawi-SGF cook-PREST.-SGF house-SGM-SPAT. upstairs

Kawi is cooking upstairs in the house.

Kawi-s asuxuri-m si-ainəskə-iə wuni-r-ma kari

Kawi-SGF food-PL 3SGF-divide-PREST. house-SGM-SPAT. inside

Kawi is dividing the food inside the house.

The spatial marker can also indicate the path along which the agent is moving, whether coming or going. For example:

ri arax-r-ma ri-xedsa-iə

3SGM river-SGM-SPAT. 3SGM-paddle-PREST.

He is paddling along the river.

si axotu-r-ma si-tetsəx-ə

3SGF road-SGM-SPAT. 3SGF-walk-PREST.

She is walking along the road.

The spatial marker -ma can also be used to refer to indicate a comitative sense[1]. This does not imply possession. It simply implies that the item referred to by the object in the predicate is with the referent of the nominal to which -ma is attached and the verb do 'at' always follows the nominal which has the spatial marker -ma attached to it. For example:

si-ma do-ø-s tai-s

3SGF-SPAT. at-PREST.-SGF knife-SGF

The knife is with her (=She has the knife.)

Kami-r-ma do-ø-m yioɸisuka-m

Kami-SGM-SPAT. at-PREST.-PL betelnut-PL

The betelnuts are with Kami. (= Kami has the betelnuts.)

The spatial marker -ma can also indicate the time at which an event takes place. For example:

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[1] This commitative sense of the spatial marker -ma is different from the commitative case marker -iti below. The former is always used with the locative verb do 'at' and the later with other verbs.

si dibiaxa-r-ma si-iox-dsa-r

3SGF morning-SGM-SPAT. 3SGF-FUT.-come-FUT.

She will come in the morning.

seka-r niri-s-ma ri-iə-woxi-rə

rain-SGM night-SGF-SPAT. 3SGM-PERF.-rain fall.-RECT.PST.

It rained during the night.

In addition to expressing a range of locative meanings, the spatial suffix -ma can also be used to express the semantic notion of goal. For example:

tuxani-m maket-s-ma rom-e-ø

woman-PL market-SGF-SPAT. 3PL-go-PREST

The women are going to the market.

tuxani-m maket-s-ma rom-tetsəx-e-ø

woman-PL market-SGF-SPAT. 3PL-walk-go-PREST.

The women are walking to the market.

Finally, -ma can be used to indicate movement away from a source. For example:

tuxani-m maket-s-ma rom-dsa-ø

woman-PL market-SGF-SPAT. 3PL-come-PREST.

The women are coming from the market.

tuxani-m maket-s-ma rom-tetsəx-dsa-ø

woman-PL market-SGF-SPAT. 3PL walk-come-PREST.

The women are walking from the market.

To indicate that the women are walking in the market, no motion verbs are serialised with the verb tetsəx walk'. For example:

tuxani-m maket-s-ma rom-tetsəx-ə

woman-PL market-SGF-SPAT. 3PL-walk-PREST.

The women are walking in the market.

iii) Comitative case

The comitative case only marks an animate nominal that is being accompanied by another in carrying out an event. Morphologically, the comitative case is marked by the suffix -iti on the nominal referring to the entity being accompanied. For example:

Kanau-r Taio-r-iti ri-iə-dsa-rə

Kanau-SGM Taio-SGM-COMT. 3SGM-PERF.-come-RECT.PST.

Kanau came with Taio.

si ri-ti si-iox-asixiria-r

3SGF 3SGM-COMT. 3SGF-FUT.-eat-FUT.

She will eat with him.

The comitative case can also be used to refer to reciprocal events like fighting. To indicate such events, the comitative marker is marked on the second nominal in the sentence. Only the first nominal in the sentence is co-referred on the verb. For example:

Pita-r Kami-r-iti ri-ø-nina-iə

Peter-SGM Kami-SGM-COMT. 3SGM-RECP.-fight-PREST.

Peter is fighting with Kami.

wuiagi-r tuxani-s-iti ri-ni-sare-dsə

man-SGM woman-SGF-COMT. 3SGM-RECP.-speak-PREST.

The man is talking with the woman.

si Kawi-s-iti si-ni-teretse-ø

3SGF Kawi-SGF-COMT. 3SGF-RECP.-push-PREST.

Kawi and she are pushing each other.

This suffix can also be attached to an abstract noun derived from a stative verb to indicate that the referent of another NP is characterised by that state. For example:

Kami-r tabəri-s-iti ri-natən-iə

Kami-SGM sick-SGF-COMT. 3SGM-play-PREST.

Kami is playing while being sick.

tuxani-m rago-s-iti rom-xingina-iə

woman-PL hungry-SGF-COMT. 3PL-work-PREST.

The women are working while being hungry.

iv) Genitive case

The genitive case indicates both alienable and inalienable possession i.e, ownership of property, kinship relationship, physical and behavioural traits. To mark the genitive case, the suffix -xu is attached to the inflected possessor nominal, which is preposed to the possessed NP. For example:

Kanau-r-xu doxu-r riri-dsə-r

Kanau-SGM-POSS. canoe-SGM leak-PREST.-SGM

Kanau's canoe is leaking.

si-xu rari-r tabəri-iə-r

3SGF-POSS. son-SGM sick-PREST.-SGM

Her son is sick.

ri-xu wagirami-r mbaxaɸa-r

3SGM-POSS. voice-SGM not good-SGM

His voice is not good.

v) Causal case

To mark this case, the suffix -ya (x)[2] is marked on the noun whose referent is the cause of a particular action, event or state. The causal suffix takes the form -ya in clauses in the present tense and -yax in the non-present tenses. For example:

wuni-r nana-s-ya ri-tekawoxune-ø

house-SGM earthquake-SGF-CAUS. 3SGM-fall-PREST.

The house fell because of the earthquake.

vi) Nominative case

The nominative case in Sare is unmarked. For example:

Kawi-s-ø tabəri-iə

Kawi-SGF-NOM. sick-PREST.

Kawi is sick.

Reau-r-ø wuni-r ri-iə-ki-rə

Reau-SGM-NOM. house-SGM 3SGM-PERF.-build-RECT.PST.

Reau built a house.

---

[2] The suffix -ya(x) is discussed as focus marker in 7.2.1.1.1

vii) Benefactive

This case role is morphologically marked by the suffix -andəx on the noun for whose referent the action is carried out. For example:

Taio-r Kanau-r-andəx ri-wekiniai-ne yioɸisuka-m

Taio-SGM Kanau-SGM-BEN. 3SGM-buy-PREST. betelnut-PL

Taio is buying some betelnuts for Kanau.

In addition to this benefactive function, the suffix -andəx also expresses 'cause'. For example:

si xoɸuxu-r-andəx si-sare-biəti-iə

3SGF noise-SGM-CAUS. 3SGF-speak-excessive-PREST.

She is complaining about (because of) the noise.

rago-s-andəx ri-oru-go

hunger-SGF-CAUS. 3SGM-cry-PREST.

He is crying (because) of hunger.

4.2.2 Number-gender suffixes

The number and gender suffixes indicate the number and gender of the referent of the noun. Like Alamblak (Bruce 1984) and unlike Yessan Mayo (Foreman 1974) and English, Sare indicates gender on both pronominals (cf.5.1.2) and nominals. There is a two-way distinction between masculine and

feminine in the singular, but in the dual and plural no gender distinction is expressed. Thus:

Table 4.1 Number and Gender Suffixes

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Masculine	-r	-ɸ	-m
Feminine	-s		

For example:

wuiagɨ-m ɸoxu-r rom-to-go

man-PL pig-SGM 3PL-butcher-PREST.

The men are butchering a male pig.

wuiagɨ-m ɸoxu-s rom-to-go

man-PL pig-SGF 3PL-butcher-PREST.

The men are butchering a female pig.

wuiagɨ-m ɸoxu-ɸ rom-to-go

man-PL pig-DL 3PL-butcher-PREST.

The men are butchering two pigs.

wuiagɨ-m ɸoxu-m rom-to-go

man-PL pig-PL 3PL-butcher-PREST.

The men are butchering some pigs.

Number is marked on all non-toponymic nouns. For example:

Noun Stem	Gloss	Singular	Dual	Plural
wuni	'house'	wuni-r	wuni-ɸ	wuni-m
doxu	'canoe'	doxu-r	doxu-ɸ	doxu-m
oba	'stone'	oba-s	oba-ɸ	oba-m
tiaxa	'coconut fruit'	tiaxa-s	tiaxa-ɸ	tiaxa-m
wuiagi	'man'	wuiagi-r	wuiagi-ɸ	wuiagi-m

Gender marking in Sare is influenced by both semantic and phonological criteria. Of these two criteria, the former is the predominant one with the later only influencing the gender marking of nouns referring to body parts. Like Alamblak (*ibid*) and unlike French, most nouns can accept markers for either gender, with an associated semantic difference. There is a relatively small number of nouns, however, which are exclusively associated with either masculine or feminine marking. Those which receive invariant gender marking include nouns depicting kin relationships, personal names, abstract nouns (cf.4.1.1 (b)) and non-human nouns whose referents the Sare regard as either male or female. For instance, the Sare see the sun as the male partner of the moon, the day as the male partner of the night and the noun referring to morning as male and that referring to afternoon as female. Specific oral traditions do reflect the exclusive gender marking of non-human nouns. For instance, names of sun and moon, like names of many other things, are owned by a particular clan, and male members of this clan may be named after the sun and female members after the moon. For example:

Masculine		Feminine	
wuiagi-r	'man, husband'	tuxani-s	'woman, wife'
rari-r	'son'	moti-s	'daughter'
Gawi-r	'male proper name'	Gunme-s	'female proper name'
yienedsa-r	'sun'	yiago-s	'moon'
yixa-r	'day'	niri-s	'night'
dibiaxa-r	'morning'	riɸinəxi-s	'afternoon'
araxi-r	'river'	sagi-s	'lake'

The abstract noun meaning 'story' and the concrete nouns meaning 'smell', 'smoke from fire' and 'sound' are invariably associated with the masculine gender. The abstract noun meaning 'message' is associated with the feminine gender. Thus:

yiərimaxu-r	'story'
masuxa-r	'smell'
yierika-r	'smoke from fire'
xoɸuxu-r	'sound'
xonbaioxu-s	'message'

Nouns referring to specific locality, weather and environmental conditions also invariably take only one gender. For example:

tauni-r	'town'	nunguru-r	'bush'
omtoxu-r	'village'	bedsa-r	'jungle'
maketi-s	'market'	yiuwe-s	'bay'
stua-r	'store'	taxu-r	'valley'

sabiowe-s	'name of a fishing village'	mingira-s	'fishing/gardening village'
se-r	'platform	me-s	'light'
worimi-r	'low tied'	xune-s	'high tied'
seka-r	'rain'	dibi-r	'cloud/fog'
səxi-r	'sky/thunder'	ɸiniɸini-r	'lightning'

Most nouns, however, can host either gender suffix. These nouns are of two types: those that depend on natural sex of the referent as the determining factor for gender marking on the one hand, and those that depend on the size and shape of the referent of the noun on the other. Most underived and derived nouns have their gender marked according to these general criteria.

Nouns referring to humans, i.e. personal names and kin terms, their gender marking is determined purely on the basis of natural sex. Thus nouns referring to male persons take the masculine gender and nouns referring to female persons take the feminine gender. For example:

Masculine		Feminine	
yima-r	'man'	yima-s	'woman'
wuiagi-r	'man, husband'	tuxani-s	'woman, wife'
pita-r	'Peter'	ana-s	'Anne'
kanau-r	'Kanau'	kawi-s	'Kawi'
aitsa-r	'father	maindsa-s	'mother'

For nouns denoting animate beings, their gender marking differs depending on whether the referents of the nouns are high on the animate scale

or lower. For the former group of nouns like pig, dog or crocodile and so on, the masculine gender is the unmarked gender. Only when their natural sex is clearly evident that their gender marking is like that of nouns referring to humans, which is based on natural sex. Thus nouns referring to higher male animates take the masculine gender marker -r in their marked form and nouns referring to higher female animates take the feminine gender marker -s in their marked form. For example:

Masculine		Feminine	
yio-r	'dog'	yio-s	'bitch'
ɸoxu-r	'boar'	ɸoxu-s	'sow'
moguru-r	'male crocodile'	moguru-s	'female crocodile'

For the later group of nouns (lower level animates) like small animals, i.e., rat, bird types or insects, usually select one gender as the unmarked gender on the basis of their size and shape. Thus nouns referring to lower level animates that are big, tall or slender have the masculine gender as their unmarked gender and nouns referring to lower level animates that are small, short or rounded have the feminine gender as their unmarked gender. When, however, the natural sex of the nouns referring to lower level animate nouns is highlighted then the gender assignment of these nouns is based on the natural sex rather than on size or shape. For instance, the noun kiri 'chicken' may take the masculine gender -r because a particular chicken is big in size, but when its natural sex is established it would take either gender markers depending on its natural sex. For example:

Noun Stem	Gloss	Masculine		Feminine	
dumo	'dove'	dumo-r	'male dove'	dumo-s	'female dove'
ti	'bandicoot'	ti-r	'male bandicoot'	ti-s	'female bandicoot'
kiri	'chicken'	kiri-r	'rooster'	kiri-s	'hen'
koru	'duck'	koru-r	'drake'	koru-s	'female duck'
wabu	'possum'	wabu-r	'male possum'	wabu-s	'female possum'
abu	'rat'	abu-r	'male rat'	abu-s	'female rat'

The next group of nouns are those referring to entities for whom sex is irrelevant in selecting gender. These includes all nouns referring to inanimate entities. These group of nouns select one gender as the marked gender, again along semantic grounds. Specifically, nouns whose referents are big, tall, long, or slender are assigned the masculine gender and carry the masculine gender suffix -r. On the other hand, nouns with inanimate reference take the feminine suffix -s when referring to entities which are small, short or squat. Most of these nouns which are assigned a gender according to their shape and size may also occur with the opposite gender when the referent of the noun is atypical as to shape and size. We therefore find corresponding forms such as the following:

Noun Stem	Gloss	Masculine		Feminine	
wuni	'house'	wuni-r	'big house'	wuni-s	'small house'
tariaɸa	'cane'	traiaɸa-r	'long cane'	tariaɸa-s	'short cane'
seboxu	'table'	seboxu-r	'high table'	seboxu-s	'squated table'
xudari	'axe'	xudari-r	'big axe'	xudari-s	'small axe'
tuga	'spoon'	tuga-r	'big spoon'	tuga-s	'small spoon'
ningai	'plate'	ningai-r	'big plate'	ningai-s	'small plate'

How big, tall or high an object must be to be accorded one gender or the other is determined by the traditional expectation of the speaker with regard to a particular object. With regard to the size of things like houses, canoes and containers, it is the capacity of the referents of these nouns to hold persons or things that determines what gender the noun takes. If a house, for instance, has space enough only for a single family (parents, children and grandparents), then it would normally be described as a small house, thus taking the feminine gender. If on the other hand, the house has a capacity for several families, then it would normally be described as a big house and be accorded the masculine gender. Thus it is impossible to say the following in Sare:

* marbe wuni-s
big house-SGF

* kirekuxa wuni-r
small house-SGM

So far, we have seen that for the majority of the nouns, gender is assigned on strict semantic criteria (Corbett, 1991:7ff). There is also a fair number of nouns that fall outside of these semantic assignment rules. These includes nouns referring to plants and plant parts, and human body parts. With the former group of nouns, the gender assignment however, seems to follow something very similar to strict semantic principles, although it is based on organic growth stages rather than on mere size. For the latter group of nouns, it is the form of their referents that determines the type of gender that they host (Corbett, 1991:33ff).

Most nouns referring to plants differ from the above described general trend of gender marking in that nouns referring to young plants (which are normally short or small) have the masculine gender marker -r assigned to them, instead of the expected feminine gender marker -s, and mature plants (which are normally big and tall) have the feminine gender marker -s assigned to them, instead of the expected masculine gender marker -r, as we saw above for the other nouns with concrete reference. For example:

Noun Stem		Masculine		Feminine	
tiamɨ	'coconut tree'	tiamɨ-r	'young coconut tree'	tiamɨ-s	'mature coconut tree'
gonɨ	'banana tree'	gonɨ-r	'young banana tree'	gonɨ-s	'mature banana tree'
yiəɸi	'betelnut'	yiəɸi-r	'young betelnut tree'	yiəɸi-s	'mature betelnut tree'
muli	'lemon'	muli-r	'young lemon tree	muli-s	'mature lemon tree'
ɸini	'ficus'	ɸini-r	'young ficus tree'	ɸini-s	'mature ficus tree'
popo	'pawpaw'	popo-r	'young pawpaw tree'	popo-s	'mature pawpaw tree'

The reason that gender marking for nouns referring to plants and trees is not determined by their size as we would expect relates to their fruit-bearing capacity. Young plants, despite being short and small, which are features that we would ordinarily associate with feminine gender, are regarded as masculine by the Sare because of their inability to bear fruit. On the other hand, mature plants which are normally big and tall, are regarded as the female of the plants since they bear fruit, and are therefore assigned the feminine gender.

It should be noted that all young plants are assigned masculine gender, while all mature plants are assigned feminine gender, regardless of whether or not they actually do bear fruit when they mature. Sugarcane for instance is not a

fruit bearing plant, yet we still find the same contrast associated with the difference in gender. For example:

Noun Stem		Masculine		Feminine	
mangi	'sugar cane'	mangi-r	'young sugar cane'	mangi-s	'mature sugar cane'
kini	'bamboo'	kini-r	'young bamboo'	kini-s	'mature bamboo'
nimbi	'post tree'	nimbi-r	'young post tree'	nimbi-s	'mature post tree'
ɸu	'fire wood tree'	ɸu-r	'young fire wood tree'	ɸu-s	'mature fire wood tree'

A similar observation applies with nouns referring to fruits and seeds. Nouns referring to big mature fruits and seeds host the feminine gender instead of the expected masculine gender while the nouns referring to small immature fruits and seeds host the masculine gender, instead of the expected feminine gender. For example:

Fruit name		Masculine		Feminine	
warbuxa	'mango'	warbuxa-r	'immature mango'	warbuxa-s	'mature mango'
tiaxa	'coconut'	tiaxa-r	'immature coconut'	tiaxa-s	'mature coconut'
yiəɸisuka	'betelnut'	yiəɸisuka-r	'immature betelnut'	yiəɸisuka-s	'mature betelnut'
gonxa	'banana'	gonxa-r	'immature banana'	gonxa-s	'mature banana'
popoyioka	'pawpaw'	popoyioka-r	'immature pawpaw'	popoyioka-s	'mature pawpaw'

Nouns referring to big mature fruits are assigned the feminine gender because of the fact that a big mature fruit, or the seed of a mature fruit, if planted, will grow into a healthy tree and will bear more fruit than if a small immature fruit

is planted. A small immature coconut fruit, for example, is normally used for consumption while a bigger mature one is normally reserved for planting.

As for leaves and other parts of trees such as branches or roots, gender marking is on the same basis as other inanimate nouns. Thus, nouns referring to big or long leaves and plant parts are assigned the masculine gender, and nouns referring to small or short leaves and plant parts are assigned the feminine gender. For example:

Noun stem		Masculine		Feminine	
tiatota	'coconut leaf'	tiatota-r	'big coconut leaf'	tiatota-s	'small coconut leaf'
yiəɸtota	'betelnut leaf'	yiəɸtota-r	'big betelnut leaf'	yiəɸtota-s	'small betelnut leaf'
ɸinituwa	'ficus leaf'	ɸinituwa-r	'big ficus leaf'	ɸinituwa-s	'small ficus leaf'
gigeta	'mustard leaf'	gigeta-r	'big mustard leaf'	gigeta-s	'small mustard leaf'

For nouns referring to body parts, semantics plays no part in assigning gender to these nouns. What is important with such nouns is the phonological make-up of the noun, exclusively with the final segment of the root determining gender. The following statements describe the gender assignment system of the nouns denoting body parts:

(i) All body parts ending in front unrounded vowels are feminine. For example:

soribitəɸi-s	'thumb'
waɸidari-s	'lung'
kime-s	'penis'

(ii) All body parts ending in back rounded vowels are masculine. For example:

toxu-r	'head'
ɸiriuxu-r	'testicle'
mogo-r	'large interstine'

(iii) All body parts ending in central vowels preceded by voiced consonants are feminine. For example:

simədi-s	'chest'
tuwakaisibi-s	'beard'
nitsira-s	'eyebrow'

(iv) All body parts ending in central vowels preceded by voiceless conosnants are unpredictably masculine or feminine, as follows:

MASCULINE ENDINGS: ka, xi, xa, ɸi,

For example:

minika-r	'breast'
yieruxeka-r	'armpit'
maxi-r	'neck'
singuxa-r	'point of nose'
wuranaɸi	'toe'

FEMININE ENDINGS: ɸa, sa,.

For example:

worikokiɸa-s	'lip'
sibeɸa-s	'bone'
yisa-s	'vulva'

The size or shape of the nouns referring to body parts discussed above in i-iv is not relevant in determining the gender of these nouns. For these nouns both big and small referent of the same noun can take the same gender marker. For example:

marbe kaisibi-s
big chin-SGF
big chin

kirekuxa kaisibi-s
small chin-SGF
small chin

marbe toxu-r
big head-SGM
big head.

* marbe toxu-s

kirekuxa toxu-r
small head-SGM
small head

* kirekuxa toxu-s

marbe singiɸa-s
big nose-SGF
big nose

* kirekuxa singiɸa-r

kɨrekuxa sɨngɨɸa-s * marbe sɨngɨɸa-r

small hand-SGF

small nose

The phonotactic possibilities for nouns in the attested lexicon of body parts are captured by the generalisation presented above, with no attested nouns involving other final -CV sequences. By way of summary, the gender associated with various attested -CV sequences are presented in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 CV Sequences - Gender Marking on Nouns Referring to Body Parts

	i	ɨ	a	u	o
b	F	F			
d		F			
g					M
k			M		
ɸ	F	M	F		
s			F		
x		M	M	M	
m		M			
n	F	F			
r	F	F	F		
w			F		

Like most simple underived nouns, derived nouns generally have their gender marking determined by the natural sex or the size and shape of their

referents. Only a few derived nouns invariably accept one gender or the other. Thus:

(a) Nouns derived with the noun boxuni 'location' with a verb invariably accept only the feminine gender marker -s. For example:

xwai-boxuni-s	'sleeping area'
asagidso-boxuni-s	'bathing area'

(b) Nouns derived with the noun xoɸuxu 'noise, sound' and another noun or verb invariably accept only the masculine gender marker -r. For example:

moto-xoɸuxu-r	'sound of outboard motor'
nongai-xoɸuxu-r	'running noise'

(c) All nouns derived by adding a zero suffix to a verb are also invariably marked for feminine gender. To show their gender marking the nouns stated in 4.1.1(i) (a) are repeated here. Thus:

kɨ-s	'vomitus'
tabəri-s	'sickness'
weɸəri-s	'wind'
yina-s	'urine'
siyiəx-s	'dream'

CHAPTER FIVE

STRUCTURE OF THE NOMINAL PHRASE

5.0 Introduction

This chapter describes the structure of the Nominal Phrase (hereafter NP) by describing its constituents, and their internal ordering possibilities. The nominal phrase is so called because it can have as its head any of the nominals described in 3.1.1.

Three basic types of NPs have been identified for Sare, these being: a simple NP with a single noun, independent pronoun or a demonstrative as its head; a complex NP, with two or more heads that are connected either by means of conjunction or simple juxtaposition; and an appositive NP, with two heads that are at the same time attributes of each other.

5.1 Structure of the Simple Nominal Phrase

The simple NP is the most widely attested type. A simple NP consists of a single head, and any associated modifiers. The structure of a simple NP is given in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Nominal Phrase Base							
Determiner$_1$	Determiner$_2$	Relative clause	Limiter	Quantifier	Adjectives	Head	Post-modifiers
Demonstratives (cf.3.2.1.2) oɸitax 'which' oroxu 'whose'	Pronouns of difference omiəmi 'other/ another' sədixəmi 'different'	di	miri 'only'	cardinal numbers (except diba 'one' which occurs after the head) ordinal numbers general quantifiers	Adjectives (cf.3.2.1.1) (kirekuxa 'small/little' can either precede or follow the head)	place names personal names common nouns pronouns kinship terms compound nouns	boga 'exhaustive quantifier' diba 'one' kirekuxa 'small/little' yiən 'negative quantifier'

While it is possible for all functional slots within the simple NP to be manifested, NPs most frequently occur with only one or two slots manifested. NPs in which three or more structural positions are occupied are much less frequently attached. Only the head nominal is obligatory. For example, of the following sentences, the first typifies the structure of the most commonly used type, the second typifying the least used and the last sentence, which may be possibly understood is an awkward construction. Thus:

si xumbri marbe yioɸisuka-m si-wekinia-ne
3SGF three big betelnut-PL 3SGF-buy-PREST.
She is buying three big betelnuts.

si miri xumbri marbe yioɸisuka-m si-wekinia-ne
3SGF LIMT. three big betelnut-PL 3SGM-buy-PREST.
She is buying only three big betelnuts.

si omiəmi miri xumbri marbe yioɸisuka-m si-wekinia-ne
3SGF other LIMT. three big betelnut-PL 3SGF-buy-PREST.
She is buying only three other big betelnuts.

5.1.1 Determiners preceding the head nominal

5.1.1.1 Determiner$_1$

The determiner$_1$ slot is found leftmost within the NP. It is manifested either by the interrogatives oɸitax 'which', oroxu 'whose' or by the demonstratives discussed in section 3.2.1.2. The demonstratives in Sare are deictic and are

classified according to proximity. Semantically they signal the head of the NP as definite. A definite nominal is the nominal the speaker assumes can be identified by the hearer. For example:

ni oɸitax wuni-r ni-iox-wekiniai-r
2SG which house-SGM 2SG-FUT.-buy-FUT.
Which house will you buy?

ri oroxu wuni-r ri-ki-dsə
3SGM whose house-SGM 3SGM-build-PREST.
Whose house is he building?

an ndsidi wuni-r an-oxi-wekiniai-r
1SG this house-SGM 1SG-FUT.-buy-FUT.
I will buy this house.

5.1.1.2 Determiner$_2$

The determiner$_2$ slot is manifested by the two pronouns of difference, omiəmi 'other/another' and soduxəmi 'different'. The functions of these modifiers is to differentiate the head nominal from the already known referents of the same class of nominals. For example:

si omiəmi wuiagi-r si-iə-angatəx-rə
3SGF another man-SGM 3SGM-PERF.-see-RECT.PST.
She saw another man.

oɸo do-s omiəmɨ xudarɨ-s

where at-SGF other axe-SGF

Where is the other axe.

rɨ soduxəmɨ siotuxa-s rɨ-ɸunu-go

3SGM different shirt-SGF 3SGM-wear-PREST.

He is wearing a different shirt.

The following sentences demonstrate how exponents of determiner$_1$ and determiner$_2$ are ordered with respect to each other. Thus:

rɨ oɸɨtax omiəmɨ siotuxa-s rɨ-ɸunu-go

3SGM which other shirt-SGF 3SGM-wear-PREST.

Which other shirt is he wearing?

rɨ oroxu omiəmɨ siotuxa-s rɨ-ɸɨnu-go

3SGM whose other shirt-SGF 3SGM-wear-PREST.

Whose other shirt is he wearing?

5.1.1.3 Relative Clause

The relative clause which is a subordinate clause is embedded as a modifier to the head noun inside the NP. As indicated on Table 5.1 the relative clause may not permute to other slots in the NP. The relative clause is formally introduced by the form dɨ. This form is diachronically related to the demonstratives described in section 3.2.1.2, but it may have diverged in its synchronic shape.

The order of the relative clause in relation to the head is: RC-Head. The relativised NP as shown in the examples below is simply deleted and and is co-referenced on the verb of the relative clause by the subject marker.

Keenan and Comrie (1977), established a hierarchy of NP accessibility to the process of relativisation, which they refer to as the Accessibility Hierarchy, of the positions, that they recognise as being salient universally for relativisation. Sare allows relativisation of the subject, direct object, oblique NPs and the genitive, but does not relativise the indirect object and the object of comparison. For example:

(a) Subject

di xingina-rə tuxani-m ə-rago-rə-rom

RCM. work-RECT.PST. woman-PL PERF.-hungry-RECT.PST.-3PL

The women who worked were hungry.

(b) Object

Taio-r di wuni-r rom-ki-rə-r

Taio-SGM RCM. house-SGM 3PL-build-RECT.PST.-SGM

ri-iə-wekiniai-rə

3SGM-PERF.buy-RECT.PST.

Taio bought the house which they built.

Taio-r di buk-r Kanau-r au-xo-rə-r

Taio-SGM RCM. book-SGM Kanau-SGM 1SG-give-RECT.PST.-SGM

ri-aŋgatəx-ə

3SGM-read-PREST.

Taio is reading the book which I gave to Kanau.

(c) Oblique NP

di wuni-r Taio-r ki-mə-r-ma
RCM. house-SGM Taio-SGM built-RECT.PST.-SGM-LOC
an-xwe-Ø
1SG-sleep-PREST.
Taio built the house which I am sleeping in.

(d) Genitive

di wuiagi-r wuni-r i-kuxo-rə-r
RCM man-SGM house-SGM burn-POSS.-RECT.PST.-SGM

ngo-r dsa-ø
there-SGM come-PREST.
Here comes the man whose house burnt down.

5.1.1.4 Limiter function

The limiter functional slot is manifested by miri 'only' and can perform a number of semantic functions depending on the presence or absence of other modifiers.

When miri is the only modifier in the NP, it implies that only the referent of the head noun(s) in the NP can either experience or carry out the action denoted by the verb in the predicate. For example:

miri wuiagi-r-ya dsa-ø

LIMT. man-SGM-FOC. come-PREST.

Only a man is coming. (i.e. no women or children)

Kami-r miri tinpi-s ri-a-ø

Kami-SGM LIMT. tinned fish-SGF 3SGM-eat-PREST.

Kami is eating just tinned fish. (i.e. not with anything else)

When miri co-occurs with adjectives, it implies that the action or state described by the verb in the predicate will be carried out or experienced only by the referent of the noun(s) described by the adjective. For example:

ri ndsidi miri xagiri kini-m ri-iox-buku-r

3SGM this LIMT. tall bamboo-PL 3SGM-FUT.-cut-FUT.

He will cut only these tall bamboos.

an xo miri kirekuxa sagim

1SG give LIMT. small water

Give me only a little bit of water.

When miri co-occurs with a cardinal numeral in the NP, it implies that the number of persons or objects referring to the head noun is limited only to the referent of that numeral. The limiter miri does not co-occur with general quantifiers. For example:

Reau-r miɾi kaidsara yiəɸɨsuka-m ɾi-xu

Reau-SGM LIMT. four betelnut-PL 3SGM-POSS.

Reau has only four betelnuts.

sɨ miɾi xuti yixa-ɸ sɨ-iox-tox-r niɸo

3SGF LIMT. two day-DL 3SGF-FUT.-stay-FUT. here

She will stay here for only two days.

ɾi miɾi kaidsara-ɸuxu yioɸɨsuka-r ɾi-a-ø

3SGM LIMT. four-ORD. betelnut-SGM 3SGM-eat-PREST.

He only chewed the fourth betelnut.

* ɾi miɾi mindəxu yioɸɨsuka-m ɾi-xu

3SGM LIMT. plenty betelnut-PL 3SGM-POSS.

5.1.1.5 Quantifier function

The quantifiers determine the number or quantity of the referent of the head noun. The quantifier slot is manifested by any of the numeral constituents discussed below and two of the non-specific quantifiers, mindəx 'many, more, plenty' and kɨrekuxa 'few, not many, not much, less, some', discussed in section 3.2.1.3. The manifestors of the quantifier slot are set out below.

(a) Cardinal numerals

Sare exhibits a combination of a quinary, decimal and vigesimal counting system. For numerals one to ten, Sare exhibits a quinary counting system. It is a

quinary system because numbers one to five are expressed by morphologically simple forms, with numbers six to nine being compounds of numerals one to four and soba, which is similar in shape to, but not systematically derivable from the lexical item sodsiba, meaning 'five'. The compounded form for 'six' is also not morphologically regular as we find sobaɸiteɸ rather than expected sobadiba. Thus:

diba	'one'
xuti	'two'
xumbri	'three'
kaidsara	'four'
sedsiba	'five'
sobaɸiteɸ	'six'
sobaxuti	'seven'
sobaxumbri	'eight'
sobakaidsara	'nine'
sokutu	'ten'

For example:

ndsidi xuti oba-ɸ yiəniməri-ɸ

this two stone-DL nice-DL

These two stones are nice.

Reau-r kaidsara kokoka doxu-m ri-xu

Reau-SGM four red canoe-SGM 3SGM-POSS.

Reau has four red canoes.

wa-guxai-ø sokutu yioɸɨsuka-m

IMP.-get -PREST. ten betelnut-PL

Get ten betelnuts.

Above ten, the counting system changes to a decimal system, in that to form the numerals eleven to nineteen, the numeral ten is compounded with the numerals one to nine. The cardinal numeral twenty is a separate form soduxu-yima, which literally means a 'whole/single person'. Thus:

sokutu-dɨba	ten-one	'eleven'
sokutu-xuti	ten-two	'twelve'
sokutu-xumbri	ten-three	'thirteen'
sokutu-kaidsara	ten-four	'fourteen'
sokutu-sedsɨba	ten-five	'fifteen'
sokutu-sobaɸɨteɸ	ten-six	'sxteen'
sokutu-sobaxutu	ten-seven	'seventeen'
sokutu-sobaxumbri	ten-eight	'eighteen'
sokutu-sobakaidsara	ten-nine	'nineteen
soduxu-yima	whole-person	'twenty'

For example:

rɨ sokutu-xumbri oba-m rɨ-iə-te-rə

3SGM ten-three stone-PL 3SGM-PERF.-throw-RECT.PST.

He threw thirteen stones.

Above twenty, the counting system changes to vigesimal, with the form meaning 'forty' literally meaning 'two people', sixty meaning 'three people', eighty meaning 'four people' and hundred meaning 'five people'. To form intermediate numbers higher than twenty, the lower numerals are conjoined after these vigesimal bases with the conjunction sa 'and' as shown below. Note that the numeral twenty, which as stated above literally means a single person, ends in the third person singular male number marker -r, even when modifying a feminine noun. The numeral forty ends in the dual number marker -ɸ and the numerals from sixty and beyond end in the plural marker -m. Thus:

soduxuyimar sa dɨba	twenty and one	'twenty one'
soduxuyimar sa səbaɸɨteɸ	twenty and six	'twenty six'
soduxuyimar sa sokutu	twenty and ten	'thirty'
soduxuyimar sa sokutusedsɨba	twenty and fifteen	'thirty five'
soduxuyimar sa sokutusəbaɸɨteɸ	twenty and sixteen	'thirty six'
xutiyimaɸ	two twenties	'forty'
xutiyimaɸ sa xuti	forty and two	'forty two'
xutiyimaɸ sa sokutu	forty and ten	'fifty'
xutiyimaɸ sa sokutuxumbri	forty and thirteen	'fifty three'
xumbriyimam	three twenties	'sixty'
xumbriyimam sa kaidsara	sixty and four	'sixty four'
xumbriyimam sa sokutuxuti	sixty and twelve	'seventy two'
kaidsarayimam	four twenties	'eighty'
kaidsarayimam sa sedsɨba	eighty and five	'eighty five'
kaidsarayimam sa sokutu	eighty and ten	'ninety'
kaidsarayimam sa sokutusedsɨba	eighty and fifteen	'ninety five'
sedsɨbayimam	five twenties	'hundred'

For example:

wa-guxai soduxuyimar sa kaidsara oba-m

IMP.-get twenty and four stone-PL

Get twenty-four stones.

ri sedsibayimam marbe gonmi-m ri-oxu-go

3SGM hundred big banana tree-PL 3SGM-chop-PREST.

He is chopping down a hundred big banana trees.

With the exception of the cardinal numeral diba 'one', all the cardinal numerals precede the head of the NP. The exponents of the quantifier slot can co-occur with the exponents of the determiner$_1$ slot, determiner$_2$ slot, and the relative clause, with the two former slots preceding and the later following, but all modifiers must precede the head of the NP. For example:

* si miri diba yioɸisuka-r si-xu

3SGF LIMT. one betelnut-SGM 3SGF-POSS.

si miri yioɸisuka diba-r si-xu

3SGF LIMT. betelnut one-SGM 3SGF-POSS.

She has only one betelnut.

si miri xuti yioɸisuka-ɸ si-xu

3SGF LIMT. two betelnut-DL 3SGF-POSS.

She has only two betelnuts.

Unlike the Sare numeral meaning one, which occurs after the head noun, the TP wanpela 'one', when used in Sare, precedes the head noun like all other Sare numerals. For example:

si miri wanpela yioɸisuka-r si-xu
3SGF LIMT. one betelnut-SGM 3SGF-POSS.
She has only one betelnut.

The counting system can potentially be used to count to infinity. In fact, however, the system is used only to count up to only a hundred or so, and even then, only a few speakers older than about fifty actually use the system. For the rest of the older Sare speakers, together with the younger and more educated speakers, the Sare counting system is hardly used at all, with the counting system adopted from TP being much more widely used. The TP numerals appear within the same pre-nominal structural slot as the indigenous numerals. For example:

si sokutu yioɸisuka-m si-wekinia-ne
3SGF ten betelnut-PL 3SGF-buy-PREST.
She is buying ten betelnuts

si tenpela yioɸisuka-m si-wekinia-ne
3SGF ten betelnut-PL 3SGF-buy-PREST.
She is buying ten betelnuts.

(b) Ordinal Numerals

With the exception of the term 'first', the ordinal numerals are derived from cardinal numerals by adding the suffix -ɸuxu to the cardinal numerals. There are two synonymous forms meaning 'first', and both are irregular in that they show no evidence of being derived from the cardinal numeral.

betsəɸɨ ~ bekəɸɨ	'first'
naruxa	'first'
kaidsaraɸuxu	'fourth'
sobaxutiɸuxu	'seventh'
sobakaidsaraɸuxu	'ninth'

With this system of deriving ordinal numerals from cardinal numerals, it would be logically possible to form ordinal numerals higher than the ordinal numeral 'tenth'. I have, however, not come across ordinal numerals higher than this. This may be, I presume, due to the length of Sare cardinal numerals higher than ten. It is now a common practice among young Sare speakers to form ordinal numerals higher than ten by compounding the suffix -ɸuxu with the TP cardinal numerals. It is also common to hear ordinal numerals lower than ten being formed through this process. This gives rise to ordinal numerals such as the following in Sare:

seɸen-ɸuxu	'seventh'
eit-ɸuxu	'eighth'
eleven-ɸuxu	'eleventh'
twenti-ɸuxu	'twentieth'

The ordinal numerals occupy the same position in the NP as the cardinal numerals. For example:

ri xumbri-ɸuxu mi-r ri-iox-oxu-r
3SGM three-ORD. tree-SGM 3SGM-FUT.-chop-FUT.
He will chop down the third tree.

It is possible for the cardinal and ordinal numerals to co-occur in the same NP. When they do the ordinal numeral precedes the cardinal numeral. This stated co-occurrence of cardinal and ordinal numerals is however, not very common. For example:

ri didi xuti-ɸuxu xumbri mi-m ri-iox-oxu-r
3SGM that two-ORD. three tree-PL 3SGM-FUT.-chop-FUT.
He will chop down the second three trees.

5.1.1.6 Adjective slot

The adjective functional slot is the closest to the left of the head nominal and it is manifested by the underived adjectives discussed in section 3.2.1.1. For example:

ri kirekuxa wuni-s ri-wekinia-ne
3SGM small house-SGF 3SGM-buy-PREST.
He is buying a small house.

si yietsəti asuxuri-m si-a-ø

3SGF hot food-PL 3SGF-eat-PREST.

She is eating hot food.

It is possible to have more than one adjective manifesting the adjective slot. For example:

wuiagi-m ndsidi kaisuxu marbe kokoka mi-s rom-oxu-yixu-r

man-PL this hard big red log-SGF 3PL-FUT.-pull-FUT.

The men will pull this big hard red log.

The order in which adjectives occur in such multiple modifier constructions is very free. Thus, the adjectives in the above sentence can be reordered within the adjective slot as in the following five sentences without affecting the meaning of the original sentence.

wuiagi-m ndsidi kaisuxu kokoka marbe mi-s rom-oxu-yixu-r

man-PL this hard red big log-SGF 3PL-FUT.-pull-FUT.

The men will pull this big hard red log.

wuiagi-m ndsidi marbe kaisuxu kokoka mi-s rom-oxu-yixu-r

man-PL this big hard red log-SGF 3PL-FUT.-pull-FUT.

The men will pull this big hard red log.

wuiagi-m ndsidi marbe kokoka kaisuxu mi-s rom-oxu-yixu-r

man-PL this big red hard log-SGF 3PL-FUT.-pull-FUT.

The men will pull this big hard red log.

wuiagɨ-m ndsɨdɨ kokoka kaisuxu marbe mɨ-s rom-oxu-yixu-r

man-PL this red hard big log-SGF 3PL-FUT.-pull-FUT.

The men will pull this big hard red log.

wuiagɨ-m ndsɨdɨ kokoka marbe kaisuxu mɨ-s rom-oxu-yixu-r

man-PL this red big hard log-SGF 3PL-FUT.-pull-FUT.

The men will pull this big hard red log.

5.1.2 The head

The head slot of the NP is the most important slot. With no modification it can by itself constitute the NP. The exponents of this slot can be any of the nominal constituents described in section 3.1.1. The head of the NP is, however, most frequently a count noun. For example:

rɨ ndsɨdɨ omiəmɨ xuti marbe doxu-ɸ rɨ-ramə-iə

3SGM this another two big canoe-DL 3SGM-carve-PREST.

He is making these two other big canoes.

When a place name fills the head slot of the NP, no other slot in the NP may be filled because members of this subclass of nouns have unique reference and take no modifications. For example:

an Wiwek an-oxu-i-r yiuxoɸi

1SG Wewak 1SG-FUT.-go -FUT. tomorrow

I will go to Wewak tomorrow.

When a personal name fills the head slot of the NP, the only other slot that may be filled is the adjective slot. Even then, this slot is only filled by the adjectives 'big' and 'small'. This happens when distinguishing between two people with the same name. The use of these adjectives with personal names refer to the age of the referents and not necessary the size, which may also be implied. For example:

Taio-r Kanau-r ri-ota-iə

Taio-SGM Kanau-SGM 3SGM-call-PREST.

Taio is calling Kanau.

marbe Kanau-r kirekuxa Kanau-r ri-togonia-ne

big Kanau-SGM small Kanau-SGM 3SGM-wait for-PREST.

The older Kanau is waiting for the younger Kanau.

Independent personal pronouns can also function as the head of the NP. When the head slot is manifested by a pronoun, the other slots in the NP may not be filled. A number of pronominal sets have been identified for Sare. The first of these pronominal sets are the independent pronouns:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	an	nond	nom
2	ni	ɸin	mi
3	ri (M)	ɸi	rom
	si (F)		

The independent pronouns can occur independently as subjects or objects of clauses. For example:

sɨ rɨ sɨ-sogan-ə

3SGF 3SGM 3SGF-ask-PREST.

She is asking him.

rom natən-iə-rom

3PL play-PREST.-3PL

They are playing.

There is also a set of reflexive pronouns, which express coreference between the subject and object of the verb with which they are associated. The reflexive pronominal forms are derived by preposing the form wuto- 'self' to the pronominal suffixes that are associated with intransitive verbs (cf.Table 6.3), with the single exception that among younger speakers, the 3PL is expressed as wuto-m, rather than predicted wuto-rom. Thus:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	wuto-yan	wuto-nond	wuto-nom
2	wuto-n	wuto-ɸɨn	wuto-m
3	wuto-r (M) wuto-s (F)	wuto-ɸ	wuto-m ~ wuto-rom

These forms occupy the grammatical object position in the clause. Besides indicating reflexive meanings, the use of the reflexive pronouns may also indicate other meanings like benefactive and ability or capability. For instance, of the following sentences, the first has a reflexive meaning, the second has a benefactive meaning and the last indicates ability. Thus:

tuxanɨ-m wuto-m rom-ə-xutobuxo-rə

woman-PL self-PL 3PL-PERF.-shave (head)-RECT.PST.

The women shaved (their heads) themselves. (i.e., no one did for them)

ɸɨn wuto-ɸɨn ɸɨn-iox-wekiniai-r asuxurɨ-m

2DL self-2LD 2DL-FUT.-buy-FUT. food-PL

You two will buy food for yourselves. (i.e., no one will buy it for you two)

sɨ wuto-s sɨ-iox-kɨ-r wunɨ-r

3SGF self-SGF 3SGF-FUT.-build-FUT. house-SGM

She will build a house by herself. (i.e., with help form no one)

Related to reflexive pronouns, Sare has a set of preposed pronominal forms which are referred to as exclusive pronominals. Exclusive pronominals are formed by adding the exclusive suffix -oxori (when the pronoun ends in a consonant) and -xori (when the pronoun ends in a vowel), to the independent pronoun forms. Thus:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	an-oxori	nond-oxori	nom-oxori
2	nɨ-xori	ɸɨn-oxori	mɨ-xori
3	rɨ-xori (M) sɨ-xori (F)	ɸɨn-oxori	rom-oxori

The use of these pronoun forms indicates that only the referent of the subject nominal may carry out the action denoted by the verb in the predicate. Note that up till now we have been dealing only with nominal premodifiers. The exclusive pronouns in Sare are in fact pronominal postmodifiers. For example:

an an-oxori an-oxɨ-i-r Wiwek

1SG 1SG-EXCL. 1SG-FUT.-go-FUT. Wewak

I will go to Wewak myself. (Lit. I will be the only one that will go to Wewak.)

ɸɨ ɸɨ-xori ɸɨ-a-ø maxau-s

3DL 3DL-EXCL. 3DL-eat-PREST. talapia fish-SGF

They are eating a talapia fish by themselves. (Lit. They are the only ones eating the talapia fish.)

Sare also has a set of pronominal forms that indicate possession. Possessive pronouns are formed by adding the possessive suffix -xu (-xɨ in the first person singular) to the independent pronoun forms. Note that the possessive forms are not morphologically completely regular in that the first person singular,

dual and plural appear unpredictably with the roots a-, ndo- and mo- instead of the expected an-, nond-, and nom-. The third person plural also unexpectedly takes the form ro- instead of the expected rom-. Thus:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	a-xi	ndo-xu	mo-xu
2	ni-xu	ɸin-xu	mi-xu
3	ri-xu (M)	ɸi-xu	ro-xu
	si-xu (F)		

For example:

ri a-xi-r ri-wekiniai-ne

3SGM 1SG-POSS.-SGM 3SGM-buy-PREST.

He is buying mine.

si mo-xu-m si-akiməni-iə

3SGF 1PL-POSS.-PL 3SGF-make-PREST.

She is making ours.

ri mi-xu-ɸ ri-guxai-ne

3SGM 2PL-POSS.-DL 3SGM-get-PREST

He is getting yours (2PL).

The NP may optionally occur with an empty head slot. This is only possible when the referent of the head noun is known to both the speaker and the

addressee. In fact not all the determiners given in Table 5.1 can terminate an headless NP. Only the exponents of determiner$_1$, determiner$_2$, relative clause and the adjective slot, plus the postmodifiers diba 'one' and kirekixa 'small/little' may terminate in an headless NP with the gender and number markers of the nominal head being marked on these determiners. For example:

ndsidi wuni-r	→	ndidi-r
this house-SGM		this-SGM
this house		this one
omiəmi wuni-r	→	omiəmi-r
other house-SGM		other-SGM
the other house		the other
di wuni-r	→	di-r
RC house-SGM		RC-SGM
that house		that one
marbe wuni-r	→	marbe-r
big house-SGM		big-SGM
the big house		the big one
wuni kirekuxa-r	→	kirekuxa-r
house small-SGM		small-SGM
small house		small one

With the exception of the numeral one 'dɨba', when any other exponent of the quantifier slot is the last determiner in an headless NP, no number is marked on the numeral. For example:

ndsɨdɨ wunɨ dɨba-r
this house one-SGM
this (one) house

ndsɨdɨ dɨba-r
this one-SGM
this one

ndsɨdɨ sokutu wunɨ-m
this ten house-PL
these ten houses

ndsɨdɨ sokutu
this ten
these ten

5.1.3. Nominal post-modifiers

As shown on Table 5.1, most nominal modifiers precede the head noun of the NP, with only boga 'all, every, plenty, rest of, both of and inclusive' dɨba 'one' and yiən 'negative quantifier' following the head. The adjective kɨrekuxa 'small/little' can either precede or follow the head.

5.1.3.1 boga 'Exhaustive Quantifier"

The exhaustive quantifier boga translates in English as 'all, every, plenty, rest of, and both of,'. When boga occurs after a nominal, it implies that the referent(s) of that nominal are all affected or are all involved in carrying out the action denoted by the verb in the predicate. Gender/number marker is obligatorily marked on the head of the NP which boga modifies. For example:

Kami-r tuxani-m boga ri-oxə-ø

Kami-SGM woman-PL all 3SGM-scold-PPEST.

Kami is scolding all the women.

tuxani-m boga natən-iə-rom

woman-PL all play-PREST.-3PL

All the women are playing.

nond boga dsa-nond-oxə

2DL both of us come-2DL-FUT.

Both of us will come.

5.1.3.2 yiən 'Negative Quantifier'

The form yiən is the negative quantifier which may occur after a nominal only when there is either the negative marker mba- or mbaimba 'no more' before the head of the NP. For example:

mbaomba yioɸisuka yiən xəri-s-ma

no more betelnut NEG.QUANT. string bag-SGF-SPAT.

There is no more betelnut in the string bag.

5.1.3.3 diba 'Cardinal Numeral One'

The cardinal numeral 'one' diba is the only numeral that follows the noun it modifies. Unlike the rest of the cardinal numerals, the number and gender of the noun which diba modifies is marked on diba and not on the noun itself. This suggests that with the exception of the postmodifiers boga and yiən, the number and gender suffix in Sare is marked on the last element of the noun phrase. This observation is also supported by the number and gender marking of an NP in which the adjective kirekuxa 'small/little' is the modifier of the head noun. When it occurs as a premodifier, the number and gender marker is marked on the head of the NP but is marked on kirekuxa, when kirekuxa occurs as a postmodifier. For example:

wa wekiniai -ø yioɸisuka diba-r

IMP. buy-PREST. betelnut one-SGM

Buy one betelnut.

an xo-ø kirekuxa yioɸisuka-r

1SGM give-PREST. small betelnut-SGM

Give me a small betelnut.

an xo-ø yioɸɨsuka kɨrekuxa-r

1SGM give-PREST. betelnut small-SGM

Give me a small betelnut.

5.2 Complex Nominal Phrases

Complex NPs are formed by joining two simple NPs. Three types of complex NPs have been identified: those formed simply through juxtaposition, those formed by conjoining two or more simple NPs, and possessive NPs.

5.2.1 Juxtaposed Complex NPs

A complex NP expressing a coordinate relationship between the constituent NPs can be formed by simple juxtaposition, with the same non-singular number expressing the sum of the number category of the constituent NPs. This is only possible when there is no modification present on the constituent simple NPs. For example:

Gunme-ɸ Sita-ɸ asagidso-go-ɸ

Gunme-DL Sita-DL bathe-PREST.-DL

Gunme and Sita are bathing.

wuiagɨ-m wunɨ-m doxu-m rom-xingɨna-iə

man-PL house-PL canoe-PL 3PL-work-PREST.

The men are working on houses and canoes.

Taio-r Reau-ɸ Kanau-ɸ ri-togoniai-ne

Taio-SGM Reau-DL Kanau-DL 3SGM-wait for-PREST.

Taio is waiting for Reau and Kanau.

Three or more NPs can not be juxtaposed in this manner.

When there is modification present in the juxtaposed complex NP, number (which refers to both heads) is only marked on the last head of the NP. There is only one set of modifiers for both the juxtaposed simple NPs, which precedes the head of the first NP. For example:

wuiagi-m marbe ɸoxu wuro-m rom-xekə-ø

man-PL big pig cassowary-PL 3PL-chase-PREST.

The men are chasing the big pigs and big cassowaries.

wuiagi-m marbe wuro ɸoxu-m rom-xekə-ø

man-PL big cassowary pig-PL 3PL-chase-PREST.

The men are chasing big cassowaries and big pigs.

NPs with independent sets of modifiers can not be juxtaposed in Sare. Such NPs can only be conjoined using conjunctions as described in the following section.

5.2.2 Conjoined Complex NPs

Complex NPs can be formed by conjoining two simple NPs with sa 'and'. With conjoined NPs of this type, the two NPs can share a single set of modifiers, which precedes the first NP, though both NPs are fully marked for number and

gender. Note that a change in the order of the heads of conjoined simple NPs does not change the meaning of the complex NP, providing that the modifiers are unchanged. For example:

lapuni wuiagi-r sa tuxani-s dsa-ø-ɸ

old man-SGM and woman-SGF come-PREST.-DL

The old man and the old woman are coming.

lapuni tuxani-s sa wuiagi-r dsa-ø-ɸ

old woman-SGF and man-SGM come-PREST.-DL

The old woman and man are coming. (= The old man and woman are coming.)

However, when each of the heads is associated with a separate set of modifiers, each set precedes the head that it modifies. For example:

lapuni wuiagi-r sa yampela tuxani-s dsa-ø-ɸ

old man-SGM and young woman-SGF come-PREST.-DL

The old man and a young woman are coming.

Semantically, the conjunction of two NPs signals joint participation in a single event and the two participants share a single semantic role. For example:

Kami-r sa Gawi-r asagidso-go-ɸ

Kami-SGM and Gawi-SGM bathe-PREST.-DL

Kami and Gawi are bathing.

In this sentence 'Kami-r sa Gawi-r' is a single complex NP which is the subject of the verb 'bathe'. In this NP the two head nouns Kami and Gawi are taken as a joint participant, since they both perform the action denoted by the verb meaning bathe. But there is also a possibility for conjoined NPs to be ambiguous depending on whether two separate one-participant events, or a single two-participant event, are being described (Payne 1985).

There are a number of possibilities of complex NP types. These are:

1. Two or more simple NPs, each with a common noun as head. For example:

marbe kokoka doxu-r sa kɨrekuxa kɨrɨm xedsa-r
big red canoe-SGM CONJ. small black paddle-SGM
a big red canoe and a long black paddle

xuti yioɸɨsuka-ɸ, mɨrɨboxuni gɨgeboxuni-s sa kwe-m
two betelnut-DL, short mustard-SGF CONJ. lime powder-PL
two betelnuts, a short piece of mustard and some lime powder

2. Two simple NPs, each with a proper name or a toponym as head. For example:

Kami-r sa Gunme-s
Kami-SGM CONJ. Gunme-SGF
Kami and Gunme

Worimən omtoxu-r sa Angorum omtoxu-r
Worimən village-SGM CONJ. Angoram village-SGM
Worimən village and Angoram village

3. Two simple NPs both with pronouns as head. For example:

ri sa si

3SGM CONJ. 3SGF

him and her

4. Two simple NPs, one with a pronoun as head and the other with a proper noun as head. For example:

Sita-s sa ɸi

Sita-SGF CONJ. 2DL

Sita and them

Of the above two types of complex NPs (i.e. juxtaposed and conjoined complex NPs), only the simple NPs that constitute conjoined complex NPs can be case marked. Each of the simple NPs in a conjoined complex NP must take the same case marker. For example:

Kawi-s maket-s-ma sa stua-r-ma si-iox-i-r

Kawi-SGF market-SGF-SPAT. CONJ. store-SGM-SPAT. 3SGF-FUT.-go-FUT.

Kawi will go to the market and to the store.

5.2.3 Possessive NPs

There is a single possessive construction for all kinds of possessive relationships, whether alienable or inalienable. Thus:

possessor - suffix + possessed

The possessive suffix (cf.4.2.1 (iv)) appears on the possessor nominal followed by the possessed nominal. For example:

ri Kanau-r-xu doxu-r ri-məmbri-dsə

3SGM Kanau-SGM-POSS. canoe-SGM 3SGM-decorate-PREST.

He is decorating Kanau's canoe.

A possessor NP can be associated with another NP as possessor which is itself structurally complex, containing a possessor of its own. For example:

Kanau-r-xu meiəmi-s-xu doxu-r

Kanau-SGM-POSS. mother-SGF-POSS. canoe-SGM

Kanau's mother's canoe.

When the possessive NP contains the postmodifiers diba 'one' and kirekuxa 'small/little', which apparently accepts the gender and number marker in this position, they also accept the possessive suffix -xu. For example:

wuiagi diba-r-xu wuni-r

man one-SGM-POSS. house-SGM

One man's house.

wuiagi kirekuxa-r-xu wuni-r

man small-SGM-POSS. house-SGM

Small man's house.

5.3 Appositive NPs

The appositive NP lies half-way between the simple NP and the complex NP in that it has the structure NP = NP. It has two heads, but unlike the complex NP, the two heads in this NP type, both refer to the same entity, that is to say, these heads are in a mutually attributive relationship. In this NP type, the two attributive heads are simply juxtaposed. No modification is permitted either before, between or after either head. The first head in this type of NP is always a pronoun and is always copied in the form of a suffix to the second noun in the appositive construction ,and the second noun can be any other nominal type. For example:

nom worimən-soɸ-nom, marbe nonxo-goxu-nom

1PL Worimən-resident of.-1PL, big give-AGENT.-3PL

We the people of Worimən are very generous.

nond Pita-nond, i-nond-oxə

2DL Peter-2DL, go-2DL-FUT.

We, Peter and I will go. (= Peter and I will go.)

No English-type constructions like: Peter, the important man, will go tomorrow, are found in Sare. Thus:

* Pita-r marbe wuiagi-r yiuxoɸi ri-iox-i-r

Peter-SGM big man-SGM tomorrow 3SGM-FUT.-go-FUT.-SGM

CHAPTER SIX

VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

6.0 Introduction

The verb is morphologically the most complex word class in Sare. Most of this complexity is in the area of inflectional rather than derivational morphology in that there is more variety of categories expressed inflectionally. In the discussion which follows, the various derivational processes are described first.

6.1 Derivation

There are three derivational strategies in Sare verbal morphology, these being compounding, reduplication and affixation.

6.1.1 Compounding

This is a very productive verb derivational process. Most derived verb compounds are endocentric because the constituent verbs have part of their meanings represented in the compounds. Compounds will be classified and analysed according to their internal make-up.

Verb compounds have full verbal characteristics in that syntactically, phonologically and semantically they behave like the underived verbs. Syntactically these compounds can be used just like any other underived verb stems in a clause. They can take the tense, aspect, mood/modality and subject marking pronominal affixes and can be modified by adverbs. Verb compounds are lexical items that can also be treated phonologically and semantically as

single units (i.e. as independent words). Semantically, such compounds have a meaning which is not necessarily the combined meaning of the two verb roots.

6.1.1.1 Verb plus verb

The derivation of verb compounds by compounding two verb roots is not a very productive process in that, the majority of 'verb plus verb' constructions in Sare are in fact serial verbs constructions (cf. 7.4). The features (a) to (c) of serial verbs discussed in 7.4 are shared by verb plus verb compounds while the last feature is in fact the distinguishing feature of these two verb construction types. Thus, syntactically and phonologically, verb plus verb compounds are single words (cf. 3.0) while serial verbs are separate words syntactically and phonologically. Following are examples of verb plus verb compounds.

Verb Stem	Verb Stem		Verb Compound	
tetsəx	'walk' sare	'speak'	tetsəxsare	'negotiate'
asagidso	'bath' natəni	'play'	asagidsonatəni	'swim'
bro	'scold' saxi	'send messag'	brosaxi	'advise'
xeiəxu	'lead' te	'throw'	xeiəxute	'leave behind'
angatəxi	'see' riɸiri	'pull'	angatəxriɸiri	'stare'

6.1.1.2 Noun plus Verb

Verb compounds can also be derived by compounding a noun and a following verb. The verbs following the nouns in these types of compounds may either be transitive or intransitive, and the verb compounds derived through this process are all intransitive. The nouns in these verb compounds appear in their uninflected (root) forms. For instance:

Verb Stem		Verb Stem		Verb Compound	
sori	'hand'	te	'throw'	sorite	'box'
sori	'arm'	noku	'die'	sorinoku	'tire (of arm)'
wura	'leg'	noku	'die'	wuranoku	'tire (of leg)'
toxu	'head'	taɸina	'break'	toxutaɸina	'headache'
yimansəri	'child'	ai	'get'	yimansərai	'give birth'
yimansəri	'child'	tebate	'labour'	yimansərtebate	'be in labour'
singo	'fishing line'	aɸirai	'hold'	singoaɸirai	'fish with a line'
wuni	'house'	ki	'build'	wuniki	'build house'
doxu	'canoe'	ramə	'carve'	doxuramə	'make canoe'
ɸoxu	'pig'	yiə	'hit/kill'	ɸoxuyiə	'go hunting'
asuxuri	'food'	akiməni	'make'	asuxuriakiməni	'prepare food'
sagi	'water'	tugai	'fetch'	sagitugai	'fetch water'

The following parallel examples illustrate the intransitive use of transitive verbs when they are compounded with a noun. In the first example, the verb aɸirai 'hold' is used transitively and marks its subject as described in 6.2.2. However, when it (aɸirai) is compounded with a noun, the resulting compound is intransitive, hence an intransitive subject marking (cf.6.2.2). Thus:

si singo-r si-aɸira-ne

3SGF fishing line-SGM 3SGF-hold-PREST.

She is holding a fishing line.

si singo-aɸira-ne-s

3SGF fishing line-hold-PREST.-SGF

She is fishing. (with a fishing line)

The verb tugai 'fetch water/liquid' is an example of a verb with an unpredictable meaning. It can be used intransitively, or transitively when the noun sagim 'water' is its object, and can be used intransitively when it is compounded with the noun sagim. Thus when used intransitively, the word tugai has the meaning 'to fetch liquid' For example:

Kami-r tugai-ne-r
Kami-SGM fetch liquid-PREST.-SGM.
Kami is fetching some liquid.

When used transitively with the object water or any other liquid, it specifically states the fetching of water or whatever liquid in the object position. For example:

Kami-r sagi-m ri-tugai-ne
Kami-SGM water-PL 3SGM-fetch-PREST.
Kami is fetching some water.

When compounded with the noun sagim 'water', they form an intransitive verb compound, which refers to a general process of fetching water. For example:

Kami-r sagi-tugai-ne-r
Kami-SGM water-fetch-PREST.-SGM
Kami is fetching water.

6.1.1.3 Verb plus Noun

There are only two attested examples of derived verbs in which the initial element is a verb and followed by a noun, i.e.

Verb Stem		Noun Stem		Verb Compound	
sare	'speak'	yiəriməxu	'story'	sareyiəriməxu	'gossip'
oxu	'scold'	kaisibi	'chin'	oxukaisibi	'swear at'

6.1.2 Reduplication

Reduplication is also a very productive verb derivational process in Sare. All verbal reduplication involves the repetition of the entire verb root, with no patterns of partial reduplication. All reduplicated forms perform the function of expressing iterative aspect. For instance:

Root	Gloss	Reduplication.	Gloss
sare	'speak/talk'	sare-sare	'repeatedly speak/talk'
sogani	'ask/call'	sogan-sogani	'repeatedly ask/call'
oxotu	'cough'	oxotu-oxotu	'repeatedly coughing'
tambra	'tap'	tambra-tambra	'tap repeatedly'

As stated above, only the verb root is reduplicated and not the inflections (i.e. prefixes or suffixes) that are attached to it. For example:

tuxani-ɸ ni-teretse-ø-ɸ
woman-DL RECP.-push-PRSET.-DL
The women are pushing each other.

tuxani-ɸ ni-teretse-teretse-ø-ɸ
woman-DL RECP.-push-REDUP.-PREST.-DL
The women are repeatedly pushing each other.

Any lexical item that belongs to the class of verbs can be reduplicated in Sare, including also compound verbs, i.e. Verb + Verb compounds, Verb + Noun compounds and Noun + Verb compounds. However, in such cases, only the final element of the compound is reduplicated, as illustrated below.

Compound Verb		Reduplicated Verb Compound	
tetsəx-sare	'negotiate'	tetsəxsare-sare	'repeatedly negotiate'
tetsəx-tatə	'walk and fall'	tetsəxtatə-tatə	'repeatedly walk and fall'
sare-yiərɨməxu	'gossip'	sareyiərɨməxu-yiərɨməxu	'repeatedly gossip'
doxu-ramə	'make canoe'	doxuramə-ramə	'repeatedly make canoe'

6.1.3 Affixation

Verbs in Sare can also be derived by attaching affixes either to adjectives (cf.6.1.3.2) or to other verbs. The affixes used for derivation of verbs are the following:

6.1.3.1 Affixed Verb Stems

There are four prefixes and four suffixes which derive verbs out of other verbs, each of which will be described in turn below.

i) Verbal prefixes

The four verbal derivational prefixes are: ai- 'transitiviser', xa- 'ditransitiviser', nɨ- 'reciprocal marker' and sɨ-/səx-/sə- 'effect marker'.

(a) ai- 'transitiviser'

This prefix can only be added to intransitive verbs to derive new verb stems. When it is added to these verbs it increases their valency from one to two, thus changing them into transitive verbs. The derived verbs express a causative meaning, with the object of the derived transitive being the same as the subject of the underived intransitive. For instance:

Verb Stem		Derived Verb	
namboru	'angry'	ai-namboru	'anger'
xaiwuri	'feel sleepy'	ai-xaiwuri	'make sleepy'
rago	'hungry'	ai-rago	'make hungry'
yiedsa	'sweat'	ai-yiedsa	'make sweat'
gaɸəsiai	'surprised'	ai-gaɸəsiai	'surprise'

For example compare the intransitive and transitive use of the verb gruta 'wet' in the following parallel sentences:

siotuxa-s gruta-iə-s
shirt-SGF wet-PREST.-SGF
The shirt is wet.

si siotuxa-s si-ai-gruta-iə
3SGF shirt-SGF 3SGF-TRANST.-wet-PREST.
She is wetting the shirt.

(b) xa- 'ditransitiviser'

This prefix can only be added to transitive verbs to derive new verb stems. When the prefix xa- is added to such verbs it increases their valency from two to three, thus changing them into ditransitive verbs. Semantically, the prefix xa- indicates that the indirect object is the beneficiary of the action denoted by the verb which it (xa-) is attached to. Thus:

Verb Stem		Derived Verb	
xukuta	'put into mouth'	xa-xukuta	'put into (someone's) mouth'
taɸi	'tie'	xa-taɸi	'tie something on (someone)'
tawe	'carry (child) over shoulders'	xa-tawe	'place (child) over (someone's shoulders)'
sedsa	'drink'	xa-sedsa	'give (someone) water to drink'
ɸunu	'wear (clothing)'	xa-ɸunu	'dress (someone) with clothing'

It is observed that with these derived ditransitives, the original pre-verbal object ends in post-verbal position while the 'indirect' object comes to occupy the original object position. For example consider the contrast in the transitive and ditransitive use of the verb ɸunu 'wear (clothing)' in the following parallel sentences:

Kanau-r terestuxa-r ri-ɸunu-go

Kanau-SGM trousers-SGM 3SGM-wear-PREST.

Kanau is wearing trousers.

Kami-r Tomi-r ri-xa-ɸunu-go terestuxa-r

Kami-SGM Tomi-SGM 3SGM-DITRANS.-wear-PREST. trousers-SGM

Kami is putting trousers on Tomi.

(c) ni- 'reciprocal'

Reciprocal action is expressed by the prefix ni-. Such verbs refer to actions in which two or more actors perform the same action on each other. Verbs that are marked with the reciprocal prefix ni- have transitive roots, and this prefix reduces their valency to one. For instance:

Verb Stem		Derived Verb	
teretse	'push'	ni-teretse	'push each other'
tambaroxute	'slap'	ni-tambaroxute	'slap each other'
tegogo	'touch'	ni-tegogo	'touch each other'
angatəx	'see'	ni-angatəx	'see each other'

The following parallel sentences illustrate the non-reciprocal and reciprocal use of the verb teretse 'push'. Thus:

wuiagi-ɸ mi-s ɸi-teretse-ø

man-DL log-SGF 2DL-push-PREST.

Two men are pushing a log.

wuiagi-ɸ ni-teretse-ø-ɸ

man-DL RECP.-push-PREST.-DL

Two men are pushing each other.

(d) si- /səx- /sə- 'effect'

In Sare there are three derivational prefixes for indicating the effect of a particular action or process. The tense of the verb in the effect clause determines which of these prefixes may be used to state the effect of an action or state. Sare thus distinguishes between effect in the present, effect in the future and effect in the past. Thus:

si-	'present effect'
səx-	'future effect'
sə-	'past effect'

For example:

ri-xu meiəmi-s tabəri-iə-s
3SGM-POSS. mother-SGF sick-PREST.-SGF

ri-səx-i-r omtoxu-r-ma yiuxoɸi
3SGM-EFF.-go-FUT. village-SGM-SPAT. tomorrow
He is going to the village tomorrow because his mother is sick.

The syntactic implication of these prefixes is discussed as part of the syntax of the subordinate clause (cf.8.2.2.3).

ii) Verbal suffixes

There are four verbal derivational suffixes: -dsaxo/-yiaxo/-kuxo 'benefactive', -ngombrai 'on or in the direction of', -bogotu 'feel like

(excreting)', and -wobuxuta 'feel like (consuming something)'. The behaviour of each of these will be described in turn below.

(a) Benefactive

The benefactive marker can be added to both transitive and intransitive verbs to derive new ditransitive verbs. Any verb that has the benefactive marker added to it becomes ditransitive. With non-present tenses, the benefactive marker takes the form -kuxo, to which are added the future or past tense markers. For instance:

(i) -kuxo (future/past tense)

Verb Stem		Derived Verb	
taɸi	'tie'	taɸ-kuxo	'will tie/was tied for'
ramə	'carve'	ramə-kuxo	'will carve/was carved for'
wekiniai	'buy'	wekiniai-kuxo	'will buy/was bought for'
te	'throw'	te-kuxo	'will throw/was thrown for'
yitso	'dig'	yitso-kuxo	'will dig/was dug for'
buku	'cut'	buku-kuxo	'will/was cut for'

For example:

Kanau-r Taio-r ri-iox-wekiniai-kuxo-r yioɸisuka-m

Kanau-SGM Taio-SGM 3SGM-FUT.-buy-BEN.-FUT. betelnut-PL

Kanau will buy some betelnuts for Taio.

Kanau-r Taio-r rɨ-iə-wekiniai-kuxo-rɨ yioɸɨsuka-m

Kanau-SGM Taio-SGM 3SGM-PERF.-buy-BEN.-RECT.PST. betelnut-PL

Kanau bought some betelnuts for Taio.

rɨ sɨ rɨ-iə-naɸɨrai-kuxo-mɨ sagi-m

3SGM 3SGF 3SGM-PERF.-pour-BEN.-REMT.PST. water-PL

He poured some water for her.

(ii) In the present tense, the benefactive marker has the forms -dsaxo and -yiaxo, with these allomorphs determined by the nature of the final segment of the verb root. Verbs that end in the front vowels i and e take the variant -dsaxo, while verbs that end in the non-front vowels ə, ɨ, a, o and u take -yiaxo. For instance:

Verb Stem		Derived Verb	
naɸɨrai	'pour'	naɸɨrai-dsaxo	'is pouring for'
ki	'tie'	ki-dsaxo	'is tying for'
sare	'speak'	sare-dsaxo	'is speaking for'
sə	'pull out from ground'	sə-yiaxo	'is pulling out from the groung for someone else'
natəni	'play'	natən-yiaxo	'is playing for/on behalf of'
nina	'fight'	nina-yiaxo	'is fighting on behalf of'
sonto	'ask'	sonto-yiaxo	'is asking on behalf of'
buku	'cut'	buku-yiaxo	'is cutting for'

For example:

Kanau-r Taio-r ri-wekiniai-dsaxo-ø yioɸisuka-m

Kanau-SGM Taio-SGM 3SGM-buy-BEN.-PREST. betelnut-PL

Kanau is buying some betelnuts for Taio.

ri si ri-buku-yiaxo-ø. kini-r

3SGM 3SGF 3SGM-cut-BEN.-PREST. bamboo-SGM

He is cutting a bamboo for her.

(b) -ngombrai 'on or in the direction of'

This suffix can be added to only seven verb roots to derive new verb stems, all of which involve the production of a liquid or a disgusting bodily product. When it is added to these verbs, it indicates that the action denoted by these verbs is being carried out on or in the direction of their objects. For instance:

Verb Stem		Derived Verb	
ruwuri	'defecate'	ruwur-ngombrai	'defecate on'
yino	'urinate'	yino-ngombrai	'urinate on'
bugusiɸi	'spit'	bugusiɸ-ngombrai	'spit on'
saitsu	'bail water'	saitsu-ngombrai	'wet'
ɸisi	'fart'	ɸis-ngombrai	'fart at'
ki	'vomit'	ki-ngombrai	'vomit on'
səbri	'have diarrhoea'	səbri-ngombrai	'excrete watery faeces on'

For example:

si ri-xu terestuxa-r si-iə-ki-ngombrai-rə

3SGF 3SGM-POSS. trousers-SGM 3SGF-PERF.-vomit-on-RECT.PST.

She vomited on his trousers.

(c) -bogotu 'feel like (excreting)'

This suffix is added to only four verbs, which represent a subclass of those verbs which accept the preceding suffix, to derive the verb stems which indicate the feeling of carrying out the action depicted by the verbs. All these verbs refer to the biological bodily functions of excretion of waste matter from the body. Thus:

Verb Stem		Derived Verb	
ruwuri	'defecate'	ruwur-bogotu	'feel like defecating'
yino	'urinate'	yino-bogotu	'feel like urinating'
ɸisi	'fart'	ɸis-bogotu	'feel like farting'
sobri	'have diarrhoea'	sobri-bogotu	'feel like excreting watery faeces'

For example:

ri yino-bogotu-iə-r

3SGM urinate-feel like-PREST.-SGM

He feels like urinating.

(d) -wobuxuta 'feel like (consuming something)'

This suffix is added to only four verbs referring to consumption which express a desire to carry out the action depicted by the verbs. Thus:

Verb Stem		Derived Verb	
sedsa	'drink'	sedsa-wobuxuta	'thirsty'
asauxuria	'eat'	asuxuria-wobuxuta	'feel like eating'
damiaxa	'smoke'	damiaxa-wobuxuta	'feel like smoking'
yiəɸa	'chew' betelnut'	yiəɸa-wobuxuta	'feel like chewing betelnut'

For example:

si sedsa-wobuxuta-iə-s

3SGF drink-feel like-PREST.-SGF

She feels like drinking. (Lit.She is thirsty.)

6.1.3.2 Suffixed adjectives

The adjectives set out in 3.2.1.1, except nori 'raw' and soduxu 'whole', can be suffixed with a verbalising suffix that has the allomorphs -ta after the vowels i, o and u, (except for the adjectives yietsətu 'hot' and xargo 'heavy' which accept -taɸi), and -taɸi elsewhere. For example:

Adjective		Derived Verb	
kirimi	'black'	kirimi-ta	'blacken, darken'
oɸo	'ripe'	oɸo-ta	'ripen'
genuxu	'cold'	genuxu-ta	'colder'
yietsətu	'hot'	yietsətu-taɸi	'become hot'
xargo	'heavy'	xargo-taɸi	'become heavy'
yiənimari	'nice'	yiənimari-taɸi	'nicer'
marbe	'big'	marbe-taɸi	'bigger'
kokoka	'red'	kokoka-taɸi	'redden'

When verbalised, all the adjectives that accept the suffixes -ta and -taɸɨ have an inchoative meaning. Thus these suffixes signal the beginning phase of the state of a noun referred to by the adjective. The adjectives meaning 'whole' and 'raw' do not take the verbalising suffix because they are incompatible with the inchoative meaning. The following sets of parallel sentences will illustrate the adjectival and inchoative meaning of the adjectives genuxu 'cold'.

rɨ genuxu asuxuri-m rɨ-a-ø
3SGM cold food-PL 3SGM-eat-PREST.
He is eating the cold food.

rɨ-xu asuxuri-m genuxu-ta-iə-rom
3SGM-POSS. food-PL cold-INCHO.-PREST.-PL
His food is beginning to get cold.

6.2 Inflection

Those categories that are expressed inflectionally on the Sare verb are (i) subject, (ii) tense, aspect and modality (hereafter TAM), (iii) negation, (iv) elevational/directional markers and (v) time when. Before I discuss the details of these inflectional categories, I will give an overview of the minimal verb.

6.2.1 Overview of the Minimal Verb

Some TAM categories in Sare vary both in their forms and in terms of the morphotactic position in which the category is marked, according to the transitivity of the verb (3.1.2). The basic order of the inflectional categories in relation to the verb root is:

(mood) - (aspect) - ROOT - tense - (modality)

and is constant throughout. What varies is the position of person/number marking (which precedes the transitive verb root and follows the intransitive verb root) plus the secondary tense position in the transitive future.

In the present and past tenses, transitive verbs have the morphotactic structure:

(mood) - person/number - aspect - ROOT - tense - (modality)

In the future tense, however, inflectional categories appear in the following order:

(mood) - person/number - tense - ROOT - tense - (modality)

The difference lies in the fact that the future tense is marked by a discontinuous morpheme whose two parts immediately precede and follow the root.

The intransitive verb also has two different ways of ordering its affixes, one for present and past tenses and the other for the future tense. The affixes on an intransitive verb in the present and the past tenses have the following structure:

(mood) - aspect - ROOT - tense - person/number - (modality)

In the future tense, however, we find the following structure:

(mood) - aspect - ROOT - person/number - tense - (modality)

Since the shapes of the inflectional affixes are the same for both intransitive and transitive verbs, I will provide only one table to show these forms.

The exemplification of how the TAM categories are marked will become apparent in the discussion that follows. For all the verb types, there is obligatory marking for tense, aspect and number/person of the subject, with gender also being marked with third person singular subjects.

Table 6.1 Inflectional Verbal Affixes

Mood	SUB. Marker	Aspect	Tense	V.Root	Aspect	Tense	SUB. Marker	Modal-ity
ø- 'DECL.' wa- 'IMP.' ɸa- 'HORT.' do- 'COMT. (1st & 3rd pers-ons)' do- 'INTER. (2nd per-son)'	See Table 6.2 for transit-ive subject mark-ing prefixes	Perfect-ive Aspect (See Table 6.4)	Only the first part of the discont-inuous future tense marker (See Table 6.4)	Verb Root	Imper-fective Aspect (See Table 6.4)	Tense mark-ers see Table 6.4	See Table 6.3 for intrans-itive subject mark-ing prono-minal suffixes	-ø 'Realis' -ø 'Defin-ite Irrealis' -tesa Potent-ial Irrealis' -bana 'Prob-able Irrealis'

6.2.2 Subject Marking

The marking of person/number and, in the third person singular, also gender of the subject by way of affixes (SMA - subject marking affixes) to the verb differs for transitive and the intransitive verbs. This difference is both in form and

the position in relation to the verb root, with transitive verbs accepting subject prefixes and intransitive verbs accepting subject suffixes. This general trend of subject marking is only observed for unmodified verbs in simple declarative sentences. It is not followed when adverbs are added to the sentences (cf.7.4), and when marking the same subject on the second clause of co-ordinate sentences (cf.8.1.2).

The subject prefixes that we find on transitive verbs are identical in every way in form to the free form pronouns. For instance, if the subject of a sentence is a male person, then the SMA is ri-, which is similar to the third person singular male pronoun ri, and if the subject is a female person, then the SMA is si-, which is similar to the third person singular female pronoun si. Thus compare the free form pronouns presented in section 5.1.2 with the following transitive subject markers in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2 Transitive Subject Marking Pronominal Prefixes			
Singular		Dual	Plural
1	an-	nond-	nom-
2	ni-	ɸin-	mi-
3 (M)	ri-	ɸi-	rom-
(F)	si-		

For example:

an wuni-r an-ki-dsə

1SG house-SGM 1SG-build-PREST.

I am building a house.

Kanau-r doxu-r ri-iox-ramə-r

Kanau-SGM canoe-SGM 3SGM-FUT.-carve-FUT.

Kanau will make a canoe.

tuxani-m nari-m rom-ə-tu-rə

woman-PL mat-PL 3PL-PERF.-weave-RECT.PST.

The women wove mats.

nond wuni-r nond-ki-dsə

1DL house-SGM 1DL-build-PREST.

We are building a house.

The intransitive subject marking suffixes are set out in Table 6.3. It can be seen that in all categories except for first person singular, third person singular and third person dual, the transitive subject prefixes and the intransitive subject suffixes are identical in shape. Even in those categories where there are differences between the transitive and intransitive subject affixes, there is still an overall similarity in their shape as either prefixes or suffixes. Thus:

Table 6.3 Intransitive Subject Marking Suffixes

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	-yan	-nond	-nom
2	-ni	-ɸin	-m
3 (M)	-r	-ɸ	-rom
(F)	-s		

Unlike the subject prefixes, which all precede the inflectional markers on the verb, the marking of the subject suffixes vary in their morphotactic position according to tense. In the present and the past tenses, the subject suffixes occur after the tense marker, but these suffixes appear before future tense suffixes. For example:

an asagidso-go-yan

1SG bathe-PREST.-1SG

I am taking a bath.

tuxani-m ə-tabəri-mə-rom

woman-PL PERF.-sick-REMT.PST.-3PL

The women were sick.

si ə-tabəri-rə-s

3SGF PERF.-sick-RECT.PST.-SGF

She was sick.

Kanau-r axandai-ri-ioxə

Kanau-SGM laugh-3SGM-FUT.

Kanau will laugh.

Although the form of subject-marking is dependent on the transitivity of the verb, it is of particular interest to note that in Sare, the appearance of a certain subset of adverbials with an intransitive verb causes the verb to take subject marking as if the verb were transitive. Compare the following intransitive clauses in which the intransitive verb carries suffixed subject marking when no adverb is present, but prefixed subject marking when an adverb is present:

Taio-r asagidso-go-r

Taio-SGM bathe-PREST.-SGM

Taio is bathing.

Taio-r aisiti ri-asagidso-go

Taio-SGM quickly 3SGM-bathe-PREST.

Taio is bathing quickly.

Of the twenty-one adverbs identified in 3.2.2, the following thirteen have been identified as causing this kind of behaviour:

aisɨtɨ	'quickly'	sɨmbrɨsɨmbrɨ	'bit by bit'
kotoxu	'later'	sawonɨ	'in return'
bidsoxotu	'vigorously'	wosowose	'simultaneously'
kɨrekɨre	'carefully, softly, slowly'	mɨrɨ	'only'
banuwaxu	'nicely, well'	biətɨ	'excessively'
aintsəxu	'accidentally'	sodɨxɨma	'wrong location, wrong direction'
mɨrɨtimbrixina	'waste of time, for no good reason'		

No semantic explanation can be offered for the behaviour of this subset of adverbs, though there does at least seem to be a partial phonological correlation in that the final segment on these forms is more likely to be either /ɨ/ or /u/ than any other segment. This suggests there there might at least be some kind of historical explanation for the treatment of these adverbs as a kind of object, but at this stage, I am unable to suggest what this explanation might involve.

6.2.3 Tense, Aspect and Mood

For a Papuan language, Sare has a relatively rich tense, aspect and mood system. The TAM categories are not discrete and self-contained categories. They (TAM categories) are a tightly-knit complex in that the category of tense interacts with both aspect and mood categories. The following sections will demonstrate this relationship of the TAM categories.

Tense and aspect distinctions are both expressed by means of verbal prefixes and suffixes. This method of expressing aspect in Sare is different from most Papuan languages, which widely use verb compounds (Foley 1986:143). Mood is divided into two categories of modality and illocutionary force. Modality in Sare is expressed through a set of suffixes, while illocutionary force distinctions

like imperative, hortative, optative, requestives, prohibitive, commissive and ability are marked by prefixes.

6.2.3.1 The Tense and Aspect system

Verbs in Sare are inherently aspectual in that different temporal distinctions intrinsically correlate with aspectual distinctions. The implication of these correlations is that the temporal distinctions are expressed by morphosyntactic categories that have wider aspectual functions.

Since tense and aspect categories are marked together on the verb, it is only appropriate that they be discussed together. This does not however mean that these categories are marked by portmanteau morphemes. They are, as we will see below, distinctively marked on the verb, with the present tense markers co-occurring with both the perfective and the imperfective markers; the past tense markers with only the perfective markers; and the future tense co-occurring only with the imperfective. This co-occurrence of tense and aspect markers is presented in Table 6.4 below.

The category of aspect distinguishes between completed and incomplete events. Completed events are those events that took place in the past or during the day prior to the speech utterance. Completed events are marked by the perfective prefixes and the appropriate tense markers. Incomplete events are marked by the imperfective prefix and the appropriate tense markers.

Tense can be defined as how the grammar of a language marks the time when a particular action takes place in relation to the moment of speaking, that is, whether the event precedes, is concurrent with or is subsequent to the speech moment (Comrie 1976a:1-2, Givón 1984:273). Aspect, on the other hand, is the grammatical verbal category that is concerned with the different ways of viewing

the internal temporal constituency of a situation (Comrie 1976a:3). For instance, consider the following English sentences:

Kami ate.
Kami has eaten.

Of these two sentences, the former refers to the time of the action, and the latter refers to the internal temporal constituency of the situation. That is, it states that the process of carrying out the action has been completed in the past.

Sare has a four tense system, with two past tenses, a present, and a future. There are two aspectual categories of perfective and imperfective. The difference between these two categories lies in the completion and non-completion of the situation. The imperfective, as we will see below, is further subdivided into a number of additional aspectual categories. The tense and aspect categories combine to constitute the Sare tense/aspect system which makes seven distinctions of a present imperfective, a present perfective, recent past perfective, recent past imperfective, remote past perfective, remote past imperfective, and a future tense, which is in the imperfective. The different temporal distinctions are given in Diagram 6.1 and the division of tense according to the aspect categories is given in Diagram 6.2.

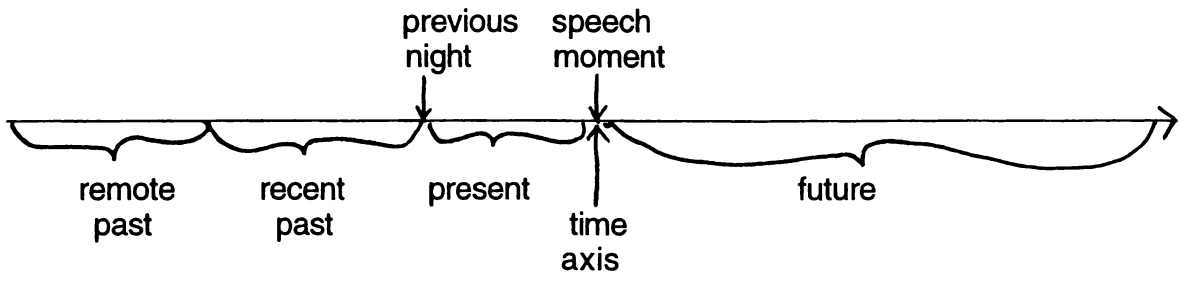

Diagram 6.1 Linear time-line in Sare

As shown on the above diagram, the temporal distinctions in Sare are different from those suggested by Comrie and Givón. This diagram shows that the present time in Sare refers to the period from the previous night up till the speech moment. Past time is divided into recent and past. Recent past refers to the period from the previous night to a week before the present time and the remote past refers to the period of more than a week before the present time. The future time is the period after the time axis. These temporal distinctions will become apparent in the discussion of each of the tense categories below.

Perfective	Imperfective
Recent Past Perfective	Recent Past Imperfective
Remote Past Perfective	Remote Past Imperfective
Present Perfective	Present Imperfective
	Future Imperfective

Diagram 6.2 Combination of Tense and Aspect categories

The markers of each of the tense and aspect categories that co-occur within the verbal complex as indicated in Diagram 6.2 are given in Table 6.4 below.

Table 6.4 Tense and Aspect Markers

	Perfective ə-, iə-	Imperfective ø-
Remote Past -mə, -mɨ	(ɨ)ə-...-mə/-mɨ	ø-...-mə/mɨ
Recent Past -rə, -rɨ	(ɨ)ə-...-rə/-rɨ	ø-...-rə/-rɨ
Present -ø,-ə, -iə, -go, -dsa, -ne	(ɨ)ə-...-ø/-ə/-iə/-go/ -dsa/-ne	ø-...-ø/-ə/-iə/-go/ -dsa/-ne
Future -ioxə or -iox (INTRANS.) iox-...-r (TRANS.)	_____	ø-...-ioxə/-iox iox-...-r

6.2.3.1.1 Present tense

Present tense in Sare covers events that are overlapping or occurring at the very moment of speech, have occurred within the day of the utterance or could occur on any day (i.e. habitual actions). Because of the traditional reckoning of the day from sunset to sunset, events that occurred the previous night are described in the present tense, and events that will occur in the coming night, are described in the future tense.

The present tense as indicated in Table 6.4 has the most complex allomophy of the four tenses. The morpheme marking the present tense on the verb has six different allomorphs, these being: -ø, -ə, -iə, -go, -dsə, and -ne. The distribution of the present tense allomorphs is almost entirely phonologically conditioned, with the final segment of the verb root determining which allomorph the verb takes. Thus:

i) All verbs that end in -te and -tse are zero-marked for present tense. For instance:

Verb root		Present Tense	
aute	'move'	aute-ø	'is moving'
torətse	'push'	torətse-ø	'is pushing'

ii) All verbs that end -xi lose the final i before adding -ə as the present tense marker. For instance:

Verb Root		Present Tense	
roxi	'boil'	rox-ə	'is boiling'
angatəxi	'see'	angatəx-ə	'is seeing'

iii) Verbs that take -iə as their present tense marker are those that end in -go, as well as those that end in a consonant-vowel sequence of -Ca, -Cɨ and -Cə, except for those verbs that end in -xɨ (cf.ii above). For verbs ending in a, ɨ or ə, a final vowel deletion rule applies first which sees the deletion of the central vowels. For instance:

Verb Root		Present Tense	
rago	'hungry'	rago-iə	'is hungry'
akata	'put down'	akat-iə	'is putting down'
tasətɨ	'scratch'	tasət-iə	'is scratching'
ramə	'carve'	ram-iə	'is carving'

iv) The suffix -go is the present tense marker for verbs that end in the back rounded vowels (either o or u), except for the verbs that end in the sequence -go, which, as shown in (iii), take the suffix -iə. For instance:

Verb Root		Present Tense	
kokio	'knock'	kokio-go	'is knocking'
naxu	'shave'	naxu-go	'is shaving'

v) The suffix -dsə is the present tense marker for verbs that end in a sequence of consonant followed by a front vowel (i.e. -Ci or -Ce), except for those verbs that end in the sequences -te and -tse (cf. (i) above). For instance:

Verb Root		Present Tense	
woxi	'rain falling'	woxi-dsə	'is falling'
mose	'smell'	mose-dsə	'is smelling'

vi) The suffix -ne marks present tense for all the verbs that end in the sequence -ai. The final -i of the root is deleted before the addition of the suffix -ne (though note that other -i final verbs retain this vowel in the present tense, as already noted). For instance:

Verb Stem		Present Tense	
aɸrai	'hold'	aɸra-ne	'is holding'
aitsasiai	'steal'	aitsasia-ne	'is stealing'

The allomorphic variation in the expression of the present tense is captured by the following summary:

-ø	verbs ending in -te and -tse
-ə	verbs ending in -xɨ but only after -ɨ is deleted
-iə	verbs ending in -go and those that end in -Ca, -Cɨ and -Cə, but only after apocope of final vowel. This does not include the verbs that end in -xɨ.
-go	verbs ending in consonant plus back rounded vowels (-Cu and -Co) except -go
-dsə	verbs ending in -Ci and -Ce, except -te and -tse
-ne	verbs ending in -ai but only after the phonological deletion rule applies and the final -i is deleted.

6.2.3.1.2 Future tense

The formal marking of the future tense is determined by the transitivity of the verb. For transitive and ditransitive verbs, the future tense is marked by a discontinuous morpheme of the form iox-...-r, with the first part of this morpheme

occurring as a prefix to the verb root and the second half occurring as a suffix. Neither half of this discontinuous morpheme can occur separately. For example:

Kanau-r kar-s ri-iox-wekiniai-r

Kanau-SGM car-SGF 3SGM-FUT.- buy-FUT.

Kanau will buy a car.

The future tense marker for intransitive verbs is a simple suffix, and it follows the subject marking suffix. It takes two forms, depending on the final segment of the SMA. When the SMA ends in the vowel /i/, the intransitive future tense marker takes the form -ioxə, and when it ends in a consonant it has the form -oxə. The only exception to this general rule is the future marker after second person dual subject marker -ɸin, where we find -ioxə rather than the expected -oxə. For example:

si asagidso-si-ioxə

3SGF bathe-3SGF-FUT.

The woman will bath.

tuxani-m asagidso-rom-oxə

woman-PL bathe-3PL-FUT.

The women will bath.

ɸin asagidso-ɸin-ioxə

2DL bathe-2DL-FUT.

You two will bath.

There is also another future tense suffix -yiowa, and is only used for marking future imperative, future requestive and future prohibitive. For example:

asuxuri-m wa-wekiniai-nɨ-yiowa yiuxoɸɨ

food IMP.-buy-2SG-FUT. tomorrow

Buy some food tomorrow.

asuxuri-m waɸɨ-wekiniai-nɨ-yiowa yiuxoɸɨ

food-PL REQ.-buy-2SG-FUT. tomorrow

Can you buy some food tomorrow?.

A further distinction of the future tense marking is observed for interrogatives (cf.7.2.7). To indicate future interrogatives the form oxu r is used with both intransitive and transitive verbs. For example:

rɨ oɸokor rɨ-oxu-asagidso-r

3SGM when 3SGM-FUT.-bathe-FUT.

When will he take a bath?

rɨ biəm rɨ-oxu-wekinia-r

3SGM what 3SGM-FUT.-buy-FUT.

What will he buy?

6.2.3.1.3 Recent past

The recent past expresses events that occurred at least a day to several weeks prior to the speech moment. This category is expressed by either -rə or -rɨ. The form -rə marks recent past tense on all non-benefactive and non-derived benefactive verbs (cf.3.1.2), and is suffixed immediately after the verb root. With intransitive verbs, where there is obligatory gender marking in agreement with the subject, this marker follows the recent past marker. For example:

Kami-r kar-s ri-wekiniai-rə

Kami-SGM car-SGF 3SGM-buy-RECT.PST.

Kami bought a car.

Gunme-s asagidso-rə-s

Gunme-SGF bathe-RECT.PST.-SGF

Gunme bathed.

Reau-r Kawi-s ri-runa-kuxo-ri tai-s

Reau-SGM Kawi-SGF 3SGM-sharpen-BEN.-RECT.PST. knife-SGF

Reau sharpened the knife for Kawi.

6.2.3.1.4 Remote past

The remote past covers events that occurred more than several weeks prior to the speech moment. This category is expressed by either -mə or -mi. The form -mə marks remote past tense on all non-benefactive and non-derived benefactive verbs (cf.3.1.2) and is suffixed immediately after the verb root. With intransitive verbs, the subject marker is attached to the remote past tense marker. For example:

Kami-r kar-s ri-wekiniai-mə

Kami-SGM car-SGF 3SGM-buy-REMT.PST.

Kami bought a car.

Gunme-s asagidso-mə-s

Gunme-SGF bathe-REMT.PST.-SGF

Gunme bathed.

Kanau-r Kami-r ri-wekiniai-kuxo-mi kar-s

Kanau-SGM Kami-SGM 3SGM-buy-BEN.-REMT.PST. car-SGF

Kanau bought a car for Kami.

6.2.3.1.5 Perfective

The perfective marks complete events that have been completed before the speech moment. The perfective marker takes the forms iə- or ə-. Intransitive verbs take ə- as their perfective marker, while (di)transitive verbs are marked by either ə- or iə- depending on the shape of the immediately preceding SMA. When the SMA ends in a consonant, the perfective marker takes the form ə-, and when the SMA ends in a vowel, the perfective marker takes the shape -iə.

As indicated in Diagram 6.1, the perfective may co-occur with the present tense and the two past tenses. This gives rise to three perfective types: a present perfective, recent past perfective and a remote past perfective. Thus:

(a) Present Perfective

Present perfective is used to refer to events which happened in the immediate past and which are still relevant at the time of speaking. The time frame of the present perfective covers events immediately prior to the speech moment to a day, which, as mentioned earlier, is considered to be from sunset to sunset. Thus events that occurred last night will be referred to by the present perfective. This category is signalled by having the perfective prefix as the aspect marker combined with present tense marking. Thus the perfective marker indicates the occurrence and the completion of the action and the present tense marker indicates the relevance of that action to the present time. For example:

Kami-r kar-s ɾi-iə-wekinia-ne

Kami-SGM car-SGF SGM-PERF.-buy-PREST.

Kami has bought a car.

Gunme-s ə-tabəɾi-iə-s

Gunme-SGF PERF.-sick-PREST.-SGF

Gunme was sick.

Parallel sentences lacking these perfective markers will be given a simple present tense interpretation. For example:

Kami-r kar-s ɾi-wekinia-ne

Kami-SGM car-SGF 3SGM-buy-PREST.

Kami is buying a car.

Gunme-s tabəɾi-iə-s

Gunme-SGF sick-PREST.-SGF

Gunme is sick.

(b) Recent Past Perfective

Recent past perfective refers to events that occurred and have been completed in the recent past time (cf.6.2.3.1.3). To mark the recent past perfective, the perfective marker is prefixed to the verb root with the recent past tense marker following the verb root. For example:

Kami-r ə-tabəɾi-rə-r

Kami-SGM PERF.-sick-RECT.PST.-SGM

Kami had been sick.

an tai-s an-ə-abate-rə

1SG knife-SGF 1SG-PERF.-lose-RECT.PST.

I had lost the knife.

Parallel sentences lacking these perfective markers will be given a simple recent past tense interpretation. For example:

Kami-r tabəri-rə-r

Kami-SGM sick-RECT.PST.-SGM

Kami was sick.

an tai-s an-abate-rə

1SG knife-SGF 1SG-lose-RECT.PST.

I lost the knife.

(c) Remote Past Perfective

Remote past perfective refers to events that are completed in the remote past time (cf.6.2.3.1.4). To mark the remote past perfective, the perfective marker is prefixed to the verb root with the remote past tense marker following the verb root. For example:

si tai-s si-iə-abate-mə

3SGF knife-SGF 3SGF-PERF.-lose-REMT.PST.

She had lost the knife.

tuxani-m an rom-ə-wekiniai-kuxo-mi asuxuri-m

woman-PL 1SG 3PL-PERF.-buy-BEN.-REMT.PST. food-PL

The women had bought me some food.

Parallel sentences lacking these perfective markers will be given a simple remote past tense interpretation. For example:

si tai-s si-abate-mə

3SGF knife-SGF 3SGF-lose-REMT.PST.

She lost the knife.

tuxani-m an rom-wekiniai-kuxo-mi asuxuri-m

woman-PL 1SG 3PL-buy-BEN.-REMT.PST. food-PL

The women bought me some food.

6.2.3.1.6 Imperfective

The imperfective is used to express events that have not been completed yet before the speech moment. In Sare, the imperfective is not marked and the unmarked verb roots are understood to be imperfective. For example:

Reau-r wuni-r ri-ø-ki-dsə

Reau-SGM house-SGM 3SGM-IMPER.-build-PREST.

Reau is building a house.

6.2.3.2 Mood

Following Lyons (1968:848) and Foley (1991:252-276), in his description of Yimas, the category of mood in Sare will be divided into modality and mood (illocutionary force). Modality is related to the reality of the occurrence of the event and mood is related to the speech act value of the utterance, or the illocutionary force. Modality is expressed through modal suffixes, while illocutionary force is expressed through a set of prefixes.

6.2.3.2.1 Modality categories

Modality[1] is concerned with 'the ways in which the speaker expresses his attitude to what he says, or his degree of commitment to the truth' (Palmer 1983:208). The modality category which Foley and Van Valin (1984:213) and Foley (1986:158-164) refer to as 'status' is a binary one which characterises events as either actual (realis) or non-actual (irrealis). Thus the function of modality in Sare is to characterise events as either actual or non-actual. As Chung and Timberlake (1985:241) point out:

> 'Whereas there is basically one way for an event to be actual, there are numerous ways that an event can be less than completely actual. For this reason, ... discussion of mood is concerned primarily with different types of non-actuality'.

This is true of the modality category in Sare in that there is only one way of expressing an actual event, the realis, and a number of ways of expressing non-actual events which includes definite irrealis, potential irrealis and probable irrealis.

Modality in Sare interacts with tense in that definite occurrence of events is associated with the past and present tenses, and indefinite occurrence of events is associated with future time. It is possible in Sare to overtly state whether events have occurred, are actually occurring during the speech moment, or will occur in the future. The co-occurrence of tense categories and modality categories is shown in Diagram 6.3 and the discussion that follows further explains this co-occurrence.

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[1] What is referred to here as modality is the same category that Chung and Timberlake (1985) refer to as mood.

Diagram 6.3 Division of tense categories according to modality categories				
Tense	Modality			
	Realis	Irrealis		
		Definite Irrealis	Potential Irrealis	Probable Irrealis
Remote Past	-mə-...-ø		-mə-...-tesa	-bana-..-mə
Recent Past	-rə-...-ø		-ri-...-tesa	-bana-...-rə
Present	-ø/-ə/-iə/-go/ -dsə/-ne-...-ø		-ø/-ə/-iə/-go/ -dsə/-ne-...-	-bana-...-ø/-ə/ -iə/-dsə/-go/
Future		-ioxə-...-ø -iox-...-ø	tesa	-ne

6.2.3.2.1.1 Realis

The category of realis is morphologically unmarked. Realis simply states a real fact and no response is expected from the addressee in reply to that statement, unless it is a question. The realis modality co-occurs with the past and present tenses. Thus the events that occurred or did not occur in the past time or at the time of speaking are seen to be actual events. For example:

Taio-r ə-tatə-rə-r

Taio-SGM PERF.-fall-RECT.PST.-SGM

Taio fell.

Taio-r ri-mbri-tabəri-iə

Taio-SGM 3SGM-NEG.-sick-PREST.

Taio is not sick.

Tomi-r bidsoru-r ri-iə-axutu-mə

Tomi-SGM snake-SGM 3SGM-PERF.-step on-REMT.PST.

Tomi stepped on a snake.

6.2.3.2.1.2 Irrealis

The general category of irrealis is subdivided into three further categories, all of which declare in varying degrees the non-actuality of the event denoted by the verb. The irrealis is subdivided into (a) definite irrealis, (b) potential irrealis and (c) probable irrealis.

(a) Definite Irrealis

The category of definite irrealis is morphologically unmarked. This type of irrealis expresses a non-real event that has no connection with the time of utterance or time before the time of utterance. It simply expresses events that are not real yet at the speech moment, and there is no will or intention to perform the action denoted by the verb. It is only expected by the speaker that the event referred to will become real at any time after the speech moment. For example:

Kami-r wuni-r ri-ioxu-ki-r

Kami-SGM house-SGM 3SGM-FUT.-build-FUT.

Kami will build a house.

(b) Potential Irrealis

The category of potential irrealis is marked by the suffix -tesa which occurs after the SMA with a past and present intransitive verb, and after the tense marker in the future intransitive and transitive verbs. This irrealis type is not restricted to any one tense. It indicates the speaker's belief that the event s/he is referring to may have taken place, is taking place or will take place. For example:

si asa gidso-go-s-tesa

3SGF bathe-PREST.-SGF-POT.

Maybe she is bathing.

rom wuni-r rom-oxu-ki-r-tesa

3PL house-SGM 3PL-FUT.-build-FUT.-POT.

Maybe they will build a house.

Kami-r medsoxu-s ri-iə-araxta-rə-tesa

Kami-SGM fire-SGF 3SGM-PERF.-make fire-RECT.PST.-POT.

Maybe Kami made a fire.

(c) Probable Irrealis

The category of probable irrealis is marked by the suffix -bana which occurs immediately after the verb root. This irrealis type is not restricted to any one tense and refers to events that are not known to be real at the time of speaking but are highly likely to take place. For example:

tuxani-m nari-r rom-tu-bana-iə

woman-PL mat-SGM 3PL-weave-PROB.-PREST.

The women are probably weaving a mat.

Kami-r dogoxu ri-iox-dsa-bana-r

Kami-SGM today 3SGM-FUT.-come-PROB.-FUT

Kami will probably come today. (= It is very likely that Kami will come today.)

rəm yiuxoɸi rom-oxu-natən-bana-r

3PL tomorrow 3PL-FUT.-play-PROB.-FUT

They will probably play tomorrow.

rom yiuxoɸi rom-ə-natən-bana-rə

3PL yesterday 3PL-PERF.-play-PROB.-RECT.PST.

They probably played yesterday.

6.2.3.2.2 Mood categories

As stated above, mood is the verbal category that states the speech act value of the utterance. The mood categories that are inflected on the verb in Sare are: declarative, imperative, hortative, optative, requestive, prohibitive and commissive. Of these mood categories, only declarative mood can be in all tenses, the imperative, hortative, optative, requestive and prohibitive can occur in the present and the future tenses, and commissive only in the future tense.

(a) Declarative

The declarative statement is unmarked in Sare. It is a statement that declares the occurrence of an action and is not tied to any one tense. Many of the above examples illustrates this.

(b) Imperative/Hortative

The imperative and hortative are discussed together because they express a common function, i.e. by the force of the utterance, it is expected that the referent of the verbal subject will perform the action referred to by the verb root. The imperative/hortative markers which are attached as prefixes to the verb are set out in Table 6.5., with the hortative marker occurring in the second person and the imperative in the first and the third persons.

Table 6.5 Imperative and Hortative Markers

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1	ɸa-	da-	ɸa-
2	wa-	wa-	wa-
3	ɸa-	ɸa-	ɸa-

The imperative and hortative may occur in the present or the future tenses. In the present tense, the second person singular subject receives zero subject marking after the verb (as illustrated in the first two examples below), whereas second person dual and second person plural subjects obligatorily receive subject marking after the verb in both present and future tenses (cf. the last two examples below). The second person singular subject however, does receive subject marking after the verb in the future tense (cf. third example below). It is possible for an independent nominal to appear before the imperative and hortative markers, but is not compulsory. Note that in the imperative and hortative

constructions, the word order is SVO, which is different from the normal SOV order of declarative statements. For example:

(nɨ) wa-sedsa sagi-m

(2SG) IMP.-drink water-PL

Drink water. (= You drink some water.)

(Kami) wa-asagidso

(Kami) IMP.-bathe

(Kami) you take a bath.

(nɨ) wa-asagidso-nɨ-yiowa

(2SG) IMP.-bathe-2SG-FUT.

You should take a bath.

(ɸɨn) wa-sedsa-ɸɨn sagi-m

(1DL) IMP.-drink-1DL water-PL

You two drink some water.

(mɨ) wa-kɨ-m wunɨ-r

(2PL) IMP.-build-PL house-SGM

You (PL) build a house.

The first and third person subjects on the other hand obligatorily receive subject marking before the verb. For example:

(nənd) nan-da-sedsa sagi-m

(1DL) 1DL-HORT.drink water-PL

Let us (two) drink some water.

(nəm) na-ɸa-ki wuni-r

(1PL) 1PL-HORT.-build house-SGM

Let us (PL) build a house.

(tuxani-s) si-ɸa-asagidso

(woman-SGF) 3SGF-HORT.-bathe

Let the woman take a bath.

(ɸi) ɸi-ɸa-ki wuni-r

(3DL) 3DL-HORT.-build house-SGM

Let them (two) build a house.

(c) Requestive

The requestive mood signals a request and is marked by the prefixes waɸ- for second person subject and ɸaɸ- for third person subject. The requestive prefixes are therefore compatible with verbal marking for second and third person subjects. The analysis of the data indicates that the position of the SMAs in requestives is determined by their person (2nd or 3rd) rather than by the transitivity of the verbs, as is normally the case (6.2.2). At this stage I do not have an explanation for the fact that these SMAs go against the normal ordering. What than is observed for requestives is that when the subject is in the second person, the SMA occurs as a suffix on the verb root. When, on the other hand, the subject is in the third person, the SMA appears as a prefix before the requestive marker. Note also that when the subject is in the third person plural, the SMA is ra-, instead of the expected rom-. For example:

(nɨ) waɸ-dsa-nɨ

(2SG) REQ.-come-2SG

Can you come?

(ɸin) waɸ-natən-ɸin

(2DL) REQ.-play-2DL

Can you two play?

(sɨ) sɨ-ɸaɸ-wendsəxu

(3SGF) 3SGF-REQ.-sing

Can she sing?

waɸ-xeɨaxɨnia-ɸɨn yioɸɨsuka-m

REQ.-bring-2DL betelnut-PL

Can you (two) bring the betelnuts?

(rɨ) rɨ-ɸaɸ-sedsa sagi-m

(3SGM) 3SGM-REQ.-drink water-PL

Can he drink some water?

(rom) ra-ɸaɸ-yiəɸa yioɸɨsuka-m

(3PL) 3PL-REQ.-chew betelnut betelnut-PL

Can they chew some betelnuts?

(d) Prohibitive

The prefix dogo-, signals prohibitive (or negative imperative). The prohibitive may have a second person subject in the present and future tenses, but a third person subject only in the future tense. For example:

(nɨ) dogo-tɨɸuxa-iə

(2SG) PROH.-scare-PREST.

Don't be afraid.

(nɨ) dogo-sareriɸiri-iə

(2SG) PROH.-complain-PREST.

Don't complain.

(nɨ) dogo-tɨɸuxa-iə-nɨ-yiowa

(2SG) PROH.-scare-PREST-2SG-FUT.

Don't be afraid.

(e) Commissive/Definite future

The commissive signals a commitment to definitely carry out a particular event in the future. This category differs from the plain future tense in that it carries a sense of definiteness or assurance to the addressee that the action or event referred to will definitely be carried out in the future, whereas the plain future tense does not carry such a sense of assurance. The commissive is marked for only the first and third persons by the prefix do-, with the exception of the first person singular, which is marked by d-. Structurally, the commissive is radically different from the rest of the above stated mood categories in that, the SMA occurs immediately after the commissive marker. For example:

dsa-r-an-oxə (plain future tense)

come-FUT.-1SG -FUT.

I will come.

d-an-oxu-dsa-r (commissive)

COMT.-1SG-FUT.come-FUT.

I will definitely come.

nond dsa-r-nond-oxə (plain future tense)

2DL. come-FUT.-2DL-FUT.

We (two) will come.

do-rom-oxu-xingina-r (commissive)

COMT.-3PL-FUT.-work-FUT.

They will definitely work.

6.2.4 Negation

Sare verbs can be negated either by adding mba- before the subject marker, or immediately before the verb root, or by adding mbrɨ- between the subject marker and the root. Alternatively both morphemes can be present on either side of the subject marker before the root. The variation in negating the verb in Sare is determined by the tense of the predicate. The negative order is actually simpler, and unlike the positive, does not appear to be affected by transitivity. The overall order of the negative can be expressed as:

(mba) (SMA) (mbrɨ) VERB ROOT (SMA) TENSE

where the SMA occurs in the first position in past and present, and in the second position in the future. From the examples given below, note that the SMA occurs as a suffix in affirmative sentences but occurs as a prefix in negative sentences when mba- and mbrɨ- co-occur on intransitive verbs. When mba- is the only negative marker, the SMA does not change position. Thus:

i) In the present tense for all verb types, we find either mbri- occurring by itself after the subject marker and immediately before the root, or we find both mba- and mbri-, with mba- preceding the subject marker and mbri- following it.

Corresponding to the following affirmative constructions we find the equivalent negative constructions for transitive, intransitive and ditransitive verbs in the present tense. Note that the basic constituent order of SOV of the majority of the affirmative sentence types is modified to SVO in the corresponding negatives. Thus:

(a) Transitive

wuiagi-r oba-r ri-te-ø

man-SGM stone-SGM 3SGM-throw-PREST.

The man is throwing a stone.

wuiagi-r ri-mbri-te-ø oba-r

man-SGM 3SGM-NEG.-throw-PREST. stone-SGM

The man is not throwing a stone.

wuiagi-r mba-ri-mbri-te-ø oba-r

man-PL NEG.-3SGM-NEG.-throw-PREST. stone-SGM

The man is not throwing a stone.

b) Intransitive

tuxani-s axanda-ne-s

woman-SGF laugh-PREST.-SGF

The woman is laughing.

tuxani-s si-mbri-axanda-ne

woman-SGF 3SGF-NEG.-laugh-PREST.

The woman is not laughing.

tuxani-s mba-si-mbri-axanda-ne

woman-SGF NEG.-3SGF-NEG.-laugh-PREST.

The woman is not laughing.

c) Ditransitive

Kami-r Tomi-r ri-tekatu-go axotu-r

Kami-SGM Tomi-SGM 3SGM-show-PREST. road-SGM

Kami is showing Tomi the road.

Kami-r ri-mbri-tekatu-go-r Tomi-r axotu-r

Kami-SGM 3SGM-NEG.-show-PREST.-SGM Tomi-SGM road-SGM

Kami is not showing Tomi the road.

Kami-r mba-ri-mbri-tekatu-go-r Tomi-r axotu-r

Kami-SGM NEG.-3SGM-NEG.-show-PREST.-SGM Tomi-SGM road-SGM

Kami is not showing Tomi the road.

(ii) In the past tense for all verbs types, we obligatorily find mba- preceding the subject marker and mbri- following it immediately before the root. Corresponding to the following affirmative constructions we find the equivalent negative constructions for past transitive, intransitive and ditransitive verbs.

a) Transitive

yimantamuxa-r tiaxa-r ri-iə-toxutni-rə

boy-SGM coconut-SGM 3SGM-PERF.-grate-RECT.PST.

The boy grated the coconut.

yimantamuxa-r mba-ri-mbri-ə-toxutni-rə tiaxa-r

boy-SGM NEG.-3SGM-NEG.-PERF.-grate-RECT.PST. coconut-SGM

The boy did not grate the coconut.

b) Intransitive

motamuxa-s ə-tatə-mə-s

girl-SGF PERF.-fall-REMT.PST.-SGF

The girl fell.

motamuxa-s mba-si-mbri-ə-tatə-mə

girl-SGF NEG.-3SGF-NEG.-PERF.-fall-REMT.PST.

The girl did not fall.

c) Ditransitive

wuiagi-r tuxani-s ri-iə-tekatu-rə gontua-s

man-SGM woman-SGF 3SGM-PERF.-show-RECT.PST. letter-SGF

The man showed the letter to the woman.

wuiagi-r mba-ri-mbri-ə-tekatu-rə-s

man-SGM NEG.-3SGM-NEG.-PERF.-show-RECT.PST.-SGF

tuxani-s gontua-s

woman-SGF letter-SGF

The man did not show the woman the letter.

iii) In the future tense for all verb types, we find only mba- occurring immediately before the root. Corresponding to the following affirmative constructions we find the equivalent negative constructions for the future transitive, intransitive and ditransitive verbs.

(a) Transitive

wuiagi-m doxu-r rom-oxə-ramə-r

man-PL canoe-SGM 3SM-FUT.-carve-FUT.

The men will make a canoe.

wuiagi-m mba-ramə-rom-oxə doxu-r

man-PL NEG.-carve-3PL-FUT. canoe-SGM

The men will not make a canoe.

b) Intransitive

si xwai-si-ioxə

3SGF sleep-3SGF-FUT.

She will sleep.

si mba-xwai-si-ioxə

3SGF NEG.sleep-3SGF-FUT.

She will not sleep.

c) Ditransitive

Note that in the following ditransitive sentences, the subject marker occurs as a prefix in the affirmative and as a suffix in the negative. This is not observed with present and past ditransitive sentences, where the subject marker occurs as a prefix in both affirmative and negative sentences. Thus:

Reau-r Kawi-s ri-iox-xo-r marasini-m

Reau-SGM Kawi-SGF 3SGM-FUT.-give-FUT. medicine-PL

Reau will give Kawi some medicine.

Reau-r mba-xo-ri-s-oxə Kawi-s marasini-m

Reau-SGM NEG.-give-3SGM-F-FUT. Kawi-SGF medicine-PL

Reau will not give Kawi some medicine.

6.2.5 Elevationals/Directionals

There is a category of inflectional forms which express the directional orientation of an activity. Verbs expressing motion can have the direction marked by means of a prefix, with the resulting morphological complex being inflected in the regular manner. The semantic categories of direction that are expressed in this way include reference to whether the action takes place on a level plain, uphill or downhill; upstream or downstream; across, over or to the other side of an area. Motion uphill or downhill and upstream or downstream can be

distinguished between that towards the speaker and that away from the speaker. The various directional prefixes are given in the following Table 6.6.

Table 6.6 Directional Prefixes

Level	Ø-
Uphill to speaker, downhill from speaker	guwa-
Downhill to speaker, uphill from speaker	gax-
Upstream to speaker, downstream from speaker	ka-
Downstream to speaker, upstream from speaker	yiax-
Motion across	re-
Motion over	wax-
Motion towards side of river, lake, house etc.	rək-

Note from Table 6.6, there are only two prefixes (gax- and guwa-) for indicating uphill motion towards and away from the speaker, and downhill motion towards and away from the speaker. Note also that these same prefixes on Table 6.7 are glossed as 'location up' and 'location down' respectively.

The use of these prefixes to indicate uphill and downhill motion, is determined by the location of the speaker, whether uphill or downhill location. Thus when the speaker is at a uphill location, the form guwa- is used to indicate the motion uphill towards the speaker and motion downhill away from the speaker. For example:

si ø-dsa-ø-s

3SGF LEVL.-come-PREST.-SGF

She is coming.

sɨ guwa-tetsəx-dsə-ø-s

3SGF UP.HILL.-walk-come-PREST.-SGF

She is walking (coming) up hill. (towards the wpeaker)

sɨ guwa-tetsəx-e-ø-s

3SGF UP.HILL.-walk-go-PREST.-SGF

She is walking/going downhill. (away form the speaker)

When on the other hand, the speaker is on a downhill location, the form gax- is used to indicate motion downhill towards the speaker and motion uphill away from the speaker. For example:

rɨ gax-tetsəx-dsa-ø-r

3SGM DN.HILL.-walk-come-PREST.-SGM

He is walking/coming downhill. (towards the speaker)

rɨ gax-tetsəx-e-ø-r

3SGM DN.HILL.-walk-go-PREST.-SGM

He is walking/going uphill. (away from the speaker)

A similar pattern is observed for motion upstream and motion downstream. When the speaker is at an upstream location, the form ka- is used to indicate motion upstream towards the speaker and motion downstream away from the speaker. For example:

rɨ ka-xedsa-dsa-ø-r

3SGM US.MOT. paddle-come-PREST.-SGM

He is paddling/coming upstream (towards speaker)

ri ka-xedsa-e-ø-r

3SGM US.MOT.-paddle-go-PREST.-SGM

He is paddling/going downstream (away from the speaker)

When on the other hand the speaker is at a downstream location, the form yiax- is used to indicate motion downstream towards the speaker and motion upstream away from the speaker. For example:

ri yia-xedsa-dsa-ø-r

3SGM DS.MOT.- paddle-come-PREST.-SGM

He is paddling/coming downstream. (towards the spaker)

ri yia-xedsa-e-ø-r

3SGM DS.MOT.-paddle-go-PREST.-SGM

He is paddling upstream (away from the speaker)

The elevationals/directions can also locate the location of the action or state in respect to the location of the speaker. This function of elevationals is morphologically marked by elevational prefixes as set out in Table 6.7. The different elevational locations that Sare differentiates are level location, location up and down, location upstream and downstream, location inside and outside, beside, across other side, over the other side and location underneath. Note the close similarity between the directionals in Table 6.6 and the locationals in Table 6.7.

Table 6.7 Elevational Prefixes									
Level	Up	Down	Up stream	Down stream / inside building	up front	Beside rive/lake Outside building	Across other side	Over the other side	Under-neath
ø-	gax-	guwa-	yiax-	ka-	kax-	rək-	re-	wax-	yiuk-

For example:

ri asagidso-go-r

3SGM bathe-PREST.-SGM

He is bathing. (level)

ri gax-asagidso-go-r

3SGM up-bathe-PREST.-SGM

He bathing up above.

ri yiax-asagidso-go-r

3SGM upstream-bathe-PREST.-SGM

He is bathing upstream.

ri re-asagidso-go-r

3SGM across other side-bathe-PREST.-SGM

He is bathing across the other side of the river/lake.

When they co-occur with other inflectional prefixes, the elevationals and directionals always occur immediately before the verb root. For example:

rɨ wunɨ-r rɨ-iə-gaxɨ-kɨ-rə

3SGM house-SGM 3SGM-PERF.-UP.HILL-build-RECT.PST.

He build a house up on the hill.

rom guwa-nataən-rom-əxə

3PL DOWN-play-3PL-FUT.

They will play down there.

6.2.6 Time When

A discontinuous morpheme is used to indicate the time when an event occurred in relation to another event. This discontinuous morpheme is further classified into three forms according to the time when the events are carried out. That is, whether the actions occurred in the immediate past, in the recent or remote past, or will occur in the future. Thus:

ndɨ-...-sɨn	'immediate past time when'
ndo-...-sɨn	'past time when'
ndox-...-sɨn	'future time when'

For example:

seka-r rɨ-ndɨ-woxɨ-dsə-sɨn sɨ-iə-dsa

rain-SGM 3SGM-WHEN-rain fall-PREST.-WHEN 3SGF-PERF.-come

She came when it was raining.

sɨ ndo-xwaɨ-mə-sɨn

3SGF WHEN-sleep-REMT.PST.-WHEN

ri-iə-aitsasiai-mə tiaxa-r

3SGM-PERF.-steal-REMT.PST. coconut-SGM

He stole the coconut when she was sleeping.

Gunme-s ri-ndox-asagidso-sin si-iox-dsa-r

Gunme-SGF 3SGM-WHEN-bathe-WHEN 3SGF-FUT.-come-FUT.

Gunme will come when he will be taking a bath.

6.3 Irregular verbs

There are only five verbs which are irregular in Sare and these are the verbs meaning 'go', 'come', 'hit/kill', 'sleep', and 'give'. These verbs are irregular in that they have a number of roots based on tense categories. Thus:

i) The verb meaning 'go' has two forms: i 'future tense' and e 'non-future tenses'. In the present and the future we find separate roots to which tense affixes are added, but in the two past tenses they are in fact portmanteau morphs combining the verb root and the tense. Thus:

e	'present'
i	'future'
re	'recent past'
me	'remote past'

For example

si wuni-r-ma si-e-ø

3SGF house-SGM-SPAT. 3SGF-go.-PREST.

She is going to the house.

sɨ wuni-r-ma sɨ-iox-i-r

3SGM house-SGM-SPAT. 3SGM-FUT.-go-FUT.

She will go to the house.

sɨ wuni-r-ma sɨ-iə-re

3SGF house-SGM-SPAT. 3SGF-PERF.-go.RECT.PST.

She went to the house

sɨ wuni-r-ma sɨ-ə-me

3SGF house-SGM-SPAT. 3SGF-PERF.-go.REMT.PST.

She went to the house.

ii) The verb meaning 'come' has a single form for non-past tenses to which tense affixes are attached and has portmanteau morphs in the past tenses, which combine the verb root and the tenses. Thus:

dsa	'non-past tenses'
rɨa	'recent past'
mia	'remote past'

For example:

rɨ dsa-r wuni-r-ma

3SGM come-SGM house-SGM-SPAT.

He is coming to the house.

rɨ dsa-r rɨ-ioxə yiuxoɸɨ

3SGM come-FUT. 3SGM-FUT. tomorrow

He will come tomorrow.

rɨ ə-rɨa-r yiuxoɸɨ

3SGM PERF.-come.RECT.PST.-SGM yesterday

He came yesterday.

rɨ ə-mɨa-r las yɨa

3SGM PERF.-come.REMT.PST.-SGM last year

He came last year.

iii) The verb meaning 'hit/kill' has two forms: ə 'present' and yɨə 'future'. In the past tenses we find portmanteau morphs combining the verb root and the tense. Thus:

ə	'present'
yɨə	'future'
rɨ	'recent past'
mɨ	'remote past'

For example:

wuiagɨ-r ɸoxu-r rɨ-ə-ø

man-SGM pig-SGM 3SGM-kill-PREST.

The man is killing a pig.

wuiagɨ-r ɸoxu-r rɨ-iox-yɨə-r

man-SGM pig-SGM 3SGM-FUT.-kill-FUT.

The man will kill a pig.

wuiagi-r ɸoxu-r ri-iə-ri

man-SGM pig-SGM 3SGM-PERF.-kill.RECT.PST.

The man killed a pig.

wuiagi-r ɸoxu-r ri-iə-mi

man-SGM pig-SGM 3SGM.PERF.-kill.REMT.PST.

The man killed a pig.

iv) The verb meaning 'sleep' has two forms, one for present tense and one for non-present tenses. Thus:

xwe 'present tense'

xwai 'non-present tenses'

For example:

si-xu wuiagi-r xwe-ø-r

3SGF-POSS. man-SGM sleep-PREST-SGM

Her husband is sleeping.

si-xu wuiagi-r xwai-ri-ioxə

3SGF-POSS. man-SGM sleep-3SGM-FUT.

Her husband will sleep.

ri-xu tuxani-s ə-xwai-rə-s

3SGM-POSS. woman-SGF PERF.sleep-RECT.PST.-SGF

His wife slept.

rɨ-xu tuxanɨ-s ə-xwai-mə-s

3SGM-POSS. woman-SGF PERF.-sleep-RECT.PST.-SGF

His wife slept.

v) The verb meaning 'give' has two forms. One for present tense and one for non-present tenses. Thus:

axo 'present tense'

xo 'non-present tenses'

For example:

rɨ sɨ rɨ-axo-ø yioɸɨsuka-r

3SGM 3SGF 3SGM-give-PREST. betelnut-SGM

He is giving her a betelnut.

rɨ sɨ rɨ-iox-xo-r yioɸɨsuka-r

3SGM 3SGF 3SGM-FUT.-give-FUT. betelnut-SGM

He will give her a betelnut.

rɨ sɨ rɨ-iə-xo-rə yioɸɨsuka-r

3SGM 3SGF 3SGM-PERF.-give-RECT.PST. betelnut-SGM

He gave her a betelnut.

rɨ sɨ rɨ-iə-xo-mə yioɸɨsuka-r

3SGM 3SGF 3SGM-PERF.-give-REMT.PST. betelnut-SGM

He gave her a betelnut.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SIMPLE SENTENCES

7.0 Introduction

A sentence in Sare is defined as any subject-predicate construction, which may be of the type simple or complex (cf. Chapter eight). The difference between a simple sentence and a complex sentence is determined by the number of clauses that a sentence contains, with a simple sentence containing a single main clause and a complex sentence containing a main clause and at least one smaller clause (Matthews, 1981:170).

Any Sare sentence must be minimally made up of a subject nominal and a predicate but not necessarily in that order. A predicate in verbal clauses may consist of at most two verbs plus a nominal or adverbial elements and in non-verbal clauses, it may consist of a nominal phrase (Andrews 1985:66-67). Simple sentences in Sare will be divided into those in which a non-verbal element is the predicate (section 7.1) and those that have a verbal element as their predicate (section 7.2). Non-core NPs such as locatives, instrumentals, temporals (cf.7.7) and adverbs (cf.7.3) may either precede or follow the predicate.

Simple sentences can be of two types depending on whether or not they include a verb. Sentences that do not include a verb are referred to as non-verbal sentences and those that include a verb are referred to as verbal sentences.

7.1 Non-verbal sentences

Affirmative non-verbal sentences may consist of a subject NP and a predicate NP. The subject NP, which may be manifested by a noun, a personal pronoun, a demonstrative or an adjective, may either precede or follow the predicate NP which may also be manifested by a noun, a personal pronoun, a demonstrative or an adjective. The structure of the non-verbal sentence may be schematised as:

NOUN		NOUN
PRON.		PRON.
DEM.	+	DEM.
ADJ.		ADJ.

Depending on the semantic content of the constituents, the non-verbal sentences are understood as being of the following types: stative or equative, exclamative, resemblance, and existential.

7.1.1 Stative and Equative sentences

Semantically, when the predicate NP slot is manifested either by a demonstrative or an adjective, the non-verbal sentence is stative, in that the predicative NP predicates a state or identity of the subject NP. In these sentence types, the adjective or the demonstrative assumes a predicative function only when the number or gender of the subject NP is affixed to them, but assumes an attributive function when no number and gender marking is marked on them (cf. 5.1.1.1 and 5.1.1.6). For example:

doxu-r wami-r

canoe-SGM old-SGM

The canoe is old.

wami-r doxu-r

old-SGM canoe-SGM

The canoe is old.

doxu-mi-r ndsidi-r

canoe-tree-SGM this-SGM

This is a canoe tree.

ndsidi-r doxu-mi-r

this-SGM canoe-tree-SGM

This is a canoe tree.

ri yiənimari-r

3SGM nice-SGM

He is a nice person

yiənimari-r ri

nice-SGM 3SGM

He is a nice person.

kokoka-r didi-r

red-SGM that-SGM

That is a red one. /That one is red.

didi-r kokoka-r

that-SGM red-SGM

That is a red one./ That one is red.

When, on the other hand, the predicate NP slot is manifested by a nominal (i.e. a noun or a pronoun), the non-verbal sentence is equative in that there is a complete identity between the referents of the subject and predicate NPs. For example:

Pita-r patiə-r

Peter-SGM priest-SGM

Peter is a/the priest.

patiə-r Pita-r

priest-SGM Peter-SGM

Peter is a/the priest.

The subject NP slot of an equative sentence can be also manifested by deictic elements when the predicate NP slot is manifested by a common noun. The marking of person, number and gender on the predicate NP is the same as that identified in Table 6.3. There are three options available for filling the

deictic subject: an emphatic personal pronoun, a demonstrative or an adjective all marked for person and number. When an emphatic personal pronoun is used the referent is understood to be human. For example:

an dokta-yan	dokta-yan an
1SG doctor-1SG	doctor-1SG 1SG
I am a doctor.	I am a doctor.
ri dokta-r	dokta-r ri
3SGM doctor-SGM	doctor-SGM 3SGM
He is a doctor.	He is a doctor.

When a demonstrative or an adjective is used as the subject nominal the referent is non-human though such subjects may also be used with predicates with human referents. For example:

didi-s biə-s	biə-s didi-s
that-SGF what-SGF	what-SGF that-SGF
What is that?	What is that?
didi-s marbe-s	marbe-s didi-s
that-SGF big-SGF	big-SGF that-SGF
That is a big one.	That is a big one.
didi-r yiənimari-r	yiənimari-r didi-r
that-SGM nice-SGM	nice-SGM that.-SGM
That is a good one.	That is a good one.

Swearing in Sare also always takes the form of an equative non-verbal sentence described above. These structures are however, different from the

equative sentences in that: (i) the order is invariably PREDICATE + SUBJECT, since it is not possible to say ni kime-s 'you are a prick', and (ii) there is no pronominal marking on the predicate. When swearing using taboo body parts, the noun referring to the body part precedes a second person pronoun which refers to the addressee(s) or the person(s) being sworn at. Third person pronouns can not be used since Sare does not allow for constructions like 'Kami is a prick'. For example:

yisa-s ni
cunt-SGF 2SG
You are a cunt. (TP. kan yu)

kime-s ni
prick-SGF 2SG
You are a prick. (TP. kok yu)

ridsəɸi-s ni
arsehole-SGF 2SG
You are an arsehole.

ɸiriuxu-s ni
testicle-SGF 2SGF
You are a testicle. (TP. bol yu)

kəmbinbanasidsai-n ni
2SG bastard-2SG 2SG
You are a bastard.

Sare speakers, however, nowadays very commonly use the swearing borrowed from Tok Pisin, which has identical structure to that of Sare. For example:

kan yu
vagina you
You are a cunt. (= You cunt.)

The verbs meaning 'sit' and 'stand', which are used in free variation, function synonymously as semantically empty dummy verbs when any

inflectional category other than the present progressive is being expressed. Note that while the verbs ridsə 'sit' and mitəx 'stand' are intransitive, when they function as copulas in this particular construction they are inflected as for transitive verbs. For example:

Pita-r dokta-r ri-yiox-ridsə-r

Peter-SGM doctor-SGM 3SGM-FUT.-sit.-FUT.

Peter will be a doctor. (Lit. Peter will sit a doctor.)

Pita-r dokta-r ri-ə-miri-ø

Peter-SGM doctor-SGM 3SGM-PERF.-sit.-REMT.PST.

Peter was a doctor. (Lit. Peter sat a doctor.)

Taio-r kansol-r ri-iə-mitəx-ø

Taio-SGM councillor-SGM 3SGM-PERF.-stand.-REMT.PST.

Taio was a councillor. (Lit. Taio stood a councillor.)

To negate non-verbal sentences, the negative marker mba- (cf.6.2.4) is immediately attached to the predicate NP as in the following structures:

wuni-r mba-marbe-r

house-SGM NEG.-big-SGM

The house is not big.

mba-marbe-r wuni-r

NEG.-big-SGM house-SGM

The house is not big.

ri mba-patiə-r

3SGM NEG.-priest-SGM

He is not a priest.

mba-patiə-r ri

NEG.-priest-SGM 3SGM

He is not a priest.

ri mba-ya-təxis patiə

3SGM NEG.-FOC.-stand. priest.

He was not a priest.

ri mba-ya-təxis-ri-

3SGM NEG.-FOC.-stand-3SGM-

-iəxə patiə

-FUT. priest

He will not be a priest.

7.1.2 Exclamative sentences

These are sentences the speaker uses to express his/her feelings about a person or a thing. The exclamative marker sa, which occurs sentence initially indicates the speaker's intention to express his/her feelings. The use of sa indicates an attribute of the addressee. For example:

sa Kami-r yiənimari wuiagi-r

EXCL. Kami-SGM nice man-SGM

Kami is not a nice man.

sa Kami-r mbaxaɸa wuiagi-r

EXCL. Kami-SGM bad man-SGM

Kami is a nice man.

7.1.3 Resemblance sentences

There are two forms indicating resemblance in Sare: wuiaxa and nowaxu. The former occurs before the predicate NP and indicates that the referent of the subject NP resembles the referent of the predicate NP in physical traits. The latter indicates that the referent of the subject NP

resembles the actions of the predicate NP and will be discussed under verbal sentences in section 7.2. For example:

ri wuiaxa Kami-r

3SGM resemble Kami-SGM

He is like Kami.

Kami-r wuiaxa yio-r

Kami-SGM resemble dog-SGM

Kami is like a dog.

yio-r wuiaxa yima-r

dog-SGM resemble person-SGM

The dog is like a man.

These sentences are negated by affixing the negative marker mba- to the resemblance marker. For example:

ri mba-wuiaxa Kami-r

3SGM NEG.-resemble Kami-SGM

He is not like Kami.

The subject NP of a resemblance sentence may also be filled by demonstratives or adjectives. For example:

ndsidi-r wuiaxa didi-r

this-SGM resemble that-SGM

This one is like that one.

didi-r wuiaxa yio-r

that-SGM resemble dog-SGM

That one is like a dog.

kokoka-r wuiaxa kirimi-r

red-SGM resemble black-SGM

The red one is like the black one.

7.1.4 Existential sentences

Sare existential sentences are common in everyday conversation, especially when referring to a sudden or unexpected happening. Existential sentences in Sare consist simply of a nominal predicate, similar to what is reported for Tolai (Mosel 1984:156) and Tawala (Ezard 1997:180-183). For example:

seka-r

rain-SGM

(It/there is) rain.

bidsoru-r

snake-SGM

(It/there is a) snake.

When negating existential sentences, the negative marker mba- is prefixed to the nominal predicate clause. For example:

mba-bidsoru-r

NEG.-snake-SGM

It is not a snake.

mba-yima-r

NEG.-person-SGM

It is not a man.

7.2 Verbal sentences

A number of simple verbal sentence types have been identified for Sare. These includes declarative sentences, imprecative sentences, resemblance caveat sentences, assertive sentences, optative sentences, and interrogatives.

7.2.1 Declarative sentences

A declarative sentence is the most common of all sentence types and is therefore discussed in detail, starting with its constituent order, its transitivity and then looking at the semantic roles of its constituents.

7.2.1.1 Basic Constituent Order/Transitivity and Semantic Roles

The preferred order of the syntactic functions of subject and object in relation to the verb and transitivity in a declarative sentence will be discussed in section 7.2.1.1.1, and in section 7.2.1.1.2, the particular semantic roles which these syntactic functions encode in particular events.

7.2.1.1.1 Constituent Order and Transitivity

In a declarative transitive sentence the basic or unmarked constituent order is Subject-Object-Verb (SOV), which is a widely attested order among Papuan languages (Foley 1986). In intransitive sentences the unmarked constituent order is Subject-Verb (SV). For ditransitive sentences, the basic order of constituents is subject-indirect object-verb-direct object (SVO). Although subject-initial order represents the unmarked constituent order of Sare sentences, other configurations (i.e. SOV, OVS, VOS or VS), also occur. Thus the subject NP may occur sentence-finally in both intransitive, transitive and ditransitive sentences. The change in the basic constituent order of sentences is pragmatically influenced as we will see later in this section. Despite the said change in the constituent order of sentences, the referential meaning of the sentences is unchanged as illustrated by the following pair of parallel sentences.

Kanau-r asagidso-go-r

Kanau-SGM bathe-PREST.-SGM

Kanau is taking a bath.

asagidso-go-r Kanau-r

bathe-PREST.-SGM Kanau-SGM

Kanau is taking a bath.

tuxani-s wuiagi-r si-teretse-ø

woman-SGF man-SGM 3SGF-push-PREST.

The woman is pushing the man.

wuiagi-r si-teretse-ø tuxani-s

man-SGM 3SGF-push-PREST. woman-SGF

The woman is pushing the man.

wuiagi-r tuxani-s ri-axo-ø yioɸisuka-r

man-SGM woman-SGF 3SGM-give-PREST. betelnut-SGM

The man is giving a betelnut to the woman.

tuxani-s ri-axo-ø yioɸisuka-r wuiagi-r

woman-SGF 3SGM-give-PREST. betelnut-SGM man-SGM

The man is giving a betelnut to the woman.

The movement of the subject NP to other syntactic slots other than the final slot, or the movement of any of the other constituents in the sentence to other syntactic slots will affect the referential meaning of these sentences. For instance, if the subject of the above transitive sentence is moved to the object slot and the object to the subject slot, the semantic roles of these two NPs will change, resulting in a change of meaning, even though exactly the same NPs are used. For example:

wuiagi-r tuxani-s ri-teretse-ø

man-SGM woman-SGF 3SGM-push-PREST.

The man is pushing the woman.

The basic constituent order observed for ditransitive sentence is also observed for a number of other sentence types like:

a. reflexive sentences (cf. 7.2.1.1.2.3) and

b. adverbial sentences (cf.7.3)

c. temporal sentences

These sentence types have the same number of nominal and verbal slots as the ditransitive sentences. They have two nominal slots, which are occupied by the subject in the initial position and the object in the final position, and two verbal slots, the first of which is occupied by either the reflexive, an adverb or a temporal, and the second which is occupied by a verb. Besides the structural similarities, the reflexive NP is semantically analysed as an object NP and is discussed under indirect object (7.2.1.1.2.3). For example:

Kami-r wuto-r rɨ-təmbrɪdsaxu-ɕɔ

Kami-SGM self-SGM 3SGM-cut-PREST.

Kami is cutting himself.

Adverbs can also occupy the same position as the indirect object, or they can appear after the object. This is true for sentences that have either the underived adverbs (cf. 3.2.2) or derived adverbs (cf. 7.3). For example:

rɨ aisɨtɨ rɨ-te-ø oba-r

3SGM quickly 3SGM-throw-PREST. stone-SGM

He is throwing the stone quickly.

rɨ rɨ-te-ø oba-r tɨɸixa-kɨ

3SGM 3SGM-throw-PREST. stone-SGM frighten-ADV.

He is throwing the stone frightenly.

Temporals also occupy the same structural position as the indirect object and have a similar constituent order and subject marking as that of a ditransitive sentence. For example:

Taio-r yiuxoɸ ri-iəx-wekiniai-r kwe-m

Taio-SGM tomorrow 3SGM-FUT.-buy-FUT. lime powder-PL

Taio will buy some lime powder tomorrow.

As stated above the basic constituent order of syntactic functions in Sare is pragmatically influenced, more specifically by focusing. Focusing can be defined following Dik (1974) as "that pragmatic function which characterises constituents with focus function which present the relatively most important or salient information with respect to the pragmatic information of the speaker and the addressee". There are two focusing strategies in Sare: (i) the use of the suffix -ya (x) and (ii) the movement of either the object or the verb to the initial position.

To indicate focus, the suffix -ya(x) is marked only on the subject nominal of either transitive and intransitive verbs but only when the subject is in the initial position. The subject nominal is never marked with -ya in any other position. It is also observed that the object nominal does not take -ya at all. To indicate focus of an object nominal, that nominal is simply moved to the sentence initial position. When focusing an event or activity, the verb referring to that event or activity is also moved to the sentence initial position.

Morphologically, focusing in Sare is signaled by the use of -ya with the subject nominal or by the change of the word order resulting in the object or verb being moved to the initial position. Thus the change of word order observed in 7.2.1.1.1 from the basic order of SOV to OVS or VS is determined by the need to focus a nominal or an activity/event. Word order in Sare is

therefore said to be pragmatically influenced by focusing. Syntactically, the initial position in Sare is the focusing position and semantically, focus in Sare is contrastive. Thus Sare observes the factors Chafe (1976) lists as necessary for focus of contrast: background knowledge that somebody did something, a set of possible candidates in the addressee's mind, and the assertion about which candidate is the correct one. Thus there can be no contrast if the number of candidates is either limited or only one. For example in the following six sentences Pita is the subject nominal but is only focused in the second and fifth sentences. In the third sentence the activity is focused while in the sixth sentence it is the object that is in focus.The subject in the first and fourth sentences is not focused because they represent the unmarked intransitive and transitive sentences.

Pita-r asagidso-go-r

Peter-SGM bathe-PREST.-SGM

Peter is taking a bath.

Pita-r-ya asagidso-go

Peter-SGM-FOC. bathe-PREST.

Peter is taking a bath.

asagidso-go-r Pita-r

bathe-PREST.-SGM Peter-SGM

Peter is taking a bath.

Pita-r Kami-r ri-teretse-ø

Peter-SGM Kami-SGM 3SGM-push-PREST.

Peter is pushing Kami.

Pita-r-ya ri-teretse-ø Kami-r

Peter-SGM-FOC. 3SGM-push-PREST. Kami-SGM

Peter is pushing Kami.

Kami-r ri-teretse-ø Pita-r

Kami-SGM 3SGM-push-PREST. Peter-SGM

Peter is pushing Kami.

Having discussed the basic constituent order we now turn to transitivity, which in Sare is determined both on syntactic grounds and by the constituents of the sentence. Sare does not have a strict division of verbs into transitive - those that take a transitive subject and transitive object - and intransitive - those that only have an intransitive subject. Transitivity in Sare is a much more fluid matter. Without any doubt, most of the verbs can be referred to as transitive or intransitive (Lyon's 1968:530-51). There are therefore many verbs in Sare that may be used either transitively or intransitively.

Syntactically, any verb that occurs with a subject NP and an object NP is transitive and any verb that only has a subject NP is intransitive. It has been observed that intransitive verbs can also take transitive marking as described in 6.2.2. This is morphologically determined by the subject marking which they take on. Their subject marking is in turn determined by the order of the constituents of the sentences which they are part of. Thus, when an intransitive verb root is the very next constituent to the subject NP, the subject marking is that described in Table 6.3. However, when other constituents such as temporals, adverbials or the reflexive are placed in a pre-verbal position, the following intransitive verb then accepts transitive inflections rather than the expected intransitive inflections. For example:

Tomi-r asagidso-go-r

Tomi-SGM bathe-PREST.-SGM

Tomi is taking a bath.

Tomi-r aisiti ri-asagidso-go

Tomi-SGM quickly 3SGM-bathe-PREST.

Tomi is taking a bath quickly.

Tomi-r dogoxi ri-iəx-asagidso-r

Tomi-SGM today 3SGM-FUT.-bathe-FUT.

Tomi will take a bath today.

Tomi-r wuto-r ri-iəx-asagidso-r

Tomi-SGM self-SGM 3SGM-bathe-FUT.

Tomi will take a bath himself.

7.2.1.1.2 Semantic Roles expressed by Core NPs

Syntactic functions of subject and object encode particular semantic roles that the participants of events play. The different semantic roles played by a particular participant in an event is determined by the verb together with syntactic and morphological characteristics of the constituents.

7.2.1.1.2.1 Subject

Formally the subject is the NP that occurs clause initially or finally in a simple neutral, declarative sentence. The subject is also the only syntactic function that accepts the focus marker -ya (x). This is well examplified by the examples given in 7.2.1.1.1 above.

Morphologically, the subject is co-referenced by the first verbal pronominal suffix in an intransitive clause, and by the first verbal pronominal prefix in a transitive clause. For example, in the first sentence below, the first verbal pronoun suffix -rom refers back to the subject tuxani-m 'women', and in the second sentence the pronominal prefix rom- has the same reference as its antecedent (tuxani-m). Thus:

tuxani-m natəni-iə-rom
woman-PL play-PREST.-3PL
The women are playing.

tuxani-m nari-m rom-tu-go
woman-PL mat-PL 3PL-weave-PREST.
The women are weaving mats.

The subject can be relativised. For example:

di tabəri-mə wuiagi-r ə-noku-mə-r
RC sick-REMT.PST. man-SGM. PERF.-die-REMT.PST.-SGM
The man who was sick has died.

The subject can also be reflexivised. For example:

tuxani-s wuto-s si-tombridsaxu-go
woman-SGF self-SGF 3SGF-cut-PREST.
The woman is cutting herself.

Semantically, the subject is the patient of the action with stative verbs. For example, the subjects of the following sentences are patients, since they are in a particular state or undergoing a change in state. Thus:

didɨ wuiagɨ-r tabəriɨ-iə-r

that man-SGM sick-PREST.-SGM

That man is sick.

yio-r rago-iə-r

dog-SGM hungry-PREST.-SGM

The dog is hungry.

The subject can also be the agent of the action with active verbs. For example, the subject in the following sentence is an agent, since it is the participant (i.e,. woman) that performs the act of drinking. Thus:

tuxaniɨ-s sagi-m sɨ-sedsa-iə

woman-SGF water-PL 3SGF-drink-PREST.

The woman is drinking some water.

The subject can also be the inanimate causer of an action. For example, the subject in the following sentence is the causer of the action denoted by the verb tekawoxunai 'drop' because it (the earthquake) brings about a change of state of the house. Thus:

nana-s wuniɨ-r sɨ-iə-tekawoxunai-rə

earthquake-SGF house-SGM 3SGF-PERF. knock down-RECT.PST.

The earthquake knocked down the house. (=The earthquake caused the house to fall.)

The subject can also be the experiencer of the action with verbs of experience. For example, the subjects in the following sentences are experiencers, since they are participants that either are involved in sensory

perception (seeing, hearing etc.) or may be said to be in a certain mental disposition (knowing, wanting etc.). Thus:

ri bori sawetsaɸi-iə-r

3SGM already know-PREST.-SGM

He already knows.

si ə-wanə-s

3SGF PERF.-hear-SGF

She heard.

When an agent and a patient co-occur, as in the following sentence, it is the agent that is realised as the subject. Thus:

wuiagi-r botori-s ri-taɸina-iə

man-SGM bottle-SGF 3SGM-break-PREST.

The man is breaking a bottle.

Similarly, when an experiencer and a patient co-occur, as in the following sentence, it is the experiencer that is the subject. Thus:

Gunme-s didi kar-s si-yiuxaɸ-iə

Gunme-SGF that car-SGF 3SGF-admire-PREST.

Gunme admires that car.

7.2.1.1.2.2 Direct object

The direct object can be identified by the following formal, syntactic and semantic features. Formally, the direct object appears between the subject and the verb in the case of single transitive verbs, and is the NP that

immediately follows a ditransitive verb. For example, in the following sentences marbe ɸoxu-r 'big pig' is the direct object in the first sentence, while yioɸisuka-r 'betelnut' is the direct object in the second sentence. Thus:

Kanau-r marbe ɸoxu-r ri-iə-wekiniai-rə

Kanau-SGM big pig-SGM 3SGM-PERF.-buy-RECT.PST.

Kanau bought a big pig.

Taio-r Kanau-r ri-axo-ø yioɸisuka-r

Taio-SGM Kanau-SGM 3SGM-give-PREST. betelnut-SGM

Taio is giving a betelnut to Kanau.

Syntactically the direct object is unmarked for case and is the core NP that is not cross-referenced morphologically on the verb. Semantically, the direct object is the patient with active verbs. For example, the direct object yio-r 'dog' in the following sentence is the patient, since it is affected by the action denoted by the verb 'bite'. Thus:

wu-s yio-r si-taitsambra-iə

mosquito-SGF dog-SGM 3SGM-bite-PREST.

The mosquito is biting the dog.

7.2.1.1.2.3 Indirect object

The indirect object is the NP that immediately precedes a ditransitive verb. The semantic role assumed by the indirect object is that of beneficiary or recipient, with the verb determining what type of semantic role the indirect object expresses.

In the following sentences, Kanau is the indirect object, but the semantic role Kanau assumes in these two sentences is different. In the first sentence, Kanau assumes a recipient role, and in the second a benefactive role. The verb xo 'give' in the first sentence determines that the subject Taio is the giver/agent and Kanau, the indirect object NP, is the recipient of the direct object kwem 'lime powder'. In the second sentence the verb wekiniai 'buy' determines the indirect object to have a benefactive semantic role. When two object NPs occur with the verb meaning 'buy', one of them refers to the direct object and the other to the indirect object. For example:

Taio-r Kanau-r ri-axo-ø kwe-m

Taio-SGM Kanau-SGM 3SGM-give-PREST. lime powder-PL

Taio is giving some lime powder to Kanau.

Taio-r Kanau-r ri-wekinaiai-dsaxo-ø kwe-m

Taio-SGM Kanau-SGM 3SGM-buy-BEN.-PREST. lime powder-PL

Taio is buying some lime powder for Kanau.

I discuss the reflexive here because the reflexive marker wuto is in effect an object NP in Sare. Structurally, the ordering of the sentence constituents in a ditransitive sentence and a reflexive sentence is the same -SVO-. The reflexive wuto occupies the exact position in the sentence an indirect object occupies. The reflexive refers to a subject NP whose referent acts upon him/herself, in which his/her whole body or part of it is affected by the action. The reflexive marker which has the same gender and number marker as the subject indicates that the subject which is the agent is also the patient. The reflexive wuto can be used to express actions: (i) that the performer of the actions performs on him/herself, i.e. either affecting whole or part of his/her body and (ii) that the performer of the actions performs on

his/her relatives, i.e., parents, siblings. These expressions of reflexive actions further depend on the transitivity of the head verb of the VP which denotes the action. Thus the expression of the reflexive notion through intransitive verbs is restricted to cases in which the whole body or person is affected by the action. Note that when intransitive verbs are used reflexively, these verbs are clearly morphologically transitive in their inflectional marking (cf.6.2.2). For example:

Taio-r wuto-r ri-asagidso-go

Taio-SGM self-SGM 3SGM-bathe-PREST.

Taio is bathing himself. (meaning no one is bathing him)

ri wuto-r ri-naxu-go

3SGM self-SGM 3SGM-shave-PREST.

He is shaving himself.

The expression of the reflexive notion through transitive verbs covers the cases in which the performer is assumed to have possession or ownership of the affected objects and persons, which includes: (a) the performer's own body parts, (b) other possessions other than the body parts, and (c) family members, i.e., siblings, parents, cousins, aunts and uncles, grandparents and so on. For example:

(a) reflexive actions performed on one's body parts:

Kawi-s sorinaɸi-r wuto-s si-tombridsaxu-go

Kawi-SGF finger-SGM self-SGF 3SGF-cut-PREST.

Kawi cut her (own) finger.

ri wura-s wuto-r ri-iə-tesambraxun-rə

3SGM leg-SGF self-SGM 3SGM-PERF.-break-RECT.PST.

He broke his (own) leg.

Similar to the above constructions are constructions in which wuto is used to express a reflexive relationship between the performer of the action and the possessor of the an object. These are what Foley (1991) refers to as 'picture reflexives'. For example:

Kawi-s tai-s wuto-s si-iə-abate-rə

Kawi-SGF knife-SGF self-SGF 3SGF-PERF.-lose-RECT.PST.

She lost her own knife.

Kawi-s karasinu-m wuto-s si-iəx-wekiniai-r

Kawi-SGF kerosene-PL self-SGF 3SGF-FUT.-buy-FUT.

Kawi will buy her own kerosene.

(b) actions performed on relatives of the performer. When the performer of the action and the patient of the action are related Sare uses the reflexive to express these actions. For example:

ri aitsəmi-r wuto-r ri-watatna-iə

3SGM father-SGM self-SGM 3SGM-joke-PREST.

His is poking fun at his own father.

ri nomindiəm-s wuto-r ri-iə-ai-mə

3SGM sister-SGM self-SGM 3SGM-PERF.-mary-REMT.PST.

He married his (own) sister.

7.2.1.1.2.4 Temporal Sentences

A subset of declarative sentences are temporal sentences. Temporal sentences indicate the time of action or state denoted by the verb. The time of the action in these sentence types is specified by the means of the temporal words described in 3.2.4. The order of the temporals is basically free in that, they can either precede or follow the verb. Note that when a temporal word precedes a future tense intransitive verb, the future tense marking is identical to that of the transitive verb (cf. 6.2.3.1.2). There is no change to the future tense marking when the temporal follows a transitive verb root. For example:

seka-r yiuxoɸi ri-iə-woxi-rə
rain-SGM yesterday 3SGM-PERF.-rain fall-RECT.PST.
It rained yesterday.

ri wuni-r ri-iox-ki-r yiuxoɸi
3SGM house-SGM 3SGM-FUT.-build-FUT. tomorrow
He will build a house tomorrow.

When the temporal word occurs immediately after the subject, which is the actor, the object moves to the end, resulting in an SVO order. When the temporal occurs sentence finally, the SOV order is maintained. For example:

Taio-r yiuxoɸi ri-iə-ri ɸoxu-r
Taio-SGM yesterday 3SGM-PERF.-kill.RECT.PST. pig-SGM
Taio killed a pig yesterday.

Taio-r ɸoxu-r ri-iə-ri yiuxoɸi
Taio-SGM pig-SGM 3SGM-PERF.-kill.RECT.PST. yesterday.
Taio killed a pig yesterday.

Temporals (cf.3.2.4) and adverbs (cf.3.2.2), can co-occur freely in the clause. For example:

si yiuxoɸi yiənimari wendsəx-rə-s

3SGF yesterday nicely sing-RECT.PST.-SGF

She sang nicely yesterday.

si yiənimari wendsəx-rə-s yiuxoɸi

3SGF nicely sing-RECT.PST.-SGF yesterday

She sang nicely yesterday.

ri aisiti ri-iox-asagidso-r dogoxu

3SGM quickly 3SGM-FUT.-bathe-FUT. today

He will quickly take a bath today.

ri dogoxi ri-iox-asagidso-r aisiti

3SGM today 3SGM-FUT.-bathe-FUT. quickly

He will quickly take a bath today.

7.2.2 Imprecative sentences

These are sentences that express curses. They express the negative emotional feelings of the speaker towards the addressee. To express a curse the imprecative marker do, with the number and gender of the person being cursed attached to it, occurs before the verb. The imprecative sentences are always in the future tenses. For example:

ni do-n oxu-noku-r

2SG IMPR.-2SG FUT. -die-FUT.

May you die.

si do-s oxu-bamiə-r

3SGF IMPR.-SGF FUT.-have a car accident.-FUT.

May she have a car accident.

When expressing imprecatives, the speaker can call upon his/her ancestors and spirits of dead people or relatives in the hope that the curse sticks. In so doing the speaker informs the addressee that he/she is speaking with his/her ancestors and spirits of dead people watching and listening. For example:

an nikeɸira-rom-iti an-sare-dsə, ni

1SG ancestors-3PL-COMT. 1SG -speak-PREST. 2SG

do-n oxu-noku-r

IMPR.-2SG FUT.-die-FUT.

I am speaking with my ancestors, and in doing so, you will die.

7.2.3 Resemblance sentences

As stated in section 7.1.3, the form nowaxu is the resemblance marker in verbal sentences and occurs after the NP referring to the person whose actions another person resembles. The first NP in the sentence refers to the person resembling the actions of the person referred to by the second NP and this order is systematic for this resemblance sentence type. Note also that in this resemblance sentence type, the NP whose actions are being resembled by another is not marked for gender and number. For example:

Kami-r Tomi nowaxu ri-axanda-ne

Kami-SGM Tomi resemblance 3SGM-laugh-PREST.

Kami is laughing like Tomi.

A change in the order of the core nominals in the above sentence will change its meaning. Thus:

Tomi-r Kami nowaxu ri-axanda-ne

Tomi-SGM Kami resemble 3SGM-laugh-PREST.

Tomi is laughing like Kami.

7.2.4 Caveat sentences

Caveat sentences serve to express caution, warning or negative purpose. The caveat marker wose is added between the subject and the verb to either:

(i) a prohibitive clause
(ii) a negative declarative clause or
(iii) a positive declarative clause

The adverbial bana, which means 'great' or 'really' can optionally follow wose, to add emphasis to the warning. Note that in all the following caveat sentences the word order is SUBJECT + CAVEAT + VERB + OBJECT , which is different from the expected SOV order (cf. 7.2.1.1.1). Thus:

(i) Caveat plus prohibitive clause

In this type of construction the subject can be in all persons, unlike what we saw in 6.2.3.2.2 (d), the prohibitive can only have a second person subject. As with the prohibitive, in the caveat clause, number and gender is not marked when the subject is in the second person. For example:

nɨ wose (bana) dogo-sare-dsə

2SG caveat (really) PROH.-speak-PREST.

Be (really) careful not to say anything.

ɸin wose (bana) dogo-sedsa-iə-ɸin bia-m

2DL caveat (really) PROH.-drink-PREST. beer-PL

You two be (really) careful not to drink any beer.

However, when the subject is in the third person, the number and gender are marked on the prohibitive marker, i.e.

wose (bana) dogo-r-wanuxasɨt-iə

caveat (really) PROH.-SGM-hear-PREST.

Be (really) careful lest he hear it.

(ii) Caveat plus negative clause

wose bana mba-rɨ-mbrɨ-axandai-ne sɨ-xu wuiagɨ-r

caveat really NEG.-3SGM-NEG.-laugh-PREST. 3SGF-POSS. man-SGM

Be really careful her husband is not laughing.

(iii) Caveat plus affirmative clauses

wose bana marbe namboru-go-s dɨdɨ xudari-s

caveat really very sharp-PREST.-SGF that axe-SGF

Be really very careful, that axe is very sharp.

wose bana bidsoru-r an-ə-angatəx-rə dɨɸo

caveat really snake-SGM 1SG-PERF.-see-RECT.PST. there

Be really careful I saw a snake there.

7.2.5 Assertive sentences

To express the fact that what one is saying is true, the assertive marker samba is introduced immediately after the subject. The assertive marker indicates that the subject actually performs the action denoted by the verb. For example:

do-n ə-akat-iə soru-m asuxuri-rom-ma

did -2SG PERF.- put.-PREST. salt-PL food-3PL-SPAT.

You did not put salt on the food?

an samba soru-m an-ə-akata-iə

1SG ASRT. salt-PL 1SG-PERF.-put-PREST.

I did put the salt. (= I did add the salt.)

sɨ samba dogoxu sɨ-iox-dsa-r

3SGF ASRT. today 3SGF-FUT-come-FUT.

She will come today.

7.2.6 Optative sentences

Optative sentences express the speaker's feelings that he/she hopes will come true in the future. To make a wish the optative marker amata is introduced between the NP referring to the person or object that one is wishing would be affected by the action denoted by the verb and the hortative marker (cf.6.2.3.2.2 (b)). For example:

an amata a-ɸa win-iə

1SG OPT. 1SG-HORT. win-PREST.

I wish I would win.

rɨ amata rɨ-ɸa dsa-rɨ-yiowa

3SGM OPT. 3SGM-HORT. come-3SGM-FUT.

I wish he would come.

As with imprecatives, ancestors, spirits of dead people or relatives and even God nowadays, can be called upon to expedite a wish. For example:

nɨkeɸira-m Tomi-r amata rɨ-ɸa-noku-rɨ-yiowa

ancestors-PL Tomi-SGM OPT. 3SGM-HORT.-die -3SGM-FUT.

I wish Tomi would die. (Lit. I wish my ancestors would cause Tomi to die.)

suwonɨ-m Tomi-r amata

dead person's spirit-PL Tomi-SGM OPT.

rɨ-ɸa-tatə-rɨ-yiowa

3SGM-HORT. fall-3SGM-FUT.

I wish Tomi would fall. (= I wish spirits of dead people would cause Tomi to fall.)

Also names of specific dead relatives can be called upon in the belief or hope that this will make the wish come true. For example:

Mariana Tomi-r amata ri-ɸa-tatə-ø

Mariana Tomi-SGM OPT. 3SGM-HORT.- fall-PREST.

I wish Tomi would fall. (= I wish the spirit of Mariana (who is dead) would cause Tomi to fall.

7.2.7 Interrogatives

Interrogatives are sentences which are used to gain information from the addressee, in the form of feedback, either confirmation or denial of the particular information expressed in the question. Interrogatives will be discussed according to the type of answers the addressee is expected to give, under the heading of yes/no questions, alternative questions and content questions.

7.2.7.1 Yes/No questions

Yes/no questions are formed by changing the intonation of statements, with statements having a falling intonation towards the end, and yes/no questions having a rising final intonation. Thus in principle any of the sentence types described above can be made yes/no questions simply by raising their intonation. For example:

Kami-r asagidso-go-r

Kami-SGM bathe-PREST.-SGM

Is Kami taking a bath?

Yes/no questions in Sare can be divided into what Moravcsik (1971b) and Sadock and Zwicky (1985:182-183) refer to as biased and unbiased questions. These differ with regard to what the speaker assumes to be the correct answer. An unbiased yes/no question is non-committal as to whether the answer is positive or negative, whereas, a biased question involves a commitment to either a positive or a negative answer.

Biased yes/no questions are further divided into two sub-types: positive and negative. A positive biased question expects a positive answer while a negative biased question expects a negative answer. The structure of the unbiased yes/no questions in Sare is as follows:

SUBJ. + OBJ. + VP (with a rising intonation)

The example presented on the previous page is of an unbiased question. Positive biased questions are expressed with the adverb bori 'already, earlier, before', as in:

ni bori asagidso-go-n
2SG already bathe-PREST.-2SG
You have taken a bath, have you?

Biased questions can be negated by introducing the negative markers before the verb roots as is the case for statements. For example:

ni ni-mbri-rago-iə
2SG 2SG-NEG.-hungry-PREST.
You are not hungry, are you?

Maria-s mba-si-mbri-ə-tabəri-rə

Mary-SGF NEG.-3SGF-NEG.-PERF.-sick-RECT.PST.

Mary was not sick, was she?

Yes/no questions in Sare are answered with yio 'yes' or mba 'no', sometimes with elaborations for clarity. Lichtenberk (1983:393), refers to two types of languages based on how they answer the yes/no questions. Sare belongs to Lichtenberk's second group (i.e. the non-English type group). These are languages:

> "in which the 'yes' or 'no' of an answer is a comment on the question itself as well as on the state of affairs questioned. A 'yes' indicates that the polarity of the state of affairs is the same as the polarity of the question; a 'no' indicates that the polarity of the state of affairs is opposite of the polarity of the question. By 'the polarity of the state of affairs' is meant its existence (positive polarity) or its non-existence (negative polarity); by 'the polarity of a yes/no question' is meant whether the question is positive or negative "

In Sare, when the answer to a yes/no question is yio 'yes', it means that the polarity of the state of affairs and the polarity of the question are the same. When, on the other hand, the answer to a yes/no question is mba 'no', it means that the polarity of the state of affairs is not the same as the polarity of the question. For example:

ri-xu doxu-r wami-r

3SGM-POSS. canoe-SGM old-SGM

Is his canoe old?

yio 'yes (it is old)'

mba 'no (it is not old)'

In answering the above question, yio 'yes' is used if the canoe is old (since the polarity of the state of affairs is the same as the polarity of the question, and mba 'no' is used if the canoe is not old (since the polarity of the state of affairs is the opposite of the polarity of the question).

Now consider the following negative question.

ri doxu-r mba-wami-r

3SGM canoe-SGM NEG.-old-SGM

Isn't his canoe old?

yio 'yes (it is not old)'

mba 'no it is old)'

In answering a negative polar question yio 'yes' is used if the canoe is not old (i.e. the polarity of the affairs is the same as the polarity of the question), and mba 'no' is used if the canoe is old (i.e. the polarity of the state of affairs is the opposite of the polarity of the question).

7.2.7.2 Alternative questions

Closely related to the yes/no questions are alternative questions. In these types of questions the speaker provides a list of possible answers for the addressee to choose the right answer from. To form alternative questions, alternative elements are conjoined with o 'or'. For example:

Taio-r dsa-ri-ioxə o akabridsai-ri-ioxə

Taio-SGM come-3SGM-FUT. or stay back-3SGM.-FUT.

Taio will come, or he will stay back?

Alternative questions are answered by repeating either of the predicates of the alternative. For instance, a possible answer to the above question would be:

dsa-ri-ioxə	or	akabridsai-ri-ioxə
come-3SGM-FUT.		stay back-3SGM-FUT.
He will come.		He will stay back.

The possible alternative answers provided by the speaker in alternative questions do not necessarily have to be related. They can refer to two unrelated elements which are mutually exclusive. For example:

didi-r medsoxu-yiərika-r o dibidari-r

that-SGM fire-smoke-SGM or fog-SGM

Is that smoke from fire, or is that fog?

tuxani-m tatiɸari-rom-oxə o nuka-rom-oxə

woman-PL cut grass.-3PL-FUT. or gather firewood-3PL-FUT.

Will the women cut grass, or will they gather firewood?

The two above questions differ only in one argument. It is possible for alternative questions to differ in a number of arguments. In such questions the alternatives are completely distinct. For example:

Gawi-r naxu-go-r o ri-xu tuxani-s

Gawi-SGM shave-PREST.-SGM or 3SGM-POSS. woman-SGF

omedsərəx-ə-s

cook-PREST.-SGF

Is Gawi shaving, or is his wife cooking?

7.2.7.3 Content questions

Content questions seek specific information rather than simple agreement or disagreement as with yes/no questions. In Sare, content questions are signaled by any one of the interrogative words given in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1 Interrogative words

Interrogative	Gloss
amata	'how, how's it'
biə	'what'
oɸokor	'when'
oɸo	'where' (location)'
əɸita	'where (origin, destination)
eɸie/aria	'who/m'
oroxu	'whose'
biax	'why'
əɸəki	'how many, how much'
əɸitax	'which'

The propositions introduced by these question words are always old or presumed information. Thus, aria rago-iə 'who is hungry?' presupposes that

someone is hungry. The interrogative proforms occur preverbally and introduce what the sentence is about, so can be referred to as the focus of the sentence.

These interrogative words specify the semantic range in which the answer to these questions is to be found, stating which specific part of the proposition that the speaker wants to know about, i.e. they help to determine the type of answer(s) that are required to be supplied so as to yield a true proposition. Thus 'who' indicates that the speaker wants the addressee to identify the person, 'when' indicates the time, 'where' the place and so on. Thus:

(a) amata 'how'

The interrogative word amata occupies a nominal slot, though it differs from other nominals in that it is not inflected for number or gender. As a interrogative of manner, it is used to ask about how something is done or is happening. It can be used by itself in a non-verbal construction to ask the question 'How are you', especially when people meet. For example:

amata
how
How are you? (= How's it?)

or can be used in verbal constructions to ask about how something is done. When amata is used in verbal constructions the constituent order of the sentence can be of a number of types, however, amata must systematically occur immediately before the verb, i.e. SUBJ. + OBJ. + amata + VP or OBJ. + amata + VP + SUBJ.

sɨ nari-r amata sɨ-iox-tu-r

3SGF mat-SGM how 3SGF-FUT-weave-FUT.

How will she weave the mat?

nari-r amata rom-oxu-tu-r tuxanɨ-m

mat-SGM how 3PL-FUT-weave-FUT. woman-PL

How will the women weave the mat?

(b) biə 'what'

This is the form for 'what' and it can be used as an object with all verbs types. The form biə behaves like a noun since it is inflected in the same way as the nouns, taking number and gender markers.

The question form biə only takes plural number when occurring by itself and asks the question 'what is it?' For example:

biə-m

what-PL

What is it?

This question is asked especially when one is being called or bothered constantly. Note how the plural marker is attached to it, i.e., it functions as a non-count noun. When occurring in a verbal construction, biə occupies the object position before the verb in the sentence and can take other number marking suffixes including the plural number marker also in this position. For example:

si biə-r si-guxa-ne

3SGF what-SGM 3SGM-pick up-PREST.

What is she picking up?

biə-m ri-angatəxu-iə Kanau-r

what-PL 3SGM-see-PREST. Kanau-SGM

What is Kanau looking at?

ri biə-m ri-iə-ø

3SGM what-PL 3SGM-do-PREST.

What is the matter with him?

The interrogative biə can be used with the case markers described in 4.2.1. The use of biə with these case markers can question: (i) with what instrument the action is performed. For example:

Kami-r biə-s-in ri-tombridsaxu-go

Kami-SGM what-SGF-INST. 3SGM-cut-PREST.

What is Kami cutting himself with?

(ii) the location of an object/person or the location an action is performed at. For example:

sagi-m biə-s-ma rom-otəx

water-PL what-SGF-SPAT. 3PL-stay

What is the water in?

biə-s-ma ri-ori-ø yioɸisuka-r

what-SGF-SPAT. 3SGM-at/on-PREST. betelnut-SGM

Where is the betelnut.? (=What is the betelnut on/in?)

(iii) what cause the action/event to happened. For example:

ri biə-s-ya ri-iə-ri

3SGM what-SGF-FOC. 3SGM-PERF.-hit-RECT.PST.

What hit him?

biə-s-ya ri-taɸina-iə obenatoxi-r

what-SGF-FOC. 3SGM-break-PREST. mirror-SGM

What caused the mirror to break?

(iv) for what purpose the action happened. For example:

ri biə-s-andəx ri-sare-dsə

3SGM what-SGF-PURP. 3SGM-speak-PREST.

What is he talking about?

Taio-r biə-s-andəx ri-xomənа-iə

Taio-SGM what-SGF-for 3SGM-search-PREST.

What is Taio searching for?

(v) and the means of conveyance. For example:

tuxanɨ-m biə-s-ma rom-oxu-i-r Madang

woman-PL what-SGF-SPAT. 3PL-FUT.-go-FUT. Madang

What will the women go in when they go to Madang? (=How will the women go to Madang?)

(c) oɸokor 'when'

The interrogative word oɸokor is used to ask about the time when a particular action will take place or has taken place. The form oɸokor systematically precedes the verb in the sentence. For example:

nɨ oɸokor nɨ-iox-i-r

2SG when 2SG-FUT.-go-FUT.

When are you going?

Tomi-r oɸokor rɨ-iə-noku-mə

Tomi-SGM when 3SGM PERF.-die-REMT.PST.

When did Tomi die?

nɨ bia-m oɸokor nɨ-iox-wekiniai-r

2SG beer-PL when 2SG-FUT.-buy-FUT.

When will you buy the beer?

nɨ oɸokor nɨ-iox-wekiniai-r bia-m

2SG when 2SG-FUT.-buy-FUT. beer-PL

When will you buy the beer?

(d) oɸo 'where (location)'

The interrogative word oɸo is used to ask about the place or location of an object or an action. The form oɸo systematically precedes the verb in the sentence. For example:

ni oɸo ni-iox-i-r
2SG where 2SG-FUT.-go-FUT.
Where are you going?.

oɸo do-ø-r Pita-r
where at.-PREST.-SGM Peter-SGM
Where is Peter?

tuxani-m oɸo rom-oxu-natəni-r
woman-PL where 3PL-FUT.-play-FUT.
Where will the women play?

si asuxuri-m oɸo si-iə-wekiniai-rə
3SGF food-PL where 3SGF-PERF.-buy-RECT.PST.
Where did she buy the food?

(e) əɸita 'where'

The interrogative word əɸita, which contrasts with "where (location)", is used to ask about the origin or destination of an object or action. The question form əɸita must always immediately precede the verb in the sentence. For example:

nɨ əɸɨta nɨ-dsa-ø

2SG where 2SG-come-PREST.

Where are you coming from?

rɨ əɸɨta rɨ-e-ø

3SGM where 3SGM-go-PREST

Where is he going?

(f) eɸie and aria 'who/m'

The interrogative meaning 'who/m' is expressed by two forms in Sare: aria and eɸie. Both of these forms query the performer of an action, but they differ in that when the person asked about is an acquaintance to both the speaker and the addressee, the form eɸie is used, and aria when he/she is not known. Of the two forms of who/m, eɸie is the marked form since its use query the gender and number of the person asked or talked about and asks questions like:

Who is he?

Who is that man?

Who are those women?

The form aria is the unmarked form of who/m since it does not query the gender and number of the person being referred to in the predicate and asks questions like:

Who is it?

Who is playing

Who will come?

For example:

aria

who

Who is it?

eɸie-s

who-SGF

Who is that female?

aria oxu-i-r

who FUT.-go-FUT.

Who will go?

eɸie-r iax-i-r

who-SGM FUT.-go-FUT.

Which male person will go?

aria asagidso-go

who bathe-PREST.

Who is taking a bath?

eɸie-s-ya asagidso-go

who-SGF-FOC. bathe-PREST.

Who is that female person taking a bath?

eɸie-r didi-r

who-SGM that-SGM

Who is that male?

But not:

* aria-r didi-r

who-SGM DEM-SGM

Of the two who/m interrogatives, only eɸie can take case markers described in section 4.2.1. For example:

ni eɸie-s-iti ni-iox-i-r

2SG who-SGF-COMT. 2SG-FUT-go-FUT.

Whom are you going with? (Lit. Who is that lady you will go with?)

ri eɸie-s-ma ri-iox-i-r

3SGM who-SGF-SPAT. 3SGM-FUT.-go-FUT.

Who is he going to? (Lit. Who is that lady that he will go to?)

eɸie-r-ya taɸina-iə obenatoxi-r

who-SGM-FOC. break-PREST. mirror-SGM

Who is breaking the mirror? (Lit. Who is that man breaking the mirror?)

ni eɸie-s-andəx ni-wekinia-ne asuxuri-m

2SG who-SGF-PURP. 2SG-buy-PREST. food-PL

Whom are you buying the food for? (Lit. Who is the lady you are buying the food for?)

(g) oroxu 'whose'

The interrogative word oroxu asks possession questions in Sare and is preposed to the possessed NP with no further possessive marker, but note the similarity in shape of the final syllable to the possessive suffix -xu (cf.4.2.1 (iv)). The answers to these questions indicate the possessors of the objects in the question sentences. For example:

didi-r oroxu wuni-r

that-SGM whose house-SGM

Whose house is that?

si oroxu asuxuri-m si-aisəɸi-dsə

3SGF whose food-PL 3SGF-prepare-PREST.

Whose food is she preparing?

oroxu yio-r-ya wori-dsə

whose dog-SGM-FOC. bark-PREST.

Whose dog is barking?

(h) biax 'why'

The interrogative word biax asks reason questions in Sare. The answers to these questions give reasons for someone doing something or reason for something taking place. The question form biax always immediately precedes the verb in the sentence. For example:

tuxani-s biax si-or-ə

woman-SGF why 3SGF-cry-PREST.

Why is the woman crying?

biax ɸi-iə-nina-rə yio-ɸ

why 2DL-PERF.-fight-RECT.PST. dog-DL

Why did the dogs fight?

Maria-s yioɸisuka-m biax si-katuxute-ø

Mary-SGF betelnut-PL why 3SGF-throw away-PREST.

Why is Mary throwing away the betelnuts?

(i) əɸəki 'how many, how much'

The interrogative word əɸəki asks about the quantity of both countable and non-countable entities. The form əɸəki occurs immediately before the object. For example:

nɨ əɸəki sagɨ-m nɨ-xu

2SG how much water-PL 2SG.POSS.

How much water do you have?

sɨ əɸəki tiaxa-m sɨ-wekinia-ne

3SGF how many coconut-PL 3SGF-buy-PREST.

How many coconuts is she buying?

rɨ əɸəki yiarɨ-m rɨ-iə-suguru-mə

3SGM how many year-PL 3SGM-PERF.-go to school-REMT.PST.

How many years did he go to school for?

(j) əɸɨtaxu 'which'

The interrogative word əɸɨtaxu asks to distinguish persons, objects and actions. The question word əɸɨtaxu systematically precedes the object NP in the sentence. For example:

rɨ əɸɨtaxu tuxanɨ-s rɨ-oxu-ai-r

3SGM which woman-SGF 3SGM-FUT.-marry-FUT.

Which woman will he marry?

rɨ əɸɨtaxu doxu-mɨ-r rɨ-oxu-wekiniai-r

3SGM which canoe-tree-SGM 3SGM-FUT.-buy-FUT.

Which canoe tree will he buy?

nɨ əɸɨtaxu wunɨ-r nɨ-iə-kɨ-rə

2SG which house-SGM 2SG-PERF.-build-RECT.PST.

Which house did you build?

nɨ əɸɨtaxu xoɸəxuria-s andəx nɨ-sare-dsə

2SG which fight-SGF about 2SG-speak-PREST.

Which fight are you talking about?

əɸɨtaxu yio-r-ya wori-dsə

which dog-SGM-FOC. bark-PREST.

Which dog is barking?

7.3 Adverbs

Adverbs in a clause can be either the underived ones described in 3.2.2 and as well as adverbs that are derived from stative verbs by adding the productive suffix -kɨ. For example:

Verb stem		Derived adverb	
rago	'hungry'	rago-kɨ	'hungrily'
xwai	'sleep'	xwai-kɨ	'sleepily'
tɨɸuxa	'frighten'	tɨɸuxa-kɨ	'frightenly'
nai	'happy'	nai-kɨ	'happily'
axandai	'laugh'	axandai-kɨ	'laughingly'
namboru	'angry'	namboru-kɨ	'angrily'

Some adverbs are restricted to occurring either immediately before a verb, or immediately after a verb. Other adverbs, however, are much freer in the structural position that they can occupy in the clause. All the derived adverbs listed above can either occur immediately before or immediately after the verb. When derived adverbs precede an intransitive verb, the subject marking is identical to that of a transitive verb (cf.6.2.2), but it remains unchanged when it follows an intransitive verb. For example:

wuiagɨ-m namboru-kɨ rom-natəniɨ-iə

man-PL angry-ADV. 3PL-play-PREST.

The men are playing angrily.

wuiagɨ-m natəniɨ-iə-rom namboru-kɨ

man-PL play-PREST.-PL angry-ADV.

The men are playing angrily.

When derived adverbs precede a transitive verb, the subject marking remains unchanged but the order of the constituents changes to SVO, instead of the SOV order described in 7.2.1.1.1. When derived adverbs follow a transitive verb, we find instead the basic SOV order and subject marking, as described in 6.2.2 and 7.2.1.1.1 respectively. For example:

wuiagɨ-m rago-kɨ rom-ki-dsə wuniɨ-r

man-PL hungry-ADV. 3PL-build-PREST. house-SGM

The men are building the house hungrily.

tuxaniɨ-s rariɨ-r sɨ-soganiɨ-iə naiɨ-kɨ

woman-SGF son-SGM 3SGF-ask-PREST. happy-ADV.

The woman is asking her son happily.

The structural position the underived adverbs occupy in the clause is not as straightforward as the derived ones above, and the following Table 7.2 summarises the positions each of the underived adverbs occupy in the clause.

Table 7.2 Positions the underived adverbs occupy in the clause	
adverbs that only precede the verb	marbe 'loudly, vigorously', mbaxaɸa 'badly', yiənɨmari 'nicely', banuwaxu 'nicely, well' and wuto 'very, really'
adverbs that can only follow the verb	awi 'still' biəti 'excessively'
adverbs that can either precede or follow the verb	aisiti 'quickly', kotoxu 'later', bori 'earlier, already', kɨrekɨre 'softly, slowly', aintsəx 'hesitantly', miritimbrixina 'for nothing, no reason', soduxuma 'wrong place or direction', sawonɨ 'in-return, back', sawonɨsawonɨ 'on both sides' and wosowsose 'simultaneously'

For example:

rɨ xwe-r awi

3SGM sleep-SGM still

He is still sleeping.

rom yiənɨmari natən-iə-rom

3PL well play-PREST.-3PL

They are playing well.

rɨ banuwaxu rɨ-wendsəx-ə

3SGM nice/well 3SGM-sing-PREST.

He is singing really well.

tuxanɨ-ɸ wosowose ɸi-iə-tu-rə nari-ɸ

woman-DL SIMUL. 2DL-PERF.-weave-RECT.PST. mat-DL

The two women wove mats at the same time.

wuiagɨ-m ə-ɸisi-rə-rom wosowose

man-PL PERF.-fart-RECT.PST.-3PL SIMUL.

The men farted at the same time.

A number of adverbs can co-occur within the clause. The speed adverbial aisiti 'quickly' can co-occur with all three time markers bori, kotoxu and awi, and the seventeen manner adverbs (cf.3.2.2). The following examples illustrates this co-occurrence.

tuxanɨ-m bori aisiti rom-ə-tu-rə nari-r

woman-PL already quick 3PL-PERF.-weave-RECT.PST. mat-SGM

The women had already woven the mat quickly.

tuxanɨ-m bori ə-tu-rə-rom aisitin nari-r

woman-PL already PERF.-weave-3PL quick mat-SGM

The women had already woven the mat quickly.

tuxanɨ-m kotoxu aisiti rom-oxu-tu-r nari-r

woman-PL later quickly 3PL-FUT.-weave-FUT. mat-SGM

The women will quickly weave the mat later.

tuxanɨ-m awi aisiti rom-tu-go nari-r

woman-PL still quick 3PL-weave-PREST. mat-SGM

The women are still weaving the mat quickly.

si marbe xingina-iə-s aisiti

3SGF very work-PREST.-SGF quick

She is working very hard quickly.

The time words bori, kotoxu and awi can also co-occur with the manner adverbs, and the following examples illustrates this.

Tomi-r bori marbe tabəri-iə-r

Tomi-SGM already very sick-PREST.-SGM

Tomi is very sick. (Kami is already very sick.)

Tomi-r marbe tabəri-iə-r bori

Tomi-SGM very sick-PREST.-SGM already

Tomi is very sick. (Tomi is already very sick.)

Tomi-r bori natəni-iə-r aintsəx

Tomi-SGM already play-PREST-SGM hesitant

Tomi is already playing hesitantly.

Kami-r sawonisawoni bori akata-iə-r asuxuri-m

Kami-SGM on both sides already put-PREST.-SGM food-PL.

Kami is already putting.

Manner adverbs can also co-occur with other manner adverbs and the following examples illustrates this.

si marbe yiənimari xingina-iə-s

3SGF hard well work-PREST.-SGF

She is working hard and well.

si mbaxaɸa marbe wendsəx-ə-s

3SGF bad loud sing-PREST.-SGF

She is singing loudly and badly.

si maxaɸa kirekire wendsəx-ə-s

3SGF bad quiet sing-PREST.-SGF

She is singing badly and quietly.

si yiənimari wendsəx-ə-s kirekire

3SGF nice sing-PREST.-SGF quietly.

She is singing nice and quietly.

7.4 Serial Verb Constructions

Serial verb construction (hereafter SVC) is a widely attested syntactic pattern among Papuan languages (Foley 1986), and Sare also has such constructions. Defining this concept can sometimes be a tricky business. What is understood as SVCs in Sare are constructions in which there is co-occurrence of two or more verbs in the same sentence which share the following features adapted from Crowley (1987:60), which are in turn influenced by those of Bradshaw (1982:28). Thus:

a. serial verbs must share a common set of subject and tense-aspect-mood markers
b. negation has a scope over the entire series,
c. serial verbs constitute an intonationally undisturbed unit,
d. semantically, serial verbs refer to a single proposition and
e. and they are syntactically and phonologically separate words.

SVCs in Sare thus constitute a single clause and all core arguments are shared by both/all verbs. Thus all verbs in a SVC require the same subject, all verbs are marked for the same polarity, that is all either are positive or either negative. Thus, an SVC consists characteristically of verbs linked in unbroken sequence, sharing core arguments, in the same tense, aspect or mood, agreeing in positive/negative polarity, with no intonational or grammatical marking of clause boundaries.

Central to SVCs is the sharing of arguments between verbs, with tight restrictions on what arguments verbs in SVCs may share. SVCs in Sare can therefore be categorised into two types according to the type of argument sharing found in the verbs that constitute the SVCs. The first type of SVC following Foley and Olson (1985) will be referred to as the 'same-subject serialisation'. In this type of SVCs, we find a total identity of the subjects of the constituting verbs. The majority of the SVCs in Sare are of this type. For example:

yiərəɸi-r miti noku-go-r
bird-SGM submerge die-PREST.-SGM
The bird is drowning.

In this sentence, the subject of the verbs 'submerge' and 'die' in the SVC miti noku 'drown' is the same. Thus it is the same bird that submerges and that also dies.

The second type involves the identity between object of the first verb and the subject of the second verb, which, following Crowley (1987:39) will be referred to here as the 'switch-subject serialisation'. For example:

rɨ mbarioka-s rɨ -iə-kikim tebusuxute-rə

3SGM ball-SGF 3SGM-PERF.-kick break-RECT.PST.

He broke the ball (by kicking it)

In this sentence, the object of the first verb 'kick' is the ball and the subject of the second verb 'break' is also the ball. Thus in the above sentence, there is a complete identity between the object of the first verb and the subject of the second verb.

Structurally, SVCs in Sare are of only one type, that is, verbs in SVCs are all simply juxtaposed, with no overt morphological links. A number of SVC semantic types have been identified for Sare. These are causatives, directionals, purposives, benefactives and adverbials, spatials, auxiliaries and the aspectuals. All of these semantic types, except causative SVCs, are instances of same subject serialisation. Causative SVCs are of the switch-subject type of serialisation.

7.4.1 Causative SVCs

There is a category of SVCs that expresses a causative meaning. The type of causatives indicated by SVCs depends on the scope of verbs used. Thus for instance, causative SVCs can be either those where the causer of the action and the undergoer are both physically involved but only the undergoer is affected by the action, hence, Direct Physical Causative; the actor and the undergoer are both physically involved and are both affected by the action, hence, Direct Event Causative; or the actor and the undergoer are not physically involved and only the undergoer is affected by the action, hence, Indirect Causative. Thus:

(a) Direct Physical Causative

The actor (i.e. causer) causes the effect on the undergoer (i.e. the experiencer) by doing something involving direct physical contact with the undergoer. For example:

ri xedsa-r ri-iə-axutu tetsambraxun-rə
3SGM paddle-3SG 3SGM-step on break-RECT.PST.
He broke the paddle by stepping on it.

nana-s wuni-r si-iə-aigagira tekawoxunai-rə
earthquake-SGF house-SGM 3SGF-PERF.-shake drop-RECT.PST.
The earthquake caused the house to fall.

(b) Direct Event Causative

In this type of causative, the actor and the undergoer are both involved/affected by the same event and are in physical contact. For example:

wuiagi-r ɸoxu-m ri-iə-tetsəxu xaɸiranai-rə
man-SGM pig-PL 3SGM-PERF.-walk bring out-RECT.PST.
The man brought the pigs in.

(c) Indirect Causative

In this type of causative the causer is not in physical contact with the undergoer and the only undergoer is affected by the action of the actor. For example:

rɨ ɸəxɨ-r rɨ-iə-kɨɸaxu tenəɸərte-rə

3SGF pig-SGM 3SGM-PERF.-scream scare off-RECT.PST.

He screamed and caused the pig to run away.

7.4.2 Directional SVCs

Direction in Sare can be expressed by means of SVCs. The directional serial verbs of Sare are i 'go' and dsa 'come', which may follow any verb of motion or direction, whether intransitive or transitive. The semantic functions of the verbs dsa and i are simply to specify the direction of the motion (either toward or away from the speaker). Thus:

tetsəx dsa	'walk (hither)'
nongai dsa	'run (hither)'
ago dsa	'fly (hither)'
ɸaɸai dsa	'swim (hither'
xedsa dsa	'paddle (hither)'
tetsəx i	'walk (thither)'
nongai i	'run (hither)'
ago i	'fly (thither)'
ɸaɸai i	'swim (thither)'
xedsa i	'paddle (thither)'

Verbs in the directional SVCs may be both intransitive. For instance, in the following sentences both the verbs are intransitive. Note that in SVCs, the prefixed material is attached to the first verb and the suffixed material to the second verb. For example:

ri wuni-r-ma ri-nongai e-ø

3SGM house-SGM-SPAT. 3SGM-run go-PREST.

He is running to the house.

ri wuni-r-ma ri-tetsəx dsa-ø

3SGM house-SGM-SPAT. 3SGM-walk come-PREST.

He is walking from the house.

In these sentences the verb meaning 'run' and 'walk' indicate the motion and manner, while the verbs meaning 'go' and 'come' indicate the direction of the motion. Directional serial verbs may also be transitive verbs. Sare has two such transitive verbs indicating direction and both mean to 'bring': xeyiaxunia 'bring hither' and xeyiaxunai 'bring thither'. To indicate the direction an object is moved, these verbs occur after the transitive action verbs. For example:

Kami-r asuxuri-m ri-iə-togai xeyiaxunia-rə

Kami-SGM food-PL 3SGM-PERF.-get bring-RECT.PST.

Kami got the food and brought it (here).

Kami-r asuxuri-m ri-iə-togai xeyiaxunai-rə

Kami-SGM food-PL 3SGM-PERF.-get bring-RECT.PST.

Kami got the food and brought it (there).

The verbs xeyiaxunia and xeyiaxunai can also co-occur with intransitive verbs of motion to indicate the manner in which something is being moved, with the resulting serial verbs behaving like transitive verbs. For example:

Kami-r yioɸisuka-m ri-iox-tetsəx xeyiaxunai-r

Kami-SGM betelnut-PL 3SGM-FUT-walk bring-FUT.

Kami will walk here and bring the betelnuts.

Taio-r yioɸisuka-m ri-iox-tetsəx xeyiaxunia-r

Taio-SGM betelnut-PL 3SGM-FUT.-walk bring-FUT.

Taio will walk there and bring the betelnuts.

Directional SVCs in Sare may consist also of a transitive and an intransitive verb in that order. The transitive verb may be any action verb followed by the intransitive verbs i 'go' and dsa 'come'. For example:

Pita-r asuxuri-m ri-togai dsa-ø

Peter-SGM food-PL 3SGM-get come-PREST.

Peter is getting the food and he is coming.

Pita-r terestuxa-r ri-ɸunu e-ø

Peter-M trousers-SGM 3SGM-wear go-PREST.

Peter is wearing the trousers and is going.

7.4.3 Purposive SVCs

Purposive SVCs also have the verbs 'go' and 'come' preceding the action purposive verbs, and the resulting serial verbs are inflected as transitive verbs. For example:

Kami-r wuni-r-ma ri-e xwai-r

Kami-SGM house-SGM-SPAT. 3SGM-go sleep-FUT.

Kami is going to the house to sleep.

si maket-s-ma si-e asuxuriwekinia-r

3SGF market-SGM-SPAT. 3SGM-go food buy-FUT.

She is going to the market to buy food.

7.4.4 Benefactive SVCs

The benefactive argument in SVCs is introduced by two benefactive verbs wedsai 'accompany/help and xo 'give'. When wedsai expresses the benefactive function, the two participants are engaged in the same event, and the temporal and physical proximity of the two participants is the same. The transitivity of the verb with which wedsai is serialised determines whether it means help or accompany. When serialised with transitive verbs wedsai means 'help' and it means 'accompany' when serialised with intransitive verbs. For example:

Kami-r Pita-r ri-asuxuria wedsai-ne

Kami-SGM Peter-SGM 3SGM-eat help-PREST.

Kami is helping Peter to eat.

Pita-r Kami-r ri-tetsəx wedsai-ne

Peter-SGM Kami-SGM 3SGM-walk accompany-PREST.

Peter is walking with Kami.

In a SVC the verb xo 'give' can be interpreted either as introducing a recipient argument or a benefactive one and the resulting serial verb is intransitive. The recipient or benefactive interpretation depends on the verb that occurs with the verb xo. Thus the following motion verbs can only have a recipient argument when used with serialised xo.

nongai	'run'
tetsəx	'walk'
xedsa	'paddle'
ago	'fly'
ɸaɸai	'swim'

Tomi-r patiə-r ri-tetsəx axo-ø kwe-m

Tomi-SGM priest-SGM 3SGM-walk give-PREST. lime powder-PL

Peter is walking and giving some lime powder to the priest.

Transitive verbs, however, have a benefactive argument when used with xo. Intransitive verbs, other than those motion verbs, illustrated above do not serialise with xo. For example:

Kanau-r Taio-r ri-wekiniai axo-ø kwe-m

Kanau-SGM Taio-SGM 3SGM-buy give-PREST. lime powder-PL

Kanau is buying and giving some lime powder to Taio.

Taio-r Kanau-r ri-iə-tugai xo-rə sagi-m

Taio-SGM Kanau-SGM 3SGM-PERF.-fetch give-RECT.PST. water-SGM

Taio fetched and gave some water to Kanau.

7.4.5 Adverbial SVCs

These class of verbs, when used independently in a clause, have a verbal meaning. When however, serialised with an action verb, these verbs modify the action of the verb which they are serialised with. Note, however, the form and the meaning of these forms is not affected, in that, they retain the same form and meaning when occurring either as an independent verb or as

a serial verb. This resembles what Lord (1993) reports of Kwa languages of Africa where serial verbs have historically ended up functioning as adverbs. However, in Sare there is no sign of these verbs undergoing semantic or form depletion. Thus:

a. Emotive

babɨrasesana	'anxiously'

b. Speed

temaramara	'slowly'

c. Value

tebiəti	'badly'
aimaniai	'fix, make well'
tedsɨmi	'feignedly'

d. Miscellaneous

aidsəmademaxu	'trickingly, testingly, confusingly'
tɨɸixa	'scaredly, half-heartedly'
komɨri	'noisely'

For example:

Kami-r temaramara-iə-r

Kami-SGM slow-PREST.-SGM

Kami is slow.

Kami-r nongai temaramara-iə-r

Kami-SGM run slow-PREST.-SGM

Kami is running slowly.

7.4.6 Spatial SVCs

tekabri	'encircling, suround'
xabri	'around, turn (object) around'

The first of these two verbs can only be serialised with motion verbs. Thus encircling can be done either by means of walking, running and so on. For example:

wuiagɨ-m ɸəxɨ-r rom-nongai tekabri-dsə
man-PL pig-SGM 3PL-run encircle-PREST.
The men are running and encircling the pig. (=The men are surounding the pig.)

The second verb when serialised with motion verbs means around, and has the meaning 'turn around', when serialised with the verbs meaning 'get or carry' and 'lift'.

rɨ wuni-r rɨ-nongai xabri-dsə
3SGM house-SGM 3SGM-run around-PREST.
He is running around the house.

wuiagɨ-m mɨ-s rom-guxai xabri-dsə
man-PL log-SGF 3PL-pick turn-PREST.
The men are picking and turning the log around. (=The men are turning the log around.)

7.4.7 Auxiliary SVCs

ɸətiai	'to attempt, try out'
sawetsaɸɨ	'be competent, be knowledgeable'
akaɸoru	'to praise'
brosaxi	' to advise'
təwesuxatɨ	' to intimidate'
nuxunanai	'to claim'
yiuxaɸɨ	'to admire'

These serial verbs are referred to as such, since they add both aspectual and modality meaning to the SVCs in which they occur. For example:

sɨ kar-s sɨ-nongai ɸotia-ne
3SGF car-SGF 3SGF-drive test-PREST.
He is test driving the car.

7.4.8 Aspectual SVCs

These verbs when serialised with another verb gives an aspectual meaning to the SVC. Thus:

rerə	'progressive'
tetsəx	'habitual'
toxu	'durative'
gaitna	'begin, ready'
aɸɨrikate	'interuptive'
tekaɸɨtiai	'inceptive'
tekaɸuxante	'complete'
tekamuxai	'complete'

boga	'complete'
tokinaki	'persistive'

These verbs indicate the different perfective or imperfective aspect meanings when serialised with action verbs. Thus they signal either the completion or non-completion of an action. The first five verbs above, when used independently have the meanings 'sit', 'stand' and 'stay', 'get up' and 'drop' respectively. The rest of the verbs in the above list have the same meanings and forms when also used independently. For example:

ri moni-m ri-iə-aɸirikate-rə
3SGM money-PL 3SGM-PERF-drop-RECT.PST.
He dropped some money.

ri xingina aɸirikate-ø-r
3SGM work drop-PREST.-SGM
He stopped work. (Lit. He stopped work (because something interrupted him)

ɸi bori asuxuria boga-iə-ɸ
2DL already eat complete-PREST.-DL
They have already finished eating.

ri niri-s-in ri-xingina tetsəxu-ə
3SGM night-SGF-during 3SGM-work HABT.-PREST.
He usually works in the night.

7.5 Derived Clause Types

There are a number of ways the basic structure of the clause in Sare can be transformed. These are:

7.5.1 Answers to content questions

To form answers to content questions, the subject in the content questions is moved to the end, giving the answer to an intransitive question the structure: VP + SUBJ., answer to a transitive question the structure: OBJ. + VP + SUBJ. and answer to a ditransitive question the structure: IOBJ. + VP + DOBJ. + SUBJ. The TAM categories of the answer sentences and the content questions are the same. For example:

Kawi-s biə-m si-aisəɸi-dsə

Kawi-SGF what-PL 3SGF-do-PREST.

What is Kawi doing?

The possible answres to this question are:

(a) intransitive:

asagidso-go-s Kawi-s

bathe-PREST.-SGF Kawi-SGF

Kawi is taking a bath.

(b) transitive:

nari-r si-tu-go Kawi-s

mat-SGM 3SGF-weave-PREST. Kawi-SGF

Kawi is weaving a mat.

(c) ditransitive:

Reau-r si-tu-gaxo-ø nari-r Kawi-s

Reau-SGM 3SGF-weave-BEN.-PREST. mat-SGM Kawi-SGF

Kawi is weaving a mat for Reau.

7.5.2 Promotion of subject

The object NP of a sentence like the one below may be promoted to the subject position, and in so doing, displacing the subject (Kawi) completely. This process of object promotion to the subject slot is only possible in the presence of a verb mania 'well'. For example:

Kawi-s asuxuri-m si-iə-rox mania-rə

Kawi-SGF food-PL 3SGF-PERFboil well-RECT.PST.

Kawi boiled the food really well.

asuxuri-m ə-rox mania-rə-rom

food-PL PERF.-boil well-RECT.PST-3PL

The food boiled really well.

7.6 Non-core NPs

Non-core NPs are different from the core NPs discussed in section 7.2.1.1 in that, core NPs are obligatory while non-core NPs are not but add extra and sometimes more specific meaning to the clause. This section will be specifically concerned with discussing the positions each of the non-core NPs occupy in the clause. The non-core NPs that will be discussed are: locative, instrumental, temporal, comitative, origin/destination, and conveyance NPs and they may either precede or follow the verb.

(a) Locative NP

The function of a locative NP in a clause is to express stationary location of a person or an object. A locative NP can also be used to indicate the location where a particular action is performed. A locative NP can either be a toponym, name of traditional hunting or fishing ground, name of a container, or any location where an object may be found. To the locative NPs, except toponyms, is attached the spatial marker -ma (cf.4.2.1). In the clause, a locative NP may either follow or precede the verb. For example:

Pita-r Wiwek do-ø-r

Peter-SGM Wewak at-PREST.-SGM

Peter is at Wewak.

tai-s seboxu-s-ma do-ø-s

knife-SGF table-SGF-SPAT. at-PREST.-SGF.

The knife is on the table.

tai-s do-ø-s seboxu-s-ma

knife-SGF at-PREST.-SGF table-SGF-SPAT.

The knife is on the table.

wiuagi-r asagidso-go-r wuni-r-ma

man-SGM bathe-PREST.-SGM house-SGM-SPAT.

The man is bathing in the house.

tuxani-s asuxuri-m si-wekiniai-ne maker-s-ma

woman-SGF food-PL 3SGF-buy-PREST. marker-SGF-SPAT.

The woman is buying some food from the market.

(b) Instrumental NP

Instrumental NP in the clause indicates the equipment or tool used in carrying out the action denoted by the verb or in bringing about a state. To the instrument NP is attacted the suffix -in. An instrument NP may precede of follow the verb. For example:

si mi-r si-oxu-go xudari-s-in
3SGF tree-SGM 3SGF-chop-PREST. axe-SGM-INST.
She is chopping down the tree wiith an axe.

si xudari-s-in si-oxu-go mi-r
3SGF axe-SGF-INST. 3SGF.-chop-PREST. tree-SGM
She is chopping the tree with an axe.

(c) Temporal NP

A temporal NP in the clause indicates the time when an action is carried out or when a particular state takes place. A temporal NP can be either a part of the day, a name of the day of the week, name of the month or year, which are borrowings from Tok Pisin, which are subsequently borrowed from English. To the time word is attached the spatial marker -ma. For example:

ri doxu-r ri-iox-ramə-r tunde yixa-r-ma
3SGM canoe-SGM 3SGM-FUT.-carve-SGM Tuesday day-SGM-SPAT.
He will make a canoe on Tuesday.

si disemba yiago-s-ma si-iox-dsa-r
3SGF december moon-SGF-SPAT. 3SGF-FUT.-come-FUT.
She will come in the month of December.

(d) Comitative NP

A comitative NP can also be a non-core NP and is marked with a comitative marker -ti (cf.4.2.1). The comitative NP functions to indicate that its referent accompanies the referent of the subject NP in carrying out the action denoted by the verb. A comitative NP can either precede or follow the verb in the clause. For example:

Kami-r Tomi-r-iti ri-iox-i-r Wiwek

Kami-SGM Tomi-SGM-COMT. 3SGM-FUT.-go-FUT. Wewak

Kami will go to Wewak with Tomi.

Kami-r Wiwek ri-iox-i-r Tomi-r-iti

Kami-SGM Wewak 3SGM-FUT.-go-FUT. Tomi-SGM-COMT.

Kami will go to Wewak with Tomi.

(e) Origin/Destination NP

A non-core NP can also indicate the origin or destination of an action. This NP, to which the spatial marker is attached, can occur either before or after the verb in the clause. For example:

si e-ø-s maket-s-ma

3SGF go-PREST. market-SGF-SPAT.

She is going to the market.

si maket-s-ma si-e-ø

3SGF market-SGF-SPAT. 3SGF-go-PREST.

She is going to the market.

sɨ dsa-ø-s maket-s-ma

3SGF come-PREST-SGF market-SGF-SPAT.

She is coming from the market.

f) Conveyance NP

This NP type indicates the means of transportation and is manifested by names of forms of transportation, to which the instrument marker -ɨn is attached. This NP can either precede or follow the verb of the clause. For example:

sɨ omtoxu-r-ma sɨ-e-ø kar-s-ɨn

3SGF village-SGM-SPAT. 3SGF-go-PRETS. car-SGF-INST.

She is going to the village in a car.

sɨ moto-r-ɨn sɨ-dsa-ø omtoxu-r-ma

3SGF village-SGM-SPAT. 3SGF-come-PREST. village-SGM-SPAT.

She is coming from the village in an outboard motor.

CHAPTER EIGHT

COMPLEX SENTENCES

8.0 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the structure of various types of complex sentences, and also with the ways in which the relationships between the events encoded by the clauses in complex sentences are expressed.

Complex sentences consisting of two main clauses are referred to as coordinate sentences. Others consist of a main clause and a subordinate clause, and these are referred to as subordinate sentences. Frequently the second clause of a complex sentence omits elements already mentioned in the first when there is a subordinate relationship between the two.

8.1 Coordination

Coordinate sentences can be made up with either verbal or non-verbal clauses. Such sentences in Sare are normally linked by a conjunction, but there are also coordinate sentences in which the constituent clauses are simply juxtaposed. Most of the non-verbal clause types discussed in 7.1 can be conjoined with a coordinator, though non-verbal coordinate sentences cannot be formed through juxtaposition. This discussion of coordinate sentences in Sare will describe first those that occur without any conjunctions, and then those that involve conjunctions.

8.1.1 Coordinate Sentences without Conjunctions

Only four semantic relations can be expressed by clausal juxtaposition: simultaneous events, cause-effect events, consecutive/sequential events, and possible events. When encoding simultaneous events and cause-effect events, the subjects of the two clauses may be different. However, for sequential events the two subjects must be the same. Note that in such constructions, the free subject occurs only once before the first verb, but must occur as a bound subject marker on both verbs. The TAM categories may be the same or different for all juxtaposed sentences types. For example:

Taio-r naxu-go-r, Kanau-r asagidso-go-r

Taio-SGM shave-PREST.-SGM, Kanau-SGM bathe-PREST.-SGM

Taio is shaving and Kanau is taking a bath.

ri rago-iə-r ri-si-oro-ø

3SGM hungry-PREST.-SGM 3SGM-REAS.-cry-PREST.

He is crying because he is hungry.

Kawi-s asuxuria-ø-s, si-iox-i-r

Kawi-SGF eat-PREST.-SGF., 3SGF-FUT.-go-FUT.

Kawi will go after eating.

The possible meaning can also be expressed simply through juxtaposition of the first hypothetical conjunct and the second conjunct without the use of a connector. In these constructions the second conjunct is positive. For example:

ri-ya natən-iə ri-ɸa-dsa-ø

3SGM-FOC. play-PREST. 3SGM-HORT.-come-PREST.

He could have played had he come.

an-ya axo-n dɨba-r a-ɸa-wekiniai-ø yioɸɨsuka-m

1SG-FOC. give-2SG one-SGM 1SG-HORT.-buy-PREST. betelnut-PL

I could have given you one had I bought some betelnuts.

8.1.2 Coordinate Sentences with Conjunctions

There are three coordinate conjunctions that can link independent clauses in Sare: conjunctive sa 'and', adversative de, tasol 'but' and disjunctive o 'or'. Of these forms, note that tasol is a borrowing from tasol 'but' in TP (which ultimately comes from English 'that's all').

8.1.2.1 Conjunction sa 'and'

This form is used to conjoin clauses that refer to a wide variety of events and states, and it is also used to conjoin phrases (cf.5.2.2). Since it is used for conjoining clauses expressing a wide range of semantic relationships between events, no specific name will be given to this connector. The subject of conjoined clauses and their TAM categories may be different.

All the non-verbal sentence types discussed in 7.1 can be conjoined by sa to form non-verbal coordinate sentences. The semantic relationship between non-verbal clauses that are conjoined by sa is that of contrast. Thus whatever is described in the first clause is being contrasted with whatever is described in the second clause. For example:

doxu-r wami-r sa wuni-r yiəgi-r

canoe-SGM old-SGM and house-SGM new

The canoe is old but the house is new.

Pita-r patiə-r sa Kami-r dokta-r

Peter-SGM priest-SGM and Kami-SGM doctor-SGM

Peter is a priest but Kami is a doctor.

tai-s seboxu-s-ma do-ø-s sa yioɸisuka-r

knife-SGF table-SGM-SPAT. at-PREST.-SGF and betelnut-SGM

xori-s-ma do-ø-r

string bag-SGF-SPAT. at-PREST.-SGM

The knife is on the table but the betelnut is in the string bag.

When conjoining verbal clauses with sa, the semantic relationships between these clauses are:

(a) two events which take place simultaneously. For example:

an asagidso-go-yan sa si xwe-ø-s

1SG bathe-PREST.-1SG and 3SGF sleep-PREST.-SGF

I am taking a bath and she is sleeping.

Kami-r doxu-r ri-iə-ramə-rə sa

Kami-SGM canoe-SGM 3SGM-PERF.-carve-RECT.PST. and

Sita-s nari-r si-iə-tu-rə

Sita-SGF mat-SGM 3SGF-PERF.-weave-RECT.PST.

Kami was making a canoe and Sita was weaving a mat.

(b) sequentially ordered events. The first event is stated in the first clause with the subsequent event in the second clause. For example:

si asuxuri-m si-iə-wekiniai-rə sa

3SGF food-PL 3SGF-PERF.-buy-RECT.PST. and

si-iə-omedsərəx-rə

3SGF-PERF.-cook-RECT.PST.

She bought some food and cooked.

Reau-r ə-asagidso-rə-r sa ri-iə-xwai-rə

Reau-SGM PERF.-bathe-RECT.PST.-SGM and 3SGM-PERF.-sleep-RECT.PST.

Reau took a bath and went to sleep.

(c) cause and effect relationships, with the effect clause following sa. For example:

ri rago-iə-r sa ri-si-oro-ø

3SGM hungry-PREST.-SGM and 3SGM-REAS.-cry.-PREST.

He is hungry and therefore he is crying. (Lit. He is crying because he is hungry.)

si ə-tabər-rə-s sa ri-sə-akabridsai-rə

3SGF PERF.-sick-RECT.PST.-SGF and 3SGM-REAS.-stay back-RECT.PST.

He stayed back because she was sick.

(d) as an adversative to deny the expected action. That is, it can be used to express contrast, opposition or unexpectedness between verbal events, as is the case with the non-verbal clauses discussed above. In such sentences the connectors de 'but' and tasol can also be used with no change of meaning. For example:

si singoaɸirai-si-ə-re

3SGF fish with string-3SGF-PERF.-go.RECT.PST.

sa mba-si-mbri-ya-a i-rə amara yiən

and NEG.-3SGF-NEG.-FOC.-get-RECT.PST. fish any

She went fishing but did not catch any fish.

(e) event and question relationships, with the question clause following sa. In these types of constructions the second clause questions the fact that, if the actor carries out the action referred to in the first clause then the event referred to in the second clause should not be possible. For example:

ri marbe spak-tetsəx-ə-r sa biax ri-rago-iə

3SGM very drunk-HABT.-PREST- SGM and why 3SGM-hungry-PREST.

He usually drinks a lot so why is he hungry?. (=If he drinks a lot then he should have enough money to buy food.)

si tabəri-iə-s sa biax si-natəni-iə

3SGF sick-PREST.-SGF and why 3SGF-play-PREST.

She is sick so why is she playing?

The connector sa can also conjoin verb phrases and noun phrases (cf.5.2.2). When connecting two verbs, the subject of both verbs must be the same but the TAM categories may be different. Thus when the verb in the first clause is in the present tense the verb in the second clause may be in either the present tense or in the future tense. This said difference in the two clauses is not possible when the verbs are in the future or past tenses. When the subject of the two clauses is the same it is overtly stated only in the first clause and is simply co-referred in the second clause by a subject marking prefix (cf.6.2.2). For example:

Kami-r asagidso-go-r sa ri-iox-i-r

Kami-SGM bath-PREST.-SGM and 3SGM-FUT.-go-FUT.

Kami is taking a bath and he will go.

Kami-r ə-ria-r sa ri-iə-re

Kami-SGM PERF.-come.RECT.PST-SGM and 3SGM-PERF.-go.RECT.PST.

Kami came and went.

8.1.2.2 Adversative de 'but'

The use of an adversative conjunction to conjoin conjuncts in Sare specifies that there exists contrast, or opposition between the conjuncts. The adversative in Sare is realised by the adversative conjunction de 'but'. The number of clauses that can be conjoined by de in any one sentence is no more than two. The adversative de (along with borrowed tasol) can be used to express all three varieties of the adversative discussed by Payne (1985: 6-12)

(i.e. semantic opposition, denial of expectation and preventive), as well as functioning as a cause and effect marker. Only in the first type can both the non-verbal and the verbal conjunctions be contrasted.

(a) Semantic opposition

According to Payne (*ibid*) "semantic opposition implies that the relationship between the conjuncts is simply one of contrast or opposition, uncomplicated by further presuppositions or dependencies". This is true of Sare as demonstrated by the following examples. For one to utter such sentences of opposition, there must be an underlying expectation, such as "We need to find a matching pair in size, colour, length etc. Thus:

didi-r marbe-r de ndsidi-r kirekuxa-r
that-SGM big-SGM but this-SGM small-SGM
That one is big but this one is small.

didi-r kokoka-r de ndsidi-r kirimi-r
that-SGM red-SGM but this-SGM black-SGM
That one is red but this one is black.

ri-xu wuni-r marbe-r tasol bori wami-r
3SGM-POSS. house-SGM big-SGM but already old-SGM
His house is big but it is already old.

(b) Denial of expectation

Denial of expectation is defined by Lakoff (1971) and Payne (1985:7) as implying a contrast based on pragmatic factors. That is, a coordination of this type

with the form 'A but B' is taken to mean: given A, it might be expected that not B, nevertheless B holds. Contrary to semantic opposition, there is no need for any similarity in general topic or structure between the conjuncts themselves. In Sare, the adversative de can be used to deny the expected result from the first conjunct. For example:

ri amaria-ri-iə-re de

3SGM fishing-3SGM-PERF.-go.RECT.PST. but

mba-ri-mbri-ə-ai-rə amara yiən

NEG.-3SGM-NEG.-PERF.-get.-RECT.PST. fish any

He went fishing but he did not catch any fish.

Reau-r tabəri-iə-r de mba-ri-mbri-əbən-iə seda-r

Reau-SGM sick-PREST.-SGM but NEG.-3SGM-NEG.-like-PREST. drink-FUT.

marasini-m

medicine-PL

Reau is sick but he does not want to drink medicine. (= Even though Reau is sick, he does not want to take medication.)

(c) Prevention

The preventive form of the adversative involves a hypothetical first conjunct. In general coordination of this type with the form 'A but not B' has the following meaning: A, which otherwise would take place, will fail to take place on the account of B. (Payne *ibid*). The first conjunct in Sare must be hypothetical in order to exclude the occurrence of any following events. For example:

an-ya e-ø de mba-doxu yiən

1SG-FOC. go-PREST. but NEG.-canoe any

I can go but there is no canoe.

an-ya axo-n dɨba-r de mbaimba yioɸɨsuka yiən

1SG-FOC. give.-2SG one-SGM but no more betelnut any

I could have given you one but there are no more betelnuts left.

rɨ-ya natən-iə de mba-rɨ-mbrɨ-ya-dsa-ø

3SGM-FOC. play-PREST. but NEG.-3SGM NEG.-FOC.-come-RECT.PST.

He could have played but he did not come.

(d) Cause and effect marker

When the adversative de is used as a cause and effect marker, it occurs between the first conjunct and the second conjunct. The first clause states the cause and the second states the effect. Note that there is no potential ambiguity between "A and B" and "A and therefore B". The only interpretation of these sentences is the latter ("A and therefore B"). Note also the difference in the transitivity of the two verbs in these sentence types. The first verb being intransitive takes intransitive marking as expected but the second takes transitive marking for the same reasons given in 7.2.1.1.1. For example:

Kami-r tabərɨ-iə-r de rɨ-sɨ-kɨ-iə

Kami-SGM sick-PREST.-SGM but 3SGM-EFF.-vomit-PREST.

Kami is sick, therefore he is vomiting.

Pita-r ə-rago-rə-r de ri-sə-oru-rə

Peter-SGM PERF.-hungry-RECT.PST.-SGM but 3SGM-EFF-cry-RECT.PST.
Peter was hungry, therefore he was crying.

8.1.2.3 Disjunction o 'or'

Disjunction in Sare is expressed by o 'or', which expresses alternatives. The two conjuncts may have same subjects with different verbs, different subjects with same verbs or different subjects with different verbs. When the conjuncts conjoined by o 'or' are non-verbal, they can only be interpreted as alternative questions (cf.7.2.6.2). When on the hand, the conjuncts are verbal, they can be interpreted either as statements or as alternative questions, depending on their intonation.

(a) Same subject, different verb alternatives

In a sentence where both clauses share subjects and have different verbs, the disjunctor o occurs between the two verbs of the two clauses. Note that in same subject alternatives, the subject is only overtly marked in the first clause and is only marked by a co-referenced subject marker (cf.6.2.2) on the verb of the second clause. For example:

Pita-r asagidso-go-r o xwe-ø-r

Peter-SGM bathe-PREST.-SGM or sleep-PREST.-SGM
Peter is taking a bath or is sleeping.

ri-xu moti-s rago-iə-s o tabəri-iə-s

3SGM-POSS. daughter-SGF hungry-PREST.-SGF or sick-PREST.-SGF
His daughter is hungry or is sick.

(b) Different subject same verb alternatives

In a sentence where both clauses have different subjects but share the same verb, the disjunctor o occurs immediately before the subject of the second clause. Note that in different subject alternatives the different subjects are overtly marked for each of the clauses. For example:

Taio-r-yax oxu-dsa-r o Kanau-r-yax oxu-dsa-r

Taio-SGM-FOC. FUT.-come-FUT. or Kanau-SGM-FOC. FUT.-come-FUT.
Taio will come or Kanau will come.

tuxani-s-ya oxotu-iə o wuiagi-r-ya oxotu-iə

woman-SGF-FOC. cough-PREST. or man-SGM-FOC. cough-PREST.
A woman is coughing or a man is coughing.

In the above sentences, since the verbs are the same for both clauses, it is possible to leave out the verb in the second clause. The second clause only then consists of the subject with the necessary inflections. For example:

Taio-r-yax oxu-dsa-r o Kanau-r-ya

Taio-SGM-FOC. FUT.come-FUT. or Kanau-SGM-FOC.
Taio will come or Kanau will. (Lit. Taio will come or Kanau will come.)

(c) Different subject, different verb alternatives

In a sentence where both clauses have different subjects and different verbs the conjunctor o occurs immediately before the subject of the second clause. This type of sentence is in fact a negative conditional sentence in that, the

second clause is always in the negative and conditions the occurrence of the event expressed in the first clause. For example:

wa-wekiniai yioɸɨsuka-m o Kami-r mba-dsa-rɨ-ioxə

IMP.-buy betelnut-PL or Kami-SGM NEG.-come-3SGM-FUT.

Buy some betelnut or Kami will not come.

8.2 Subordination

Subordination is the joining of two or more clauses, one of which is the main clause and the other the subordinate clause (Matthews 1981:170). A number of subordinate sentence types have been identified for Sare and these will be described in turn below. This discussion of subordinate sentences will describe first those that occur without any subordinators, and then those that involve subordinators. The former group of sentences are subordinate, since the constituent clauses of these sentences differ syntactically, in that, one depends on the other. The latter group of sentences are also subordinate types since their subordination is formally introduced by the subordinators that conjoin the main clause with the dependent clause.

8.2.1 Subordinate sentences without subordinators

Five semantic relations can be expressed by clausal juxtaposition: conditional events, sequential events, purposive events, cause and effect events and complementing events. These semantic relations are discussed in turn below.

8.2.1.1 Conditional sentences

Conditional sentences are characterised by mutually dependent clauses. Conditional sentences of Sare are of two basic types: realis and irrealis. A realis conditional sentence expresses the fact that the condition will be fulfilled. There are two sub-types of irrealis conditionals: hypothetical and counterfactual. A hypothetical irrealis conditional sentence is a sentence that expresses doubt about the future fulfillment of the condition, while the counterfactual irrealis conditional sentences expresses the belief that the condition was, is ,or will not be fulfilled.

(a) Realis conditional sentences

In such sentences the speaker is committed to the belief that the action denoted by the verb in the apodosis will come true if the event expressed in the protasis is realised. There is some sense of expectation and commitment in the part of the actor since the verb in the apodosis is in the realis and the verb in the apodosis is in either the indefinite or definite irrealis. For example:

an xo-ø yioɸisuka-r ni ioxu-ai-r kwe-m

1SG give-PREST. betelnut-SGM 2SG FUT.-get-FUT. lime powder-PL

Give me a betelnut and you will get some lime powder.

rimənis dsa-ø-s an-oxu-i-r Wiwek

ship-SGF come-PREST.-SGF. 1SG-FUT.-go-FUT. Wewak

If the ship comes, I will go to Wewak. (= I will go to Wewak if the ship comes.)

rɨməni-s dsa-ø-s Kanau-r ri-iox-i Wiwek

ship-SGF come-PREST.-SGF Kanau-SGM 3SGM-FUT.-go-FUT. Wewak

If the ship comes, Kanau will go to Wewak.

(b) Hypothetical irrealis conditional sentences

Hypothetical irrealis conditional sentences are different from the realis conditional sentences in that they are irrealis on the one hand, and express doubt about the future fulfillment of the condition on the other. The verb in the protasis is in the definite irrealis mood and the verb in the apodosis is in the indefinite irrealis. The hypothetical irrealis is marked by kəmsiriai, at the beginning of the clause. For example:

kəmsiriai dsa-s rɨməni-s an-oxu-i-r Wiwek

HYP.IRR. come-SGF ship-SGF 1SG-FUT.-go-FUT. Wewak

If the ship should come, I would go to Wewak.

To add extra emphasis to the condition, the adverb wuto 'really' may be used before the hypothetical irrealis marker. For example:

wuto kəmsiriai dsa-s rɨməni-s an-oxu-i-r Wiwek

really HYP.IRR. come-SGF ship-SGF 1SG-FUT.-go-FUT. Wewak

If the ship should really come I will go to Wewak.

(c) Counterfactual irrealis conditional sentences

This type of conditional sentences express the fact that the condition was/is not fulfilled. The verbs in both the protasis and the apodosis are in the definite irrealis. For example:

ri-ɸa-i-ø an ri-ə-ɸəxə-iketsixai-r

3SGM-HORT.-go-PREST. 1SG 3SGM-PERF.-would-follow-FUT.

He should have gone, if he did, I would have followed him. (=I would have followed him if he had gone.)

si-ɸa-dsa mba-ya-iə-r ri si-ə-ɸəxə

3SGF-HORT.-come. NEG.-A-hit-FUT. 3SGF.3SGF-PERF.-would

She should have come, if she did, he would not have hit her.

8.2.1.2 General sequential sentence

This type of sequential sentence is referred to as 'general sequential' in that, unlike the other types below (cf.8.2.2.1), there is no indication of the time interval between the first and the second event, and the sequential is not overtly marked. For example:

tuxani-m tatiɸari-dsə-rom rom-oxu-i-r

woman-PL cut grass.-PREST.-3PL 3PL-FUT.-go-FUT.

The women will go after cutting the grass.

wuiagi-r ə-asagidso-rə-r ri-iə-xwai-rə

man-SGM PERF.-bathe-RECT.PST.-SGM 3SGM-PERF.-sleep-RECT.PST.

The man took a bath and then he went to sleep.

8.2.1.3 Purposive sentence

Purposive sentences can also be formed simply through juxtaposition of the main clause and the purpose clause without any overtly marked clause connectors. The unusual marking of the transitivity of the verb of the last clause is

due to the fact that it is not the verb next to the subject nominal (cf. 7.2.1.1.1). Note also that the verb in the first clause only takes the suffix -r, which I presume to be the future marker, but lacks most of the expected inflectional information. At this stage I have no explanation for this anomaly. For example:

Kawi-s asagidso-r si-e-ø

Kawi-SGF bathe-FUT. 3SGF-go-PREST.

Kawi is going in order to take a bath.

Reau-r giɨxa-r ri-iə-dsa-ø

Reau-SGM dance(traditional) -FUT. 3SGM-PERF.-come-RECT.PST.

Reau came in order to dance.

8.2.1.4 Cause and effect sentences

Cause and effect sentences can also be formed simply through juxtaposition of the cause and effect clauses, with the clause stating the cause preceding the clause stating the effect. For example:

rɨ spax-ə-r ri-kɨ-iə

3SGM drunk-PREST.-SGM 3SGM-build-PREST.

He is drunk and therefore he is vomiting.

8.2.1.5 Complement clauses

Complement clauses in Sare may also be simply juxtaposed, as Noonan (1985:45) states: "some complement types have no complementisers associated with them at all".

Complement clauses of the speech verbs sare 'speak', oxə 'say, mention' and danuwoni 'think' may have no complementisers associated with them. When complement clauses are simply juxtaposed, the subject of the main clauses and the complement clause is the same while the tense may vary. For example:

Kanau-r sare-dsə-r dsa-ri-iəxə yiuxoɸi

Kanau-SGM speak-PREST.-SGM come-3SGM-FUT. tomorrow.

Kanau says that he will come tomorrow.

Kanau-r danuwoni-iə-r nata-ri-iəxə yiuxoɸi

Kanau-SGM thinks-PREST.-SGM make sago-3SGM-FUT. tomorrow

Kanau is thinking of making sago tomorrow.

8.2.2 Subordinate sentences with subordinators

There are altogether ten subordinators in Sare that can be used to link a main clause with a subordinate clause: didiyiogoxu 'immediate sequencer', kotoxu 'delayed sequencer', sandəx 'in order to', ngə 'so that', dogo 'negative purpose', si- 'present effect', səx- 'future effect', sə- 'past effect', inap 'until' and a 'complementiser'.

8.2.2.1 Sequential sentences

To indicate that one event follows another, two clauses can be conjoined by a sequencer, which must occur at the beginning of the second clause. There are two semantically distinct sequencers in Sare: didiyiogoxu and kotoxu (which I also identified in section 3.2.4 as a time word). Both of these sequencers occur between the two clauses they link, and signal the fact that the event/action

denoted by the first clause is followed by the event/action denoted by the second clause. They are however, different in that didiyiogoxu signals immediate sequential events while kotoxu signals delayed sequential events.

When forming the sequential sentences, the verb of the first clause may be modified by the following temporal aspectual serial verbs (cf.7.4.5 (D)) and adverbs: ngongoni 'firstly', tekaɸitiai 'inception', tekonate 'stop', tekamuxai 'completion', tekaɸuxante 'completion' and boga 'completion'. The use of these temporal aspectuals indicate the prior occurrence of the action/event described by the first clause and the sequencers determine the time of inception or completion between the first and the second event. Three types of sequential sentences are identified on formal grounds.

(a) Immediate sequential sentences

This type of sequential sentence is referred to as 'immediate sequential' in that the sequencer didiyiogoxu which is used to conjoin the two dependent clauses indicate that the event described by the second clause takes place immediately after the event described by the first. For example:

nom asuxuria-ø-nom didiyiogoxu nom-oxu-i-r

1PL eat-PREST.-1PL SEQ. 3PL-FUT.-go-FUT.

After eating, then we will go. (Lit. We will go immediately after eating.)

rom ə-xingina tekonate-rə-rom didiyiogoxu

3PL PERF.- work STOP-RECT.PST.-3PL SEQ.

ri-ə-woxi-rə seka-r

3SGM-PERF.-rain fall-RECT.PST. rain-SGM

After they stopped work, then the rain fell. (Lit. It rained immediately after they stopped work.)

(b) Delayed sequential sentences

This type of sequential sentence is referred to as the delayed sequential sentence in that, the sequencer kotoxu which is used to conjoin the two clauses by occurring in-between them, expresses the fact that there is a lapse of time between the event described in the first clause and the event described in the second clause. For example:

nom tatiɸari tekaɸuxante-ø kotoxu nom-oxu-i-r

1PL cut grass COMPLT.-PREST. SEQ. 1PL-FUT-go-FUT.

After cutting the grass, we will go later. (Lit. We will go sometime later after cutting the grass.)

rom ə-xingina tekaɸitiai-rə-rom

3PL PERF.-work INCEPT.-PERF-3PL.

kotoxu ri-iə-xeiaxunia-rə xudari-r

SEQ. 3SGM-PERF.-bring-RECT.PST. axe-SGM

He brought the axe after they had started working.

Also to indicate that the action or event of the first clause occurs prior to that of the second clause, the time marker bori 'already' is used before the verb of the first clause. The use of bori is however restricted only to indicating sequential events in the past time. For example:

nom bori ə-xwai-rə-noəm didiɨyiogoxu

1PL already PERF.-sleepRECT.PST.-1PL SEQ.

sɨ-iə-ria

3SGF-PERF.-come.RECT.PST.

We were already asleep when she came. (Lit. She came after we went to bed.)

balus bori ə-nongai gaitna-rə-s

plane already PERF.-run get up-RECT.PST.-SGF

kotoxu rom-ə-ria

SEQ. 3PL-PERF.-come.RECT.PST.

The plane had already taken off when they arrived. (Lit. They arrived after the plane took off.)

8.2.2.2 Purpose sentences

The purpose sentences are formed with two clauses, a principal clause and a purpose clause. The purpose clause follows the principal clause in the sentence. The event expressed by the principal clause is the primary event while the secondary event is expressed by the purpose clause. The purpose clause gives the purpose for the event in the principal clause.

The purpose sentence can be positive or negative. The positive purpose sentences can be joined through the use of the positive marker sandəxu 'in order to', which occurs in between the two clauses and secondly through the use of ngə 'so that'. In the first type of purpose sentence, the subject and the tense of the two verbs must be the same. In the last type, however, the subject and the

tense may be different. The negative purpose sentence is signaled by the prohibitive marker dogo- (cf.6.2.3.2.2 (d)).

i) Positive purpose sentence

(a) sandəxu 'in order to'

The purposive form sandəxu occurs in between the principle clause and the purpose clause. The lack of any inflectional morphology on the first verb is the same as that observed in 8.2.1.3. In fact these are the only instances in the language for verbs to occur without the expected inflectional markers. For example:

Kawi-s asagidso sandəxu si-e-ø

Kawi-SGF bathe PUR. 3SGF-go.-PREST.

Kawi is going in order to take a bath.

Reau-r giruxa sandəxu ri-iə-dsa

Reau-SGM dance PUR. 3SGM-PERF.-come

Reau came in order to dance.

(b) ngə 'so that'

The purposive form ngə 'so that' cannot be used in place of sandəxu in the above examples. The form ngə is used only in imperative sentences, stating the purpose for giving a particular command. The purpose form ngə occurs in between the main clause and the subordinate clause. For example:

wa-retsəxute-ø ngə si-iox-tetsəxuxanai-r

IMP.-step aside-PREST. PUR. 3SGF-FUT.-walk past-FUT.

Move aside so that she can walk past.

wa-nonuxo məni-m ngə ri-n-oxu-wekiniai-kuxo-r asuxuri-m

IMP.-send money-PL PUR. 3SGM-2SG-FUT.-buy-for.-FUT. food-PL

Send some money so that he will buy you some food.

wa-sedsa marasini-m ngə ni-iox-mania-r

IMP.-drink medicine-PL PUR. 2SG-FUT.-well-FUT.

Drink some medicine so that you will get well.

ii) Negative purpose sentences

To express the negative purpose, the prohibitive marker dogo- occurs before the verb of the subordinate clause and to which the indirect object is marked. The first clause in a negative purpose sentence must always be an imperative clause. For example:

wa-xo-r Kami-r asuxuri-m dogo-r-rago-iə

IMP.-give-SGM Kami-SGM food-PL in case-SGM hungry-PREST.

Give Kami some food, in case he is hungry.

wa-taɸi mania-r doxu-r dogo-r-xorikane-ø

IMP.-tie well-SGM canoe-SGM in case-SGM-drift.-PREST.

Tie the canoe properly, in case it drifts.

wa-tɨɸuxa dogo-r-n-ə-ø

IMP.-run.away in case-SGM-2SG-hit-PREST.

Run away, in case he hits you.

wa-akata-r dogo-r-oro-ø

IMP.-put-SGM, in case-SGM-cry.-PREST.

Put him down, in case he cries.

8.2.2.3 Cause-effect sentences

A cause-effect sentence consists of two clauses. The first clause expresses the cause and the second the effect. Depending on the tense of the verb in the effect clause, the effect clause carries one of the effect prefixes discussed in 6.1.3.1 (i) (d). The tenses and the subjects of the clauses in a cause-effect sentence may be different. For example:

yio-r tabəri-iə-r ri-si-ki-iə

dog-SGM sick-PREST-SGM 3SGM-EFF.-vomit-PREST.

The dog is vomitting because it is sick.

Maria-s tabəri-iə-s Pita-r ri-səx-akabridsai-r

Mary-SGF sick-PREST.-SGF Peter-SGM 3SGM-EFF.-stay back-FUT.

Peter will stay back because Mary is sick.

Kami-r kar-s ri-iə-aitsasiai-mə

Kami-SGM car-SGF 3SGM-PERF.-steal-REMT.PST.

ri-sə-kalabus-mə

3SGM-EFF.jail-RECT.PST.

Kami went to jail because he stole a car.

8.2.2.4 Until Clauses

The until subordinate clause in Sare is introduced by inap 'until', a borrowing from Tok Pisin. This subordinate clause indicates the end point of the action expressed in the main clause. These clauses may function either as temporal or locational adverbial clauses. For example:

si ə-xingina-rə-s inap ri-iə-woxi tekamuxai-rə

3SGF PERF-work-RECT.PST.-SGF until 3SGM-PERF.-rain fall stop-RECT.PST.

seka-r

rain-SGM

She worked until it stopped raining.

ri mba-sedsa-ri-ioxə bia-m inap ri-iəx-ki-r

3SGM NEG.-drink-3SGM-FUT. beer-PL until 3SGM-FUT.-build-FUT.

wuni-r

house-SGM

He will not drink beer until he builds the house.

sɨ mba-ya-xwai gaitna-s inap sɨ-iə-tatə-rə

3SGF NEG-FOC.-sleep get up-SGF until 3SGF-PERF.-land-RECT.PST.

elokopta-s Wiwek

helicopter-SGF Wewak

She did not wake up (from her sleep) until the helicopter landed in Wewak.

8.2.2.5 Complement Clauses

Complement clauses may be defined following Noonan (1985:42) as "the syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate". All complement clauses in Sare occur as subordinate clauses to the main clause and function to complete the predication of the main clause.

Only one complementiser is identified for Sare and is used to complementise a number of different clause types, which will be discussed below according to their semantic relationship.

(a) Complement Clause introduced by a 'that'

Together with the verbs sare 'speak', oxə 'say', 'danuwonɨ 'think' and other speech verbs like wanɨ 'hear' xəɸəna 'tell/instruct' have their complement clauses introduced by the only complementiser a 'that'. Thus the most straightforward complement clauses in Sare involves placing a 'that' between the speech clause and the complement clause, as in the following:

Kami-r sare-dsə-r a dsa-ri-ioxə yiuxoɸi

Kami-SGM speak-PREST.-SGM COMP. come-3SGM-FUT. tomorrow

Kami is saying that he will come tomorrow.

kukurai-r danuwoni-iə-r a tuxani-m tatiɸari-rom-oxə

the elder-SGM thinks-PREST.-SGM COMP. woman-PL cut grass-3PL-FUT.

yiuxoɸi

tomorrow

The elder thinks the women will cut grass tomorrow.

Maria-s ə-wan-ə-s a Pita-r tabəri-iə-r

Mary-SGF PERF.-hear-PREST.-SGF COMP. Peter-SGM sick-PREST.-SGM

Mary heard that Peter is sick.

(b) Question complement

Complement clauses can also code questions. The questions coded are those described in 7.2.6. If the direct question was of the type yes/no (7.2.6.1), then the complement clause will be of the yes/no type question. For example:

Taio-r sogan-ə-r a Kanau-r asagidso-go-r

Taio-SGM ask-PREST.-SGM COMP. Kanau-SGM bathe-PREST.-SGM

Taio is asking if Kanau is taking a bath?

If the direct question was of the alternative type (7.2.6.2), then the complement clause will be an alternative type question. For example:

Taio-r sogan-ə-r a Kanau-r dsa-r-ioxə

Taio-SGM ask-PREST.-SGM COMP. Kanau-SGM come-SGM-FUT.

o akabridsai-ri-ioxə

or stay back-3SGM-FUT.

Taio is asking whether Kanau will come or he will stay back.

If on the other hand the direct question was of the type described in 7.2.6.3, then the complement clause will be of a content type question, with one of the interrogative words in Table 7.1 introducing the complement clause. For example:

Taio-r sogan-ə-r a oroxu doxu-r didi-r

Taio-SGM ask-PREST.-SGM COMP. whose canoe-SGM that-SGM

Taio is asking whose canoe is that.

(c) The use of the adverb ndsətin 'like this' as a quotative marker

The verbs meaning 'speak' and 'think' can also be used with the adverb ndsəti 'like this' to express a quotation. Functionally the quotation clause is anticipatory to the main assertion to be made by the speaker. In quotation sentences, the quotation clauses precedes the main clause with the quotation marker ndsətin occurring in between them. The complementiser a must however co-occur with ndsətin in the same complement clause, with ndsətin always preceding. For example:

Reau-r sare-dsə-r ndsətɨn a xwaɨ-rɨ-ɨoxə

Reau-SGM speak-PREST.-SGM QUOT. COMP. sleep-3SGM-FUT.

wunɨ-r-ma

house-SGM-SPAT.

Reau says, he will sleep in the house.

Kansorɨ-r danuwonɨ-rə-r ndsətɨn a tuxanɨ-m

councilor-SGM think-RECT.PST.-SGM QUT. COMP. woman-PL

tatɨɸarɨ-rom-oxə yɨuxoɸɨ

cut.grass-3PL-FUT. tomorrow.

The councilor thought the women will cut grass tomorrow.

sɨ danuwonɨ-rə-s ndsətɨn a Kanau-r yɨuxoɸɨ

3SGF think-RECT.PST-SGF QUT. COMP. Kanau-SGM yesterday

rɨ-ɨə-tabərɨ-rə

3SGM-PERF.-sick-RECT.PST.

She thought Kanau was sick yesterday.

(d) Complement clauses can also occur without a 'that'. For example:

rɨ sare-dsə-r sɨ yɨənɨmarɨ tuxanɨ-s

3SGM say-PREST.-SGM 3SGF nice woman-SGF

He is saying that she is a nice woman.

sɨ daniɬwoniɬ-iə-s mba-dsa-r-sɨ-iəxə

3SGF think-PREST.-SGF 1SG NEG.-come-PREST.-3SGF-FUT.

She thinks she won't be coming.

APPENDIX

SARE TEXTS

A. HOW AND WHY A MAN'S HOUSE WAS BUILT.

rɨməni-s ridsə wari-aioxu-s-andəx nom-ə-akaitna-rə

men's house-SGF sit desire-ABSTR.-SGF-for 1PL-PERF.-erect-RECT.PST.

tia-boxuni-ɸɨn goɸo rɨməni-s

coconut-piece-DL there men's house-SGF.

Wanting a men's house, we erected a men's house over there with two pieces of coconut.

nom akaitna-rə sa an an-ə-re Tumbungu.

1PL erect-RECT.PST. and 1SG 1SG-PERF.-go.RECT.PST. Timbunke

After we erected the men's house I went to Timbunke.

sa an dɨma, rom sɨ-ə-senisim-rə

and 1SG over there, 3PL 3SGF-PERF. change-RECT.PST.

I was still there when they changed it.

dɨdiogoxu kaidsara aɸɨsɨboxu roxun e sebaɸɨteɸ, sebaɸɨteɸ

SEQ. four post with no six, six

aɸɨsɨboxu roxun, dima xumbri, sawonɨ xumbri, rom

post with, over there three, in terun three, 3PL

sɨ-ə-akaitna-rə

3SG-PERF.-erect-RECT.PST.

This time they erected it using six posts, three on either side.

orait an, an-əikambek-rə omtoxu-r-ma

all right 1SG, 1SG-PERF.-come back-RECT.PST. village-SGM-SPAT.

dsuakim nond, nond-ə-ikambek wantaim-rə

Joachim 1DL, 1DL-PERF.-come back together-RECT.PST.

omtoxu-r-ma

village-SGM-SPAT.

Then Joachim and I we came back to the village.

an ə-angatoxu tana-rə, an-ə-oxo-rə a woh

1SG PERF.-see arrive-RECT.PST. 1SG-PERF.-say-RECT.PST. that oh,

mba-xagiri riməni-s

NEG.-long men's house-SGF

When I arrived and saw the men's house, I said it was not long enough.

an ri-ə-kax xoɸəna-rə ri-iə-kax

1SG 3SGM-PERF.-up front tell-RECT.PST. 3SGM-PERF.-up front

xeiaxinia-rə tepmesa-r

bring-RECT.PST. tape measure-SGM.

I then told him up front to bring a tape measure.

didiogoxu ri-iə-makim-rə-ɸ ningurimoni

SEQ. 3SGM-PERF.-mark-RECT.PST.-DL back of house

aɸisuboxu-ɸ nom ɸi-ə-bruxuna-rə

post-DL 1PL 3DL-PERF.-stand in the ground-RECT.PST.

He then measured the back posts and we erected them.

nom ə-xingina stat-rə ri-iə-sare-rə

1PL PERF.-work start-RECT.PST. 3SGM PERF.-speak-RECT.PST.

daniəl a, na-ɸa ki-ø miri kirekuxa rimənis

Daniel QUOT. 3PL-HORT. build-PREST. LIMT. small men's house-SGF

When we started work, Daniel said we build a small men's house.

de an mba-ya əbənis dəti

but 1SG NEG.-FOC. like that

But I did not agree with that.

an ə-sare towususai-rə a, na-ɸa-ki marbe-s-ma

1SG PERF.-speak insist-RECT.PST. that. 3PL-HORT. build big-SGF-SPAT.

I insisted that we build a bigger one.

an ə-sare pinis-rə dətin, orait an

1SG PERF.-speak finish-RECT.PST. like that, all right 1SG

ə-ɸəxu-rə-ya na-ɸa-i

PERF.-mention-RECT.PST.-FOC. 3PL-HORT.-go

Mungoromutoxu si-mi-buku-r

Mungoromutoxu PURP.-tree-cut-FUT.

After I said that, I then said let us go and cut trees in Mungoromutoxu

an ə-pulim lain xeiaxinai-re Mungoromutoxu, rom yan-

1SG PERF.-pull line bring-RECT.PST. Mungoromutoxu 3PL 1SG

ə-xoru ten kina diba-s komuniti moni rəm-ma

PERF.-give.RECT.PST. ten kina one-SGF community money 3PL-SPAT.

a ngə mi-ioxu-wekinia-r damiəxe-m o yioɸisuka-m

that PURP. 3PL-FUT.-buy-FUT. cigarette-PL or betelnut-PL

I then lead a group to Mungoromutoxu and was given ten kina from the community money for cigarettes or betelnut for the group.

tasol mba-ya usim boga-s didi ten kina-s

but NEG.-FOC. use altogether-SGF that ten kina-SGF

But we did not use all of that ten kina.

miri tri kina-s nom ə-usim-rə, damiəxe-rom-andəx

only three kinaa-SGF 3PL PERF.-get-RECT.PST. cigarette-3PL-PURP.

sa seɸen kina-s nom ə-kisim ikambek-rə

and seven kina-SGF 1PL PERF.-get come back-RECT.PST.

We used only three kina on cigarettes and brought back seven kina.

orait nom ai-rə nimbi-ɸ, ɸi putim wantem,

all right 1PL get-RECT.PST. post-DL 3DL put together

ɸi taɸti se-dari-s aisəɸi xagori pinis

2DL tie together raft-piece of-SGF make hang finish

nom ai-rə mi-m nom-ə-ria

1PL get-RECT.PST. three-PL 1PL-PERF.-come.RECT.PST.

After we got the posts and put them together, we made a raft from them, we then got the trees, then we came back.

orait an sare ariɸin-iə-yan omiami ni-ya

all right 1SG speak help-PREST.-1SG another 2SG-FOC.

rɨməni-s-xu ki-aioxu-s sa si-xu

men's house-SGF-POSS. build.-ABST.-SGF and 3SGF-POSS.

openim-aioxu-s

opening-ABST.-SGF

OK someone help me and speak about the actual building of the men's house and also its opening.

B. Sun and the Moon

yixa diba-r-in, ɸi-iə-nitowisisai-mə weɸəri-s sa yienedsa-r

day one-SGM-on, 2DL-PERF.-argue-REMT.PST. wind-SGF and sun-SGM

a, aria wuto stronpelataɸi-iə

that, who very strong-PREST.

One day the wind and the sun were arguing about which one of them was stronger.

ɸi-ndi nitowisisai-mi-təxi-sin,

2DL-when argue-REMT.PST.-stand-when,

ri-iə-tetsəx-mia-ø omtoxu-tetsəx-yioxu-r

3SGM-PERF.-walk-come-RECT.PST. village-walk-AGENT.-SGM

When they were arguing a traveler came by.

didi omtoxu-tetsəx-yioxu-r saketi-r

DEM. village-walker-AGENT.-SGM jacket-SGM

ri-iə-ɸinu-mə

3SGM-PERF.-wear-REMT.PST.

The traveler was wearing a jacket.

didiogoxu ɸi-iə-ɸoxu-mə a aria ri

then 2DL-PERF.-say-REMT.PST. that, who 3SGM

tetsariwote-togai-ne, saket-r, ri-ya-əxi wuto

take off-get from-PREST., jacket-SGM, 3SGM-FOC.-FUT. very

strongpelataɸi-r

strong-SGM

Then they said that, whoever takes off his jacket would be considered stronger.

didiogoxu weɸəri-s-ya bəri, si-iə-weɸəri-mə

then wind-SGF-FOC. first, 3SGF-PERF.-blow-REMT.PST.

mba, mba-ya-tetsariwote-togai-s-ri saketi-r

NEG., NEG.-FOC.-take off-get from-SGF-3SGM jacket-SGM

Then the wind started blowing but did not take off his jacket.

didiogoxu yienedsa-r ri-iə-taridsa-mə

then sun-SGM 3SGM-PERF.-shine-REMT.PST.

mba inginis, ri-iə-lusim-mə saketi-r

NEG. long, 3SGM-PERF.-take off-REMT.PST. jacket-SGM

Then the started shining and not long before he took off his jacket.

didiogoxu si-iə-ɸoxu-mə weɸəri-s a

then 3SGF-PERF.-say-REMT.PST. wind-SGF that

orait, yienedsa-r-ya wuto strongpela taɸi-iə

all right, sun-SGM-FOC. really strong-PREST.

Then the wind admitted that the sun was the stronger of the two.

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