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A GRAMMAR AND LEXICON OF LONIU, PAPUA NEW GUINEA

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DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF
HICATUT

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ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

AG	animate goal
ANT	antonym
AUX	auxiliary
C	consonant
CONJ	conjunction
CONT	continuative aspect
DA	descriptive adjunct
DEM	demonstrative
DER	derived forms
DIM	diminutive
DUR	durative aspect
EMPH	emphatic particle
FEM	feminine particle *hi*
FUT	future marker *ya*
HAB	habitual aspect
IN	inalienably possessed noun stem
INDEF	indefinite
INT	intentional/inchoative marker *ma*
INTENS	intensifier
INTERR	interrogative
INTR	intransitive
k.o.	kind of
l.f.	long form
LOC	locative
N	noun
NF	noun formative
NEG	negative
NOM	nominaliser
NP	noun phrase
OBL	inanimate oblique object pronoun *ɛy*
PART	particle
PERF	perfective
POSS	possessive marker
poss.	possibly
POT	potential
PP	prepositional phrase

PREF	prefix
PREP	preposition
PRES	present tense
PRO	pronoun
prob.	probably
RC	relative clause marker
S	sentence
s.f.	short form
SIM	simultaneous
STAT	stative
SUB.CONJ	subordinating conjunction
TP	Tok Pisin
TR	transitivising suffix *-i*, *-ani*, *-ɛni*
V	vowel
Vi	intransitive verb
VP	verb phrase
Vtr	transitive verb

PERSON/NUMBER

1SG	first person singular
2SG	second person singular
3SG	third person singular
1DU	first person dual
2DU	second person dual
3DU	third person dual
1PCL	first person paucal
2PCL	second person paucal
3PCL	third person paucal
1PL	first person plural
2PL	second person plural
3PL	third person plural
INC	inclusive (includes hearer)
EXC	exclusive (excludes hearer)
SG	either first or third person singular, but not second
NS	non-singular – includes dual, paucal and plural

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 LONIU AND ITS PLACE IN THE AUSTRONESIAN FAMILY[1]

The Loniu language is spoken in Loniu and Lolak villages on the southern coast of the Los Negros section of Manus Province, Papua New Guinea, at 2° 5' south latitude and 147° 20' east longitude (see Map). There are said to be some 450 to 500 native speakers of Loniu, although many of these reside in other Manus villages or in cities on the mainland of Papua New Guinea.

1.1.1 STATUS OF RESEARCH

Previous work on Loniu is scanty. Capell (1971) provides short word lists from several Admiralty Islands languages, including Loniu, and many Loniu forms are also included in Robert Blust's *The proto-Oceanic palatals* (1978) and in M.D. Ross's *Proto Oceanic and the Austronesian languages of Western Melanesia* (1988). Z'graggen (1975) provides extensive word lists from 20 Admiralties languages, but does not include Loniu among them. Alan Healey (1976b) gives some indications of the structure of Loniu, and Schooling and Schooling (1988) contains some demographic information and lexicostatistics. However, except for several short articles (Ingemann 1985; Hamel 1983, 1988, 1993), no work has been published specifically on Loniu, and the grammar of the language has not been discussed in detail in any other study.

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[1] It has taken a long time to complete this work. I hope that the people of Loniu and Lolak will forgive me for the delay, and will accept my deepest and most heartfelt thanks for all their patience, cooperation, and advice, and above all, for their friendship.

The faculty and staff of the Department of Language and Linguistics of the University of Papua New Guinea, in particular Graeme and Betty Cane, were very generous with their time, hospitality, and help, as were the members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Manus and Ukarumpa, and the Liebenzell Mission, both in Papua New Guinea and in New Jersey.

The faculty of the Department of Linguistics of the University of Kansas were very supportive throughout; most particularly Frances Ingemann, whose belief in my ability was never shaken and whose encouragement was the primary force behind the completion of this work. In addition, I would like to express my gratitude to my family, to Ken and Gloria Miner, and to Michael Henderson.

The research upon which this work is based was partially funded by the Kansas University Burzle Fellowship for Foreign Study and Research and by the Kansas University Dissertation Fellowship for 1982-1983.

Since completing the present work, I have continued to research the type of construction herein described as 'co-verb construction', and now recognise that these are in fact serial verb constructions (Hamel 1993).

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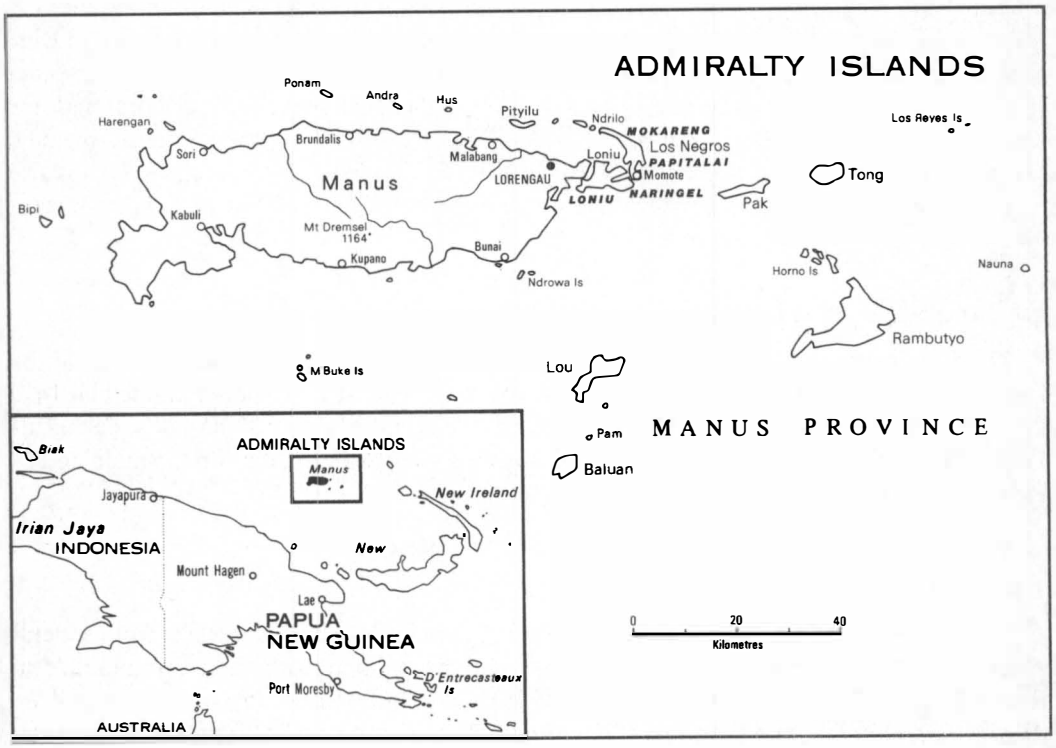

MAP: LOCATION OF THE ADMIRALTY ISLANDS AND LONIU

1.1.2 CLASSIFICATION

The languages of the Admiralties cluster are classified as a first-order subgroup of the Oceanic branch of the Austronesian language family (Blust 1978; Ross 1988). Ross (1988:316-317) indicates that Loniu is most closely related to Mokoreng, the two forming a separate, first-order subgroup of the Manus network of the Eastern Admiralty family, belonging neither to the West Manus network nor the East Manus network. Further comparative work is certainly required to determine the exact relationships of the languages of the Manus network, work that will be complicated by the fact that the languages involved appear to form a chain of dialects. Healey (1976b) lists the villages of Naringel, Papitalai and Mokoreng, geographically the closest villages to Loniu, as speaking the Papitalai/ Mokoreng language, which he puts in a separate subgroup from Loniu. Ross refers to Mokoreng, which he groups with Loniu, but he does not mention either Papitalai or Naringel. Contact between three villages and Loniu is very frequent, and intermarriage among the groups is commonplace. Many Loniu speakers understand the languages of the other villages, and will readily point to the similarities and differences among them. Whether this is due to multilingualism on the part of the Loniu or to the closeness of relationship among the languages is not completely clear, and separating genetic relationship from language contact will be a difficult task. In addition, several of the language groups in the

Manus network have apparently moved from one area of the dialect chain to another. A particular problem presented by such movement is the relationship between Loniu and Bipi, which has also been commented on elsewhere (Healey 1976b:360, footnote 6; Ross 1988:319-320). These two languages are relatively distant, geographically, but oral tradition in Loniu holds that the Bipi were once close neighbours. According to one Loniu speaker, who occasionally offered to provide 'the way they say it in Bipi', the Bipi moved away due to hostilities between the two groups. Unfortunately, details of the time and circumstances of the separation were not available.

1.2 General characteristics of Loniu

Loniu appears to fit in quite readily with most of the generalisations made about Oceanic languages, and with those more specific statements which have been made regarding Admiralty Islands languages (Capell 1971, 1976b, 1976c; Healey 1976b; Ross 1988). The six morphosyntactic features listed by Ross as characterising 'Type B' Oceanic languages, in which group Ross includes the Admiralties cluster languages, are found in Loniu, and are designated in the following discussion as Ross B.i, Ross B.ii, and so on.

The order of constituents is basically SVO, and there are prepositions. Nouns fall into one of three morphological classes: alienably possessed, inalienably possessed, and variable (i.e. those nouns which may be possessed either alienably or inalienably). Inalienable possession is expressed for singular pronominal possessors by suffix, for plural or full noun phrase possessors by immediately following the possessed noun with the stated possessor (Ross B.ii). Possession of objects to be eaten is expressed by a separate morpheme. While there is no obligatory number marking on the noun, preposed personal pronouns may be used to indicate non-singular, as well as to indicate definiteness or person (Ross B.i). There is no concord within the noun phrase.

Numeral classification of nouns involves some 30 categories, based on the nature of the noun being counted. This large number of classes is reflected in several other Admiralty Islands languages, for example, Ninigo, Buyang, and Sabon (Smythe 1970).

The pronominal system distinguishes four numbers: singular, dual, paucal, and plural (Ross B.iii), and the non-singular first person pronouns distinguish between inclusive and exclusive.

The verb morphology is not particularly complex, the only inflections being prefixes for person/number and one prefix for (potential) aspect. Transitive suffixes occur (Ross B.iv), but appear to be losing their productivity, in that stated objects may occur following unsuffixed verb roots, and verbs which contain the suffixes do not require a stated object. The tense/aspect system includes markings, both proclitic and enclitic, for future, perfective, habitual, continuative, durative, potential, intentional/inchoative, and stative, and more than one tense/aspect may be marked in a single verb phrase (Ross B.v). No passive, causative, or reciprocal forms have been identified. Subordinating conjunctions are used, but relatively infrequently; the most frequently used forms of clause conjunction are coordination and clause chaining. Within the verb phrase, co-verb constructions following the main verb (+ direct object) are very common, functioning as oblique object phrases or adverbials (Ross B.vi).

As regards the phonology, the most interesting aspect is the tendency to vowel assimilation, especially within the inflectional systems of the noun and verb. In addition, alternate long and short forms of many roots exist side by side; in many cases the short form is the extremely abbreviated version of a Proto Austronesian root, with the final syllable of the original root deleted, while the longer form contains thematic revivals[2] of at least part of the otherwise missing syllable in the presence of a suffix. Many of the longer forms exhibit vowel variations similar to the variations seen in the inflectional systems.

1.3 THE PRESENT WORK

The present work is based on language data gathered during my stay in Loniu village (February-August 1982) and on data elicited over a period of two years from Mr Caleb Kolowan, a native speaker of Loniu who was a student at the University of Kansas from 1979 to 1981. It is intended to be a description of the language, rather than a treatise on linguistic theory. As such, no single theoretical framework was employed – instead, a more eclectic approach was used, with the intention of presenting the data in as clear and explanatory a fashion as possible.

As regards the phonology of Loniu, the theoretical approach in this work is probably best termed classical phonemic. All examples in Chapters 3 through 7 are written in broad phonetic transcription, which proved to be the most practical of the possible approaches, especially in view of the fact that no conventional orthography has yet been developed for Loniu. In Chapter 2, however, which introduces the segmental phonemes, and discusses the variants of each and the neutralisation of certain contrasts, three levels are distinguished:

(a) an underlying level, indicated by the use of double diagonals (// //), is referred to in cases where constrastive segments do not actually appear on the surface;

(b) the surface phonemic level, indicated by the use of single diagonals (/ /), is referred to when details of non-contrastive variation are not relevant to the discussion or when rules have applied to derive the surface phonemic level from the underlying level;

(c) the phonetic level, indicated by the use of square brackets ([ ]), is referred to when non-contrastive variation is the point of the discussion.

In many cases, however, the notational conventions indicating level of reference are not used at all. In such cases, the presentation is for the most part tabular, and column labels indicate the level which the examples are intended to represent. This format is used, for example, in 2.5, which discusses and describes the morphophonemic variations effected within the inflectional systems of the language. Also in this section, phonological features and other notations from generative phonology are used in the formalisation of rules, in order to capture the generalisations made in the text.

Chapter 3 describes the morphology of the language, defines and discusses word classes, and gives a brief presentation of those points of derivational morphology which have been identified. Chapter 4 defines the noun phrase and its constituents, and Chapter 5 does the

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2 Capell (1976b:241) uses the term "thematic revival", and defines it as follows: "Thematic consonants are such as originally belonged to a stem, but are now lost except when a suffix is added, e.g. **taŋit* 'weep', which may become *taŋ* or *taŋi*, but when made transitive, 'weep for' becomes *taŋi-si*, reviving the original final consonant as *s*".

same for the verb phrase. Chapter 6 describes the structure of the major sentence types, and Chapter 7 the structure of sentences composed of more than one clause.

A Loniu-to-English lexicon follows Chapter 7, and an English-to-Loniu finderlist is also provided. There are seven appendices listing Loniu words by semantic field: plant and tree names, birds, shells, canoe parts and related words, fish names, body parts and kin terms, and nouns denoting spatial relationships. An appendix listing those noun and verb roots which are attested as having short and long alternants is also provided. Finally, two complete texts are given with interlinear glosses and English translations.

CHAPTER 2
PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

2.1 SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

Syllables in Loniu are of four types, each exemplified below:

(1)

Syllable type	Examples	
V	*a*	still
	u	we (DU.EXC)
	isi	squeeze
CV	*kɔ*	land, place, village
	ma	and, with
	tahapule	forehead
VC	*ɛk*	grow (INTR)
	ah	jump; get into (e.g. canoe)
	in	drink
CVC	*pat*	stone
	pow	pig
	čačoh	grandparent

While the most common syllable structure is CV, there are relatively few lexical items of the form #CV#. With just a few exceptions, VC and CVC syllables occur only word-finally – thus closed syllables do not normally occur except in final position.

2.1.1 CONSONANT SEQUENCES

Generally, consonant clusters do not occur except across morpheme boundaries. In one case, *min* 'sit' + *tan* 'down, below', the use of the two morphemes together is so frequent that most speakers have deleted the final *-n* of *min*, thus producing [mitan] 'sit down' and reflecting a reinterpretation of the two morphemes as one, within which a consonant cluster may not occur.

The non-syllabic approximants /y/ and /w/, hereafter termed 'glides', are classed as consonants in this analysis. They pattern with the true consonants, occurring both syllable-initially and word-finally; in only four examples do they occur preceding another consonant within a word. Two of these examples are bimorphemic, and two are suspect due to the variation of pronunciations elicited for them. In the case of the bimorphemic glide + consonant sequences, the stems end in glides, and are followed by a possessive suffix that takes the form of a nasal consonant (see 3.1.1.2 for a description of the possessive suffixes).

(2)	*ɛy pow*	the smell of pig
	ɛy + n [ɛyn]	its smell
(3)	*ow su?u*	their (DU) bone(s)
	ow + m [owm]	your (SG) bone(s)

The third exception is the Loniu word for a hard, inedible fruit and the caulking compound made from it. This word was variously heard as [eyt], [e:t], [et], and [a?at]. Finally, the word for mushroom was variously heard as [eyke], [eke], and [ɛke]. In view of the bimorphemic nature of the first two examples, and the variation in pronunciation of the last two, these are not considered to be sufficient evidence to challenge the analysis of /y/ and /w/ as consonant phonemes, nor the generalisation that there are no morpheme-internal consonant clusters in Loniu.

2.1.2 VOWEL SEQUENCES

The Loniu language tends to avoid phonetic vowel clusters. A sequence of two vowels both within a morpheme and across morpheme boundaries is interrupted by the insertion of a glottal stop in careful speech; in rapid or casual speech, when the glottal stop may be optionally omitted, there is no reduction of either vowel if the two are different, and syllable count is maintained. If the two vowels are identical, they may be articulated as a single vowel, which may be slightly lengthened. In this case, there is of course a resulting loss of a syllable.

There is, however, a small subset of Class I *i*-initial verbs (illustrated in (4) below) which, when inflected for second person singular, are articulated with initial diphthongs. I interpret these as vowel + consonant sequences in order to preserve the generalisation regarding vowel clusters, although it constitutes an exception to what was said above (2.1.1) about consonant clusters. Alternatively one could regard these forms as exceptionally containing vowel clusters. The first choice is made for two reasons: (a) we already have the handful of exceptions to the principle of no glide + consonant clusters mentioned in 2.1.1; and (b) the glottal stop does not appear between the two elements, vowel and glide, even in slow speech.

(4)	Prefix	Stem	Surface form	Gloss
	ɛ-	*ip^{w}i*	*ɛyp^{w}i*	you (SG) beat
	ɛ-	*in*	*ɛyn*	you (SG) drink (short form)
	ɛ-	*inum^{w}i*	*ɛynum^{w}i*	you (SG) drink (long form)
	ɛ-	*isi*	*ɛysi*	you (SG) break wind
	ɛ-	*iti*	*ɛyti*	you (SG) copulate

It should be noted here that a second subset of *i*-initial verb stems does not react in the same way to the presence of the second person singular prefix *ɛ-*, but instead replaces the stem-initial *i-* with the prefix.

(5)	Prefix	Stem	Surface form	Gloss
	ɛ-	*iwani*	*ɛwani*	you (SG) pull
	ɛ-	*ip^{w}iti*	*ɛp^{w}iti*	you (SG) unwind
	ɛ-	*ili*	*ɛli*	you (SG) call (TR)
	ɛ-	*iw*	*ɛw*	you (SG) call (INTR)

One further example of a diphthong was elicited as the second person singular form of an *h*-initial verb stem. Here again, however, there was considerable variation in the forms elicited. The verb stem is *hus* 'suck, chew'. The commonest form given for the second person singular was [hɔs], but two speakers gave [hoʊ̯s] as the second person singular form (see 3.4.3.1 for the regular second person singular inflection).

Even taking into account the several counterexamples, there is clearly a strong tendency in the language to avoid vowel clusters. This tendency is reflected in the Loniu borrowings from Tok Pisin. Those Tok Pisin words which are pronounced with diphthongs in the pidgin are modified in the Loniu as follows:

(6)	Tok Pisin		Loniu	Gloss
	rais	[raiʂ]	[ɛrɛʔis]	rice
	lain	[laiɲ]	[lɛʔin]	group
	pepa	[peipa]	[pɛʔɛpa]	paper
	kaikai	[kaikai]	[keʔikay] ~ [kɛʔɛkay]	food
	kain	[kaiɲ]	[kɛʔin]	kind

The diphthongs are broken into two syllables and a glottal stop is inserted. Only two Tok Pisin words containing a diphthong were not so treated in Loniu: *taim* [taim] 'time; and *laitim* [laitɪm] 'light'. The Loniu speakers who were recorded as using *taim* either maintained the diphthong, [taim] or pronounced the word as [tɛm]. Only one speaker was heard to use *laitim*, on only one occasion, and pronounced it with the diphthong.

2.2 CONSONANT PHONEMES

There are seven obstruent phonemes: /p pʷ t č k s h/ and nine sonorants: /m mʷ n ɲ ŋ l r y w/.

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	*p*	*t*		*k*	
Rounded stop	*pʷ*				
Affricate			*č*		
Fricative		*s*			*h*
Nasal	*m*	*n*	*ɲ*	*ŋ*	
Rounded nasal	*mʷ*				
Liquid					
Lateral		*l*			
Trill		*r*			
Approximant	*w*		*y*		

FIGURE 1: CONSONANT PHONEMES

2.2.1 OBSTRUENTS

2.2.1.1 /p/ is realised as the voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop [p] and occurs in all positions (word-initially, medially, and finally).

(7)	/pu/	[pu]	banana
	/čipitan/	[čipitan]	spicy
	/pɔp/	[pɔp]	sago with coconut cream

/p/ is sometimes realised as a partially voiced [b] in rapid speech when intervocalic, as in /tupunah/ [tubunah] 'boy'. (For the description of /p^{w}/, see 2.2.3 below.)

2.2.1.2 /t/ is realised as the voiceless unaspirated alveolar stop [t]. It occurs in all positions.

(8)	/tuwan/	[tuwan]	heavy
	/mata/	[mata]	eye; edge
	/tɛt/	[tɛt]	ladder

Voiced [d] may be heard in rapid speech when /t/ is preceded by a nasal due to loss of an unstressed vowel (see 2.5.1 for a discussion of stress), as in (9).

(9)	/iy pihin itiyɛn/	[i pi'hin di'yɛn]	that woman

There is also a tap variant of /t/, which optionally occurs intervocalically preceding an unstressed vowel.

(10)	/ɛtow/	[ɛ'tow]	you (PCL)
	/ɛtow kɛtɔw/	[ɛɾo kə'tɔw]	you (PCL) stay
(11)	/patan/	[pa'tan]	its branch
	/pata niw/	[paɾa 'niw]	coconut branch

See 2.4 (Neutralisation of contrasts) for a discussion of the neutralisation of /t/ and /r/.

2.2.1.3 /č/ is realised as the voiceless unaspirated palatal affricate [č], and occurs in all positions.[3]

(12)	/čɔŋ/	[čɔŋ]	arrive (at destination)
	/pičinah/	[pičinah]	large variety of yam
	/lač/	[lač]	coral

2.2.1.4 /k/ is realised as the voiceless unaspirated velar stop [k], and occurs in all positions.

(13)	/kɔputu/	[kɔputu]	navel
	/kaka/	[kaka]	foot, leg
	/ɛk/	[ɛk]	grow (INTR)

Only one instance of a partially voiced variant of /k/ was heard:

(14)	/itiyɛn ilɛpakak/	[itiyɛn ilɛpagak]	That part dried up.

---

3 For two speakers, /č/ was in free variation with /t/ in final position in the verb *p^{w}ič* 'be finished'; a third speaker showed variation between /č/ and /y/ in final position in two words: *ač* 'hide' and *lač* 'coral'.

2.2.1.5 /s/ has only one variant, voiceless alveolar fricative [s], which occurs in all positions.

(15)	/sus/	[sus]	milk
	/pasa/	[pasa]	knowledge
	/nɛnɛs/	[nɛnɛs]	talk

2.2.1.6 /h/ is realised as the voiceless glottal fricative [h], and occurs in all positions.

(16)	/hah/	[hah]	you (PL)
	/ɛhɛ/	[ɛhɛ]	yes
	/sih/	[sih]	one

When in final position before a consonant-initial morpheme, the /h/ may be lost:

(17)	/hah ma kaw/	[hah ma kaw] ~ [ha ma kaw]	Are you leaving?
	/sɛh pihin/	[sɛh pihin] ~ [sɛ pihin]	the woman

2.2.2 SONORANTS

2.2.2.1 /m/ is realised as the bilabial nasal [m] and occurs in all positions.

(18)	/masih/	[masih]	all
	/umɛy/	[umɛy]	k.o. sago palm
	/pɔm/	[pɔm]	k.o. sea snail

(For the description of /m^{w}/ see 2.2.3.2 below.)

2.2.2.2 /n/ is realised as the alveolar nasal [n] and occurs in all positions.

(19)	/ni/	[ni]	fish
	/tɛnih/	[tɛnih]	sardine
	/kan/	[kan]	food; circumcision

See 2.4.3 for a discussion of /l/ ~ /n/ neutralisation.

2.2.2.3 /ɲ/ is realised as the velar nasal [ŋ]. It occurs in all positions, although the occurrence of [ŋ] in final position is limited to a few lexical items, in each case following a rounded back vowel.

(20)	/ɲanɛ/	[ŋanɛ]	mother
	/p^{w}ɛŋɛt/	[p^{w}ɛŋɛt]	clay soil
	/mɔɲ/	[mɔŋ]	yellow
	/m^{w}ɔɲ/	[m^{w}ɔŋ]	pandanus tree
	/poɲ/	[poŋ]	sea turtle
	/kuɲ/	[kuŋ]	man's basket
	/pa^{m}boɲ/	[pa^{m}boŋ][4]	k.o. ray

[4] This is the only attested occurrence of [^{m}b] in the data. It is a prenasalised voiced bilabial stop. The only other instance of prenasalisation occurs in the word-initial variant of /r/, [^{n}r]; see 2.2.2.6.

2.2.2.4 /ŋ/ is realised as the velar nasal [ŋ], and occurs in all positions.

(21)

/ŋɔ/	[ŋɔ]	nose
/ŋɛŋɛy/	[ŋɛŋɛy]	scarred, pockmarked
/peŋ/	[pɪŋ]	night

Nasal	Initial		Medial		Final	
/m/	*mat*	reef	*kaman*	male	*pɔm*	k.o. snail
/mʷ/	*mʷat*	snake	*kamʷat*	ant	–	(see 2.2.3.3)
/n/	*nay*	skirt	*mana*	shell	*pɔn*	purple
/ɲ/	*ɲat*	melon	*yaɲɔʔɔh*	spit	*poɲ*	sea turtle
/ŋ/	*ŋah*	lime	*čaŋah*	door	*pɔŋ*	k.o. shell

FIGURE 2: CONTRASTS AMONG THE NASALS

2.2.2.5 /l/ is realised as the alveolar lateral liquid [l] in initial and medial positions.

(22)

/lawat/	[lawat]	possum
/kɛlɛŋa/	[kɛlɛŋa]	throat

There are no final [l] in the data, but certain morphological alternations indicate that final /l/ becomes /n/; see 2.4.3 for a discussion of this neutralisation.

2.2.2.6 /r/, when intervocalic or in final position, is articulated as either the voiced alveolar trill [r], with a varied number of vibrations of the tongue against the alveolar ridge, or as the tap [ɾ]. These two variants appear to be in free variation medially and finally, as in the following:

(23)

/urɔh/	[urɔh] ~ [uɾɔh]	thank you
/purɛt/	[purɛt] ~ [puɾɛt]	work
/ɛwɛr/	[ɛwɛr] ~ [ɛwɛɾ]	k.o. crab
/yar/	[yar] ~ [yaɾ]	a constellation

In initial position, /r/ is realised as a prenasalised alveolar trill [ⁿr]. It may also be articulated as [ⁿdr], with a brief stop [d] as transition between the nasal and trill elements. In addition, in five of the 15 words elicited with initial /r/, there is free variation between [ⁿr] and [ⁿd], but only [ⁿr] was heard in the remaining ten words. The 15 words with initial /r/ are listed in (24).

(24)

/rakaw/	[ⁿrakaw] ~ [ⁿdakaw]	pig spear
/rɔkɔ/	[ⁿrɔkɔ] ~ [ⁿdɔkɔ]	deep water
/rɔlɔkɔw/	[ⁿrɔlɔkɔw] ~ [ⁿdɔlɔkɔw]	Loniu
/rɔlɔw/	[ⁿrɔlɔw] ~ [ⁿdɔlɔw]	wooden bowl
/rɔpɔ/	[ⁿrɔpɔ] ~ [ⁿdɔpɔ]	now, today
/ruli/	[ⁿruli]	k.o. bird
/rakɛy/	[ⁿrakɛy]	man's name
/rakɔr/	[ⁿrakɔr]	placename
/rɛkɛpʷɛn/	[ⁿrɛkɛpʷɛn]	custom, usage

/račɛk/	[ⁿračɛk]	boy's name
/rɛhiyaw/	[ⁿrɛhiyaw]	k.o. fish
/rɔka/	[ⁿrɔka]	k.o. fish
/riw/	[ⁿriw]	cricket
/rɔw/	[ⁿrɔw]	mucus
/rɔpa/	[ⁿrɔpa]	Ndrova Island

One instance of intervocalic [ⁿr] in free variation with [r] was encountered: [iⁿrani] ~ [irani] 'to fasten cloth sarong'. The [r] form was preferred by all speakers consulted, but several indicated that [ⁿr] was also possible. It is due to this variation, and to the otherwise complementary distribution of the two, that this analysis includes [ⁿr] as a variant of /r/, rather than positing it as a separate phoneme or as a cluster.

Although /r/ and /t/ share the variant [ɾ], they can be seen to contrast in the following pairs:

(25)	/purɔn/	[purɔn] ~ [puɾɔn]	k.o. sago dish
	/putɔ/	[putɔ] ~ [puɾɔ]	core
	/yar/	[yar] ~ [yaɾ]	a constellation
	/yat/	[yat]	burn

The two liquids /l/ and /r/ can be seen to contrast in the following pairs:

(26)	/irani/	[irani] ~ [iⁿrani]	fasten sarong
	/ilani/	[ilani]	taunt
	/urɔh/	[urɔh]	thank you
	/ulu/	[ulu]	be high tide
	/kɔrɔs/	[kɔrɔs]	k.o. sago dish
	/ɔlɔh/	[ɔlɔh]	bailer

2.2.3 ROUNDED CONSONANTS

2.2.3.1 /pʷ/ is realised as the rounded voiceless bilabial stop [pʷ] in initial and medial positions, as follows:

(27)	/pʷɛsaw/	[pʷɛsaw]	dry
	/ipʷi/	[ipʷi]	pound (sago)

In only two words was /pʷ/ found preceding a rounded vowel: [pʷɔkat] 'musket' and [pʷɔmɛlɛw] 'k.o. large yam'.

In one morpheme, /ɛpʷe/ 'only, just', the /pʷ/ is variously heard as [pʷ], [p], the voiced, slightly fricative bilabial [B], or the labiovelar approximant [w]. In the latter two cases, the final vowel is lax and rounded. This morpheme occurs primarily in phrase- or clause-final position, and is never stressed, but when given in isolation is clearly [ɛpʷe] (see 2.3.2 for further discussion of this morpheme, and 2.4.2 for a discussion of the neutralisation of /pʷ/ and /p/ preceding rounded or unstressed vowels).

In final position, /pʷ/ becomes /p/ (see 2.4.2).

/p/ – /pʷ/ contrasts are exemplified in the following pairs:

(28)	/piti/	[piti]	star
	/ip^{w}iti/	[ip^{w}iti]	unwind, separate
	/patah/	[patah]	sago trough
	/p^{w}atay/	[p^{w}atay]	k.o. tree
	/pay/	[pay]	shelf, rafter
	/p^{w}ay/	[p^{w}ay]	say it

2.2.3.2 /m^{w}/ is realised as the rounded bilabial nasal [m^{w}] in initial and medial position. /m^{w}/ becomes /m/ in final position (see 2.4.2).

(29)	/m^{w}i/	[m^{w}i]	dog
	/kam^{w}ɛt/	[kam^{w}ɛt]	tattoo

In only three morphemes was there any perceptible rounding of the nasal preceding a rounded (back) vowel.

(30)	/m^{w}anu/	[m^{w}ɔnu] ~ [m^{w}ɛnu]	fire (long form)
	/m^{w}ɔɲ/	[m^{w}ɔɲ]	pandanus
	/m^{w}ɔn/	[m^{w}ɔn]	armband

As indicated, the form for 'fire' varies between a rounded vowel and an unrounded vowel, with a preference for the latter. The non-possessed form for 'fire' is [m^{w}an], and the general tendency seems to be to avoid the use of the suffixed possessed forms altogether, and to use the periphrastic possessive: [m^{w}an a iy] 'his fire'.

See 2.4.2 for a discussion of the neutralisation of /m^{w}/ and /m/ preceding rounded or unstressed vowels.

2.2.4 GLIDES /w/ AND /y/

Occurrences of /w/ and /y/ are normally syllable-initial or word-final, thus paralleling the patterning of other consonants. Vowel-glide-consonant sequences within a morpheme are rare in Loniu (see 2.1.1 and 2.1.2).

2.2.4.1 /w/ is realised as the voiced labiovelar glide [w], and occurs in all positions. Examples are provided to show that [w] occurs before and after all vowels.

(31)	/wi/	[wi]	k.o. fruit tree
	/was/	[was]	rope
	/wɛč/	[wɛč]	cut down
	/wɔh/	[wɔh]	fly
	/wo/	[wo]	fetch (water)
	/yaliwi/	[yaliwi]	steer (canoe)
	/tew/	[tew]	my faeces
	/m^{w}ɛkɛw/	[m^{w}ɛkɛw]	deep sea, overseas
	/lawat/	[lawat]	possum
	/čɔwɛyo/	[čɔwɛyo]	my thigh
	/powet/	[powet]	k.o. bamboo
	/muwan/	[muwan]	bad

/čuwuh/	[čuwuh]	k.o. fish
/kaw/	[kaw]	sorcery
/kɔw/	[kɔw]	fence
/niw/	[niw]	coconut
/pow/	[pow]	pig
/pɛw/	[pɛw]	shark

Note that although /w/ may precede or follow any vowel, its occurrence preceding /u/ is attested only once: /čuwuh/ 'k.o. fish', and is not attested in initial position preceding /u/ nor in final position following /u/.

2.2.4.2 /y/ is realised as the voiced palatal glide [y], and occurs in all positions.

(32)

/yo/	[yo]	I
/ya/	[ya]	future marker
/yɛ/	[yɛ]	be in a place
/yen/	[yɪn]	war
/yɔɔsi/	[yɔʔɔsi]	scrape
/yiw/	[yiw]	gather (clams)
/tiyani/	[tiyani]	tell (a story)
/kɛyaw/	[kɛyaw]	platform
/takɛyɛ/	[takɛyɛ]	throw
/hayah/	[hayah]	some
/čɔyɛt/	[čɔyɛt]	k.o. tree
/huyan/	[huyan]	good; adult
/mɛhiyun/	[mɛhiyun]	sour
/tɛpɛiy/	[tɛpɛʔiy]	lift, remove
/sey/	[sey]	one (e.g. with trees or canoes)
/ɛy/	[ɛy]	inanimate pronoun
/mɔnɔy/	[mɔnɔy]	k.o. fish
/uy/	[uy]	k.o. sago palm
/ay/	[ay]	blood

There are no examples containing the sequence [oy] within a morpheme in the data, and only one instance of the sequence [yi]: [yiw] 'gather (clams)'.

2.2.4.3 Both /y/ and /w/ may be deleted in rapid speech when preceded by a non-low vowel of the same value for [back] and followed by another morpheme.

(33)

/iy a tɔ lɔ um/	[i a rɔ lɔ um]	he's still at home
/puwɛ ke/	[puɛ ke]	fruit of a tree
/ɛtow ma kala/	[ɛro ma kala]	you (PCL) want to go
/iy ta lɔ ke/	[i ta lɔ ke]	he is in the forest
/sey ke/	[se ke]	one tree
/ɔw ma kala/	[ɔ ma kala]	you (DU) want to go

In no case, however, is there any loss of syllable count, i.e. no diphthongisation takes place when the glides are lost from an intervocalic position.

2.2.5 THE GLOTTAL STOP

The glottal stop in Loniu is not contrastive, but is inserted by rule to separate two vowels, and as onset for word-initial stressed vowels (see 2.5.1 (Stress)):

(34) Ø —> ʔ / { V (#) ____ V ; # ____ V [+stress] }

(35)

/suu/	[su'ʔu]	third person dual
/piɛn/	['piʔɛn]	white
/masɔɔnɛ/	[masɔʔɔ'nɛ]	messy
/lɛŋɛi/	[lɛŋɛ'ʔi]	like, as though
/sɛh amat/	[sɛh 'ʔamat]	(the) men
/lɔtiyɛ um/	[lɔtiyɛ 'ʔum]	inside the house

The glottal stop may also be heard in absolute final position following a vowel.

In rapid speech, the glottal stop is optional when intervocalic or final. When it is omitted, there is no diphthongisation. The syllable count remains the same when the two vowels are different. However, if the vowels are identical, there are two possible results:

(a) The syllable count is maintained.

(36) /sɔɔh/ [sɔʔɔh] ~ [sɔɔh] flesh

(b) The vowels coalesce into a single short or slightly lengthened vowel, with resulting loss of a syllable.

(37) /suu tɔ lɛlɛ/ [suʔu ɾɔ lɛlɛ] ~ [su: ɾɔ lɛlɛ] ~ [su ɾɔ lɛlɛ] they are looking

For a discussion of the glottal stop in borrowed words, see 2.1.2.

2.3 VOWEL PHONEMES

There are seven vowel phonemes in Loniu, as displayed in Figure 3.

	Front	Central	Back
High	*i*		*u*
Mid tense	*e*		*o*
Mid lax	*ɛ*		*ɔ*
Low		*a*	

FIGURE 3: VOWEL PHONEMES

The terms tense and lax, while not necessarily motivated on phonetic grounds, are used in order to distinguish among the four levels of height represented by the Loniu vowel system. In the absence of any better motivated phonological feature, tense is here intended to indicate the higher member of each of the two pairs of mid vowels, and the feature [tense] allows for the formalisation of certain morphophonemic alternation rules presented in 2.6.2.

2.3.1 /i/ is usually realised as high front [i].

(38)	/ni/	[ni]	fish
	/mɛis/	[mɛʔis]	be cooked, done
	/iw/	[iw]	call out

In closed syllables or when followed by a nasal consonant, /i/ is optionally realised as lower, more central high front [ɪ] (see 2.4.5).

(39)	/min/	[min] ~ [mɪn]	sit
	/čip/	[čip] ~ [čɪp]	window
	/pɛliŋɛin/	[pɛliŋɛʔin] ~ [pɛliŋɛʔɪn]	with him/her
	/pʷič/	[pʷič] ~ [pʷɪč]	finish, end
	/kip/	[kip] ~ [kɪp]	lie (short form)

(but cf. /kipani/ [kipani]; no *[kɪpani] attested)

/i/ may also become /u/ when preceded by a rounded bilabial, /pʷ/ or /mʷ/, in an unstressed syllable (see 2.4.2).

2.3.2 /e/ has two major variants, [e] and [ɪ]. [e] is a very high mid-front vowel, perceptibly closer to [i] than the vowel this symbol commonly represents. It occurs in open syllables and in syllables closed by /y/ or /w/. [ɪ] is a slightly higher lax vowel, and occurs in all other closed syllables. This [ɪ] is phonetically the same as the [ɪ] allophone of /i/. The assignment of [ɪ] to one or the other of /i/ and /e/ is dependent on careful pronunciation and speaker responses to 'same or different' tests (see 2.4.5 (Vowel neutralisation)).

(40)	/ehe/	[ehe]	lie down, recline, sit
	/ke/	[ke]	tree, wood
	/čɔtew/	[čɔtew]	my hip
	/hilitey/	[hilitey]	choose
	/hes/	[hɪs]	jump
	/čɔtem/	[čɔtɪm]	your hip
	/peŋ/	[pɪŋ]	night

A third allophone of /e/ is high back lax [ʊ], which is heard only after rounded /pʷ/, in two morphemes.

(41)	/pʷe/	[pʷe] ~ [pʷɪ] ~ [pʷʊ] ~ [pʊ] ~ [pʷɛ]	not, no
	/ɛpʷe/	[ɛpʷe] ~ [ɛpʷɪ] ~ [ɛpʷʊ] ~ [ɛpʊ] ~ [əβʊ] ~ [əwʊ]	only, just

Both of these morphemes occur in phrase-final position, and are not normally stressed. /pʷe/ may also occur in isolation, for example, in response to a question, in which case the pronunciation may vary among the forms containing front vowels; the back vowel variants are not heard in this circumstance. /ɛpʷe/ does not occur in isolation except as the citation form [ɛpʷe]. Under no other circumstances is /e/ realised as [ʊ] in the data.

2.3.2.1 /e/ and /i/ can be seen to contrast in the following pairs:

(42)	/he/	[he]	sew
	/hi/	[hi]	feminine particle
	/iy ileey/	[iy ileʔey]	he saw it

/iy ili iy/	[iy ili?iy]	he called to him
/tew/	[tew]	my faeces
/utiw/	[utiw]	my penis

2.3.3 /ɛ/ is realised as the lower mid-front vowel [ɛ], and occurs in all positions. In unstressed syllables, especially in rapid speech, /ɛ/ may be reduced and centralised to [ə].

(43)			
	/ɛkɛs/	[ɛ'kɛs]	powdered sago pith
	/tɛlɛ/	['tɛlɛ]	canoe (long form)
	/ɛ/	[ɛ]	and, or, but
	/pɛti/	['pɛti] ~ [pə'ti]	from, for, of
	/kɛsuwas/	[kɛsu'was] ~ [kəsu'was]	k.o. plant

A third variant of /ɛ/, [ɪ], occurs optionally before a suffixed nasal possessive marker, as in:

(44)			
	/ɛtɛm/	[ɛtɛm] ~ [ɛtɪm]	your liver
	/lɛhɛn/	[lɛhɛn] ~ [lɛhɪn]	its tooth

2.3.3.1 /ɛ/ and /e/ can be seen to contrast in the following pairs:

(45)			
	/ehe/	[ehe]	lie down, recline, sit
	/ɛhɛ/	[ɛhɛ]	yes; where
	/hes/	[hɪs]	jump
	/ɛkes/	[ɛkɛs]	powdered sago pith
	/pet/	[pɪt]	float
	/tɛt/	[tɛt]	ladder

But see 2.4.4 for a discussion of the ongoing neutralisation of this contrast.

2.3.4 /a/ is realised as the low central vowel [a]. In unstressed syllables, it is frequently raised to [ə] (see 2.5.1 (Stress)).

(46)			
	/kaman/	[ka'man]	male; men's house
	/ay/	[ay]	blood
	/la/	[la]	go
	/ɲataman/	[ɲata'man] ~ [ɲatə'man]	father

2.3.5 /ɔ/ is realised as mid-back [ɔ], and may be reduced and centralised to [ə] in unstressed position (see 2.5.1 (Stress)).

(47)			
	/ɔ/	[ɔ]	fall, come down
	/kɔ/	[kɔ]	village, land
	/paɔh/	[pa'ʔɔh]	near
	/hɔmɔw/	[hɔ'mɔw] ~ [hə'mɔw]	one (e.g. man)
	/kɔsɔwani/	[kɔsɔ'wani] ~ [kəsə'wani]	adorn

2.3.6 /o/ is realised as a very high mid-back rounded vowel, perceptibly higher and more rounded than is commonly represented by the use of this symbol. Unlike the mid-front /e/, mid-back /o/ has no centralised variant.

(48)	/yɛsow/	[yɛsow]	marry
	/yo/	[yo]	I
	/čohok/	[čohok]	dive
	/oč/	[oč]	jump

2.3.6.1 The two mid-back vowels can be seen to contrast in the following pairs:

(49)	/lot/	[lot]	turban shell
	/lɔt/	[lɔt]	skin disease, rash
	/pow/	[pow]	pig
	/pɔw/	[pɔw]	canoe part
	/moo/	[moʔo]	my skin
	/sɔɔh/	[sɔʔɔh]	edible flesh
	/ako/	[ako]	placename
	/hɔkɔ/	[hɔkɔ]	one (e.g. spear)

But see 2.4.4 for a discussion of mid-vowel contrasts.

2.3.7 /u/ is realised as the high back rounded vowel [u], and, like /o/, has no centralised variants:

(50)	/huyan/	[huyan]	good; adult
	/apulɔk/	[apulɔk]	hang up
	/čuy/	[čuy]	broth
	/u/	[u]	we (DU.EXC)
	/sun/	[sun]	singe (short form)

2.3.7.1 /u/ and /o/ contrast as illustrated in the following pairs:

(51)	/moo/	[moʔo]	my skin
	/muun/	[muʔun]	be hungry
	/čo/	[čo]	k.o. fish
	/ču/	[ču]	comb
	/toh/	[toh]	sugarcane
	/tu/	[tu]	house post
	/koko/	[koko]	my leg
	/kuku/	[kuku]	k.o. wood

2.3.8 Contrasts among the seven vowel phonemes are shown in the sets below.

(52)	/pin/	change into
	/peŋ/	night
	/pɛn/	k.o. taro dish
	/pan/	k.o. bird, poss. pigeon
	/pɔn/	purple
	/poŋ/	sea turtle
	/pun/	moon; betel pepper
(53)	/ti/	emphatic particle
	/te/	faeces
	/tɛtɛ/	infant
	/ta/	locative particle
	/tɔ/	durative/habitual/continuative aspect
	/toh/	sugarcane
	/tu/	house post
(54)	/kiw/	small bench for grating coconut
	/kew/	my bivalve muscle (if I were a clam)
	/kɛwe/	k.o. bush
	/kaw/	sorcery
	/kɔw/	fence
	/kow/	fish hook
	/ku/	cooking pot

2.4 NEUTRALISATION OF CONTRASTS

2.4.1 CONSONANT NEUTRALISATION – /t/ ~ /r/

There is some variation in the pronunciation of several words containing /t/, in which some older speakers use /t/ and other, younger speakers use the alveolar trill /r/, with both groups using the alveolar tap [ɾ] in intervocalic position, especially in rapid speech.

(55)	//purɛt//	[purɛt] ~ [purɛr] ~ [purɛr a yo]	(my) work
	//hipɛta//	[hipɛta] ~ [hipɛra] ~ [hipɛra]	thus, as though
	//ɛtɛ//	[ɛtɛ] ~ [ɛrɛ] ~ [ɛrɛ]	animate goal marker
	//pɛti//	[pɛti] ~ [pɛri] ~ [pɛri]	from, for, of
	//mata//	[mata] ~ [mara] ~ [mara]	eye; edge
	//hetow//	[hetow] ~ [herow] ~ [herow]	they (PCL)
	//čitow//	[čitow] ~ [čirow] ~ [čirow]	we (PCL.INC)

There are also many words containing intervocalic /t/ which are pronounced with either [t] or [ɾ], but were never heard with the trill variant, for example, /ɛtɛ suu/ [ɛtɛ su$^{?}$u] ~ [ɛrɛ su$^{?}$u]'their livers'.

A possible explanation for the variation among the three ([r]), [t], [ɾ]) may be that Koro, a related language spoken in nearby villages (for example, Mokoreng[5]), is influencing younger

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5 There is some discrepancy in the identification of those villages where the Koro language is spoken. According to Schooling and Schooling (1988), Koro is spoken at Horan, Labahan, and Bowat 2 (nambis), while the language of Papitalai is called Papitalai, and the language of Mokoreng is called

speakers. The older speakers of Loniu insist that these words should be spoken with [t] rather than with [r], and suggest that, as there is a great deal of contact between the two language groups, the younger people are learning the use of [r] in these lexical items from Koro relatives and friends. They were able to cite one example, *ɛrɛ* [ɛrɛ], which is the Koro equivalent of Loniu /ɛtɛ/ 'animate goal marker', and Z'graggen (1970) lists many Mokoreng words which contain /r/ where Loniu has /t/. A further factor in the variation is the fact that the trill /r/ phoneme in Loniu may be realised as the alveolar tap, which is also an allophone of /t/. Younger speakers, hearing the tap, may then be reinterpreting intervocalic /t/ as /r/, and trilling it when speaking slowly and carefully.

2.4.2 CONSONANT NEUTRALISATION – /p/ ~ /p^{w}/, /m/ ~ /m^{w}/

Although there are no examples of /p^{w}/ and /m^{w}/ in final position, there is evidence of neutralisation of /m/ and /m^{w}/, /p/ and /p^{w}/ in this position. Several nouns which can be considered inalienably possessed in some situations, and alienably in others, have two forms (see 2.6.2.2.2 for a discussion of long and short stems of some nouns).

(56)	/um a yo/	my house (which I use/live in)
	/um^{w}ɛw/	my house (which I own/built)
	/ɛnum a iy/	his garden
	/ɛnum^{w}an/	its garden (e.g. yam garden)
	/tɔp a wɔw/	your basket (alienably possessed)
	/tap^{w}am/	your basket (inalienably possessed)

Based on the alternation between /m/ and /m^{w}/, /p/ and /p^{w}/ here, it is suggested that the two rounded bilabials underlie their non-rounded counterparts in final position in some morphemes, and that, without synchronic morphological variation or historical evidence, their phonemic occurrence in final position in other morphemes cannot be determined. This situation is further complicated by the current tendency to neutralise the distinction between the two types of possession (see Chapter 3, 3.1.1 for a description of the expression of possession in Loniu).

Additional neutralisation of the two sets of labials occurs optionally in unstressed syllables, when the labials are syllable-initial and followed by unrounded vowels. In these cases, the rounding of the labials may be transferred to the following vowel. If the vowel is high, the resulting vowel is high /u/; if it is a non-high vowel, the resulting vowel is mid /ɔ/. The [e] ~ [ʊ] neutralisation in the variant /ɛpʊ/ 'only' is attested only in this morpheme.

(57)	//p^{w}ičili//	/p^{w}iči'li/	~	/puči'li/	chase
	//p^{w}ili//	/p^{w}i'li/	~	/pu'li/	mountain
	//m^{w}ičin//	/m^{w}i'čin/	~	/mu'čin/	its husk
	//p^{w}asaw//	/p^{w}a'saw/	~	/pɔ'saw/	dry

Mokoreng; according to Healey (1976a) the language Papitalai is equivalent to Mokoreng, and is spoken in the villages of Mokoreng, Papitalao, and Naringel. Healey does not mention the name Koro. According to information provided by several Loniu speakers, Koro is the name of the language spoken at least in Mokoreng. The three villages named by Healey are in a geographic chain around the coast of the Los Negros section of Manus Island (the eastern end of Manus, separated from the rest of the island by Loniu passage), and the villages of Lolak and Loniu, where Loniu is spoken, are the next two in the chain.

//mʷanu//	/mʷɛ'nu/	~	/mɔ'nu/	fire (long form)
//ɛpʷe//	/ɛpʷe/	~	/ɛpu/[6]	only

In several cases where the rounded labials occur preceding a rounded vowel, the unrounded labial was also attested.

(58)					
	//mʷɔn//	/mʷɔn/	~	/mɔn/	armband
	//mʷɔɲ//	/mʷɔɲ/	~	/mɔɲ/	pandanus tree
	//pʷɔmɛlɛw//	/pʷɔmɛlɛw/	~	/pɔmɛlɛw/	k.o. yam

It was only when asked to contrast *mʷɔn* and *mʷɔɲ* with the verb *mɔn* 'return' that speakers were clearly using a rounded bilabial nasal in the words for 'pandanus' and 'armband'. Further, the morpheme referring to 'vomit' in Loniu exhibits a clear variation between /mʷ/ and /m/.

(59)		
	/suu tɔ ɔmɔt/	they (tend to) vomit (verbal form)
	/ɛmʷɛta suu/	their vomit (possessed nominal)

The verbal forms for 'vomit' were never heard to contain a rounded nasal. It would seem that the tendency is towards the neutralisation of /m/ and /mʷ/, /p/ and /pʷ/ preceding rounded vowels, and it is probable that at least some labialised bilabials have been lost before rounded vowels. This view is supported by the fact that so few sequences of rounded labials followed by a rounded vowel were attested.

2.4.3 CONSONANT NEUTRALISATION – /l/ ~ /n/

The lateral /l/ does not surface in final position, but morphological alternations indicate that final /l/ becomes /n/ (see 2.6.2.2.2 for a discussion of short and long form stem alternants for some nouns).

(60)		
	/kaman/	men's house
	/kɛmɛlin/	his men's house
	/in/	dig (short form)
	/ili/	dig (long form)
	/tun/	canoe
	/tɛlɛw/	my canoe
	/sun/	singe (short form)
	/sulɛy/	singe (long form)

Proto Oceanic reconstructions as given in Grace (1969) and Ross (1988) indicate that POC **l* becomes *-n* in final position in Loniu (which is among those languages of the Oceanic group which have lost many final consonants, and subsequently, final vowels).

(61)	Proto Oceanic	Loniu	Gloss
	**kuluR*	/kun/	breadfruit
	**pulaŋ*	/pun	moon
	**salan*	/čan/ ~ /čalan/	road, path
	**salu*	/čan/	cut, clear

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6 The item *ɛpʷe* is never stressed, and as a result the pronunciation varies quite a bit; see example (41) in 2.3.2.

In addition, Tok Pisin *pensil* 'pencil' was heard as [pɛnsɪn] when used in Loniu conversation, but as [pɛnsɪl] when Tok Pisin was used. Thus many final /n/ in Loniu can be seen to be variants of //l// when there is synchronic morphological variation to prove it. In all other cases, however, even where historical evidence suggests a change from **l* to [n], final [n] is considered to be //n//.

There is speaker variation between /n/ and /l/ in initial position as well, in four words.

(62)	/lamɛtiyɛn/	~	/namɛtiyɛn/	big
	/lap^{w}anan/	~	/nap^{w}anan/	big
	/limɛ/	~	/nimɛ/	hand
	/lɔɔna/	~	/nɔɔna/	leaf

The /l/ ~ /n/ variation in the two words for 'big' seems to be quite free, even within the speech of a single speaker. The word for 'hand', however, is most often heard with initial [n], although the Loniu root for 'five' is /limɛ/, and shows no variation of the initial [l].

/n/ and /l/ can be seen to contrast in the following pairs.

(63)	/lɛlɛ/	[lɛlɛ]	look at
	/nɛnɛs/	[nɛnɛs]	talk
	/tɛli/	[tɛli]	squeeze
	/tɛni/	[tɛni]	fall upon
	/lɛt/	[lɛt]	decorate belt
	/nɛn/	[nɛn]	leaf rib used for sewing

2.4.4 MID-VOWEL NEUTRALISATION

Lower mid /ɛ/ is optionally realised as [e] when followed by the glides /y/ and /w/, when these represent separate morphemes, that is, *-y* as inanimate pronoun object suffixed to *ɛ*-final verb stems, and *-w* as first person singular possessor suffixed to *ɛ*-final noun stems.

(64)	/kɛčɛwɛhɛ ni/	[kɛčɛwɛhɛ ni]	you (PL) pour out the fish
	/iy ičɛwɛhɛy/	[iʔičɛwɛhey]	he poured it out
	/ɛtɛ suu iyɛ/	[ɛtɛ suʔu iyɛ]	their liver jumped; they were startled
	/ɛtɛw/	[ɛtew]	my liver

The choice of assigning these [e] to /ɛ/ is based on the non-suffixed forms. In cases where the data does not provide the morphemes without suffix, further evidence is required to be certain of the identification of the vowel. Until such evidence is available, they will be considered to be //e// in these cases.

Many younger speakers, particularly pre-adolescents, commonly neutralise the contrasts between mid-front vowels /e/ and /ɛ/ and between mid-back vowels /o/ and /ɔ/, in all positions. When questioned, for example, about the difference in pronunciation between the words for 'yes' /ɛhɛ/ and 'lie down' /ehe/, many younger speakers said that there is no difference, and pronounced both morphemes as [ɛhɛ]. The same was true for other pairs, for example, /kɔw/ 'fence' and /kow/ 'fish hook'. Other words containing these vowels, which have no attested minimal pair counterparts, are commonly pronounced with the lower of the mid-vowel pairs by the younger Loniu. For example:

(65)	/yo/	[yɔ]	I
	/ke/	[kɛ]	tree, wood
	/he/	[hɛ]	who

It is possible that the distinctions between /o/ and /ɔ/ and between /e/ and /ɛ/ are among the last to be acquired, and that the younger speakers consulted have simply not yet fully learned their language. It is also possible, however, that these distinctions are losing ground, especially in view of the relatively low functional load of the higher members of the two pairs. In fact, the older speakers comment on the 'careless' speech of their children, and worry that their language is changing as a result of the lack of precision among younger speakers.

2.4.5 VOWEL NEUTRALISATION – THE VARIANT [ɪ]

As was mentioned earlier (2.3.1, 2.3.2, 2.3.3), the phonemes /i/, /e/ and /ɛ/ share the variant [ɪ]. For /i/, [ɪ] is the variant which optionally occurs in closed syllables and when followed by a nasal. For /e/, the [ɪ] is the variant which occurs in syllables checked by any consonant other than /y/ or /w/. The [ɪ] variant of /ɛ/ occurs optionally in syllables checked by the nasal possessive suffixes *-m* '2SG possessor' and *-n* '3SG possessor'. Thus in many closed syllables, especially those closed by nasals, the occurrence of [ɪ] must be assigned to /i/, /e/ or /ɛ/ on the basis of independent evidence, such as alternate forms of the same morpheme, 'same or different' judgements by speakers, variations of pronunciation, and so on. When this evidence is not available, as is the case for a few morphemes, the [ɪ] remains unassigned, and the forms in question are written with [ɪ] pending further evidence. The option of creating a fourth front vowel phoneme to account for these instances of [ɪ] in the data was rejected due to their limited number.

2.4.6 VOWEL NEUTRALISATION – THE VARIANT [ə]

The lower mid vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/, as well as low central /a/, reduce in unstressed position to [ə]. In the majority of the examples containing [ə], independent evidence is available which allows the assignment of the vowel to one of the three phonemes /ɛ/, /ɔ/ or /a/. In the case of the non-singular person/number verbal prefix, however, there are several instances where the vowel phoneme involved is not clear. These cases are discussed in 2.6.2.3.4 (Optional prefix vowel backing).

2.5 STRESS AND INTONATION

2.5.1 STRESS

Stress does not appear to be a lexically differential feature in Loniu. It is either penultimate or final, but varies or shifts according to the structure of the phrase or clause in which the word appears. No rules have as yet been discovered for the determination of stress placement. The most that can be said at this point is as follows:

(a) Syllable structure does not seem to determine stress placement. The following patterns, marked according to stress placement when the words are spoken in isolation, occur:

(66) Penultimate:

(C)VCV	['ahi] 'step on'; ['ⁿrɔpɔ] 'now'; ['pupi] 'placename'
(C)VCVC	['mʷɛnɛn] 'straight'; ['amat] 'human'; ['čahow] 'appear'
(C)VCVCV	[i'wani] 'drag'; [ma'ŋawe] 'clear'; [ča'ʔiti] 'cut'
(C)VCVCVC	[ma'pitan] 'raw'; [ka'kawah] 'grave'; no V'CVCVC attested with penultimate stress.

(67) Final:

(C)VCV	[ɛ'ku] 'pile up'; [kɔ'mu] 'word'; [tu'we] 'boil'
(C)VCVC	[pi'hin] 'woman'; [ɔ'kɛt] 'black'; [čɛ'lɛp] 'canoe bed'
(C)VCVCV	[iti'yɔ] 'this'; [tama'na] 'dance'; [yoʔo'se] 'walk'
(C)VCVCVC	[čɛlɛ'wan] 'many'; [petu'wet] 'fire stone'; [apu'lɔk] 'hang'

Stress may shift if the words occur in close syntactic or morphological relationship with a following morpheme.

(b) There are some dozen words which are consistently pronounced with a perceptibly lengthened vowel, in all cases the penultimate vowel. This vowel lengthening may be due to stress placement, since all the words in question are stressed on the penultimate syllable when spoken in isolation. However, since not all stressed vowels are so lengthened, the relationship between stress and vowel length is not clear.

(68)

['ma:sih]	all
['mu:wan]	bad
['pi:ʔɛn]	white
['i:nɛn]	small
['pa:san]	know; knowledge of it
['kɛ:yaw]	ceremonial platform
['ka:lɔn]	ant
['pɔ:li]	as far as
['ɲa:ton]	his/her grandmother
['ka:mʷan]	ashes; fireplace

(c) Stress varies when words are in construction with other words and morphemes in a word, phrase or clause. It may shift and/or be weakened to secondary stress.

(69)

['ɲanɛn]	his/her mother
[ɲanɛ su'ʔu]	their (DU) mother
[i'tɔw]	3SG stayed
[ɲanɛ suʔu itɔ pɛlɛ'ŋan]	their mother was in the house
['ɲala]	cold wind
[iɲɛ'la]	(it) is cold
[ɲɛlɛ'tun]	cold

Stress seems to play no role at the lexical level, since it may occur on different syllables depending on the structure of the word, phrase or clause, and there is apparently no phonological motivation at the lexical level for the choice of which syllable will receive the stress, whether it be primary or secondary. It is possible that stress is predictable only at the phrase or sentence level, but the rules for assignment of stress are not yet clear. It may be that stress assignment is a matter of rhythm, and that the overall contour of an utterance

requires only that primary stress be penultimate or final within the utterance – whether the utterance is a single word, a phrase, or a clause. In this work, all reference to stress as it relates to other processes or forms in the language is based on only those cases where stress was clearly perceptible.

2.5.2 INTONATION

Intonation contours distinguish interrogatives from declaratives. The basic contour for a declarative sentence is (1)221 with a falling off of pitch at the end of the sentence (70). A yes-no question, on the other hand, has a basic contour of (2)332 with less of a falling intonation at the final juncture (71).

(70) 3 2 1 *yo to yan 'ni* ↓ I am eating fish

(71) 3 2 1 *yo kuyɛni iti'yo* ↓ Can I eat this?

The salient perceptual clues to the interrogative nature of the yes-no question appear to be a combination of higher pitch level within the utterance, with less of a falling off of pitch at the end. (See 6.7 for further discussion of the interrogatives in Loniu.)

Rising or sustained pitch sentence-medially occurs after each member of a series, and wherever the speaker pauses but has not yet completed the utterance. This is true even with complete sentences within a narrative, and the standard falling intonation of the declarative sentence usually indicates the end of a particular section of the narrative.

2.6 MORPHOPHONEMICS

2.6.1 MORPHEME STRUCTURE

Most Loniu roots are mono- or disyllabic. There appears to be a strong tendency toward root-internal vowel harmony, such that the vowels in most disyllabic roots (approximately 80% of 445 identified roots) are either both [+low] or both [-low]. In addition, some 70% of the roots contain either both [+round] or both [-round] vowels. There is, however, a significant number of roots which do not exhibit such harmony. Figure 4 presents examples of these non-harmonic roots.

Root	Gloss	Vowel combinations
čɛlu	stand	mid front unrounded – high back rounded
hilow	run	high front unrounded – mid back rounded
ɲohi	fill up	mid back rounded – high front unrounded
čuhɛ	wrap	high back rounded – mid front unrounded
huya	goodness	high back – low central
piʔah	itch	high front – low central
mahu	tomorrow	low central – high back
pʷaʔi	scold	low central – high front

FIGURE 4: NON-HARMONIC ROOTS

There is a tendency to vary vowels within some morphemes if those vowels have opposite values for the features [round] and/or [low]. For example, the citation form for '1PC.INC' is consistently given as *čito*, but in casual or rapid speech the pronunciation of this morpheme varies between [čito] and [čuto], and is sometimes shortened to [ču]. This tendency to harmony is also noticeable when two vowels are juxtaposed in a morpheme sequence, especially in rapid speech.

	Careful speech	Rapid speech
(72)	*lɔ kaman* in men's.house in the men's house	*lɔ kaman ~ lɔ kɔman*
(73)	*lɔ ɛnum* in garden in the garden	*lɔ ɛnum ~ lɔ ɔnum*
(74)	*sɛh tɔ ta ɛpi* 3PL CONT beat sago they are beating sago	*sɛh tɔ ta ɛpi ~ sɛh tɔ ta api*

Given the variation in the above examples, it appears that, while the harmony processes which are so prevalent in the inflectional systems described in 2.6.2 seem to reflect the tendency to root internal harmony along the dimensions of lowness and rounding, such processes must be considered non-automatic and morphologically conditioned.

2.6.2 MORPHOPHONEMIC VARIATION IN THE INFLECTIONAL SYSTEMS

2.6.2.1 OVERVIEW

Morphophonemic variation in Loniu is limited for the most part to the processes of noun inflection for possessive and verb inflection for person/number. In both these cases, the variation involves changes in stem vowels due to the presence of certain affixes. Generally, low stem vowels raise to mid vowels in the presence of non-low affix vowels. In the case of verb inflection, the non-low affix vowels are prefixes marking person/number; in the case of noun inflection, the non-low affix vowels are the result of a process of coalescence of the first person singular possessive suffix *-w* with the final vowel of the stem.

Thus the prefix *i-* '1/3SG', when prefixed to the verb stem *mat* 'die', causes the low stem vowel /a/ to change to /ɛ/.

(75)	*i + mat*	*imɛt*	SG dies/died

and *ɛ-* '2SG' causes the low stem vowel of the verb *čan* 'clear, cut' to raise to /ɛ/.

(76)	*ɛ + čan*	*ɛčɛn*	You clear/cut; Cut!

In case where the verb stem is *h-*, *y-* or vowel-initial, the stem vowel, if higher than the vowel of the prefix, lowers to the height of the prefix vowel and assumes its value for [tense] (*k-* is the potential aspect prefix).

(77)	*k + ɛ + hinɛni*	*kɛhɛnɛni*	NS may do/make

In addition, if the verb stem is *h-* or vowel-initial, the prefix vowel assimilates to the first stem vowel, once the height of the stem vowel has been adjusted as specified above. In the

verb form *k* + *ɛ* + *huti* 'POT + NS + take', the non-singular mid-vowel prefix causes the stem vowel /u/ to become /ɔ/ by the process of stem-vowel lowering, and then the prefix vowel totally assimilates to the stem vowel, producing the surface form *kɔhɔti* 'we, you, they may make/do'.

In the case of inflection for noun possession, the first person singular possessive suffix *-w* coalesces with the stem-final vowel in certain cases, producing a mid-back rounded vowel /ɔ/ or /o/, depending on the stem (the variation between /ɔ/ and /o/ does not appear to be based on purely phonological criteria – see 2.6.2.2.1). Thus the noun stem *putuwa-* + the possessive *-w* produces the surface form *putuwo* 'my belly', and the noun stem *kɛŋuwɛ-* + *-w* produces *kɛŋuwɔ* 'my neck'. Many noun stems which take the inalienable possessive *-w* contain only low vowels. Depending on the identity of the intervening consonant in such cases, the mid-back /ɔ/ or /o/ which results from the coalescence of the *-w* with the stem-final *-a* may cause the preceding /a/ of the stem to raise to mid-back, with the same value for [tense] as the final vowel.

(78) *maʔa* + *-w* *moʔo* my skin
kana + *-w* *kɔnɔ* my taste/flavour

In the case of certain other intervening consonants [p t č s l r y], the preceding low vowel of the stem may raise to /ɛ/ rather than /o/ or /ɔ/.

(79) *mata* + *-w* *mɛto* my eye

These vowel variations, which are primarily limited to the inflection processes discussed above, are described in detail in 2.6.2.2 (Morphophonemics of noun inflection), and 2.6.2.3 (Morphophonemics of verb inflection).

2.6.2.2 MORPHOPHONEMICS OF NOUN INFLECTION

2.6.2.2.1 *-w* '1SG.POSS'

The first person singular possessive suffix *-w* (see 3.1.1.2) varies considerably in its surface manifestations, dependent on the final vowel of the noun stem. All inalienably possessed noun stems are vowel-final. The stems are separated into three classes, according to the type of vowel occurring in stem-final position: front vowel-final (non-low, unrounded vowels); back vowel-final (non-low, rounded vowels); and low vowel-final (/a/ only). The suffix surfaces as follows:

(a) Front vowel-final stems

When suffixed to a stem ending in an unrounded non-low vowel, *-w* is realised as [w]:

(80) $-w \longrightarrow [w] \; / \; \begin{bmatrix} V \\ -\text{round} \\ -\text{low} \end{bmatrix} + ___ \; \#$

For example:

(81)

Stem	Inflected form	Gloss
čɛŋi-	*čɛŋiw*	my flesh
kuče-	*kučew*	my kidney(s)
kɛlɛpɛ-	*kɛlɛpɛw*	my tail

The *-w* coalesces with a stem-final *ɛ-* to *-ɔ* in four stems, three of which have nasal consonants preceding the stem final *-ɛ*.

(82)			
	nimɛ-	*nimɔ*	my hand
	ɲanɛ-	*ɲanɔ*	my mother
	palakɛʔimɛ-	*palakɛʔimɔ/palakɛʔimɛw*	my tongue
	kɛɲuwɛ-	*kɛɲuwɔ*	my neck

Although it would be tempting to suggest that the nasality of the consonant preceding the stem-final *-ɛ* explains the different shape of the suffix, especially in view of the conditioning of the *-ɔ* suffix for *-a* final stems (see (c) below), this cannot be correct, because there are five stems with a nasal consonant preceding the stem-final *-ɛ* which surface with the *-ɛw* form of the suffix.

(83)			
	čɛkɛhɛnɛ-	*čɛkɛhɛnɛw*	related to me
	kuɲɛ-	*kuɲɛw*	my basket
	mɛʔipihinɛ-	*mɛʔipihinɛw*	my groin
	mʷɛ-	*mʷɛw*	my buttocks
	umʷɛ-	*umʷɛw*	my house

Also, *palakɛʔimɛ-* 'tongue' (which may be a compound consisting of *pala-* 'head' + another as yet unidentified morpheme), was elicited in both forms for first person singular: *palakɛʔimɛw ~ palakɛʔimɔ*. In addition, there is a stem *puwɛ* 'testicle' which is phonetically similar to the exception *kɛɲuwɛ-*, but which takes the form *puwɛw* when inflected for first person singular. Thus it would seem that there is as yet no phonological explanation for the form the suffix takes for the four exceptions cited.

(b) Rounded back vowel-final stems

-w is not realised phonetically when the stem ends in a rounded back vowel (all of which are non-low).

(84)

$$-w \longrightarrow \emptyset \;/\; \begin{bmatrix} V \\ +\text{round} \end{bmatrix} + __$$

For example:

(85)	Stem	Suffixed form	Gloss
	ɛlutu-	*ɛlutu*	my egg
	ŋɔ-	*ŋɔ*	my nose
	močo-	*močo*	I've had enough

It is important to note here that the sequences *-uw-*, *-ɔw(-)*, and *-ow(-)* do occur elsewhere in the language, for example, *čuwuh* 'k.o. fish', *kɔw* 'fence', and *pow* 'pig'.

(c) Low vowel-final stems

-w coalesces with stem-final *-a*, becoming a mid-back rounded vowel. If the stem-final *-a* is preceded by a nasal, the resulting vowel is the lower mid lax /ɔ/. If the preceding consonant is not a nasal, the resulting vowel is the higher mid tense /o/.

(86) $-a + -w \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} V \\ \text{-high} \\ \text{+round} \\ <\alpha \text{ tense}> \end{bmatrix} / \begin{matrix} C \\ <-\alpha \text{ nasal}> \end{matrix} ____$

For example:

(87)	Stem	Inflected form	Gloss
	kɛhɛya-	*kɛhɛyo*	my shoulder
	putuwa-	*putuwo*	my belly
	kɛlɛŋa-	*kɛlɛŋɔ*	my back
	čɔmuna-	*čɔmunɔ*	my place

2.6.2.2.2 NOUN STEMS WITH LONG AND SHORT FORMS

Forty of the 190+ stems which occur in inalienable possessive phrases were found to have alternant short forms, in which the stem-final vowel is deleted, and long forms, in which the stem-final vowel is present. Generally speaking, the short forms occur in non-possessive phrases and in the alienable type possessive, while the long forms appear to be the combinatory forms, and are used in associated noun phrases, compounds, and inalienable possessive phrases. For example:

(88)	Short form			Long form
	Non-possessive	Alienable		Inalienable
	mʷalih	*mʷalih a*	*iy*	*mʷalihin*
	story	story POSS	3SG	story.3SG
		3SG's story		3SG's story
	law	*law a*	*wɔw*	*lawam*
	relative	relative POSS	2SG	relative.2SG
		your relative		your relative

The possible differences in meaning between the two types of possessive are discussed in 3.1.1.3. The phonological relationship of the two forms is in many cases quite straightforward: the short forms are derived by deleting the final vowel. In other cases, however, there are complications, some of which are not clearly describable in phonological terms.

Most of the stems with short/long variants have *-a* as the final vowel of the long form. These present no difficulty within the analysis so far presented (see 2.6.2.2.1). For example:

	Short form	Long form + suffix	Gloss
(89)	*ŋah*	*ŋaha + w = ŋoho*	my lime
		ŋaham	your lime
		ŋahan	3SG's lime
(90)	*pʷahačan*	*pʷahačala + w = pʷahačɔlɔ*	my route
		pʷahačalam	your route
		pʷahačalan	3SG's route

(91)	*čim*	*čima + w = čimɔ*	my purchase
		čimam	your purchase
		čiman	3SG's purchase

The problem arises in a group of stems containing low vowels, whose final vowel is non-low in the long form:

(92)	Short form	Long form	Final vowel	Gloss
	ŋay	*ŋɛyɛ*	*ɛ*	hole
	ay	*ɛyɛ*	*ɛ*	blood
	an	*ɛnu*	*u*	water
	m^{w}an	*m^{w}ɛnu*	*u*	fire
	nas	*nɛsɪ-* [7]	[ɪ]	digging stick
	kaman	*kɛmɛli-* [8]	*i*	men's house

In order to explain the unpredictability of the final vowel of the longer form, one must assume that the vowel was originally a part of the stem rather than part of the suffix. There is no clear way to predict which vowel will occur in the suffix on phonological grounds. Other stems have phonetically similar forms for which no short, consonant-final forms are attested. These parallel forms show the same unpredictable diversity of final vowels. A comparison of the stems within each of the sets in (93) – (99) indicates that the final vowel is not phonologically determined. The simplest explanation of their diversity would be that they are part of the stem rather than part of the suffix.

	Long form	Short form	Vowel	Gloss
(93)	*tɔpu*	-	*u*	taboo
	tɔpɔ	-	*ɔ*	clarification
	tap^{w}a	*tɔp*	*a*	basket
(94)	*ŋɛsu*	-	*u*	smoke
	nɛsɪ	*nas*	[ɪ]	digging stick
(95)	*lasɔhɔ*	-	*ɔ*	in-law
	ŋɔsɔha	-	*a*	breath
(96)	*ana*	-	*a*	consumable object
	ɛnu	*an*	*u*	water, juice
(97)	*ɛnum^{w}a*	*ɛnum*	*a*	garden
	um^{w}ɛ	*um*	*ɛ*	house
(98)	*ɲɛtu*	-	*u*	child
	ɛtɛ	-	*ɛ*	liver, heart
(99)	*putɔ*	-	*ɔ*	core
	kɔputu	-	*u*	navel

---

7 This form is one of the few for which assignment of [ɪ] to /i/, /e/, or /ɛ/ was not possible, due to lack of evidence (see 2.4.5). It may be that the fact that /a/ —> /ɛ/ in the presence of this final [ɪ] is an indication that at least here, [ɪ] is an allophone of high front /i/. The *nɛsɪ* form is attested only with the possessive suffixes: *nɛsɪw*, *nɛsɪm*, *nɛsɪn*.

8 /l/ —> /n/ / __ #; see 2.4.3.

Once this point of view is adopted, however, the question arises as to the provenance of the low-stem vowel in the set of six short-form stems listed in (92). When the alternate long form occurs, and the final non-low vowel is present, the preceding stem vowel(s) is also non-low; when the final vowel is deleted to derive the short, consonant-final form, the stem vowel(s) is [+low]. Given the otherwise motivated raising rule (see 2.6.2.3.1), it would seem in keeping with this analysis to suggest that the presence of the stem-final non-low vowel causes the preceding stem vowels to become [-low] as well, and that, in its absence, the [+low] stem vowel remains unchanged. This would further imply, though, that this stem-final vowel was, at some point in the past, a separate morpheme (or part of one). In addition, the sets of intervening consonants as stated in the rules for raising (and rounding) given in 2.6.2.3.1 below would have to be modified, and the raising and rounding process would not be clearly limited to specific *consonant + a* sequences.

If these stem-final vowels were at one time separate morpheme elements, it would seem reasonable to suggest that there is more than one set of possessive suffixes, and that the choice of which set to use with a given stem is lexically determined. This approach may be more satisfactory when only these six short forms are considered, but when the entire group of inalienably possessed noun stems is taken into account, the approach which identifies the deletable final vowel as part of the stem, and which leaves the occurrence of the [+low] short form stem vowels unexplained within a purely synchronic framework, covers more data more simply and clearly.

2.6.2.2.3 STEM-FINAL VOWEL NEUTRALISATION

In the suffixed forms of the inalienably possessed nouns (i.e. the forms possessed by a singular pronominal possessor), stems ending in the front vowels /i e ɛ/ may optionally centralise or reduce to [ɪ] in the presence of the possessive suffixes (see 2.4.5). Forms encountered in the data are quite variable:

	Stem	Inflected forms	Gloss
(100)	*kapɛni-*	*kapɛniw, kapɛnɪw*	my wing
	(as in *kapɛni mɛnuway*	*kapɛnɪm*	your wing
	'the eagle's wing,	*kapɛnin, kapɛnɪn*	3SG's wing
	eagle wing')		
(101)	*ke-*	*kew*	my muscle
	(as in *ke puke*	*kem, kɪm*	your muscle
	'the clam's muscle,	*ken, kɪn*	3SG's muscle
	clam muscle')		
(102)	*lɛlɛ-*	*lɛhɛw, lɛhew, lɛhɪw*	my tooth
	(as in *lɛhɛ m^{w}i*	*lɛhɛm, lɛhɪm*	your tooth
	'dog's tooth/teeth')	*lɛhɛn, lɛhɪn*	3SG's tooth

In addition, /ɛ/ may optionally become close and tense when followed by *-w* '1SG', thereby neutralising the distinction between the two mid-front vowels.

(103)	*pasɛ-*	*pasɛw, pasew*	my chin
	ɛtɛ-	*ɛtɛw, ɛtew*	my liver, heart
	kihiyɛ-	*kihiyew*	my firewood
		(only attested form)	

In such cases as those described above, especially those in which the elicited paradigms were complete and included unsuffixed forms, the vowel is easily assigned to one of the three front vowels. However, there are several nouns, exemplified in (104), for which such assignment was not possible due to lack of evidence.

(104)	Unpossessed form	Attested suffixed forms	Gloss
	nas	*nɛsɪw, nɛsɪm, nɛsɪn*	digging stick
	–	*kɛlipawɪw, kɛlipawɪm, kɛlipawɪn*	jaw

2.6.2.2.4 VOWEL HARMONY IN INALIENABLE POSSESSIVES

Of the 190+ noun stems which are attested in the inalienable type of possessive phrase, 23 exhibit clear instances of harmonic modifications of the stem vowel(s) when the stem is inflected for first person singular possessor. These harmonic modifications are not found in phrases in which the possessor is a plural pronoun or a full noun phrase, nor do any regular harmonic processes occur in the alienable type possessive phrase.

Most of the stems which are subject to harmonic modifications contain only low vowel /a/. A subset of these have consonant-final short form alternants which appear in non-possessive or alienable possessive constructions and longer, vowel-final alternants which appear in inalienable possessive constructions. Six of the low-vowel noun stems which have non-low final vowels in the inalienably possessed long form, and are subject to vowel variation in the presence of the final vowel, have been discussed in 2.6.2.2.2 and were displayed in (92). These six are not further discussed here. In this section, discussion will be limited to those noun stems whose final vowel is *-a*. These stems are subject to vowel harmony only in the first person singular possessed forms.

(105)	Stem	Gloss
	maʔa	skin
	ŋaʔa	name
	pʷaha	mouth
	kaka	foot, leg
	kana	taste
	ana	consumable object
	kapʷana	self
	ɲatama	father
	ɲana	man's father-in-law
	lawa (short form *law*)	relative, supporter
	pʷahačala (short form *pʷahačan*)	road, route
	paŋataha	warmth, heat
	pala	head
	mata	eye
	tapʷa (short form *top*)	basket
	ŋaha (short form *ŋah*)	lime

In the presence of *-m* '2SG possessor' or *-n* '3SG possessor', the stems in (105) exhibit no vowel variation; for example:

(106) *maʔa + m* = *maʔam* your skin
paŋataha + n = *paŋatahan* 3SG's warmth

However, when first person singular *-w* is present, the following changes occur:

(a) The stem-final vowel and the suffix coalesce, as in (86) above (2.6.2.2.1), repeated here for convenience:

(107) *-a + -w* —> $\begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ \text{-high} \\ \text{+round} \\ <\alpha \text{ tense}> \end{bmatrix}$ / $\overset{\text{C}}{<-\alpha \text{ nasal}>}$ ____

That is to say, if the consonant preceding the stem-final *-a* is a nasal, the *-a + w* sequence becomes lax *-ɔ*; otherwise, *-a + w* becomes *-o* (see 2.6.2.2.1, (c)).

(b) If the preceding consonant is [w pʷ h k ʔ] or a nasal, the /a/ which in turn precedes the consonant is raised and rounded to harmonise with the final vowel (either /ɔ/ or /o/), and takes on the value for the feature tense in accordance with that vowel.

(108) /a/ —> $\begin{bmatrix} \text{-low} \\ \text{+round} \\ <\text{+tense}> \end{bmatrix}$ / ___ C* $\begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ \text{+back} \\ \text{-low} \\ \text{-high} \\ \text{+round} \\ <\text{+tense}> \end{bmatrix}$

*C = [w pʷ h k ʔ m n ɲ ŋ mʷ]

(109) *maʔa + w* —> *maʔo* —> *moʔo* my skin
kana + w —> *kanɔ* —> *kɔnɔ* my taste

If the conditions of the rule are met, it applies to the next preceding /a/ as well.

(110) *kapʷana + w* —> *kapʷanɔ* —> *kapɔn*[9] —> *kɔpɔnɔ* my self

(c) If the intervening consonant is not one of those listed in rule (108), that is, if it is one of the set [p t č s l r y], as in *mata* 'eye' and *pala* 'head', rule (108) does not apply. Instead, a raising rule applies, raising and fronting the [+low] stem vowel, but with no rounding or tensing.

(111) $\begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ \text{+low} \end{bmatrix}$ —> $\begin{bmatrix} \text{-low} \\ \text{-back} \end{bmatrix}$ / ___ C* $\begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ \text{+back} \\ \text{-low} \\ \text{-high} \\ \text{+round} \end{bmatrix}$

C* = [p t č s l r y] (any C other than those in (108))

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9 Optionally /pʷ/ —> /p/ / ___ $\begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ \text{+back} \\ \text{+round} \end{bmatrix}$; see 2.4.2

(112) *mata + w* —> *mato* —> *mɛto* my eye
pala + w —> *palo* —> *pɛlo* my head

An exception to this rule is *pʷahačɔlɔ* 'my route' (*pʷahčala + w*). The difference in vowel change between *pʷahačɔlɔ* and *pɛlo* 'my head' may be due to the fact that *pʷahačala* has a short form, *pʷahačan*, which is derived from *pʷahačala* by deleting the final vowel, thus placing the /l/ in final position – all /l/ become [n] in final position. It may be the presence of this nasal which triggers the application of rule (108) rather than rule (111). It is of interest to note here that the form *pɛlo* was also heard and transcribed as [pœlo]. Since this is the only instance of a rounded front vowel in the data, the implications are not clear.

(d) The polysyllabic stems *ɲatama* and *paŋataha* in their first person singular possessed forms show that the raising rule (111), described in (c) above, is blocked by relative distance from the suffix.

(113) *ɲatama + w* —> *ɲatamɔ* —> *ɲatɔmɔ* my father
paŋataha + w —> *paŋatahɔ* —> *paŋatoho* my warmth

The fact that the form *kɔpɔnɔ* (*kapʷana + w*) contains a rounded vowel in the antepenult is probably due to the rounded consonant which follows it, and which apparently encourages the transmission of the rounding of the suffix beyond its normal range.

2.6.2.3 MORPHOPHONEMICS OF VERB INFLECTION

The person/number prefix vowels (see 3.4.3.1), and in some cases the first vowel of the verb stem (which is taken to be the form of the verb which occurs without a prefix), are affected in the inflectional process. Three factors determine which vowels will surface in any given prefixed verb: whether the verb is a member of Class I or Class II (see 3.4.2); the presence of a person/number prefix; and the phonological conditioning of the vowel harmony or assimilation rules described in 2.6.2.3.1 to 2.6.2.3.6.

2.6.2.3.1 STEM VOWEL RAISING

All verb stems which have /a/ as the first vowel of the stem undergo an obligatory raising rule, which raises and fronts /a/ to /ɛ/ in the presence of a non-low vowel prefix.

(114) Rule I: Stem Vowel Raising

$$\begin{bmatrix} V \\ +low \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -low \\ -back \\ -tense \end{bmatrix} \; / \; \begin{bmatrix} V \\ -low \end{bmatrix} + (C) \; __$$

In (115) below, the stem is Class I *ča?ɛh* 'cut', and since all of the prefixes for Class I stems are non-low vowels (see 3.4.2), all of the prefixed forms are affected (the potential prefix is *k-*; see 5.1.1.3.1).

(115) Class I *ča?ɛh* 'cut'

	Present/past	Potential
1SG	*i* + *čɛ?ɛh* (~ *u* + *čɛ?ɛh*)[10]	*k* + *i* + *čɛ?ɛh* (~ *k* + *u* + *čɛ?ɛh*)
2SG	*ɛ* + *čɛ?ɛh*	*ɛ* + *čɛ?ɛh*
3SG	*i* + *čɛ?ɛh*	*k* + *i* + *čɛ?ɛh*
NS	*ča?ɛh*	*k* + *ɛ* + *čɛ?ɛh*

On the other hand, since Class II stems take the low vowel prefix in the second person singular and in potential non-singular forms (see 3.4.2, 5.1.1.3.1), they undergo vowel raising only in the first person singular and third person singular forms, which have a high vowel as the prefix. Example (116) gives a paradigm for the Class II stem *mat* 'die'. Note that third person singular is *imɛt*, with a raised stem vowel, while second person singular is *amat*, with the stem vowel unchanged.

(116) Class II stem *mat* 'die'

	Present/past	Potential
1SG	*i* + *mɛt* (~ *u* + *mɛt*)	*k* + *i* + *mɛt* (~ *k* + *u* + *mɛt*)
2SG	*a* + *mat*	*a* + *mat*
3SG	*i* + *mɛt*	*k* + *i* + *mɛt*
NS	*mat*	*k* + *a* + *mat*

2.6.2.3.2 STEM VOWEL LOWERING

This process occurs only with *h*-initial, *y*-initial, and vowel-initial stems. Total Assimilation (2.6.2.3.3) applies only to *h*-initial or vowel-initial stems. According to Ultan (1973:48, 60-61), the boundaries presented by stems with initial laryngeal /h/, approximant /y/, and contiguous vowels are the boundaries least likely to be resistant to the operation of vowel harmony. It is therefore not unusual that the more extreme modifications represented by the application of these two rules should be limited to such stems in Loniu.

Stem Vowel Lowering operates as follows: if the prefix vowel is lower than the first stem vowel, and the stem is either *h*-, *y*-, or vowel-initial, the stem vowel lowers to the height of the prefix vowel, and assumes its value for [tense].

(117) Rule II: Stem Vowel Lowering

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ \alpha\text{high} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ \text{-high} \\ -\alpha\text{low} \\ \beta\ \text{tense} \end{bmatrix} \; / \; \begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ \text{-high} \\ -\alpha\text{low} \\ \beta\ \text{tense} \end{bmatrix} + \left(\left\{ \begin{matrix} h \\ y \end{matrix} \right\}\right) __$$

Thus, in the examples in (118), the Class I mid-front vowel prefix causes the stem vowel to lower from high to mid. In (119), the Class II low vowel prefix causes the stem vowel to lower from mid to low. Lowering of the first vowel in *y*-initial stems is exemplified in (120).

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10 See 2.6.2.3.4 for a discussion of the /i/ ~ /u/ variation in first/third person singular prefixes.

(118)	*k+ɛ+hinɛni*	—>	*k+ɛ+hɛnɛni*	POT-NS-make/do
	k+ɛ+isi	—>	*k+ɛ+ɛsi*	POT-NS-squeeze
	k+ɛ+huti	—>	*k+ɛ+hɔti* [11]	POT-NS-take
(119)	*k+a+ɔhɔy*	—>	*k+a+ahɔy*	POT-NS-draw
	k+a+ɛŋɛ	—>	*k+a+aŋɛ*	POT-NS-hear
	k+a+ehe	—>	*k+a+ahe*	POT-NS-lie down
(120)	*a+yɛsow*	—>	*a+yasow* [12]	you SG marry

The two rules given so far, Stem Vowel Raising and Stem Vowel Lowering, are progressive harmony rules, affecting the first stem vowel. All further modifications are anticipatory in nature, and affect the vowel of the prefix.

2.6.2.3.3 TOTAL ASSIMILATION

The operation of the Total Assimilation rule is limited to *h*-initial and vowel-initial stems, and changes the value for all those features of the prefix vowel which differ from the feature values of the stem vowel (note that in some cases Rule II produces the effect of total assimilation).

(121) Rule III: Total Assimilation

$$V \longrightarrow [\alpha \text{ features}] \; / \; \underset{V}{\underline{\quad}} + (h) \; [\alpha \text{ features}]$$

In the examples given in (122), the operation of Rule II has allowed for the maintenance of the relative height of the prefix vowels, such that the first person singular and third person singular prefix vowels remain higher than the vowels of the second person singular and non-singular potential forms.

(122)			Rule II		Rule III	
	k+i+huti			—>	*k+u+huti*	1SG/3SG may take
	k+ɛ+huti	—>	*k+ɛ+hɔti*	—>	*k+ɔ+hɔti*	POT-NS-take
	k+i+ɔŋɔhe			—>	*k+ɔ+ɔŋɔhe*	1SG/3SG may think
	k+a+ɔŋɔhe	—>	*k+a+aŋɔhe*			POT-NS-think
	k+i+ɛŋɛ			—>	*k+ɛ+ɛŋɛ*	1SG/3SG may hear
	k+a+ɛŋɛ	—>	*k+a+aŋɛ*			POT-NS-hear

2.6.2.3.4 OPTONAL PREFIX VOWEL BACKING

While the previous rules are all obligatory, backing and concomitant rounding of vowels prefixed to verb stems with initial consonants other than *h* is optional. If a Class I stem, which is mid-front vowel prefixing, has as the first vowel of the stem a mid-back rounded vowel, the mid-front /ɛ/ prefix may back and round to /ɔ/.

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11 Surface form [kɔhɔti]; see 2.6.2.3.3 (Total assimilaton).
12 Surface form [yasow]; see 2.6.2.3.5 (Further modifications).

(123) Rule IV: Optional Prefix Vowel Backing

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ \text{-high} \\ \text{-low} \\ \text{-tense} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [\text{+back}] \;/\; ___ + \text{C*} \begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ \text{-high} \\ \text{-low} \\ \text{+back} \end{bmatrix}$$

C* = any consonant but /h/

(124)				
	ɛ+nɔh	—>	*ɔ+nɔh*	you SG fear
	k+ɛ+sɔtɛhɛyani	—>	*k+ɔ+sɔtɛhɛyani*	POT.NS.stand
	k+ɛ+ɲɔhi	—>	*k+ɔ+ɲɔhi*	POT.NS.fill

This rule is optional because some stems with mid-back rounded /ɔ/ were heard with both the mid-front and the mid-back prefixes.

(125)				
	ɛ+lɔm^{w}i	—>	*ɛlɔm^{w}i ~ ɔlɔm^{w}i ~ ələm^{w}i*	you SG plant
	k+ɛ+lɔm^{w}i	—>	*kɔlɔm^{w}i ~ kələm^{w}i*	POT-NS-plant
	ɛ+ɲɔhi	—>	*ɛɲɔhi ~ ɔɲɔhi ~ əɲɔhi*	you SG fill

Several observations may be made about the variations exemplified in (125). It is the second singular forms which show the most variation between the mid-front and mid-back prefixes, while the *k-* prefixed forms of the potential tend to contain mid-back /ɔ/. The prefixes are never stressed, and the prefix vowels may be reduced to a centralised variant. These reduced vowel forms were clarified as to identity whenever possible, but the [ə] variant of the second singular prefixes was sometimes interpreted by the speakers as /ɛ/, sometimes as /ɔ/; the *k + ə* prefixes, on the other hand, were identified as /kɔ/ in almost all cases.

It is perhaps due to the strengthening effect of the velar stop prefix, for which the back of the tongue is raised to the velum in a position similar to that required for the production of a back vowel, that the potential non-singular person prefix vowels were not as centralised, and were therefore identified as mid-back rather than mid-front.

The high-front /i/ of the first person singular and third person singular forms may also be backed and rounded. In this case, however, the harmony is even less predictable than it is for second person singular and non-singular potential prefix vowels. Several factors seem to influence the backing of the high vowel prefix, not all of which involve the verb stem.

First, the /i/ of both first person singular and third person singular tends to become /u/ when the stem initial consonant is labial, the first stem vowel is back and rounded, and the potential prefix *k-* is present.

(126)		
	yo kupɔ	I may do
	iy kupɔ	3SG may do
	yo kumuʔun	I may be hungry
	iy kumuʔun	3SG may be hungry

(127)		
	yo upɔ	I do/did
	iy ipɔ	3SG does/did
	yo umuʔun	I am/was hungry
	iy imuʔun	3SG is/was hungry

Note in (127) that the present/past forms of third person singular maintain the high front vowel as the prefix. It is likely that the subject pronouns, which immediately precede the vowel of the prefix in the present/past forms, influence the quality of the prefix vowel, even on stems whose initial consonant is not labial and/or whose initial vowel is not back and round. Thus the back rounded alternant of the prefix occurs more readily for first person singular in the present/past, preceded by the pronoun *yo* 'I', than for third person singular forms, preceded by the subject pronoun *iy* 'he, she, it'. The fact that the subject pronoun *yo* always occurs with the first person singular verb forms, while the third person singular subject may be a full noun phrase, may also influence the backing (and rounding) of the person prefix. Even with full noun phrase subjects, however, alternation between the two variants, high front and high back rounded, is very common.

(128)	*yo ulɛ ~ yo ilɛ*	I go/went
	iy ilɛ	3SG goes/went
(129)	*yo učɛpʷɛni ~ yo ičɛpʷɛni*	I throw/threw
	iy ičɛpʷɛni	3SG throws/threw
(130)	*yo ma kuwɔh* 1SG INT POT-SG-fly	I'm going to fly.
	iy ma kuwɔh 3SG INT POT-SG-fly	He's going to fly.
	ɲɛtukan ya kiwɔh bird FUT POT-SG-fly	The bird will fly.

The variation between front and back high vowels for first and third person singular, then, is based on combinations of three factors: first, the initial consonant and vowel of the stem – when first and third person singular surface (see the discussion of prefix vowel deletion in 2.6.2.3.5), they always surface as /u/ when prefixed to *hu-* and *u-* initial stems, but only sometimes do with with labial consonant + back vowel stems; second, the presence and contiguity of the subject pronouns *yo* and *iy*; and third, the presence of the potential prefix, velar *k-*.

2.6.2.3.5 FURTHER MODIFICATIONS

There are two further modifications which account for certain of the surface forms. The first of these is a Prefix Vowel Deletion rule (131), which applies to *h-* or vowel-initial stems inflected for person/number only – that is, which do not have the *k-* of the potential aspect as well, but are in present/past.

(131) V —> Ø / # ___ + (*h*) V

In these cases, the vowel of the person prefix is obligatorily deleted once it has caused the harmonic modifications in the stem vowel. These prefix vowels are deleted from most modified *y-* initial stems as well, although there is some variation here in the third person singular forms – note the last three examples in (132).

(132)

	Rule I	Rule II	Rule III	Deletion	Surface form	Gloss
i+ač	*i+ɛč*	–	*ɛ+ɛč*	*ɛč*	*ɛč*	1/3SG hide
ɛ+huti	–	*ɛ+hɔti*	*ɔ+hɔti*	*hɔti*	*hɔti*	you SG take
i+yɛsow	–	–	–	*yɛsow*	*yɛsow*	1/3SG marry
i+yɛti	–	–	–	–	*iyɛti*	1/3SG bite
a+yɛti	–	*a+yati*	–	*yati*	*yati*	you SG bite

The final modification affects the *y*-initial stems only. These stems are all Class II, *a*-prefixing. When the potential non-singular prefix *ka-* is present, the initial *ya* of the stem is deleted.

(133) *k+a+yɛsow* —> *k+a+yasow* —> *kasow* POT-NS-marry
k+a+yɛti —> *k+a+yati* —> *kati* POT-NS-bite

2.6.2.3.6 RULE ORDERING

In order for the prefix vowels to assimilate to the stem vowels at the appropriate height, Rules I and II (Stem Vowel Raising and Stem Vowel Lowering) must apply before Rule III (Total Assimilation) and Rule IV (Optional Prefix Vowel Backing). Prefix Vowel Deletion must, of course, apply after all other modifications have taken place.

2.6.2.3.7 SUMMARY

In the verb inflectional system, the height of the prefix vowel, which carries grammatical information regarding the person and number of the subject, determines the height of the stem vowel. The stem vowel, in the case of the weaker boundaries, determines all other features of the prefix vowel.

The prefix vowel and the stem vowel must not surface with opposite values for [low]. Surface combinations are as follows.

Prefix	Stem		
	Low	Mid	High
High	–	x	x
Mid	–	x	x
Low	x	–	–

FIGURE 5: PREFIX-STEM VOWEL COMBINATIONS

(a) If the prefix vowel is high, the first stem vowel is either mid or high.

(b) If the prefix vowel is mid, the first stem vowel is either mid or high.

(c) If the prefix vowel is low, the first stem vowel is low. Non-permissible combinations, then, are that if the prefix vowel is low, the first stem vowel cannot be mid or high, and if the prefix vowel is mid or high, the first stem vowel cannot be low.

2.6.2.4 VERBS WITH LONG AND SHORT FORMS

There are some 56 verbs which are attested as having both a short and a long stem (3.4.1.3). In some cases, the long form is derived from the short form by the addition of one of the suffixes *-ani*, *-ɛni* or *-i* (3.8.3.4), and no other changes take place.

(134)	Short form	Long form	Gloss
	čan	*čani*	cut, clear
	čim	*čimani*	buy, trade, barter
	haŋ	*haŋɛni*	feed

In the case of the two longer suffixes, if they are added to a short stem which ends in a vowel, the stem-final vowel is normally deleted (but see the discussion of thematic revivals below).

(135)	Short form	Long form	Gloss
	tuwe	*tuwani*	cook, boil
	suwɛ	*suwani*	paddle (canoe)
	čɛnɛ	*čɛnɛni*	pole (canoe)
	ɛmɛnɛ	*ɛmɛnani*	spy on
	tiyɛ	*tiyani*	tell (story)

There are some *h*-final short forms whose corresponding long forms are derived by the addition of the suffix *-i*, which causes a low stem vowel to raise and front to /ɛ/, and in two cases, causes a back vowel to assimilate totally to the suffix.

(136)	Short form	Long form	Gloss
	tuwah	*tuwɛhi*	chew (betel nut)
	sah	*sɛhi*	carve
	čunah	*čunɛhi*	husk (coconut)
	tawoh	*tawihi*	clear
	takɔluh	*takulihi*	signal

There is one attested *h*-final verb which does not fit this pattern: *kah ~ kahi* 'look for', and one *-n* final verb which does: *yan ~ yɛni* 'eat'.

Five other verbs whose long forms show vowel assimilation to the suffix also contain an extra element in the long form.

(137)	Short form	Long form	Gloss
	ɲak	*ɲɛkɛti*	climb
	pah	*pɛhɛyani ~ pɛhɛyɛni*	barter
	ča?e	*ča?iti*	cut
	ɲu 'bathe'	*ɲihi*	wash (NP)
	tow	*tɛwɛ ~ tɛwɛyani*	give, put

Note that in the first two verbs listed above, the low stem vowel is again raised and fronted in the long form, and that total assimilation of the stem vowel occurs in the final three.

The extra element appearing in the long form, which may be a consonant, a vowel, or a combination of the two, is probably a relic of the original stem which is deleted in the

absence of a suffix. There are more than 20 verbs whose long forms clearly contain such a relic, or thematic revival (Capell 1976b).

(138)	Short form	Long form	Gloss
	hu	*huti*	take
	čun	*čulum^{w}i*	cook
	in	*inum^{w}i*	drink
	sus	*susuwi*	sew (thatch)
	luŋ	*luŋuti*	catch (fish)
	hus	*husuwɛ, husuwɛni*	smoke
	ɛŋ	*ɛŋɛ, ɛŋɛyɛni*	hear, listen
	has	*hasɛʔi*	plant
	han	*hanɛʔi*	pick, break off
	tames	*tamesɛʔɛ*	clear
	hi	*hinɛ, hinɛni*	do, make
	taŋ 'cry'	*taŋesi*	mourn for
	yaw 'go'	*yawɛseni*	parade (NP)
	kus	*kusuwɛni*	be angry, sulk
	yɛti 'bite'	*yɛtiŋi*	cut

In some cases, a glide occurs between a stem-final vowel and the suffix-initial vowel.

(139)	Short form	Long form	Gloss
	čɛlu 'stand'	*čɛluwɛni*	stand
	ɛʔɛ 'be afraid'	*ɛʔɛyani*	make afraid
	ulu 'be covered with water'	*uluwɛni*	lower into water

It is not clear whether these glides are simply transitions from one vowel to the other, or deleted stem-final consonants which only surface in the presence of the suffix. In view of the many long forms which contain such relics, which are described above, and to the other vowel-final short forms which delete the stem-final vowel in the presence of the suffix, it is not unlikely that the glides are in fact part of the stem which has been deleted when in final position.

There are two very commonly used vowel-final transitive verbs whose long forms contain a glottal stop preceding the suffix *-i*: *ta ~ taʔi* 'hit, beat, kill', and *so ~ soʔi* 'pierce, shoot, dig'. Since the only other monosyllabic vowel-final short forms show a thematic revival in the long form (*hu* 'take' ~ *huti* 'take', *po* 'do' ~ *pota* 'doing'), it is difficult to determine whether the glottal stop in these cases is also a thematic revival, or is simply the strategy for adding *-i* to monosyllabic vowel-final stems (see 2.2.5 for discussion of the glottal stop). It should be noted here that both *ta* and *so* may take the inanimate object suffix *-y*: *tay*, *soy*; that the nominal forms of the two contain a glide rather than glottal stop: *taya*, *soya*; and that a third form related to *so* also contains the glide: *soyɛni* 'put holes in', for example, 'termites in wood'.

Finally, seven long forms do not appear to contain one of the three suffixes, but rather end in *ɛ*:

(140)	Short form	Long form	Gloss
	ɛŋ	*ɛŋɛ*	hear, listen to
	hus	*husuwɛ*	smoke
	tow	*tɛwɛ*	give, put
	sun	*sulɛ*	singe
	hi	*hinɛ*	make, do
	utu	*utuwɛ*	break open (coconut)
	wɛč	*wɛčɛ*	cut down

Of these, four have two long forms: *ɛŋɛ*, *ɛŋɛyɛni*; *husuwɛ*, *husuwɛni*; *tɛwɛ*, *tɛwɛyani*; and *hinɛ*, *hinɛni*. The shorter of the two is the most commonly occurring, except in the case of *hinɛ*, which is only attested once in the data, while *hinɛni* occurs very frequently.

2.6.2.5 Comparison of vowel harmony in noun and verb inflection

In the noun inflection system, the only suffix which affects the stem vowel is *-w* '1SG possessor', which coalesces with a stem-final *a* to become a mid-back /ɔ/ or /o/ (see 2.6.2.2.1), and causes a preceding low vowel in the noun stem to raise to mid (see 2.6.2.2.4). In addition, the presence of non-low final vowels on stems with long (vowel-final) and short (consonant-final) forms causes the low vowel of the stem to raise (see 2.6.2.2.2). The same raising process occurs when the person/number prefixes of the verb are higher than the first vowel of the verb stem, and in the presence of the transitivising suffix *-i*. Thus the low vowel /a/ is always raised in the presence of a non-low affix. Whether it is raised to the front /ɛ/ or to [+back] /ɔ/ or /o/ is dependent on the quality of the determining vowel and the relative strength of the boundary between the two. The overriding tendency is to avoid any sequence of non-low vowel affixes preceded or followed by a low vowel stem. This avoidance of [+low] and [-low] vowels in contiguous syllables in inflected forms reflects the tendency identified above in lexical roots to contain either all [+low] or all [-low] vowels. The secondary process of assimilation to [round] and [back] is also consistent with root-internal harmonic tendencies. It seems, however, that the harmonic tendencies identified are not completely productive in the language as it is spoken today.

CHAPTER 3
MORPHOLOGY

There are four major word classes: nouns (including pronouns and numerals), verbs, adverbs, and prepositions. Descriptive adjuncts do not form a clearly definable class, but are in most cases nominals. The classes of adverb and preposition are small, but many spatial nouns may also function prepositionally or adverbially. Such cross-category functions will be described in the appropriate sections below.

There are also four conjunctions which are introduced in 3.7 and fully discussed in 7.2 (Coordination). In addition, there are a number of particles, such as *ma* 'intentional/ inchoative marker' and *a* 'alienable possessive marker', which are discussed in their relevant sections.

3.1 NOUNS AND NOUN INFLECTION

Nouns are defined by two criteria: whether or not they function as subject or object in a clause, and whether they occur in possessive constructions. The only noun inflection is for inalienable possession (3.1.1.2). A noun stem is that form of the noun which occurs with no inflection, that is, with no possessive suffix. Many noun stems have long forms which occur in inalienable possessive constructions, and short forms which occur in alienable possessive constructions and when no possession is indicated. Nouns are not inflected for number, although number may be specified by determiners (see 4.2).

3.1.1 POSSESSION

As in many other Oceanic languages, there are two different possessive structures in Loniu. Although most nouns seem to occur only in one type rather than the other, some nouns may occur in both, depending on the speaker's view of the relationship between possessor and possessed (see 3.1.1.1.3 (Variable nouns)). The two types of possession are commonly referred to in the literature as alienable and inalienable, although such terms as 'temporary/permanent' and 'dependent upon/responsible for ' have also been used. The terms alienable and inalienable will be used here, although some extension of the definitions of these terms may eventually be required to cover all cases in Loniu.

3.1.1.1 ALIENABLE POSSESSION

Alienable possession is expressed according to the following formula:

noun stem + possessive particle *a* + possessor noun phrase.

For example:

(1) *pʷɛlɛyah a yo*
parrotfish POSS 1SG
my parrotfish

(2) *sɛʔɛ a Pat*
one POSS Pat
one (plate) for Pat

(3) *ɛpi iy ɛnɛyan a uwɛh*
sago 3SG food POSS 1PL.EXC
Sago is our food.

(4) *sɛh a ɲanɛ-n*
3PL POSS mother-3SG
his/her mother's people

(5) *kupʷɛn a ɛtun*
net POSS scad
a scad net (i.e. for catching scad)

(6) *hetow pihin a yo*
3PCL woman POSS 1SG
my women

A second possessive particle, *ta*, is also found in alienable possessive phrases, although much less commonly. This type of possession appears to be used by some speakers in careful speech, for example while dictating a sentence in slow speech from the taped narrative. Although a phrase on tape might clearly contain the *a* form, speakers sometimes used the *ta* form in the dictation. In only a few instances does the *ta* form actually occur in taped narratives. These instances seem to occur as follows:

(a) if the possessed noun does not occur within the same phrase. It may occur in an earlier phrase, or may be understood from conversational context.

(7) *kɔmuwa ⁿrɔlɔkɔ iy ipʷɛ eyt; ta uwɛh eyt; ta*
word Loniu 3SG 3SG.say *eyt* POSS 1PL.EXC *eyt* POSS
hah yap ... putty
2PL foreigner ... putty
In the Loniu language one says *eyt*; ours is *eyt*; yours...is 'putty'.

(8) *ta wɔw kitɔw*
POSS 2SG POT.SG.stay
It's yours, you keep it.

(9) *ta yo kisɔ itiyɔ ala ti kiɲɛla*
POSS 1SG POT.stand DEM first EMPH POT.SG.cool
Mine can sit here a while and cool off.

(b) if the speaker feels he/she has made an error in pronominal reference when stating the possessor of something:

(10) *ɛnɛyan a su?u, ta hetow, tɔmɔn*
food POSS 3DU POSS 3PCL *tomon*
Their (two) food, their (3+), was *tomon* (a kind of tuber).

Ross (1988:104) discusses the Proto Oceanic **ta* as a locative or possessive preposition which is reflected in the languages of the Admiralties. Indeed, in Loniu, *ta* also functions as a locational. Compare the following sentences:

(11) *tɔp itiyɔ ta hɔmɔw pihin itɔ lɔ čɔw*
basket DEM POSS one woman 3SG.STAT in mat
This basket belongs to a woman who is in isolation.

(12) *iy lɔŋɔw itiyɛn ta wɔw*
3SG thing DEM POSS 2SG
Is this thing yours?

(13) *iy amat itiyɛn iy ta pɔ?ɔ lɔ ke*
3SG man DEM 3SG LOC within in tree
That man is in the forest.

(14) *ɲɛtun ta putuwan*
child.3SG LOC belly.3SG
She is pregnant. (lit. Her child is in her belly.)

In (11) and (12), which are possessive sentences, *ta* is followed by an animate noun phrase; in (13) and (14) which are locative, *ta* is followed by an inanimate noun phrase. E.V. Clark (1978) discusses this kind of relationship between possession and location, and points out the possibility that the possessive is a locative with an animate nominal, or is derived from such locative phrases. It is likely, therefore, that the Loniu possessive marker *a* is derived from the older form *ta*. It may be that such a derivation was influenced by the fact that a very large proportion of the inalienably possessed noun stems end in *-a* (e.g. *putuwa-* 'belly', *kaka-* 'leg, foot', *kɛlɛŋa-* 'back', *ɲatama-* 'father'). These forms, when possessed by a non-singular possessor or by a full noun phrase, are immediately followed by the appropriate pronoun or noun phrase: *putuwa su?u* 'their (DU) bellies', *kaka mʷi* 'the dog's leg'. Such inalienable possessive phrases are phonetically parallel to the alienable phrases (e.g. *kaman a iy* 'his men's house', *pʷɛlɛyah a seh* 'their parrotfish'), and may have provided some pressure for the deletion of the initial *t* in *ta*. A further element may have been the tendency in Loniu to avoid consonant clusters. As discussed in 2.1 (Syllable structure), when a phrase comes to be regarded as a phonological unit, as in *min* 'sit' + *tan* 'down', the consonant cluster resulting from the extremely frequent juxtaposition of the morphemes involved may be simplified by the deletion of one of the two consonants: [mitan]. Thus such possessive phrases as *kaman a iy* may have been derived from **kaman ta iy* by analogy with the inalienable type possessive and to avoid the *-n + t-* cluster.

3.1.1.2 INALIENABLE POSSESSION

3.1.1.2.1 STRUCTURE OF THE INALIENABLE POSSESSIVE

All inalienably possessed noun stems end in vowels. As mentioned earlier, there is a group of noun stems which have alternate forms: a short, consonant-final form and a long, vowel-final form (see 2.6.2.2.2). For such nouns, it is the long form which occurs in inalienable possessive phrases and compounds, while the short form occurs elsewhere.

Other nouns, particularly body parts and kin terms, have only a single, vowel-final stem, and occur only in inalienable possessive constructions. Inalienable possession is expressed as follows.

(a) Singular possessor:

1SG	*-w*[13]
2SG	*-m*
3SG	*-n*

(b) Non-singular possessor or full noun phrase possessor: the noun stem is immediately followed by the appropriate non-singular pronoun or by a full noun phrase (which may consist of more than one word – see Chapter 4), with no intervening morphemes.

By far the largest class of nouns which occur in the inalienable type of possessive phrase in the data names body and plant parts (82 of the more than 190 attested inalienably possessed nouns – see Appendix F). Eighteen of the nouns are kin terms (Appendix F), 20 are spatial relationships (Appendix G), and the remaining are a miscellaneous group referring to such things as man-made objects (e.g. tools, clothing, baskets), customs, spiritual terms, etc. Nominalised verbs (3.8.3.6) may also occur in this type of phrase (see example (25)). Examples of the various types of nouns in the inalienably possessed class are given in (15) through (26) below.

(15) *wɛwɛ itɛwɛ čɛŋi-n*
mango 3SG.give fruit-3SG
The mango tree gives its fruit.

(16) *lɔtiyɛ putuw-o kɛlikan*
inside belly-1SG soup
My insides are churning, I am very angry.

(17) *kaman iy ilɛ ɛtɛ ŋatama iy pihin*
man 3SG 3SG.go AG father 3SG woman
The man goes to the woman's father.

(18) *ɛyɛ-m*
blood-2SG
your blood

(19) *mɛlɛwa amat tɔ mat*
soul man STAT die
the soul of a dead man

(20) *ku a yo lɛʔi tɔ maʔakɔsɔ-m*
pot POSS 1SG PRES STAT next.to-2SG
My cooking pot is next to you.

(21) *iy pihin ta maʔakɔsɔ um*
3SG woman LOC next.to house
The woman is next to the house.

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13 See 2.6.2.2.1 for a description of the phonologically conditioned variants of this suffix.

(22) *čɔʔɔya suʔu ɲanɛ-n itiyɛn*
revenge 3DU mother-3SG DEM
That revenge of him and his mother.

(23) *mʷɛnu-Ø*
fire-1SG
my fire

(24) *mʷɛnu yap*
fire foreigner
the foreigners' fire; matches, lighter

(25) *hɛya-n*
wash-NOM.3SG
its washing/the washing of it

(26) *iy pasa hɛya ɛpi pʷe*
3SG knowledge wash.NOM sago NEG
She has no knowledge of how to wash sago.

3.1.1.2.2 POSSESSION OF CONSUMABLE OBJECTS

Like other Oceanic languages (cf. Capell 1949; Lynch 1973), Loniu has a special construction for expressing the possession of objects to be consumed. The inalienably possessed noun stem *ana* is followed by the possessor; the consumable object may precede or follow the *ana* + *possessor* construction.

(27) *lɔhɔluwa kanas ana Pat ɛ ɔnɔ palan*
middle mullet POSS Pat and POSS.1SG head.3SG
The middle section of the mullet is for Pat (to eat), and for me, the head.

(28) *suʔu pɔ anan ɛnɛyan*
3DU get POSS.3SG food
They got her food (for her to eat).

(29) *u ma kala pɔ ana čuto ni*
1DU.EXC INT POT.NS.go get POSS 1PCL.INC fish
We two will go get our fish (for us to eat).

(30) *mʷat itɔ yaw ilɛ lɔ ke ilɛ pɔ sɔʔɔh anan*
snake 3SG.STAT go 3SG.go in tree 3SG.go get flesh POSS.3SG
The snake would go to the forest to find meat (to eat).

(31) *ana hah te itiyɛn*
POSS 2PL faeces DEM
That faeces is for you to eat.

(32) *anam kitɔw*
POSS.2SG POT.SG.STAT
They're yours, keep them. (Reference is to cigarettes.)

3.1.1.3 VARIABLE NOUNS

Many nouns, particularly words which refer to man-made objects or activities, may occur in both alienable and inalienable possessive structures. A list of such nouns is given in (33) (see 2.6.2.2.2 (Nouns with long and short forms) for a discussion of the vowel variation exhibited by some of the stems). The choice is made by the speaker, in accordance with his or her view of the relationship between possessor and possessed.

(33)	Alienable	Inalienable	Gloss
	an	*ɛnu*	water, juice
	tun	*tɛlɛ*	canoe
	kaman	*kɛmɛli*	men's house
	pihin	*pihinɛ*	woman, female
	papɛt	*papɛti/papɛtɛ*	boundary
	kɔ	*kɔkɔna*	land, village
	um	*um^{w}ɛ*	house
	tɔp	*tap^{w}a*	basket, carrying bag
	ɛnum	*ɛnum^{w}a*	garden
	pilɛŋ	*pilɛŋa*	garden
	nas	*nɛsɪ*	digging stick
	ŋay	*ŋɛyɛ*	hole, cave
	čan	*čala*	road, path
	kɔw	*kawa*	fence
	ay	*ɛyɛ*	blood
	purɛt	*puriya*	work
	komu	*kɔmuwa*	word, language
	kuɲ	*kuɲɛ*	basket
	ni	*niyɛ*	fish
	m^{w}an	*m^{w}ɛnu/m^{w}ɔnu*	fire

If, for example, the speaker refers to a house to which he/she has a right, perhaps because it is part of the family holdings, the speaker may use the inalienable type of possessive phrase: *um^{w}ɛ-w* 'my house', even though he/she may not actually own the house, nor even be in residence there.

On the other hand, if the house is an actual personal possession, or the speaker is in residence in the house, the alienable possessive phrase is used: *um a yo* 'my house'. The distinction here is one of degree of mutability of the relationship between possessor and possessed. One may change residence, buy and sell houses, and so forth, thus changing the relationship; the family holdings, however, are long term in Loniu village, and although possessions may change hands, they seldom leave the family, especially such possessions as land, houses, tools and canoes. Thus the more mutable type of possessive relationship may be indicated by the use of the alienable possessive phrase, and the relationship which is not likely to change is expressed by the inalienable possessive.

(34)	Alienable	Inalienable
	hetow pihin a yo	*pihinɛ-n*
	3PCL woman POSS 1SG	female-3SG
	my women	its female (of species)

(35) *kɔ a u* *kɔhɔna u*
land POSS 1DU.EXC land 1DU.EXC
our land our land

The difference between the two in (35), although not clearly expressed in the glosses, may be the difference between 'our home area' (*kɔ a u*) and 'our holding, our land' (*kɔhɔna u*).

Although full possessive paradigms were elicited for most of the nouns with alternant long and short stems, only a few of the suffixed forms regularly occur in context. The word for basket, for example, was given in inflected form as follows.

(36) *topo* my basket
tapʷam your (SG) basket
tapʷan 3SG's basket

However, there are only two attested occurrences of the inalienable stem in context in the data.

(37) *topo* *itɛhɛ*
basket.1SG where
Where is my basket?

(38) *tapʷa kunukun*
basket carrying
basket for carrying suspended from the head

All other cases in which 'basket' is possessed are alienable in structure, as in:

(39) *hetow nɛʔɛhin hetow tɔ tiʔi tɔp a hetow*
3PCL girl 3PCL STAT weave basket POSS 3PCL
The girls are weaving their baskets.

The same can be said of the word for 'canoe', for which inflected forms were readily provided by various speakers.

(40) *tɛlɛw* my canoe
tɛlɛm your (SG) canoe
tɛlɛn 3SG's canoe

However, none of the three inflected forms occurs in context, although the inalienable stem occurs frequently in compound nouns, which have the same structure as the non-singular inalienable possessive (that is, the two nouns are juxtaposed with no intervening morphemes).

(41) *tɛlɛ ulin*
canoe ??
lead or point canoe in a fishing expedition

(42) *tɛlɛ law*
canoe net
canoes which carry the nets

(43) *tɛlɛ pʷɛlɛyah*
canoe parrotfish
canoes in a parrotfish expedition

(44) *tɛlɛ ŋɛsumʷan*
canoe smoke.fire
motor boats

The last example, *tɛlɛ ŋɛsumʷan*, was clarified as *tun a sɛh yap* 'canoe of the foreigners', with a possessive of the alienable type. All other cases of possession of canoes which occur in context were of the alienable type, for example, *suʔu ah ilɛ tun a suʔu* 'they two jumped into their canoe(s)'.

When speakers were questioned as to the difference between the alienable and the inalienable constructions involving the variable nouns listed in (33), no clear answer was forthcoming. Although they recognised that there was in fact a difference, it was not possible to elicit any consistent explanation of just how they differ. And since there are few attested examples of the suffixed forms of the variable nouns in context, the only conclusion that can be drawn at this point is that the inflected forms of these nouns are rarely used.

There are thus many questions to be answered regarding the variability of expression of possessive relationships. Nouns which may be possessed in both types of phrases tend to be possessed with the alienable type rather than the inalienable type in connected speech (as opposed to forms given in isolation). Although this may simply be a gap in the data base, it may also be an indication that the Loniu are moving away from inflected forms except for clearly inseparable possessions such as body parts, kin terms, and spatial relationships – none of which have both short, alienably possessed stems and long, inalienably possessed stems. This view is supported by the fact that children are not generally aware that many objects are variable as regards the type of possessive phrase in which they can occur. They tend to give the alienable type of phrase when asked for possessives for the items in question, and occasionally deny the existence of alternate forms, even when told that such forms have been provided by other speakers. While this may be due to their youth and the degree to which they have mastered the forms of their language, it may also be that the alienable possessive construction is gaining ground.

It is clear, however, that a distinction does exist and can be expressed for these variable nouns. It remains to further research and analysis to clarify the nature of that distinction.

3.1.1.3.1 COMPOUNDS

Constructions involving the longer, inalienable stems of the variable nouns in which the head noun is not possessed in the strictest sense of the word, may be cases in which the first noun is seen as so closely associated with the noun in the possessor slot that the relationship between the two is considered immutable. Such constructions, while parallel in structure to the inalienable possessives, may be more appropriately called compounds ((45)-(50)). However, these forms differ from the compounds discussed in 3.8.2.1, in that speakers appear to view the nouns involved here as being more separable and independent, and the phrases form less of a phonological unit than do the forms which are described in 3.8.2.1. Nouns which are possessed only in alienable constructions, and are not attested as having alternate forms, do not appear to occur in this type of construction.

(45) *umʷɛ čimičim*
house buying
(trade) store

(46) *papɛtɛ epi*
boundary sago
boundary of a sago plantation

(47) *tɛlɛ ŋɛsum^{w}an*
canoe smoke.fire
motor boat

(48) *m^{w}ɔnu yap*
fire foreigner
matches, lighter

(49) *niyɛ kan*
fish circumcision
fish caught for the celebration of circumcision

(50) *um^{w}ɛ lɔʔɔ ke pɛti m^{w}alih*
house leaf tree for story
library

Note the use of *pɛti* 'for' in example (50). A second type of construction for the expression of association or close relationship between two nouns involved the short stem of the head noun and a *pɛti* phrase.

(51) *tun pɛti pɛlɛŋan*
canoe for on.top
airplane

(52) *tun pɛti p^{w}ahačan*
canoe for road
car, truck

(53) *pilɛŋ pɛti suwɛ* (cf. *ɛnum a suwɛ* 'yam garden'
garden for yam The difference in meaning here is not clear.)
yam garden

(54) *purɛt pɛti mačah* (cf. *puriya mah* 'the work of growing taro')
work for marriage
work of arranging a marriage

In only one case was the short or alienable stem of a variable noun attested in a compound of this type.

(55) *tɔp tɔʔɔw*
basket ti.plant
basket with designs

3.1.2 PRONOUNS

3.1.2.1 INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUNS

The set of independent pronouns in Loniu shows a distinction of three persons and four numbers (singular, dual, paucal, plural). In addition, the non-singular first person pronouns distinguish between inclusive and exclusive. The pronouns are displayed in (56).

(56)

	NUMBER			
Person	Singular	Dual	Paucal	Plural
1 INC	–	*toʔu*	*čito*	*tahah*
1 EXC	*yo*	*u*	*uto*	*uwɛh*
2	*wɔw*	*ɔw*	*ɛtow*	*hah*
3	*iy*	*suʔu*	*hetow*	*sɛh*

The pronouns which end in the consonants /w y h/ normally omit the final consonant when they occur preceding a consonant, including those stressed-vowel initial words before which a glottal stop is inserted (see 2.2.5). For example:

(57)
um a he'tow
house POSS 3PCL
their house

heto ʔamat
3PCL man
the men

(58)
tun a iy
canoe POSS 3SG
his canoe

i kili mɔn
3SG PERF return
he came back

(59)
sɛh a iy
3PL POSS 3SG
his people

sɛ pihin
3PL woman
the women

The dual forms appear to contain the number root *u* 'two', the Loniu reflex of POC **rua* 'two'; the paucal forms all contain the syllable *to(w)* 'three' (POC **tolu* 'three').[14] As Loniu is among those languages which have lost many final syllables, the resulting monosyllabic form is not at all unusual, although the final *w* has not yet been explained. However, the paucal forms are not restricted to trial number, but refer to any number more than two but apparently less than ten or so. No upper limit was ever given, except that it should not be *čɛlɛwan* 'many'. At least two of the plural forms are similar to the root for 'four', *ha.* These two form *tahah* '1PL.INC' and *hah* '2PL' are probably related historically to the numeral root *ha.* Capell (1971) discusses the quadruple pronouns of other Oceanic languages, for example, Tuna (Tolai) in New Britain and Tanga-Anir in New Ireland, where the quadruple form of the pronoun is said to be derived from PAN **(e)mpat* 'four'. He further states that pronouns which are quadruple in form but semantically plural exist, for example in Tanna, in the New Hebrides. In addition, Ross (1988:334) discusses the plural forms of Admiralties languages as being in most cases "a reflex of the quadral POC **kita-pati*, PAd **ta-fa*". Therefore, it is likely that the Loniu plural pronouns, which at least in the two cases mentioned above, appear to contain the root for 'four', are in fact derived from quadruple pronoun forms.

The pronouns may occur in any frame where a noun may occur, and in addition are used as determiners in the noun phrase (see 4.2 and examples (57) and (59) above). While the personal pronouns normally refer to human referents, they may also be used for non-human referents, especially in their role as determiners (see 4.2.1).

14 Reconstructed forms from Ross (1988).

3.1.2.2 NON-HUMAN OBJECT SUFFIX *-y*

In the object slot, third person pronoun objects which are non-human are shown in one of two ways. Most transitive verbs end in *-i*. When the object of such a verb is a third person singular non-human pronoun, no overt object pronoun occurs following the verb (example (60)). Verbs which end in vowels other than *-i* show the third person singular non-human object pronoun by suffixing *-y* to the stem (61)-(64). Examples (65) and (66) are provided to show that human pronominal direct objects are expressd by the use of the independent personal pronoun rather than by the use of *-y*.

(60) *iy huti ɛ iy iyɛw*
3SG take and 3SG 3SG.go
She took it and left.

(61) *suʔu ma kala ta ɛpi*
3DU INT POT.NS.go beat sago
They are going to beat sago.

(62) *suʔu ma kala ta-y*
3DU INT POT.NS.go beat-it
They are going to beat it.

(63) *yo itɛwɛ ɛnɛyan ilɛ ɛtɛ iy*
1SG 1SG.give food 3SG.go AG 3SG
I gave food to him.

(64) *yo utɛwɛ-y ilɛ ɛtɛ iy*
1SG 1SG.give-it 3SG.go AG 3SG
I gave it to him.

(65) *yo utɛwɛ ɲɛtun ilɛ ɛtɛ iy*
1SG 1SG.give child.3SG 3SG.go AG 3SG
I gave her child to her.

(66) *yo utɛwɛ iy ilɛ ɛtɛ iy*
1SG 1SG.give 3SG 3SG.go AG 3SG
I gave her to her.

3.1.2.3 INANIMATE OBLIQUE OBJECT PRONOUN *ɛy*

The inanimate pronoun form *ɛy* occurs in oblique object constructions such as locative, and following the prepositions *pɛti* 'for, of, about, from', *pɔli* 'as far as, up to', and *ya* 'toward, through'.

(67) *iy ičɛʔɛt ilɛ ɛy*
3SG 3SG.crawl 3SG.go PRO
He crawled along it.

(68) *suʔu tɔ pɔ purɛt pɛti ɛy*
3DU STAT do work for PRO
They do the work for it, to produce it.

(69) *su?u tɔ lɔs ilɛ ya ɛy*
3DU STAT fall 3SG.go through PRO
They were falling through it.

(70) *manuwɛnan ilɛ pɔli ɛy*
boundary 3SG.go as.far.as PRO
The boundary goes as far as there.

3.1.2.4 REFLEXIVE AND RECIPROCAL

There are no special forms for reflexive or reciprocal constructions. The same set of personal pronouns is used whether the subject and object are the same or different, and reciprocality can only be determined from context.

(71) *iy itɛkɛni iy ilɛ lɔ tas*
3SG 3SG.throw 3SG 3SG.go in sea
He threw himself into the sea./He threw him/her into the sea.

(72) *su?u ča?iti su?u*
3DU cut 3DU
They cut themselves./They cut each other./They two cut the other two.

The reflexive may be made overt by the use of the noun *kapʷana* 'self' (example (73)) or the noun *mʷɛnɛn* 'straight, direct, correct' (example (74)):

(73) *iy kapʷanan iɲihi nimɛn*
3SG self.3SG 3SG.wash hand.3SG
She herself washed her hands.

(74) *...mah a su?u hipalatɔpon ɛ suwɛ a su?u mʷɛnɛn*
taro POSS 3DU FEM.Palatopon and yam POSS 3DU straight
...taro from the Palatopon women and their own yams.

3.2 NUMERALS AND NUMERAL CLASSIFIERS

Some 30 different numeral classifiers have been identified in Loniu. The classifier forms a part of the number word as follows:

(*ma*) + numeral root + classifier.

Paradigms for all identified classifiers are given in 3.2.3.

3.2.1 THE NUMBER PREFIX *ma-*

While the numeral roots are free morphemes and may occur without the prefix if one is only citing these numbers in a series, *ma-* is usually present when items are being counted or numbers are being cited in classificatory series, and is also present in the interrogative *mačɛhɛ* 'how much/many?'. Its meaning is not clear, but it may be related to the morpheme *ma* 'and, with, together with', especially as it never occurs with the forms for 'one', but is only found in the numbers from 'two' on. Blust (1972) reconstructed a Proto Austronesian

'number linker' of the form **ŋa*. Pawley (1972) also has reconstructed a number linker for Proto Polynesian of the form **tuma*.

3.2.2 NUMERAL ROOTS

The numeral roots are given in (75).

(75)

one	*hV ~ sV*
two	*u*
three	*čulu*
four	*ha*
five	*limɛ*
six	*wɔnɔ*

The roots *ha* 'four' and *wɔnɔ* 'six' show no variation, and are not discussed separately. Numbers from seven on are compounds, and are described below in 3.2.2.5.

3.2.2.1 THE ROOT FOR 'ONE'

The number 'one' has two forms: *hV* and *sV*, depending on the classifier used. There is no clear factor, either phonological or semantic, which determines the choice of the two forms for 'one'. The *hV-* form is the more frequent, occurring with 18 of the 27 classifiers identified. The *sV-* form occurs with the remaining nine classifiers. Some higher numbers, including 'nine', are compounds involving the *sV* root for 'one'. The vowel in these two forms is determined by the form of the numeral classifier formative in an anticipatory assimilation process. Thus, with the three classifiers *-kap*, *-čum*, and *-kew*, the *hV* form of 'one' becomes *ha-*, *hu-*, and *he-* respectively.

3.2.2.2 THE ROOT FOR 'TWO'

There is some phonological variation in the numeral root for 'two', which is generally *u*. However, with the classifier *-hi*, *u* becomes *wi*: *ma + u + hi* —> *mawihi*; with the classifier *-e*, *u* becomes *we ma + u + e* —> *mawe?e*; with the classifier *-hat*, *u* becomes *wɛ* or remains *u*: *ma + u + hat* —> *mawɛhɛt* or *ma?uhɛt* (see 3.2.3 for a discussion of the vowel variation in the classifier formatives). Such variation is not unusual, considering the general tendency to vowel assimilation, especially across weaker boundaries, in the inflectional systems of the language – see 2.5.

Furthermore, the *u* becomes *a* frequently, especially in fast speech. This is due to the preceding *a* of *ma*, the numeral prefix. Thus *ma + u + pun* may be either *ma?upun* or *ma?apun*; *ma + u + mɔw* may be either *ma?amɔw* or *ma?umɔw*; and *ma + u + pɛn* is only attested as *ma?apɛn*.

Finally, the form for 'two' with the classifier *-h* is *uwɔ ~ awɔ* (see 3.2.3.2.3). The provenance of the extra syllable, *wɔ*, is unexplained.

3.2.2.3 THE ROOT FOR 'THREE'

The root for 'three' is *čulu* in most combinations, but becomes *čolɔ* when in isolation or when the *-h* classifier is present (see 3.2.3.2.3). Thus *ma + čulu + mɔw* gives *mačulumɔw*, but *ma + čulu + h* gives *mačɔlɔh*.

3.2.2.4 THE ROOT FOR 'FIVE'

This root is most commonly *limɛ*. When the classifier is *m-* or *mʷ-* initial, however, the *-mɛ* syllable of the root is deleted: *ma + limɛ + mʷat —> malɛmʷat*; *ma + limɛ + mɔw —> malimɔw*. The *ɛ* of *malɛmʷat* may be due to vowel lowering in the presence of the low-vowel classifier.

3.2.2.5 COMPOUND FORMS – THE HIGHER NUMBERS

The numbers for 'seven', 'eight' and 'nine' are compounds, incorporating the roots for 'three', 'two', and 'one' respectively. The formative *aru* precedes the numeral root.

(76) *ma + aru + čulu + classifier* 'seven'
ma + aru + u + classifier 'eight'
ma + aru + sV + classifier 'nine'

Ross (1988:344) points out the "POC numerals from seven to nine are replaced in all eastern Admiralties languages by a system based on subtraction from ten, where the subtraction morpheme is reconstructible as PEAd **(a)nto-*." He goes on to give the reconstructed PEAd form **(a)nto-tolu* 'seven', **(an)to-ru* 'eight', and **(a)nto-si* 'nine'. It is clear that the Loniu numbers in (76) reflect this innovation.

Tens are indicated by the suffix *-ŋɔn* attached to the numeral root. The classifier in the case of 'ten' and multiples of ten, if it occurs at all in these forms, is placed before the root (77); there are, however, several instances of forms given for 'ten' which do not appear to contain a classifier at all (see 3.2.3.1.2, 3.2.3.1.8, and 3.2.3.2.3).

(77) *ma* + classifier + numeral root + *ŋɔn*

In these cases, the classifier is either a longer form of the formative used for numbers one through nine, or is a different morpheme entirely (78). The classifiers which have short and long form variants of the same morpheme frequently contain a final *-n* in the long form, a situation which reflects the short (alienably possessed) and long (inalienably possessed) alternants of many nouns. It is very possible that the final *-n* of the long alternant of such classifiers is the third person singular possessive suffix, and that, at least in these cases, the classifiers are a subset of nouns.

(78) *hakah* 'one', *makahanɔŋɔn* 'ten', *makahanuŋɔn* 'twenty'
hɔkum 'one', *maʔɛrɛsɔŋɔn* 'ten', *maʔɛrɛʔuŋɔn* 'twenty'

Units above ten (i.e. 11, 24, 36, and so on) are formed by stating the number for the preceding multiple of ten and adding the phrase 'and (number)' (the higher numbers most often contain the classifier *-h* – see 3.2.3.2.3).

(79) *masɔŋɔn ɛ sih*
ten and one
eleven

(80) *maʔuŋɔn ɛ uwɔh*
twenty and two
twenty-two

The suffix *-ŋat* is used for hundreds. Thus *ma + sV + ŋat* —> *masaŋat* '100'; *ma + u + ŋat* —> *maʔuŋɛt* '200' (see 3.2.3 for a discussion of the vowel variation in the classifier for 'two'); *ma + čulu + ŋat* —> *mačuluŋat* '300', and so on. No examples of hundreds used with classifiers are attested in the data.

Thousands may be expressed by the insertion of the formative *pʷin* into the number word, as follows: *ma + pʷin + sih* '1,000'; *ma + pʷin + sɔŋɔn* '10,000'. This formative is also used as a classifier for counting parrotfish (see 3.2.3.2.8.3).

The interrogative *mačɛhɛ* 'how much/many' is also attested with classifiers. The longer form of the classifier (see (77)–(78) above) follows *ma-* and precedes *čɛhɛ*: *ma-patan-čɛhɛ* 'how many stems?'; *ma-kɛwan-čɛhɛ* 'how many strings?'.

3.2.3 THE CLASSIFIER FORMATIVES

The classifiers which occur with the numbers from one to nine are for the most part monosyllabic. The exceptions are *-h*, *salaha*, and *pɛʔɛ* (see below). As was mentioned earlier, the classifiers for 'ten' and multiples of ten are longer forms of the monosyllable, or may be different morphemes entirely (see (78) above). In many cases, one form of the classifier, usually the long form, is the same as an independent noun which can be counted by that classifier. Some of these nouns are attested as having long and short forms in possessive phrases as well – see 2.6.2.2.2.

If the vowel of the classifier is low /a/, the /a/ becomes /ɛ/ in the forms for the numbers 'two' and 'eight' (which is a compound incorporating the root for 'two'). The root *u* 'two' appears to cause the /a/ to raise and front to /ɛ/, much as the non-low person/number prefixes of the verb cause the /a/ of the stem to raise and front to /ɛ/ (see 2.6.2.3 (Morphophonemics of verb inflection)).

This vowel assimilation does not occur, however, in the forms for 'three' and 'seven', where the numeral root is *čulu*. It is not clear why the final high vowel of the root *čulu* does not affect the suffix vowel, while the monosyllabic root *u* does. The stress in number words falls on the classifier suffix, but at least secondary stress falls on the numeral root. It may be that the *u* of 'two' is (secondarily) stressed, while the final *-u* of *čulu* is not, thus not triggering any assimilation.[15] However, *čulu* is stressed on the second syllable in citation form. Finally, the fact that *u* is a monosyllabic root and *čulu* disyllabic may be the explanation – perhaps the two *u*'s of *čulu* reinforce each other and block the raising process. Examples of the variation in the classifier in the numbers 'two and 'eight' are given in (81).

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15 Stress does not appear to play a role in other vowel assimilation processes: the person/number prefixes on the verb are not stressed, yet they cause the sometimes stressed stem vowels to change (see 2.6.2.3); the final vowel of inflected nouns is stressed in most cases, and causes modifications in the unstressed vowel(s) of the noun stem (see 2.6.2.2).

(81) *ma + u + pʷan —> maʔupʷɛn*
ma + aru + u + pʷan —> maʔaruʔupʷɛn

Compare (81) and (82):

(82) *ma + čulu + pʷan —> mačulupʷan* 'three'
ma + aru + čulu + pʷan —> maʔaručulupʷan 'seven'

The following sections list the classifiers, which are divided into two groups: those which combine with *hV* to form the number 'one' and those which combine with *sV*. For each classifier, the complete series from one to ten is given, as well as a statement regarding the types of objects which are attested as being counted with that classifier. A dash in the lists of numbers indicate that the form is not attested.

3.2.3.1 CLASSIFIERS WITH *hV* AS THE FORM FOR 'ONE'

3.2.3.1.1 *čan/čalan*

1	*hačan*	6	*mawɔnɔčan*
2	*maʔučɛn*	7	*maʔaručulučan*
3	*mačulučan*	8	*maʔaruʔučɛn*
4	*mahačan*	9	*maʔarusačan*
5	*malimɛčan*	10	*mačalansɔŋɔn*

These numbers are used for counting roads, paths, and boundaries (for example, boundaries which divide gardens into sections). The classifier is based on the word for 'road, route, path', which has both a short form *čan* (used when the noun is not possessed or when possession is viewed as alienable); and a long form *čala* (used when the noun is inalienably possessed). The form *hačan* is also found with the meaning of 'a very large group of men, such as an army'.

3.2.3.1.2 *čɔw*

1	*hɔčɔw*	6	*mawɔnɔčɔw*
2	*maʔučɔw*	7	*maʔaručulučɔw*
3	*mačulučɔw*	8	*maʔaruʔučɔw*
4	*mahačɔw*	9	*maʔarusɔčɔw*
5	*malimɛčɔw*	10	*masɔŋɔn*

Note that the form for ten given here does not include any form of the classifier; no higher numbers are attested for this series. This classifier is attested only with sets of wooden drums, a set consisting of approximately five or more drums of varying size. This classifier does not appear to be based on the word for drum, *tɛmɛy*. No word is attested for 'a set of drums'.

3.2.3.1.3 *čumʷay*

1	*hɛčumʷay*	6	–
2	*maʔačumʷay*	7	*maʔaručulučumʷay*
3	*mačulučumʷay*	8	*maʔaruʔučumʷay*
4	*mahačumʷay*	9	*maʔarusɛčumʷay*
5	–	10	*mačumʷɛyansoŋon*

The *čumʷay* series is used to count wrapping material or packets, and is based on the noun *čumʷɛya* 'wrapping, covering'.

3.2.3.1.4 *kah/kahan*

1	*hakah*	6	*mawɔnɔkah*
2	*maʔukɛh*	7	*maʔaručulukah*
3	*mačulukah*	8	*maʔaruʔukɛh*
4	*mahakah*	9	*maʔarusakah*
5	*malimɛkah*	10	*makahansoŋon*

This series counts waterholes (*an*) and liquid in containers such as cups.

3.2.3.1.5 *kap/kapan*

1	*hakap*	6	*mawɔnɔkap*
2	*maʔukɛp*	7	*maʔaručulukap*
3	*mačulukap*	8	*maʔaruʔukɛp*
4	*mahakap*	9	*maʔarusakap*
5	*malimɛkap*	10	*makapansoŋon*

This series is used to count leaves (*lɔʔɔ*) of all types of plants except palm leaves (see *pay*). The tens and hundreds in this series were elicited in two forms: *makapan + number* and *kapan ma + number*. This was not the case with any other classifier.

3.2.3.1.6 *kew/kɛwan*

1	*hekew*	6	*mawɔnɔkew*
2	*maʔakew*	7	*maʔaručulukew*
3	*mačulukew*	8	*maʔaruʔukew*
4	*mahakew*	9	*maʔarusekew*
5	*malimɛkew*	10	*makɛwansoŋon*

This series is used to count strings of valued objects such as beads, dogs' teeth, tambu shells, or fish. Thus one string of fish would be *hekew*.

(83) *lehe mʷi masaŋat to hekew*
tooth dog 100 STAT one.string
There are 100 dogs' teeth on one string.

This classifier is also attested in a question:

(84) *ni makɛwančɛhɛ* (*mačɛhɛ* 'how many/much')
fish how.many.strings
How many strings of fish (did you catch)?

3.2.3.1.7 *kɔ(w)/kɔhɔnan/kɔʔɔn*

1	*hɔkɔ(w)*	6	*mawɔnɔkɔ(w)*
2	*maʔukɔ(w)*	7	*maʔaručulukɔ(w)*
3	*mačulukɔ(w)*	8	*maʔaruʔukɔ(w)*
4	*mahakɔ(w)*	9	*maʔarusɔkɔ(w)*
5	*malimɛkɔ(w)*	10	*makɔhɔnansɔŋɔn/makɔʔɔnsɔŋɔn*

The *kɔ(w)* series is used to count lands/villages (*kɔ* (short form), *kɔhɔna* (inalienably possessed form)), and winds (*kɔ*): *ɛto kɔ mahakɔ* 'you four winds'. There is no example of the number ten co-occurring with winds, of which the Loniu name only four, so it is likely that the *makɔhɔnansɔŋɔn* form is used only for lands or villages. The final *-w* of the classifier in numbers 1–9 only surfaces in careful speech or emphatic, strongly stressed phrases, and never occurs on the words for 'wind' or 'land/village'.

Numbers of this series are also attested as counting individual spears: *ɲah hɔkɔ* 'one spear'; *ɲah makɔʔɔnsɔŋɔn* 'ten spears'. There is a separate series for counting spears in bundles – see 3.2.3.1.8 below.

3.2.3.1.8 *kɔʔɔt*

1	*hɔkɔʔɔt*	6	*mawɔnɔkɔʔɔt*
2	*maʔakɔʔɔt*	7	*maʔaručulukɔʔɔt*
3	*mačulukɔʔɔt*	8	*maʔarukɔʔɔt*
4	*mahakɔʔɔt*	9	*maʔarusɔkɔʔɔt*
5	*malimɛkɔʔɔt*	10	*masɔŋɔn*

This series is used to count bundles of long thin items such as spears, sugarcane, bamboo, firewood, or palm thatch. The classifier is base on the word for 'bundle', *kɔʔɔtan*. Note that the classifier does not appear in the form for 'ten'. However, in the counting of individual spears, the form for 'ten' was given as *makɔʔɔnsɔŋɔn* (see 3.2.3.1.7), with a classifier, *kɔʔɔn*, which appears to be related to *kɔʔɔtan*.

(85) *ɲah hɔkɔʔɔt* one bundle of spears (in this case, ten)

3.2.3.1.9 *kum/ɛrɛ*

1	*hɔkum*	6	*mawɔnɔkum*
2	*maʔukum*	7	*maʔaručulukum*
3	*mačulukum*	8	*maʔaruʔukum*
4	*mahakum*	9	*maʔarusɔkum*
5	*malimɛkum*	10	*maʔɛrɛsɔŋɔn* (also given: *masɔŋɔn*)

This series is used for counting sips of liquid, or small quantities of liquid taken from a larger quantity.

3.2.3.1.10 *mɔw*

1	*hɔmɔw*	6	*mawɔnɔmɔw*
2	*maʔamɔw/maʔumɔw*	7	*maʔaručulumɔw*
3	*mačulumɔw*	8	*maʔaruʔumɔw*
4	*mahamɔw*	9	*maʔarusɔmɔw*
5	*malɛmɔw/malimɔw*	10	*masɔŋɔn/masɔyɔn*

The *mɔw* series is used to count humans, loose dogs' teeth (not on a string or ornament), individual feathers, and fish (except as noted below in classifiers *salaha* and *pʷin*). The form for ten is *masɔŋɔn* with humans, and *masɔyɔn* was cited once as the form for 'ten' for fish.

3.2.3.1.11 *mʷat/mʷɛtin*

1	*hamʷat*	6	*mawɔnɔmʷat*
2	*maʔumʷɛt*	7	*maʔaručulumʷat*
3	*mačulumʷat*	8	*maʔaruʔmʷɛt*
4	*mahamʷat*	9	*maʔarusamʷat*
5	*malimʷat*	10	*mamʷɛtinsɔŋɔn*

This series is used to count certain types of fishing nets, fish hooks, and fish traps.

3.2.3.1.12 *ŋah/ŋahan*

1	*haŋah*	6	*mawɔnɔŋah*
2	*maʔuŋɛh*	7	*maʔaručuluŋah*
3	*mačuluŋah*	8	*maʔaruʔŋɛh*
4	*mahaŋah*	9	*maʔarusaŋah*
5	*malimɛŋah*	10	*maŋahansɔŋɔn*

The *ŋah* classifier is based on the word *ŋahan* 'fathom', and is used only to count fathoms.

3.2.3.1.13 *ŋay/ŋɛyɛn*

1	*haŋay*	6	*mawɔnɔŋay*
2	*maʔuŋɛy*	7	*maʔaručuluŋay*
3	*mačuluŋay*	8	*maʔaruʔuŋɛy*
4	*mahaŋay*	9	*maʔarusaŋay*
5	*malimɛŋay*	10	*maŋɛyɛnsɔŋɔn*

This classifier is based on the word *ŋay* 'hole, cave' (long or inalienably possessed form *ŋɛyɛ*), and is attested only for counting holes and caves.

3.2.3.1.14 *pan/lɛmin*

1	*hapan*	6	*mawɔnɔpan*
2	*maʔapɛn*	7	*maʔaručulupan*
3	*mačulupan*	8	*maʔaruʔupɛn*
4	*mahapan*	9	*maʔarusapan*
5	*malimɛpan*	10	*malɛminsɔŋɔn*

This classifier is used with the types of fishing net called *kupʷɛn*, which are generally of finer mesh and used for catching the smaller fish, such as sardines.

3.2.3.1.15 *pat/patan*

1	*hapat*	6	*mawɔnɔpat*
2	*maʔupɛt*	7	*maʔaručulupat*
3	*mačulupat*	8	*maʔaruʔupɛt*
4	*mahapat*	9	*maʔarusapat*
5	*malimɛpat*	10	*mapatansɔŋɔn*

This series is used to count tubers and taro stems for planting, and possibly any plant part which is used for planting. The form seems to be based on *pata* 'stem'. This classifier was attested in a question:

(86) a. *wɔw ɔlɔmʷi mapatančɛhɛ*
2SG 2SG.plant how.many.stem
How many stems did you plant?

b. *yo ulɔmʷi ilɛ maʔupɛt ɛpʷe*
1SG 1SG.plant 3SG.go two only
I only planted two.

The number *hapat* is also attested with the meaning 'one litter of of pigs'.

3.2.3.1.16 *pay/pɛyɛn*

1	*hapay*	6	*mawɔnɔpay*
2	*maʔapɛy*	7	*maʔaručulupay*
3	*mačulupay*	8	*maʔaruʔupɛy*
4	*mahapay*	9	*maʔarusapay*
5	*malimɛpay*	10	*mapɛyɛnsɔŋɔn*

The *pay* series occurs with all types of palm leaves, wings, and with money and paper.

3.2.3.1.17 *pot/kahat/muhun*

1	*hakahat*	6	*mawɔnɔpot*
2	*maʔapot*	7	*maʔaručulupot*
3	*mačulupot*	8	*maʔaruʔupot*
4	*mahapot*	9	*maʔarusɛpot*
5	*malimɛpot*	10	*mamuhunsɔŋɔn*

This series occurs with *mʷan* 'fire', and appears to count piles of firewood, each for a single fire. The exceptional form for 'one', *hakahat*, is unexplained. The morpheme *pot* occurs independently as an intransitive verb meaning 'break'. The form *muhun* is attested only as a numeral classifier, here and in the series described in 3.2.3.2.5.

3.2.3.1.18 *puŋ/wan/an*

1	*hɔpuŋ*	6	*mawɔnɔpuŋ*
2	*maʔapuŋ*	7	*maʔručulupuŋ*
3	*mačulupuŋ*	8	*maʔaruʔupuŋ*
4	*mahapuŋ*	9	*maʔarusɔpuŋ*
5	*malimɛpuŋ*	10	*mawansɔŋɔn/maʔansɔŋɔn*

These forms are used to count clusters of fruit growing on a single branch, such as betel nut, coconut, or Malay apples.

3.2.3.1.19 *put/čupun*

1	*hɔput*	6	–
2	*maʔaput*	7	–
3	*mačuluput*	8	–
4	*mahaput*	9	*maʔarusɔput*
5	*malimɛput*	10	*mačupunsɔŋɔn*

The *put* series counts pieces of something broken from a larger whole, such as pieces of bread, firewood, baked puddings, and dried sago.

3.2.3.1.20 *pʷan/kɛwan*

1	*hapʷan*	6	*mawɔnɔpʷan*
2	*maʔupʷɛn*	7	*maʔaručulupʷan*
3	*mačulupʷan*	8	*maʔaruʔupʷɛn*
4	*mahapʷan*	9	*maʔarusapʷan*
5	*malimɛpʷan*	10	*makɛwansɔŋɔn*

This series is said to be used for strings or ropes of dogs' teeth (*tɛlikɪ*) when they are not on display, but are rather still in the donor family's possession. The difference between this classifier and *kew*, at least as far as counting dog's teeth, is not clear. When the strings of teeth are on display, just before they are given away, they are counted by hundreds (100 per string), and no classifier occurs (see 3.2.2.5 (Compound forms – the higher numbers)).

3.2.3.1.21 OTHER POSSIBLE CLASSIFIERS

The form *hayah*, used as an indefinite quantifier 'some', is also attested with the meaning of 'a group of more than three, but not a large group'. However, the form *yah* is not attested with any other number root. Similarly, the quantifier *hepe* 'a bit (of)' may be a form of the number one, but no other numbers are attested with the classifier *pe*. Finally, three forms are attested which include the noun *peŋ* 'night': *upeŋ* 'two nights, day after tomorrow'; *čulupeŋ* 'three nights, three days from today'; and *hapeŋ* 'four nights, four days from today'.

3.2.3.2 CLASSIFIERS WITH *sV* AS THE FORM FOR 'ONE'

3.2.3.2.1 *ay/ɛn*

1	*saʔay*	6	*mawɔnɔʔay*
2	*mawɛʔɛy*	7	*maʔaručuluʔay*
3	*mačuluʔay*	8	*maʔaruwɛʔɛy*
4	*mahaʔay*	9	*maʔarusaʔay*
5	*malimɛʔay*	10	*maʔɛnsɔŋɔn*

This series is used to count speech in all its forms: single words, phrases, sentences, messages, speeches, stories, and so on.

3.2.3.2.2 *ɛ/ɛn*

1	*sɛʔɛ*	6	*mawɔnɛʔɛ*
2	*mawɛʔɛ*	7	*maʔaručuluʔɛ*
3	*mačuluʔɛ*	8	*maʔaruʔuʔɛ/maʔaruwɛʔɛ*
4	*mahaʔɛ*	9	*maʔarusɛʔɛ*
5	*malimɛʔɛ*	10	*maʔɛnsɔŋɔn*

This series is used to count plates or trays of food. One speaker also stated that *sɛʔɛ* is equivalent to 20 mullet (a prized food fish), but this meaning was not confirmed by other speakers, and does not occur in context.

3.2.3.2.3 *h*

1	*sih*	6	*mawɔnɔh*
2	*maʔawɔh/maʔuwɔh*	7	*maʔaručɔlɔh*
3	*mačɔlɔh*	8	*maʔaruʔuwɔh*
4	*mahah*	9	*maʔarusih*
5	*malimɛh*	10	*masɔŋɔn*

This classifier is the most general and productive. Numbers for counting things not otherwise classified, or for which the speaker is not familiar with the traditional classification, are formed with *h*. In addition, these numbers are used to count pigs, dogs, animals in the bush, and in some circumstances, parrotfish (but see 3.2.3.8.3). These are also the forms used, without *ma*, when naming or counting serially. The extra syllable in the forms for 'two' and 'eight', *-wɔ-*, is unexplained. Note that the classifier does not occur in the form for 'ten'.

3.2.3.2.4 *hat/tapʷan*

1	*sahat*	6	*mawɔnɔhat*
2	*maʔuhɛt/mawɛhɛt*	7	*maʔaručuluhat*
3	*mačuluhat*	8	*maʔaruʔuhɛt*
4	*mahahat*	9	*maʔarusahat*
5	*malimɛhat*	10	*matapʷansɔŋɔn*

The *hat* series is used to count woven fibre objects, such as mats, baskets, and carrying bags. Note the form *tap^{w}an* in the number ten, which is the same as the form for '3SG's basket', *tapwa-n.* The higher numbers in this series are used to count baskets or bags of food used for gift exchanges and payments required by custom, such as dowries and bride price. Thus it is possible to say *tap^{w}a suwɛ mawɔnɔŋɔn* (basket yam sixty) 'sixty bags/baskets of yams', or *suwɛ matap^{w}anwɔnɔŋɔn* (yam basket-sixty).

3.2.3.2.5 *hi/pi/muhun*

1	*sipi*	6	–
2	*mawihi*	7	–
3	*mačuluhi*	8	–
4	–	9	*ma?arusipi*
5	–	10	*mamuhunsɔŋɔn*

This series refers to half or part of something, and is also found with the gloss 'other' as in 'the other side', 'the other part'. In addition, when used with fish, it refers to a school or shoal of fish.

3.2.3.2.6 *(w)em/lɛmin*

1	*sem*	6	*mawɔnɔwem*
2	*ma?uwem*	7	*ma?aručuluwem*
3	*mačuluwem*	8	*ma?aru?uwem*
4	*mahawem*	9	*ma?arusem/ma?arusewem*
5	*malimɛwem*	10	*malɛminsɔŋɔn*

This series is used for counting houses when they are completely built, as well as households. The vowel of the short form is phonetically [ɪ], and may in fact be an allophone of /i/ rather than /e/ (see 2.4.5). Note that here *sV- + wem* becomes *sem* rather than **sewem.*

3.2.3.2.7 *wey/yey/ey/patan*

1	*sey*	6	*mawɔneyey*
2	*ma?awey/ma?uwey*	7	*ma?aručuluwey*
3	*mačuluwey*	8	*ma?aru?uwey*
4	*mahayey*	9	*ma?arusey*
5	*malimɛyey*	10	*mapatansɔŋɔn*

This series is used to count trees, canoes, and bunches of bananas.

3.2.3.2.8 OTHER *sV* CLASSIFIERS

The remainder of the classifiers are slightly irregular, or are attested only in the higher number.

3.2.3.2.8.1 *salaha*

salaha	one	*mačɔlɔh*	six
sih	two	*mačɔlɔh ɛ salaha*	seven
sih ɛ salaha	three	*mahah*	eight
maʔawɔh	four	*mahah ɛ salaha*	nine
maʔawɔh ɛ salaha	five	*malimɛh*	ten

This series is used as a counter for certain kinds of fish, including scad and sea bream. It is possible, given the method of counting with *salaha*, that it may refer to pairs or halves. There is a verb *sala* 'split, cut open', which may be related.

3.2.3.2.8.2 *pɛʔɛ(n)*

1	*pɛʔɛsih*	6	*mapɛʔɛwɔnɔh*
2	*mapɛʔɛwɔh*	7	–
3	*mapɛʔɛčɔlɔh*	8	–
4	*mapɛʔɛhah*	9	–
5	–	10	*mapɛʔɛnsɔŋɔn*

This classifier is used when one is counting the number of times or days or occasions. In this case, there are in a sense two classifiers: the *pɛʔɛ(n)* which precedes the number itself, which is not normally the case in numbers under ten, and the *h* classifier which is suffixed to the number.

3.2.3.2.8.3 *pʷin*

The formative *pʷin* is used, as was mentioned earlier, in the formation of higher numbers, 1,000 and above. Thus: *mapʷinsih* '1,000'; *mapʷinuwɔh* '2,000'. The same morpheme is used to count parrotfish, with a different meaning: *mapʷinlimɛh* 'five parrotfish'. One speaker suggested that this series is used because the parrotfish is very large and highly prized, and is divided into at least ten parts for distribution and valuation.

3.2.3.2.8.4 *sahay*

One last possible classifier which occurs in the data but for which no further numbers were elicited is *sahay* 'one mature (sago) palm'.

3.3 DESCRIPTIVE ADJUNCTS

While there are many modifiers which occur in the descriptive adjunct slot of the noun phrase (see Chapter 4), it is difficult to justify a separate class of adjectives. Most of the words which occur as descriptive modifiers of the noun within the noun phrase are also attested as nouns themselves, and many also function as adverbs.

3.3.1 *-n* FINAL DESCRIPTIVE ADJUNCTS

The largest group of descriptive adjuncts, which may function within the noun phrase as modifiers of the noun and also as descriptive complements in verbless sentences, are *-n* final. There are over 40 of these attested, at least ten of which are also attested with the final *n* omitted and replaced by a person pronoun.

(87) *tɔʔu kala tas huyan, tas mɛsɛʔɛn*
1DU.INC POT.NS.go sea good sea clean
Let's go to some good water, clean water.

(88) *u hi-huya u ɛ pʷe*
1DU.EXC FEM-good 1DU.EXC or NEG
Are we good or not?

(89) *sɛh ni laʔɛlɛwɛn sɛh ta lo tas*
3PL fish long 3PL LOC in sea
The long fish (which) are in the sea.

(90) *laʔɛlɛwɛ suʔu musih ɛpʷe*
long 3DU same only
They are the same length.

In (87) and (89) the underlined forms are clearly functioning as adjectives, in construction with a preceding head noun. In (88) and (90) however, the underlined forms are functioning as nouns within an inalienable possessive construction (see 3.1.1.2). This construction is the complement in (88), and the subject in (90).

In the data available, constructions with a singular head noun as exemplified in (87) are plentiful, and could be analysed as *noun + noun-possessor*, that is, 'the sea its goodness', reflecting the probable origin of such constructions, which are not uncommon in West Melanesian Oceanic (Ross 1988:349-350). However, the existence of cases such as (89), in which the described noun is clearly plural, support the position that the separable *-n* third person singular possessive marker has fossilised, and that these forms must be interpreted as adjectives when in construction with a head noun.[16]

Several *-n* final descriptive adjuncts have short forms. Those short forms which are attested in context do not appear to differ from the long forms in either meaning or distribution. Both forms may occur within a noun phrase or as complements of verbless descriptive sentences. These words are listed in (91), and examples of several are provided in (92)-(97).

(91)

Short form	Long form	Gloss
ɔkɛt	*ɔkɔtɛn*	black
mata	*mɛtiyɛn*	big
ɔŋɔw	*ɔŋɔwan*	yellow
tɔhu	*tɔhuwan*	swollen
wɛʔis	*wɛʔisɔn*	soft, comfortable

(92) *law mata lɛʔi tɔ nimɔ*
net big PRES STAT hand.1SG
the big net (which) is in my hands

16 I am indebted to an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out.

(93) *sih pʷili mɛtiyɛn*
one mountain big
a big mountain

(94) *niw ɔkɛt*
coconut black
a black or ripe coconut

(95) *wɔw maʔam ɔkɔtɛn*
2SG skin.2SG black
You have black skin.

(96) *iy puwɛn tɔhu*
3SG testicle.3SG swollen
His testicles are swollen.

(97) *wɔw puwɛm tɔhuwan*
2SG testicle.2SG swollen
Your testicles are swollen.

A second subgroup of the *-n* final descriptive adjuncts are derived from verbs by the derivational process of suffixation with *-(y)a* (see 3.8.3.6). Most such forms are attested as nouns, but a few also function as descriptive adjuncts, as in (98).

(98)

Verb stem		Derived form	Example
tɛwɛ	give	*tɛwɛyan*	*ŋataman tɛwɛyan* natural father
ŋɛti	hurt	*ŋɛtiyan*	*kɔlu ŋɛtiyan* I have a sore throat
ŋatah	be hot	*ŋatahan*	*an ŋatahan* hot water, tea
mɛʔis	be cooked	*mɛʔisan*	*pow mɛʔisan* cooked pork

As stated above, most such derived forms are attested as nouns.

(99)

Verb stem		Example with derived form
huti	sing	*iy pasa hutiya wɛʔi pʷe* 3SG know singing song NEG He doesn't know how to sing a song.
hɛ	wash	*iy pasa hɛya ɛpi pʷe* 3SG know washing sago NEG She doesn't know how to wash sago.
suwah	fry	*iy pasa suwaha ɛpi pʷe* 3SG know frying sago NEG She doesn't know how to fry sago.

If the object of the nominalised form is omitted, the form is always *-n* final:

(100) a. *iy pasa hutiyan pʷe*
He doesn't know how to sing.

b. *iy pasa hɛyan pʷe*
She doesn't know how to wash (it).

c. *iy pasa suwahan pʷe*
She doesn't know how to fry (it).

While these forms are similar in construction to the first group described, it is likely that the source of the *-n* in this case is the POC nominalising suffix **(a)na*.[17]

3.3.2 DESCRIPTIVE ADJUNCTS DERIVED FROM VERBS BY REDUPLICATION

There are a few descriptive adjuncts which are not *-n* final, but which are derived from verb stems by reduplication (see also 3.8.1).

(101) Verb stem		Reduplicated form
takɔluh ~ takulihi	attract	*an kɔkɔluh* water enchanted enchanted water
suwah	fry (sago)	*ɛpi susuwah* sago fried fried sago
čuhɛ	wrap in leaves	*ɛpi čuhučuh* sago wrapped baked sago
haŋ	feed	*ɲataman haŋahaŋ* father adoptive adoptive father

3.3.3 DESCRIPTIVE ADJUNCTS WHICH ALSO FUNCTION AS ADVERBS

Many of the *-n* final forms which occur as descriptive noun adjuncts also function adverbially, and one form which is not *-n* final does so as well. In each of the following pairs, the first example shows the adjunct functioning as a noun modifier, the second as an adverb.

(102) a. *iy ma kilɛ lɔŋɔw muwan*
3SG INT POT.SG.go thing bad
He is turning into a bad thing.

b. *wɔw ta huti muwan*
2SG CONT sing bad
You are singing badly.

(103) a. *pʷɛlɛyah iy ni napʷanan tasih uwɛh huti*
parrotfish 3SG fish big very 1PL.EXC catch
The parrotfish is the biggest fish we catch.

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17 Again, I owe the anonymous reviewer for this suggestion.

b. *yo* *unɔh* *napʷanan*
1SG 1SG.fear big
I was very frightened.

(104) a. *huyan*, *pʷahačan* *huyan*
good road good
It is good, the road is good.

b. *suʔu* *tɔ* *yoʔose* *huyan*
3DU STAT walk good
They get along well.

(105) a. *tɔpu* *ɛto* *kapʷa* *yo* *lɔŋɔw* *mʷɛlɛhɛy*
taboo 2PCL POT.NS.think 1SG thing worthless
You must not think I am a worthless thing.

b. *iy* *imɛ* *lɔ um* *mʷɛlɛhɛy* *ɛpʷe*
3SG 3SG.come in house nothing only
He came home emptyhanded.

3.3.4 Other descriptive adjuncts

There are two descriptive adjuncts which are attested only as modifiers of a head noun, which are not *-n* final nor are they derived from any attested verb stem. Their category is unclear due to limited occurrence in the data, and it would seem unjustified to create a class titled 'adjectives' just to accommodate these two.

(106) *wɔw* *ta* *pʷičikaka* *mɛnuway* *ŋapɛriyɛy*
2SG LOC talon eagle powerful
You are in the talons of the powerful eagle.

(107) *čan* *pɔpʷalah*
road forked
a forked road

3.4 Verbs and verb inflection

3.4.1 Types of verbs

Verbs are identified as those roots or stems which take the tense/aspect and person/number prefixes. They may be divided into three subsets: transitive, intransitive, and stative/locative.

3.4.1.1 Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs are defined as those which may be immediately followed by a direct object. Most transitive verbs end in one of the three suffixes *-ani*, *-ɛni*, or *-i* (see 3.8.3.4). These suffixes appear to be transitivisers, but their presence on a transitive verb is not obligatory. Many transitive verbs have alternate forms such that one form contains one of the three suffixes and the other does not (see 3.4.1.3), for example, *čim* ~ *čimani* 'buy, trade, barter'; *tuwe* ~ *tuwani* 'cook, boil'; *hu* ~ *huti* 'take, hold in hands; sing'; *haŋ* ~ *haŋɛni*

'feed'. However, in only a few cases does the absence of the suffix indicate intransitivity (e.g. *ɛmɔt* 'vomit', *ɛmʷɛtɛni* 'spit out, vomit up'). Most often, both forms are used transitively: either directly followed by a pronominal or full noun phrase object; with the object deleted but understood from context; or with the object moved to the front of the sentence. It appears, therefore, that the transitivising function of the three suffixes is no longer as productive as it may once have been.

3.4.1.2 INTRANSITIVE VERBS

In most cases, intransitive verbs may not be directly followed by a noun phrase, but may take oblique objects introduced by one of the co-verbs (see 5.2.1). However, the motion verbs *la* 'go; motion away from' and *mɛ* 'come; motion toward' may be immediately followed by locative nouns or nouns which name a goal or result. In the case of all other motion verbs, if the locative goal is stated it must be introduced by *la* or *mɛ* functioning as co-verbs.

3.4.1.3 VERBS WITH LONG AND SHORT FORMS

There are 56 verbs which are attested as having short and long alternants. Most of the long forms contain one of the transitivising suffixes discussed in 3.4.1.1 and 3.8.3.4; in addition, all attested nominalised forms of the verbs which have alternate long and short forms are based on the long form.

In only ten cases can the two forms be said to be intransitive in the short forms, and transitive in the long forms; in addition, many of the long forms appear to have a causative meaning. The variations apparent in several of the long forms are discussed later in this section.

(108)

Short form (intransitive)		Long form (transitive)	
čɛlu	stand	*čɛluwɛni*	stand (NP) up
ɛmɔt	vomit	*ɛmʷɛtɛni*	
		ɛmʷɛtani	vomit out, spit up
ɛʔɛ	be afraid	*ɛʔɛyani*	make afraid
hilow	run	*hɛlowɛni*	
		hɛlowani	drive, cause to run
iw	call out (to make someone come)	*iwani*	pull, drag
ɲu	bathe	*ɲihi*	wash (NP)
taŋ	cry	*taŋesi*	mourn for
ulu	be covered with water	*uluwɛni*	lower (into water)
wɔh	fly	*wihi*	blow on (to move)
yaw	go (off)	*yawɛsɛni*	parade (NP)

Four of the remaining 46 verbs in this group are not attested with stated direct objects in the short forms, but a direct object does seem to be implied, and the translations are the same for both forms.

(109)

Short		Long	
čunah	~	*čunɛhi*	husk (coconut)
piliŋ	~	*piliŋani*	wait (for)
takuwɛn	~	*takuwɛli*	dig (with adze)
takɔluh	~	*takulihi*	signal (to)

The remaining 42 verbs in this group are transitive in both the long and short forms; both forms are attested as being immediately followed by a direct object. While most cases show no clear difference between the two (110a-b below), there are a few examples in which the direct object following the short form is non-specific (111a)–(112a). However, as the long form may also be followed by a non-specific direct object (112b), it is not clear that such a distinction can be made between the two. (For a list of all attested verbs with both long and short forms, see Appendix H; see also 3.8.3.4 for further discussion of the transitive suffixes.)

(110) a. *yo tɔ yɛtɛhɛ ʔum a yo*
1SG STAT thatch house POSS 1SG
I am thatching my house.

b. *iy yetahani ʔum a iy kali pʷe ɛ pʷe*
3SG thatch house POSS 3SG PERF NEG or not
Has he finished thatching his house or not?

(111) a. *uto tɔ hus toh*
1PCL.EXC STAT suck sugarcane
We were sucking sugarcane.

b. *kɔhɔsi toh a ɛtow kipʷič*
POT.NS.suck sugarcane POSS 2PCL POT.SG.be.finished
Finish sucking your sugarcane.

(112) a. *yo ma kutiyɛ mʷalih. ɛ*
1SG INT POT.SG.tell story now
I want to tell a story now.

b. *yo kutiyani čah*
1SG POT.SG.tell what
What (story) shall I tell?

3.4.1.4 STATIVE/LOCATIVE VERBS

The stative/locative verbs are *sɔ(w)* 'be in, on or at a place; stand'; *yɛ(n)* 'be in, on or at a place; sit'; and *tɔ(w)* 'be in, on or at a place; stative, continuative, habitual, or durative aspect'. Each of the three may be directly followed by a locative noun phrase.

3.4.2 VERB CLASSES

Verbs are divided into two morphological classes, which are distinguished by type of prefix. Class I verbs take the prefix *ɛ-* for all second person singular forms, and as the plural

marker in the potential aspect (113); Class II verbs take the prefix *a-* for all second person singular forms and for the potential plural (114).

(113) Class I stem *mɛ* 'come'

	Present/past ('come/came')	Potential ('may come')
1SG	*i + mɛ ~ u + mɛ*[18]	*k + i + mɛ ~ k + u + mɛ*
2SG	*ɛ + mɛ*	*ɛ + mɛ*
3SG	*i + mɛ*	*k + i + mɛ*
NS	*mɛ*	*k + ɛ + mɛ*

(114) Class II stem *la* 'go'

	Present/past ('go/went')	Potential ('may go')
1SG	*i + lɛ ~ u + lɛ*[19]	*k + i + lɛ ~ k + u + lɛ*
2SG	*a + la*	*a + la*
3SG	*i + lɛ*	*k + i + lɛ*
NS	*la*	*k + a + la*

3.4.3 VERB INFLECTION

3.4.3.1 PERSON/NUMBER

First and third person singular are indicated by the prefix *i-*, which has a number of variants (see 2.6.2.3 (Morphophonemics of verb inflection)).

Second person singular is indicated by the prefix *ɛ-* or *a-*, depending on verb class; alternate forms of these prefixes depend on stem class and morphophonemic rules (2.6.2.3).

Non-singular forms have no person/number marker in the present/past, but the prefixes *ɛ-* or *a-* indicate non-singular number for the potential aspect (see 2.6.2.3).

3.4.3.2 TENSE/ASPECT

Both present/past and future time may be expressed in the verb phrase, and potential, perfective, intentional/inchoative, continuative, durative, habitual and stative aspects are distinguished.

Present/past time is unmarked. The verb stem which is inflected only for person/number is understood as present or past in meaning, depending on context.

Verbs in the potential aspect (see 5.1.1.3.1), except those of second person singular (see (113) and (114) above) are prefixed with *k-* in addition to the person/number prefixes described in 3.4.3.1. Note that no person/number prefix occurs for the non-singular forms unless the potential prefix is also present. If the verb is non-singular in person/number and present/past in tense, the verb stem is unmarked. When the verb is in potential aspect,

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18 See 2.6.2.3.4 for a discussion of the /i/ ~ /u/ variation in the first and third person singular prefixes.

19 See 2.6.2.3.1 for a discussion of the raising of /a/ to /ɛ/ in the verb stem.

however, non-singular person is distinguished by the presence of the prefix *ɛ-* or *a-* (or one of the possible alternants – see 2.6.2.3).

The perfective marker includes information regarding person/number, and precedes the uninflected verb stem (but is not prefixed to the stem, since no vowel assimilation takes place – see 2.5.2.3). The forms of the perfective are *kili* '1SG/3SG perfective'; *ɛli* '2SG perfective'; and *kɛli* 'non-singular perfective'. The form *li* may in fact be an auxiliary verb, and the *(k)V-* portion the potential prefix + person markers. However, since *li* does not occur without the *(k)V-* portion in the data, the perfective markers are considered units here. A special set of perfective markers occurs with the verb *la* 'go': *kiʔi* '1SG/3SG'; *ɛ* '2SG'; and *kɛʔɛ* 'non-singular'.

All other tenses and aspects are periphrastically constructed, using various stative verbs or particles which occur preceding the uninflected form of the main verb (see Chapter 5 (The verb phrase)).

3.5 ADVERBIALS

There are four types of single word adverbs: temporal, locative, manner, and intensifying. The three slots in the clause where adverbs normally occur are clause-initial, clause-final, and immediately following the main verb (+ direct object) construction.

3.5.1 TEMPORAL ADVERBS

The temporal adverbs are listed in (115).

(115)		
	hanɔ ~ hɛnɔ	before
	ⁿrɔpɔ ~ ⁿrɔlɔpɔ	now, today
	hɛyah	today
	mahu	tomorrow
	piɲɛhɛ	yesterday
	ala	first, meanwhile
	mʷiʔin	later, after

All of these except *ala* may occur in any one of the three positions defined above. *Ala* occurs only in clause-final position.

(116) *sɛh la pɔ puret ilɛ mʷɛkɛw ɛtɛ sɛh yap hɛnɔ*
3PL go do work 3SG.go overseas AG 3PL foreigner before
They went to work overseas for the foreigners before.

(117) *ⁿrɔlɔpɔ yo ma kutiyani mʷalih*
now 1SG INT POT.SG.tell story
Now I want to tell a story.

(118) *čuto ma kɛnɛnɛs hɛyah kilɛ puret peti ɛpi*
1PCL.INC INT POT.NS.talk today POT.SG.go work for sago
We want to talk today about the work of producing sago.

(119) *sɛh ma kɛmɛ mahu*
3PL INT POT.NS.come tomorrow
They want to come tomorrow.

(120) *yo umɛ piɲɛhɛ*
1SG 1SG.come yesterday
I arrived yesterday.

(121) *mʷiʔin ya yo kumuʔun*
later FUT 1SG POT.SG.be.hungry
I'll be hungry later.

(122) *toʔu kɔto leʔe ɛrɛnɛʔi purɛt a suʔu ala*
1DU.INC POT.NS.STAT see manner work POSS 3DU first
First let's watch how they work.

(123) *uwɛh lɛʔi to taʔi tɛnih ⁿrɔpɔ ilɛ ɛy*
1PL.EXC PRES STAT catch sardine now 3SG.go PRO
We catch sardines with it now.

There are also many temporal phrases, such as *lɔ aŋ* 'during the day'; *lɔ peŋ* 'at night'; *aŋ iyɛw* 'the next day' (lit. 'day goes'), which function adverbially. A very common phrase is *sih pɛti pɛʔɛsih* 'one time after another, time after time, over and over again' (see 3.2.3.2.8.2 for a discussion of the number classifier *pɛʔɛ*). These phrases normally occur initially or finally in a clause.

3.5.2 LOCATIVE ADVERBS

The words which function exclusively as locative adverbs are *tan* 'down (below)' and *ŋɔh* 'away'. The form *paʔɔh* 'near, nearby' most commonly functions as an adverb, but also occurs as a preposition. Other expressions of place are provided by the demonstratives and by the large group of nouns expressing spatial relationships, such as *ɛlɛwɛ* 'length, far, long'; *paʔaha* 'underneath'; *tata* 'surface, on top'; *tuwɛ* 'outer side, outside'; *lɔtiyɛ* 'inner side, inside' (see Appendix G). Such nouns, when preceded by locative or motion verbs and suffixed with the third person singular possessor *-n*, function adverbially.

(124) *yo ma kumin ɛpʷe tan*
1SG INT POT.SG.sit only down
I just want to sit down.

(125) *kɔto ti ŋɔh*
POT.NS.STAT EMPH away
Stay well away!

(126) *ɛmɛ hɔti pɛlɛt kilɛ ŋɔh*
2SG.come 2SG.take plate POT.SG.go away
Come take the plates away.

(127) *iy itɔ tan*
3SG 3SG.STAT down.below
He stayed down below.

When used as an adverb, *paʔɔh* may occur clause-initially or finally, and is attested once between the subject and verb.

(128) *suʔu la paʔɔh*
3DU go nearby
They went nearby.

(129) *paʔɔh ɔʔɔn iy pɛtɔt a iy paʔɔh ma kipʷič*
near OʔOn 3SG strength POSS 3SG near INT POT.SG.finish
OʔOn's strength was nearly finished.

The demonstratives *itiyɔ* 'this, here', *itipɔ* 'this, here', and *itiyɛn* 'that, there' (see 4.3.7) also may function adverbially. The forms *itiyɔ* and *itipɔ* both mean 'here'; the distinction appears to be based on whether the speaker is actually within sight of the point in question or not.

(130) *tɔʔu kɛyɛn itipɔ ala tɔʔu kɔhɔŋaŋ*
1DU.INC POT.NS.sit here first 1DU.INC POT.NS.rest
Let's sit here first and rest.

(131) *pun a wɔw itiyɔ*
pepper.leaf POSS 2SG here
Here is your pepper leaf.

(132) *itiyɛn wɔw he*
there 2SG who
You there, who are you?

Examples of the spatial nouns used adverbially are given in (133)-(135).

(133) *ɲaton ičɔŋ imɛ tuwɛn*
grandmother.3SG 3SG.arrive 3SG.come outside
Her grandmother came outside.

(134) *iy kiʔi la ɛlɛwɛn*
3SG PERF go far
He went far.

(135) *čihi lɔŋɔw ta lɔtiyɛn*
which thing LOC inside
What things are inside?

3.5.3 MANNER ADVERBS

The only manner adverbs which are not attested as occurring with any other function are *mɛʔiyɛn* 'quickly' and *lapʷe* 'unsuccessfully'.

(136) *ɛmɛ mɛʔiyɛn*
2SG.come quickly
Come quickly!

(137) *iy iw ɛ iy iw lapʷe*
3SG call and 3SG call unsuccessfully
He called and called and got no response.

Other manner adverbials are nouns which may function adverbially, such as *huyan* 'good, well', *muwan* 'bad(ly)', *pitɔn* 'strong(ly)', *tuwɛnan* 'truth, truly'.

(138) *yo upʷɛy muwan ɛ yo ma kupʷɛy puliye*
1SG 1SG.say.it badly and 1SG INT POT.SG.say.it again
I said it wrong and I want to say it again.

(139) *iy a tɔ takɛmɛyam pitɔn*
3SG still STAT moan strongly
She is still moaning loudly.

(140) *tuwɛnan yo yo pihin wɔw wɔw kaman*
true 1SG 1SG woman 2SG 2SG man
It is true that I am a woman and you are a woman.

3.5.4 INTENSIFIERS

The intensifiers are *tasih* 'very', *ɛpʷe* 'only, just', *ɛ* 'right away', *mʷɛnɛn* 'directly, exactly', and *puliye* 'also, again'. These always follow the word, phrase or clause they modify. The form *ti*, which may occur preceding nouns, verbs, or clauses, indicates emphasis, and is discussed in 4.2.4 and 5.1.1.3.5.

(141) *iy itɔ ɛy tasih*
3SG 3SG.STAT PRO very
He was right there.

(142) *suʔu la ɛlɛwɛn tasih*
3DU go far very
They went very far (away).

(143) *iy ma kilɛlɛ ɛpʷe kɛʔɛpow iy iwɔh imɛ*
3SG INT POT.SG.look only bird 3SG 3SG.fly 3SG.come
Just as she looked, the bird flew up to her.

(144) *ɲah ɛpʷe lɛʔi tɔ ɛtɛ yo*
spear only PRES STAT AG 1SG
I have only the spears.

(145) *ɔw kɛtɛkɛni kilɛ lɔ ke ɛpʷe*
2DU POT.NS.throw POT.SG.go in tree only
Throw it away only in the forest.

(146) *ya iy kimɛ mʷɛnɛn kimɛ kakawah a yo*
FUT 3SG POT.SG.come directly POT.SG.come grave POSS 1SG
It will come right up from my grave.

(147) *suʔu la mʷɛnɛn ilɛ ⁿrɔkɔmata mɛʔiyɛn ɛpʷe*
3DU go directly 3SG.go Ndrokomata quickly only
They went very quickly directly to Ndrokomata.

3.6 PREPOSITIONS

The class of true prepositions consists of three members: *pɛti*, which ranges in meaning from 'for', 'about', 'from', 'at', to 'belonging to, of', and two other words, which are more restricted in their distribution: *poli* 'as far as, up to' and *ya* 'toward, through'.

In addition to these three, there are a large number of inalienably possessed nouns which refer to spatial relationships (see 3.5 (Adverbials)). These nouns function prepositionally when preceded by verbs of motion or location.

There are also several verbs in Loniu which occur with following noun phrases in the periphery of the verb phrase (see 5.2), and which frequently indicate the grammatical relationship between the main verb and the following noun phrase.

Finally, the form *paʔɔh* 'near, nearby' is attested with a prepositional function in a few instances (3.6.6).

3.6.1 *pɛti*

This preposition is invariable in form, and has a wide range of meanings: 'for', 'from', 'at', 'about', 'of', 'belonging to', and in two cases 'when'. *pɛti* is most often used to relate two noun phrases in the frame NP___NP (examples (148)–(153)). When the second noun phrase is human it is preceded by the animate goal marker *ɛtɛ*. *pɛti* is also attested in the frames N___S (154), V___ADV (155), and CONJ___NP/S (156)–(157).

(148) *yo pɛti kɔ ⁿrɔlɔkɔ mʷɛnɛn*
1SG from land Loniu directly
I am from Loniu village itself.

(149) *mʷalih itiyɔ pɛti ɛtɛ hɔmɔw pihin pɛti puʔuciʔey*
story DEM about AG one woman from PuʔuciʔeyThis story is about a woman from PuʔuciʔeyPu.

(150) *lɔtiyɛ pilɛŋ pɛti ɛtɛ hetow lɔʔɔ ke*
inside garden of AG 3PCL leaf tree
Inside their garden, there were leaves.

(151) *sɛh tɔ tay pɛti putuwa sɛh...*
3PL STAT beat.it for belly 3PL
They beat (make) it for their food...

(152) *hetow amat pɛti leʔeya pʷɛlɛyah*
3PCL man of watching.for parrotfish
The men in charge of watching for parrotfish.

(153) *aŋ ⁿrɔpɔ fɛpuɛri aŋ pɛti ɛy maʔuŋɔn ɛ uwɔh*
day today February day of PRO twenty and two
Today is February 22.

(154) *iy pihin aŋ pɛti ŋan itɔ siŋ iy ilɛ*
3SG woman day when sun 3SG.STAT shine 3SG 3SG.go

pɔʔɔ lɔ ke
within in tree
On a day when the sun was shining, the woman went into the forest.

(155) *iy ilɛ mɔn imɛ pɛti paʔɔh*
3SG 3SG.go return 3SG.come at nearby
He came back nearby.

(156) *ɛ pɛti kɔwas ma kiyɛw...*
and when celebration INT POT.SG.go
and when the celebration was finishing up...

(157) *sɛh pɔkutumʷani hič itiyɛn ɛ pɛti tun a lɛpɛyam itiyɛn*
3PL pile.up together DEM and for canoe POSS Lepeyam DEM
They piled it together and (it was) for Lepeyam's canoe.

The preposition may be omitted after the first occurrence in a series:

(158) *uwɛh to tay ilɛ puret pɛti kan*
1PL.EXC STAT beat.it 3SG.go work for circumcision
kɔsɔw...
preparation of bride
We make it for the celebration of circumcision, preparation of the bride...

3.6.2. *pɔli*

The preposition *pɔli* is invariable in form and is translated as 'as far as' or 'up to' (Tok Pisin *inap*). It is always preceded by *la (lih)* 'go' or *mɛ* 'come', and followed by a locative noun phrase.

(159) *taya pʷɛlɛyah a yo ilɛ pɔli ɛy*
catching parrotfish POSS 1SG 3SG.go as.far.as PRO
My area for catching parrotfish goes as far as there.

(160) *yo ilɛ lih pɔli lɔlaču*
1SG 1SG.go ?? as.far.as Lolacu
I go as far as Lolacu.

(161) *suʔu mɛ pɔli ɲah itiyɛn*
3DU come as.far.as spear DEM
They come as far as that spear.

(162) *itɔ itiyɛn imɛ pɔli pʷahalɛŋ*
3SG.STAT DEM 3SG.come as.far.as beach
It went from there all the way to the beach.

3.6.3 *ya*

The preposition *ya* 'toward, through' always occurs following *la* 'go' or *mɛ* 'come' and preceding a locative noun phrase.

(163) *suʔu mɛ ya mʷɛlɛŋa tilow ɛ mɛ mʷɛlɛŋa haway*
3DU come through between Ndrilow and come between Hawei
They came through the area between Ndrilow and Hawei.

(164) *u wɔp imɛ ya itiyɔ*
1DU.EXC escape 3SG.come toward DEM
We ran away in this direction.

(165) *suʔu tɔ lɔs ilɛ ya ɛy*
3DU STAT fall 3SG.go through PRO
They fell through it.

(166) *yo kulɛ ya ɛhɛ ɛ yo kumɛ ŋɔh*
1SG POT.SG.go toward where and 1SG POT.SG.come away
Which way can I go to get away?

3.6.4 SPATIAL NOUNS

There are some 20 inalienably possessed nouns which express spatial relationships (see 3.1.1.2.1 and Appendix G). When these nouns occur following verbs of motion or location, they roughly correspond to the English prepositions.

(167) *ɛtɛwɛ kanas kilɛ lɔ ku*
2SG.put mullet POT.SG.go in pot
Put the mullet into the pot.

(168) *suʔu ɲɛtu suʔu imɛ pɛliŋɛʔi suʔu*
3DU child 3DU 3SG.come with 3DU
Their two children came to be with them.

(169) *suʔu tɔ mete lɔhɔluwan*
3DU STAT sleep middle.3SG
They would sleep in the middle.

(170) *iy ilɛ patan ɛ ɲɛtun ilɛ čilin lɛʔi*
3SG 3SG.go trunk.3SG and child.3SG 3SG.go sprout.3SG PRES

tɔ maʔakɔsɔn
STAT beside.3SG
She became the trunk and her child became a sprout beside her.

(171) *yo ta pumʷiʔi ɔw ɛpʷe*
1SG LOC behind 2DU only
I am right behind you.

3.6.5 PREPOSITIONAL VERBS

The verbs *la* 'go' and *mɛ* 'come' are very commonly used to express grammatical relationships. In addition, the stative verb *tɔ* and the locative particle *ta(h)*, when in construction with a following noun phrase, express locative place. For a complete description of the use of these and similar forms, see 5.2 (Verb phrase periphery).

3.6.6 *paʔɔh*

The form *paʔɔh* 'near, nearby', which most often functions as an adverb, is attested in several instances with a prepositional function. (See also 3.5.2 (Locative adverbs).)

(172) *mɛnuway iy itɔ wɔh paʔɔh pʷahalɛŋ*
eagle 3SG 3SG.STAT fly near beach
The eagle would fly close to the beach.

(173) *ɔw lɛʔi tɔ paʔɔh ɛtɛ yo ɛpʷe*
2DU PRES STAT near AG 1SG only
You two are right near me.

3.7 Conjunctions

The coordinating conjunctions are *ɛ* 'and, or, but'; *(hɛpe) ɛpʷe* 'but'; *ma* 'and, (together) with'. In addition, the form *ɔ* 'or', borrowed from Tok Pisin *o* 'or', is used occasionally. These forms are discussed and exemplified in 7.2 (Coordination).

3.8 Derivation

The two most productive means of derivation are reduplication and compounding. In addition, some derivational formatives have been identified, although not always with a clearly definable independent meaning.

3.8.1 Reduplication

3.8.1.1 Form

There is a set of monosyllabic CVC morphemes which reduplicate by copying the entire base. A second copy of the base morpheme vowel is inserted to break up the resulting consonant cluster.

(174)	Base	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
	čim	buy	*čimičim*	buying
	haŋ	feed	*haŋahaŋ*	adoptive
	nɔh	to fear	*nɔhɔnɔh*	fear (N)

If the base is vowel-initial, [ʔ] appears between the epenthetic vowel and the base-initial vowel:

(175) *iw* call *iwiʔiw* calling

A second set of CVC base morphemes reduplicates with a concomitant vowel change, and the epenthetic vowel is not always predictable:

(176)	*kah*	hunt for	*kɛhɛkah*	hunt
	sah	carve (TR)	*sɛhisah*	carve (INTR)
	mʷat	snake	*mɔtɔmʷat/mɔtɛmʷat*	eel

It is possible that the unpredictable epenthetic vowel was originally part of the stem, and only surfaces when the stem is reduplicated. The raised vowel of the first syllable could then be explained by the overall tendency in the language to raise low stem vowels in the presence of

high-vowel affixes or within the same morpheme, and cases such as those in (176) would be parallel to the case of the six noun stems which vary between a monosyllabic low-vowel short form and a disyllabic mid-vowel long form – see 2.6.2.2.2.

When the base is polysyllabic, either the first CV is reduplicated, as in (177), or the first CVCV sequence is copied, as in (178). There is apparently no way to predict, on the basis of the phonetic shape of the base morpheme, which of the two possibilities will result.

(177)	*čɛʔɛt*	crawl	*čɛčɛʔɛt*	crawl (DUR)
	mahun	new	*mamahun*	very new; infant
	tɔhu	swollen	*tɔtɔhun*	promontory
	piliŋ	wait	*pililiŋ*	waiting
	tuwah	chew	*tutuwah*	chew (DUR)
(178)	*čupu*	piece	*čupučupun*	lots of pieces
	hɛluŋ(i)	cover up	*hɛluhɛluŋ*	cloak, cover-all
	ŋɛsu	smoke	*ŋɛsuŋɛsun*	smoky
	hutuŋani	pile up	*hutuhutuŋ*	bunch, group

3.8.1.2 FUNCTION

Reduplication may indicate plurality (179), intensification (180), or duration of an activity (181). Intransitive verbs may be formed by reduplication of a transitive root (182), and nouns may be derived from verbs (183) or from other nouns (184) by the process of reduplication.

(179)	*lɛmi*	root hair	*lɛmilɛmin*	lots of root hairs
			lɛmilam	fur, fuzz
	pɔtɔ	thorn	*pɔtɔpɔtɔn*	lots of thorns
	čupat	broken coral	*čučupat*	lots of broken coral
(180)	*mahun*	new	*mamahun*	very new; infant
	kaman	sweet	*kamakaman*	very sweet
(181)	*pukute*	do repeatedly	*pukupukute*	do repeatedly for a long time
	tuwah	chew	*tutuwah*	chew (DUR)
(182)	*yan*	eat (TR)	*yɛnɛyan*	eat (INTR)
	hun	awaken (TR)	*hunuhun*	awaken (INTR)
(183)	*piliŋani*	wait	*pipiliŋ*	waiting
	kawi	ladle	*kakaw*	ladle
	luwɛ	lose, drop	*luluwɛ*	line for lowering sail
(184)	*tɔhu*	swollen	*tɔtɔhun*	promontory
	muči	betel nut husk	*mučimučin*	very small betel nut
	yɔʔuwan	shade	*yɔyɔʔu*	cloudy
	mʷiʔin	behind	*mʷimʷiʔin*	last-born child

3.8.2 COMPOUNDING

3.8.2.1 NOUN + NOUN

The majority of compounds are formed by combining two noun roots. In most cases, the roots for body or plant parts or spatial nouns are involved. When specific parts of a whole are referred to, the noun which expresses the part precedes the noun which expresses the whole.

(185)			
	čɔte 'hip' + *kaka* 'foot'	*čɔtekaka*	heel
	pala 'head' + *kaka*	*palakaka*	toe
	pɛʔɛ 'handle' + *kaka*	*pɛʔɛkaka*	shin
	pɔʔɔ 'within' + *kaka*	*pɔʔɔkaka*	sole
	pɔʔɔ 'within' + *nimɛ* 'hand'	*pɔʔɔnimɛ*	palm
	pala 'head' + *nimɛ* 'arm'	*palanimɛ*	fist
	pɔʔɔ 'within' + *mata* 'eye'	*pɔʔɔmata*	eyeball
	pusu '??' + *mata* 'eye'	*pusumata*	eyebrow
	paʔaha 'under' + *kɛhɛya* 'shoulder'	*paʔahakɛhɛya*	underarm
	mata 'eye' + *ŋan* 'sun'	*mata ŋan*	in the sun
	pʷaha 'mouth' + *lɛŋ* 'beach'	*pʷahalɛŋ*	beach
	pʷaha 'mouth' + *čan* 'road'	*pʷahačan*	road
	pala 'head' + *pow* 'pig'	*palapow*	k.o. fish
	puwɛ 'seed, fruit '+ *yap* 'foreigner'	*puwɛyap*	beads
	pata 'trunk '+ *amat* 'man'	*pataʔamat*	old man
	pata 'trunk' + *niw* 'coconut'	*pataniw*	k.o. fish
	pɛlɛ 'in area of' + *ŋan* 'sun'	*pɛlɛŋan*	up on top; in the house

The compound nouns listed here are differentiated from the forms discussed in 3.1.1.3.1 based on two factors: these forms are thought of as inseparable by the speakers – as in *pʷahalɛŋ*, *pʷahačan*; the forms *lɛŋ* and *čan* were cited only infrequently as the words for 'beach' and 'road' respectively, while the compound forms were much more readily offered. In the forms presented in 3.1.1.3.1, both nouns occur frequently as independent forms in the data. In addition, the forms listed in (185) contain a single primary stress when uttered in isolation (most often on the final syllable), while the forms in 3.1.1.3.1 contain a secondary stress in the first component and a primary stress in the final component.

Other examples of N + N compounds are given in (186).

(186)			
	ɲanɛ 'mother' + *mʷat* 'snake'	*ɲanɛmʷat*	k.o. insect
	čuw 'k.o. fish' + *mʷɛkɛw* 'deep-sea'	*čuwɛmʷɛkɛw*	k.o. fish
	čili 'sprout' + *mata* 'eye' + *ni* 'fish'	*čilimatani*	money
	čah 'something' + *lɔ* 'in' + *ke* 'tree'	*čalɔke*	placename
	susu 'breast' + *yɛlaw* '??'	*susuyɛlaw*	rainbow
	ke 'tree' + *pɛlɛy* 'sail'	*kepɛlɛy*	mast
	lah 'stingray' + *an* 'water'	*lɛhɛʔan*	k.o. ray
	pɛw 'shark' + *an* 'water'	*pɛwiʔan*	k.o. shark

3.8.2.2 COMPOUNDS BASED ON VERBS

The verbs which most often combine with other roots to form new verbs are *pʷa* 'say'; *pɔ* 'do, make'; and *ta* 'beat; make; catch'.[20] These always precede the second root in compound verbs. The second element in (187) has not been defined separately except when indicated.

(187)			
	pʷa 'say' + *ŋunuŋun* '??'	*pʷaŋunuŋun*	whisper
	pʷa 'say' + *sɔwɛ* '??'	*pʷasɔwɛ*	name, tell origin
	pʷa 'say' + *čɛlɛyani* '??'	*pʷačɛlɛyani*	explain
	pʷa 'say' + *saw* '??'	*pʷasaw*	joke; flatter
	pʷa 'say' + *čɔʔɔya* 'revenge'	*pʷačɔʔɔyani*	talk back to
	pɔ 'do' + *kaʔani* '??'	*pɔkaʔani*	straighten, pack up (cf. *yakaʔani* 'hide')
	pɔ 'do' + *hutuŋani* '??'	*pɔhutuŋani*	make into a heap (*hutuhutuŋ* 'bunch')
	pɔ 'do' + *kutumʷani* '??'	*pɔkutumʷani*	bring together in one place
	pɔ 'do' + *pičɛy* 'squeeze??'	*pɔpičɛy*	squeeze with hands, (e.g. sago in water)
	ta 'make' + *pičɛy* 'squeeze??'	*tapičɛy*	squeeze in cloth
	ta 'make' + *pɛluwani* '??'	*tapɛluwani*	turn over; turn around; change (mind)
	ta 'make' + *mana* 'white cowrie'	*tamana*	dance (men)
	ta 'make' + *kuwɛli* 'adze'	*takuwɛli*	dig with adze
	ta 'make' + *kɔluh* 'signal'	*takɔluh*	make signal
	ta 'make' + *kɛkɛʔɛ* '??'	*takɛkɛʔɛ*	tickle
	ta 'make' + *sala* 'split'	*tasala*	split

The verb *leʔe* 'see' combines with the formative *čɛlɛyani* (cf. *pʷačɛlɛyani* in (187)): *leʔečɛlɛyani* 'examine, consider'. No other verbs are attested as forming compound verbs.

There are a few compound nouns, however, which contain verb roots:

(188) *palačɛʔɛtay* 'bridge' (*pala* 'head' + *čɛʔɛt* 'crawl' + *ay* 'nominal suffix')

hitapɔ 'servant' (*hi* 'feminine marker' + *ta* 'CONT' + *pɔ* 'do')

3.8.3 DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES

The derived forms described herein are composed of formatives which are repeated in many words but which are not always identifiable as to meaning.

3.8.3.1 THE FEMININE MARKER *hi*

The form *hi* may precede any noun referring to humans, specifying that the human referent is female; it is also the first syllable of all Loniu female names.

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20 *Ta* may be historically related to PAN **tawu* 'man, person'; all verbs involving *ta* normally also involve human actors. Capell (1976c:561) cites the form *tau-* as a human agent prefix in Wedau.

(189)	*hi ʔɛhin*	(FEM young girl)	girl
	hi pata-amat	(FEM trunk-human)	old woman
	hi kɛɬaw	(FEM single)	single woman
	hi yɛsow-ay	(FEM marriage-nom. suffix *ay*)	married
	hi palatɔpɔn		woman from Palatɔpɔn
	hi-kalɔn	(FEM ant)	woman's name
	hi-lɛri		woman's name
	hi-lɔʔɔkes	(FEM leaf-plant)	woman's name
	hi čalɔke	(FEM placename)	woman from Caloke

This form occurs in the words *pihin* 'woman, female' and *(nɛ)ɛhin* 'girl'; the remaining portion of these words is unanalysable.

It is important to note here that *hi-*, if it is in fact a prefix, does not cause a low stem-vowel /a/ to raise to /ɛ/. This may be grounds for considering *hi* to be a free morpheme rather than a prefix. Alternatively, it may be that the raising of stem vowels in the presence of non-low vowel affixes is limited to noun possessive inflection (2.6.2.2) and verb inflection for person/number (2.6.2.3). Or *hi* may be a noun (note the final *-n* in the forms *pihin* and *ɛhin*, which may be the separable third person singular *-n* of the inalienable possessive), in which case the forms listed in (189) are compounds. In any case *hi-*forms do not conform to the vowel raising tendency so prevalent in the inflection systems of the language, and thus *hi* is considered a separate particle in the present work.

3.8.3.2 THE FORMATIVE *ɲa*

Many kin terms have as the initial syllable the form *ɲa*, which is not always reconstructible as part of the original form – for example, PAN **tama* 'father', Loniu *ɲatama* 'father'; PAN **[t]umpu* 'ancestor', Loniu *ɲatupu* 'grandfather'. In one case, *ɲapulu* 'spouse', the word was also used without *ɲa-*: *pulu* 'spouse'.

(190)	*ɲatama*	father
	ɲanɛ	mother
	ɲato	grandmother
	ɲatupu	grandfather
	ɲana	man's father-in-law
	ɲapulu	spouse

3.8.3.3 THE FORMATIVE *ka*

Many nouns have *ka* as the initial syllable. Wurm and Wilson (1975) cite **ka* as a noun marker in PAN. Examples of nouns containing initial *ka*, for which separate meanings are available for the second element of the noun, are given in (191). Further examples, for which such meanings have not been determined, can be found in the lexicon.

(191)	*kačam*	k.o. deepwater seaweed	(*čam*	outrigger)
	kačan	floor	(*čan*	road, path)
	kačaw	bride price	(*čaw*	married quarters)
	kahah	k.o. fish	(*hah*	2PL.EXC; four)
	kam^{w}an	ashes; cooking area	(*m^{w}an*	fire)
	kam^{w}at	large black ant	(*m^{w}at*	snake)

3.8.3.4 THE VERBAL SUFFIXES *-i*, *-ani*, *-ɛni*

Most transitive verbs end in one of the three suffixes *-i*, *-ani*, or *-ɛni*, which are discussed in 2.6.2.4 and 3.4.1.3. In many cases, a single verb root can occur with more than one of the three, with no apparent change in meaning. In addition, in the case of many transitive verb roots which have alternate non-suffixed and suffixed forms (see (193)), either form may be used both when the direct object is stated and when it has been moved or deleted. Thus the suffixes, while clearly related to transitivity, appear to be less productive than they may have been at an earlier period in the language. Comparatists in Austronesian languages have reconstructed a transitiviser of which at least the *-i* portion of the Loniu suffixes is clearly a reflex: PAN **-i*, POC **-(C)i*.[21] There are, in fact, ten identified cases where the addition of a suffix changes a verb root from intransitive to transitive (192). The additional elements in some of the transitive forms are probably cases of stem-final syllable revival in the presence of the suffix;[22] these elements and the vowel variations exhibited by some forms are discussed in 2.6.2.4.

(192)				
	čɛlu	stand	*čɛluwɛni*	stand (NP) up
	ɛmɔt	vomit	*ɛmʷɛtɛni*	spit up, vomit out
	ɛʔɛ	be afraid	*ɛʔɛyani*	make afraid
	hilow	run	*hɛlɔwɛni, hɛlɔwani*	drive
	iw	call out (to make someone come)	*iwani*	pull, drag
	ɲu	bathe	*ɲihi*	wash (NP)
	taŋ	cry	*taŋɛsi*	mourn for
	ulu	be covered in water	*uluwɛni, uluwani*	lower into the water
	wɔh	fly	*wihi*	blow on (to move)
	yaw	go (off)	*yawɛsɛni, yawɛsani*	parade (NP)

In no other case is there a clear intransitive-to-transitive modification due to the presence of the suffix, and there appears to be no difference among the suffixes as regards meaning.

(193)		
	kun ~ kuni	carry suspended from head
	čan ~ čani	cut, clear
	hus ~ husi	suck, chew
	suwah ~ suwɛhi	fry (sago)
	as ~ asi	scratch
	haŋ ~ haŋɛni	feed
	tɛmɛnɛ ~ tɛmɛnɛni	ask
	pukute ~ pukutɛni ~ pukutani	do repeatedly; bewitch
	suluŋi ~ suluŋɛni	light (a fire)
	ɛmɛnɛ ~ ɛmɛnɛni ~ ɛmɛnani	spy on
	ɔŋɔhe ~ ɔŋɔhani	think (of); count
	taɲɛʔiye ~ taɲɛʔiyani	pull along the ground
	piliŋ ~ piliŋani	wait for
	čɛmɛni ~ ɛ̌mɛnani	speak/be witness for
	čup ~ čupani	help

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21 Reconstructed forms are from Wurm and Wilson (1975:223).

22 As is mentioned elsewhere in the text, Loniu is among those Austronesian languages in which final consonants, and in many cases final syllables, have been lost.

3.8.3.5 THE NOMINALISING SUFFIX *-(y)a*

Many verbs may be made into nouns with the suffix *-(y)a*. The form is *-ya* with vowel-final stems and *-a* with consonant-final stems. As is the case with the transitive suffixes, the presence of the nominaliser *-(y)a* may sometimes cause a longer form of the stem to surface.

(194)	*has ~ hasɛʔi*	plant	*hasaʔa*	planting
	čan ~ čani	clear	*čana*	clearing
	čun ~ čulumʷi	burn	*čulumʷa*	burning
	hɛ	wash	*hɛya*	washing
	pɔtɔwɛ	hold	*pɔtɔwɛya*	holding
	ɛmɔt	vomit	*ɛmʷɛta*	vomit
	sɔ	dig	*sɔya*	digging
	tɛwɛ	give	*tɛwɛya*	giving

3.8.3.6 THE VERBAL FORMATIVE *ya-*

There is a very large number of verbs whose first syllable is *ya-*. While no consistent meaning has been isolated as connected with *ya*, its frequency suggests that it may somehow parallel the *ta* formative (see 3.8.2.2) in the process of verb formation. In only one case, however, is the *ya* demonstrably separate: *yakaʔan(i)* 'hide'. The verb *pɔkaʔani* 'straighten, pack up' is a compound formed from *pɔ* 'do' + the base *kaʔani*. The form *kaʔani* is not, however, attested as occurring without either *ya* or *pɔ*.

(195)	*yahiti*	crumble
	yakaʔan(i)	hide
	yakulumʷani	make a fist or packet
	yalɛsani	wring or squeeze with hands
	yaliwi	steer canoe
	yanohi	mend (fishing nets)
	yaŋɔʔoh	spit
	yaŋaŋay	swim on surface (?)
	yarɛhɛni	keep in hiding
	yasa	sharpen
	yatahani	thatch (a roof)
	yawɛsɛni	parade

3.8.3.7 THE NOUN FORMATIVE *pɔkɛ*

Several body parts are formed with *pɔkɛ*. The few body parts which are not inalienably possessed comprise the majority of the members, with *pɔkɛʔɛnimɛ* 'finger' the only inalienably possessed *pɔkɛ* form – not surprising, since *nimɛ* 'hand, arm' is inalienably possessed. However, *pɔkɛmata* 'thumb' is alienably possessed, which is surprising if the second element, *mata*, is 'eye'. No meaning can be assigned to *pɔkɛ* alone or to the second element, except where indicated.

(196)

pɔkɛʔi	little finger
pɔkɛpikan	ankle bone
pɔkɛlɔkɔluč	joint (cf. *kɔlučunimɛ* 'elbow' and *kɔlučukaka* 'leg joint')
pɔkɛmata	thumb (*mata* 'eye')
pɔkɛʔɛnimɛ	finger (*nimɛ* 'hand')

There is also a form composed of *pɔkɛ* and *tak* 'sinker, weight': *pɔkɛ tak* 'at the bottom of the net (where the sinkers are)'.

CHAPTER 4
THE NOUN PHRASE

The order of constituents in the noun phrase is, generally, as shown in the formula in (1) below.

(1) (Det) Noun (Possessor NP) (Associated NP) (Descriptive Adjunct) (Quantifier) (Prepositional Phrase) (Relative Clause) (Demonstrative)

If a noun phrase precedes the verb, it functions as the subject; if it follows, it functions as the object (direct objects may also be fronted – see 6.8). Noun phrases also function as objects of a preposition, and occur as subjects and complements in verbless sentences.

4.1 UNMODIFIED NOUN AS NOUN PHRASE

The noun phrase may minimally consist of a single unmodified noun:

(2) *ala* *pɔ* *kihi*
2SG.go get firewood
Go get some firewood.

(3) *hɔti* *čaŋah*
2SG.take door
Open the door.

(4) *kihi* *itɛhɛ*
firewood where
Where is the firewood?

(5) *lawat* *iyɛ* *ɛy*
possum 3SG.be.on PRO
There was a possum on it.

Note that the definiteness of this type of noun phrase is variable, and depends on context for determination.

4.2 DETERMINER IN NOUN PHRASE

The noun may be preceded by a determiner, which may be one of three types:

(a) personal pronouns used as definite article, indicators of non-singular number, and/or person;

(b) quantifiers, including any of the the set of words meaning 'one' (see 3.2 (Numerals and numberal classifiers)), as well as the small group of less specific quantifiers such as *ɲɛti* 'diminutive', *hepe* 'a bit (of), a little' and *hayah* 'some, a few'. The latter two may well be forms of the number 'one', although in neither case are there any higher numbers attested with the same classifier (which, based on the other *h-* initial forms for 'one', would be *-pe* and *-yah*):

(c) the form *čihi* 'what(ever), which(ever)' may also function as determiner.

4.2.1 PERSONAL PRONOUN AS DETERMINER

The personal pronouns which function as determiner are the same as those used as nominals for subject, object, and so on. Although they may co-occur with inanimate nouns, the majority of noun phrases in the data which contain personal pronoun determiners are animate. In addition to providing information about person, they make explicit information on number (see, for example, (7), (8) and (9)) and, possibly, definiteness. The latter is most often a function of context, and no specific marker for definiteness is consistently used. These personal pronoun determiners, however, seem to be present only in noun phrases which are definite, in the sense that they refer to an identifiable (although not necessarily specific) entity or group of entities. The reverse is not true, however – not all definite noun phrases contain personal pronoun determiners; see above, (3) and (4), and below, (17)–(19).

(6) *sɛh pihin sɛh čani uwɛh kaman uwɛh wɛčɛ ake*
3PL woman 3PL clear 1PL.EXC man 1PL.EXC cut.down tree
The women clear, we men cut down the trees.

(7) *sɛh ɲatama uwɛh*
3PL father 1PL.EXC
our fathers

cf. *ɲatama uto*
father 1PCL.EXC
our father

(8) *hetow tun law kɪ̀li to ɛy pʷe itiyɛn ŋaʔa hetow*
3PCL canoe net PERF STAT PRO NEG DEM name 3PCL
tɛlɛ ulin
canoe lead/point??
The canoes without nets in them are called lead/point canoes.

(9) *umʷɛ sɛh ɲɛtukan*
house 3PL bird
(the) birds' nest(s)

cf. *umʷe ɲɛtukan*
house bird
bird's nest

(10) *iy pihin iy huti kawa*
3SG woman 3SG take basket
The woman takes the basket.

(11) *wɔw ke lɛʔi to itiyɔ*
2SG tree PRES STAT DEM
You wood, you remain here.

(12) *ɛtow kɔ ɔkɛt ɛtow kɔŋɔh*
2PCL wind black 2PCL POT.NS.blow
You black winds, you blow.

4.2.2 QUANTIFIER AS DETERMINER

The quantifier type determiner may take one of two forms: the number 'one', which has a large number of variants dependent on the classification of the head noun (see 3.2), or one of the less specific quantifiers *hepe* 'a bit (of), a little'; *hayah* 'some, a few'; or *ɲeti* (~ *ɲetu*) 'diminutive'. The occurrence of the number 'one' preceding the head noun usually indicates that the referent is non-specific, although this is not always the case (see (17)–(19) below). Numbers used for counting normally follow the head noun.

(13) *hɔmɔw pihin ta pɛlɛŋan*
one woman LOC on.top
There is a woman in the house.

(14) *sey ke ɛlɛwɛn kili tɔ ɛy pʷe*
one tree long PERF STAT PRO NEG
There was no tall tree on it.

(15) *wɔw ta yan čah sih puwɛ pun*
2SG CONT eat what one fruit betel.pepper
What are you eating? A betel pepper.

(16) *sɛh tɔʔɔnani hɔmɔw tupunah*
3PL send one boy
They sent a boy.

While indefinite or non-specific reference is the rule in this type of noun phrase construction, several examples of 'one' + noun phrase occur in which the reference seems to be definite. Each of the examples in (17)–(19) is taken from a narrative, and the object noun in each refers to an entity which has been introduced and referred to at least once prior to the occurrence of the noun phrase in the examples. It thus seems unlikely that the function of the numeral 'one' in such examples could be as indefinite article, but must rather be providing information regarding singular number, and in the case of *hakahat*, may be indicating that *mʷan* is referring to an unlit pile of firewood for a single fire, rather than to the fire itself.

(17) *čɔw a yo itiyɛn ɔw kɔhɔti...*
mat POSS 1SG DEM 2DU POT.NS.take

suʔu huti sahat čɔw a suʔu
3DU take one mat POSS 3DU
Here is my mat, take it...They (two) took their mat.

(18) *iy uŋiyɛni tɛliki ... sɛh luwɛ sih tɛliki ɛ*
3SG tug rope ... 3PL let.go one rope EMPH
She tugged on the rope...they let the rope go.

(19) *iy itɛwɛ hakahat mʷan ito tan*
3SG 3SG.put one fire 3SG.STAT down
She put the fire down, she left the fire.

The quantifier *hepe* 'a bit (of), a little' usually precedes the noun (20)–(22); when it follows, it functions as a descriptive adjunct meaning 'small' rather than as a quantifier (23). In addition, *hepe* may function as a noun in the object position (24), or as an adverb modifying the verb (25):

(20) *hepe toh imɛ ɛtɛ uto*
bit.of sugarcane 3SG.come AG 1PCL.EXC
A bit of sugarcane for us.

(21) *koko hepe piton pʷe*
leg.1SG bit.of strength.3SG NEG
My legs have little strength.

(22) *hepe purɛt a iy pʷe*
bit.of work POSS 3SG NEG
He doesn't do much work.

(23) *kɔ hepe iy ŋaʔan inɛn ŋaʔan lapi*
land small 3SG name.3SG small name.3SG Lapi
A small part of the area, with the local name Lapi.

(24) *yo iluwɛ hepe*
1SG 1SG.leave bit
I left out a part.

(25) *suʔu min tan hepe*
3DU sit down bit
They sat down for a bit.

The diminutive *ɲɛti* (~ *ɲɛtu*) always precedes the noun:

(26) *sɛh tɛwɛ ɲɛti čučupe pɛti ɛy*
3PL put DIM reward for PRO
They give a small reward for it.

(27) *ɲɛti tɔp a yo*
DIM basket POSS 1SG
my small basket

The combination *hepe ɲɛti* occurs preceding the noun in a few examples:[23]

(28) *hepe ɲɛti purɛt pɛti kɔsɔw*
bit DIM work for marriage.custom
A little bit of work for the marriage arrangements.

(29) *hepe ɲɛtu ni mɛtiyɛn pʷe*
bit DIM fish big NEG
A little bit of fish, not a lot.

---

23 The combination *ɲɛti hepe* also occurs, both adverbially (a) and nominally (b) and (c):

(a) *ya yo kuhuŋaŋ ɲɛti hepe ala*
FUT 1SG POT.SG.rest DIM bit first
I'll rest a little while first.

(b) *yo huti ɲɛti hepe*
1SG take DIM bit
I got a little bit.

(c) *ɲɛti hepe ɛpʷe iy ilɛ huti imɛ*
DIM bit only 3SG 3SG.go take 3SG.come
Just a little bit he went and brought back.

Note in (c) that the phrase *ɲɛti hepe ɛpʷe* is the direct object of the verb *huti*, and has been fronted for emphasis.

The quantifier *hayah* 'some, a few' may precede the noun, as in (30), although it most commonly follows (see 4.3.5 below), as do the remainder of the quantifiers *čɛlewan* 'many, much', *masih* 'all', *pučey* 'together', *ɛpʷe* 'only' (the latter also functions as an adverb – see 3.5.4).

(30) *ɛtiyɛ hayah mʷalih kimɛ tɛp*
2SG.tell some story POT.SG.come tape
Tell some stories on to the tape.

The other quantifiers, including numbers used for actual counting, occur post-nominally as indicated in the formula given in (1) above, and are described and exemplified in 4.3.5.

4.2.3 *čihi* AS DETERMINER

A noun may be preceded by *čihi* 'what(ever), which(ever), some, any':

(31) *iy tɔ ta lawat ... čihi lɔŋɔw pɛti pɔʔɔ lɔ ke*
3SG STAT catch possum ... whatever thing from among in tree
He would catch possum...anything from the forest.

(32) *yo kukɛhi čihi čɔhɔna tɔʔu*
1SG POT.SG.find some place 1DU.EXC
I will find some place for the two of us.

In a single case, *čihi* was used in combination with a preceding quantifier:

(33) *hɔmɔw čihi tupunah hɔmɔw čihi nɛʔɛhin kimɛ pɔʔɔ tɔʔu*
one any boy one any girl POT.SG.come among 1DU.INC
If only some boy or some girl would come be with us.

The word *čihi* is also used in questions (see 6.7.3.5).

4.2.4 THE EMPHATIC PARTICLE *ti*

The emphatic particle *ti* may precede the noun:

(34) *kɔ masih pučɛy ti mah ɛpʷe tɔ ɛy*
land all together EMPH taro only STAT PRO
The whole area had only taro in it.

(35) *čučuh ti te te te te*
wrapping EMPH faeces faeces faeces faeces
The wrappings were full of faeces.

(36) *suwɛ iy ti čɔhɔnan mah iy ti čɔhɔnan*
yam 3SG EMPH place.3SG taro 3SG EMPH place.3SG
Yams have their place, taro has its place.

This particle may also precede the verb (5.1.1.3.5) and occurs in clause initial position (6.2, (33)–(34)).

4.3 NOUN PHRASE CONSTITUENTS IN POST-NOMINAL POSITION

The head noun of the noun phrase may be followed by one or more of a number of noun phrase constituents, as stated in the formula in (1), repeated here for convenience:

(Det) Noun (Possessor NP) (Associated NP) (Descriptive Adjunct) (Quantifier) (Prepositional Phrase) (Relative Clause) (Demonstrative)

4.3.1 POSSESSOR NOUN PHRASE

The slot labelled 'possessor noun phrase' may be filled by a possessor of either the alienable or inalienable type (see 3.1.1). The possessor may be a suffix (37), a pronoun (38), or a noun phrase (39)–(40).

(37) *puriya-n*
work-3SG
his/her work

(38) *puriya ɛnɛyan a su?u*
work food POSS 3DU
The work of producing/making their food.

(39) *ɲatama iy pihin*
father 3SG woman
The woman's father.

(40) *mɛlɛwa amat tɔ mat*
soul man STAT die
The soul of a dead man.

4.3.2 ASSOCIATED NOUNS

The head noun may be followed by an associated noun, which is not a possessor, but identifies the head and in some cases describes it. Note that the possessor of the head noun may occur between the head and the associated noun (41)–(43).

(41) *ɲɛtu tɔ?u pihin*
child 1DU.EXC woman
our daughter

(42) *ɲɛtun kaman*
child.3SG man
his son

(43) *mɛlɛwan hɛliyan*
soul.3SG holiness.3SG
Holy Spirit

(44) *čɔw palan*
mat head.3SG
mat for keeping rain off

The second noun may be the name of the first noun:

(45) *an* *tɛwi*
water Tewi
Tewi lagoon

(46) *kɔ* *ⁿɾɔlɔkɔw*
village Loniu
Loniu village

A descriptive adjunct modifying the head noun may precede the associated noun if it is the name of the first noun (but see 4.3.3).

(47) *kɔ* *čakin* *punay*
village old Mbunai
The old village of Mbunai.

4.3.3 DESCRIPTIVE ADJUNCTS

The noun phrase may contain a descriptive adjunct (see 3.3) which normally follows the head noun and any possessor and/or associated noun accompanying it (but see (47) above).

(48) *lɔŋɔw* *a* *tɔʔu* *huyan* *masih* *pučey*
thing POSS 1DU.INC good all together
All of our good things.

(49) *ɲɛtun* *kaman* *nametiyɛn*
child.3SG man big
Her older/taller son.

(50) *kɔlaw* *a* *yo* *ɛmɛʔiman*
sarong POSS 1SG red
My red sarong.

The descriptive adjunct may be intensified in either of two ways: with a following *tasih* 'very' or by reduplication.

(51) *...ilɛ* *kɔ* *ɛlɛwɛn* *tasih*
3SG.go land far very
...to a very far-off land

(52) *lɛy* *iy* *pʷahačan* *laʔɛlɛwɛn* *laʔɛlɛwɛn*
Lae 3SG road far far
Lae is very far away.

4.3.4 PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE WITHIN NOUN PHRASE

The head noun of a noun phrase may be modified by a following prepositional phrase introduced by *pɛti* 'for, of, about, from' (see 3.6.1).

(53) *sɔʔɔh* *pɛti* *lɔ* *ke*
flesh from in tree
Meat from the forest.

(54) *iy pihin pɛti ɛnum itiyɛn*
3SG woman of garden DEM
The woman of this garden, who owns/planted it.

(55) *to pɛti ɛy ti sih*
pole for PRO EMPH one
The method of punting it (the canoe) is a special one.

(56) *kiw a yo pɛti ɲumʷa niw*
bench POSS 1SG for grating coconut
My coconut-grating bench.

(57) *sɛh amat pɛti pɛhɛna*
3PL man of stealing
thieves

No other prepositions are attested as introducing phrases which directly modify the head noun. In 3.6, other preposition-type constructions are described, but these do not fill the prepositional phrase slot within the noun phrase, but rather function post-verbally. However, contrasting with (53) above, a few examples of a prepositional-type construction without *pɛti* occur in the data. These always involve the morpheme *lɔ*, which is the unsuffixed form of the inalienably possessed noun *lɔ-n* 'its within, inside it'. This form is very common, and is used, as are other nouns referring to spatial relationships, both adverbially and prepositionally (see 3.5 and 3.6). In only a few instances, however, did a *lɔ* phrase occur as a direct modifier of the noun – most often such phrases are preceded by a verb of motion or location.

(58) *wɔw hi ni lɔ tas*
2SG FEM fish in sea
You are a female fish from the sea, a sea creature.

(59) *sɛh pʷa suʔu ni lɔ tas*
3PL say 3DU fish in sea
They said the two were fish from the sea/sea creatures.

(60) *suʔ ɲak la pɛlɛŋan lɔ pay maʔuwɔh*
3DU climb go on.top in rafter two
They climbed up onto two rafters.

4.3.5 QUANTIFIER IN POST-NOMINAL POSITION

As was mentioned in 4.2.2, some quantifiers may appear in pre-nominal position. Some quantifiers, however, occur only post-nominally in the data, and some are found in both positions. Those which are attested only post-nominally are *čɛlɛwan* 'many, much' (61); *masih* 'all' (62); *pučey* 'together' (63), and *ɛpʷe* 'only' (64). Numbers used for counting are found only once in pre-nominal position (65); the remaining examples (66)–(68) show numbers in post-nominal position.

(61) *lɔŋɔw čɛlɛwan ta ɛy*
thing many LOC PRO
There are many things in it.

(62) *sɛh kɔ masih sɛh la*
3PL village all 3PL go
All of the villages went.

(63) *iy itɛʔi suʔu pučey*
3SG 3SG.hit 3DU together
He hit them both.

(64) *ɲah ɛpʷe lɛʔi tɔ ɛtɛ yo*
spear only PRES LOC AG 1SG
I have only the spears.

(65) *peŋ mačuluŋɔn kilɛ pʷič, mačuluŋɔn peŋ mačuluŋɔn aŋ*
night thirty POT.SG.go finish thirty night thirty day
When thirty nights have passed, thirty nights (and) thirty days.

(66) *ɛpi mačɔloh potɔn tɔ ɛy*
sago three needle.3SG STAT PRO
Three (kinds of) sago have needles on them.

(67) *ɲɛtun kaman mačulumɔw*
child.3SG man three
His three sons.

(68) *suʔu pihin a yo mahiʔimɔw*
3DU woman POSS 1SG two.FEM
My two women.

4.3.6 RELATIVE CLAUSE IN NOUN PHRASE

The noun phrase may contain a relative clause, which follows the head noun, and may occur with no overt marking or may be introduced by *ⁿrɔpɔ*. The form *ⁿrɔpɔ* occurs elsewhere as a demonstrative, most often in combination with a following *itiyɛn* 'that, this' (see 4.3.7). It is possible that *ⁿrɔpɔ* also functions as a demonstrative within the relative clause structure. However, the large number of *ⁿrɔpɔ* + S structures which function as relative clauses, and the existence in some examples of a pause between the head noun and the *ⁿrɔpɔ* + S structure, indicate that *ⁿrɔpɔ* here is not just a demonstrative adjective modifying the noun, but is functioning as part of the relative clause constituent. Examples (69)–(72) below contain relative clauses introduced by *ⁿrɔpɔ*, while (73)–(76) show no overt marking of the relative clause at all.

(69) *ɛtɛwɛ tas ɛ lɔʔɔ wi kilɛ pɛliŋɛʔi kanas ⁿrɔpɔ ta ku*
2SG.put salt and leaf plant POT.SG.go with mullet RC LOC pot
Put salt and *wi* leaves in with the mullet which is in the pot.

(70) *iy itɔ mɔmɔtani pɔ puwe ⁿrɔpɔ itɔ pʷahan itiyɛn*
3SG 3SG.STAT spit juice betel RC 3SG.LOC mouth.3SG DEM
She was spitting out the betel juice which was in her mouth.

(71) *iy pihin ⁿrɔpɔ kɛsɔwani iy iy itɔ kɛyaw*
3SG woman RC POT.NS.adorn 3SG 3SG 3SG.STAT platform
The woman who has been adorned is on the platform.

(72) *itiyo ɛy puwɛ činɛn ⁿrɔpo imɛ ehe ito itiyɛn*
DEM smell testicle demon RC 3SG.come sit 3SG.STAT DEM
This is the smell of the testicles of the demon who comes and sits there.

(73) *yo to urɔh imɛ ɛtɛ wɔw ilɛ lɔŋɔw masih wɔw*
1SG STAT thank 3SG.come AG 2SG 3SG.go thing all 2SG

ɛtɛpɛyani imɛ ɛtɛ uto
2SG.sent 3SG.come AG 1PCL.EXC
I thank you for all the things you sent to us.

(74) *...imɛ ɛtɛ amat ipɔ puret ilɛ ɛpi*
3SG.come AG man 3SG.do work 3SG.go sago
...to the man who did the work (to produce) the sago.

(75) *iy ikuni ɛpi ta kawa*
3SG 3SG.carry sago LOC basket
She carries the sago which is in the basket.

(76) *sɛh to tay ilɛ puret masih pučey sɛh to hinɛni*
3PL STAT beat.it 3SG.go work all together 3PL STAT do

to kɔ ⁿrɔlɔkɔ
STAT village Loniu
They make it for all the (kinds of) customs they do in Loniu village.

There was also one example of a relative clause introduced by *ehɛ* 'where':

(77) *ɛkɛhi kɔ ehɛ tɔ?u kala ač kilɛ ɛy*
2SG.find land where 1DU.EXC POT.NS.go hide POT.go PRO
Find a place where we can go hide (in it).

Note that examples (70), (72) and (74) contain the verbal person prefix *i-*, which may be the pronominal form of the deleted subject, and that (71) and (77) contain pronominal forms of the head noun in object position. Thus, if the relativised noun is the subject of the embedded verb, whether transitive or intransitive, the person prefix remains in the clause as trace. Of course *ta*, which is a particle rather than a verb, never takes a prefix, therefore no trace of the deleted noun is identifable in (75), and only *ⁿrɔpo* marks the relative clause in (69).

Further, if the relativised noun is the object of a transitive verb in the embedded clause, the transitive form of the verb (with the probably frozen, no longer productive *-ani / -ɛni* suffix) is the only trace. Non *-i* final transitive verbs, however, take an object suffix *-y* when the full noun phrase object is not stated (see 3.1.2). Thus *pʷa* 'say' becomes *pʷay* when not followed by the direct quote; *ta* 'beat, pound, make' becomes *tay* when the direct object is not stated. The suffixed form is the one to occur in the relative clause from which the object has been deleted.

(78) *ɛpi sɛh to tay ilɛ puret ɛpi malimɛh*
sago 3PL STAT beat.3SG 3SG.go work sago five
The sago they make for celebrations is of five types.

Finally, if the relativised noun is a locative or temporal noun in a co-verb phrase (see 5.2) in an embedded clause, the pronominal form *ɛy* is used as a trace (see 3.1.2.3). In at least one instance, however, the phrase containing the pronominal form was indicated as being optional.

(79) *aŋ iy ma kupɔ puɾɛt (kilɛ ɛy)...*
day 3SG INT POT.SG.do work (3SG.go PRO)
The day (on which) he wants to do the work...

4.3.7 DEMONSTRATIVES IN THE NOUN PHRASE

The noun phrase may contain a demonstrative modifier, which normally occurs in final position within the phrase. If other post-nominal modifiers co-occur with the demonstratives, they precede it.

The demonstratives are *itiyɛn* 'that (relatively distant from speaker)', also translated as 'this', 'the', 'previously mentioned'; *itiyɔ* 'this (relatively near speaker)'; *itipɔ* 'this (within sight of speaker)'. The form *ⁿrɔpɔ* sometimes precedes one of these three, most often *itiyɛn* (84).

The demonstrative *itiyɛn* is by far the most commonly occurring both within the noun phrase and as a sentential modifier or connector. While its occurrence within the noun phrase sometimes signals relative distance from speaker, its most common function is to mark the head noun as definite, as something which has been introduced earlier in the conversation or narrative.

(80) *suʔu pʷa ɔw itiyɛn ɔw činɛn ɛ ɔw amat*
3DU say 2DU DEM 2DU demon or 2DU human
They said, "You there, are you demons or humans?"

(81) *ke itiyɔ ɛlɛwɛn hipɛra sih ɛpʷe itiyɛn*
wood DEM long as one only DEM
This stick is as long as that one.

(82) *iy ipɔ čɔʔɔya suʔu ɲanɛn itiyɛn*
3SG 3SG.do revenge 3DU mother.3SG DEM
He worked that revenge (described earlier) for himself and his mother.

(83) *ɔw kɛmɛ mʷɛnɛn kimɛ palačɔpɔn itiyɛn ɔw*
2DU POT.NS.come straight POT.SG.come point DEM 2DU

kɛmɛ ɛtɛ u
POT.NS.come AG 1DU.EXC
If you come directly to that point of land (pointed out earlier), you come to us.

The demonstrative *itiyɛn* may be preceded by *ⁿrɔpɔ*; the two together are equivalent to English 'aforementioned', and are used in discourse apparently to minimise ambiguity of reference.

(84) *iy ipʷɛ ilɛ ɛtɛ sɛh itiyɛn, sɛh ⁿrɔpɔ itiyɛn*
3SG 3SG.say 3SG.go AG 3PL DEM 3PL DEM DEM

hetow law a iy ⁿrɔpɔ itiyɛn...
3PCL relative POSS 3SG DEM DEM
He said to them, to the ones mentioned earlier, to those aforementioned relatives of his...

The demonstratives *itiyɔ* and *itipɔ* indicate relative proximity to the speaker, either in space or in time. The distinction between the two is not clear. The form *itiyɔ* is more

frequently attested in the data, and seems to imply a closer proximity, while *itipɔ* appears to indicate only that the referent is within sight, but not necessarily close to or in the hands of the speaker. *Itiyɔ* is also used to indicate that the referent has recently been mentioned in the discourse. While *itiyɛn* is also used in this circumstance, the use of *itiyɔ* rather than *itiyɛn* makes explicit the fact that the reference has just been made, usually in the preceding sentence.

(85) *ti itiyɔ ɲaman*
tea DEM sweet
This tea is (too) sweet.

(86) *ɲataman iy inɛnɛs ilɛ kɔmu itiyɔ ilɛ ɛtɛ iy*
father.3SG 3SG 3SG.talk 3SG.go word DEM 3SG.go AG 3SG
Her father talked to her about this conversation.

(87) *lawat sih itipɔ iy kimɛʔis mɛʔiyɛn ɛ čuto*
possum one DEM 3SG POT.SG.done quickly and 1PCL.INC
kani
POT.NS.eat
(Would that) this possum (in a pot nearby) would get done quickly and (so) we could eat (it).

The forms *itiyɔ* and *itipɔ* occur more often in direct quotes than in narrative portions of the discourse. While this seems to imply that the noun modified by one of the two must be within the speaker's own perceptual field, a firm statement regarding this aspect of the use of the two forms cannot yet be made. Due to the relative freedom of distribution of the demonstrative *itiyɛn*, which occurs freely in both narrative discourse and direct quotes, it is not clear how this form would fit into a distinction based on whether or not the speaker can actually perceive the referent of the head noun or not.

The three demonstratives also have short forms, which occur much less frequently in the data, and then usually in rapid speech.

(88) *itiyɛn ~ iyɛ ~ iyɛn*

sih lawat iyɛn
one possum DEM
That possum.

iy amat iyɛ
3SG man DEM
That man.

(89) *itiyɔ ~ iyɔ*

iy amat iyɔ
3SG man DEM
This man.

(90) *itipɔ ~ ipɔ*

lawat ipɔ
possum DEM
This possum.

Johnston (1980:119) describes the deictic constituent of the noun phrase in Nakanai (Oceanic, New Britain) as having both emphatic and non-emphatic forms. The Nakanai forms are similar to the Loniu forms although meaning diverges.

(91) *"ele* there (nearer to you than me)
-e here (nearer to me than you, or equally near both of us)
-o over there (at a distance from both of us)

Emphatic forms are *tiele*, *tie*, and *tio*, matching *ele*, *-e*, and *-o* above."

Loniu has an emphatic particle *ti*, used both pre-nominally and pre-verbally.

(92) *law iy ti law lawɛyap iy ti lawɛyap*
net 3SG EMPH net net 3SG EMPH net
The *law* fishing net is one kind, the *lawɛyap* is another.

(93) *ya sɛh kɛtɛʔi pʷɛlɛyah ti čɛlɛwan*
FUT 3PL POT.NS.catch parrotfish EMPH many
They will catch a great many parrotfish.

(94) *ta yo kisɔ itiyɔ ala ti kiɲɛla*
POSS 1SG POT.SG.stand DEM first EMPH POT.SG.cool
Mine can sit here a while and cool off.

It is thus possible that the Loniu demonstratives are (at least partially frozen) multimorphemic forms: *i-ti-yɛn, i-ti-yɔ.* These longer forms do not appear to maintain any sense of emphasis, however, and the shorter forms appear to be fast speech variants with no concomitant change of meaning.

4.4 COORDINATION IN THE NOUN PHRASE

Noun phrases may be conjoined by the coordinating conjunctions *ɛ* 'and, or, but' (95)–(99); *ma* 'and, with' (100)–(101); and the borrowed form *ɔ* 'or' (102)–(103).

(95) *ɛtɛwɛ tas ɛ lɔʔɔ wi*
2SG.put salt and leaf k.o. plant
Put in some salt and *wi* leaves.

(96) *kaman ɛ pihin suʔu yoʔose huyan suʔu ehe huyan*
male and female 3DU walk well 3DU sit.down well
The man and woman get along well, live together well.

(97) *wɔw ɛ iy*
2SG and 3SG
You and he.

(98) *ɔw kala ɛtɛ hetow pelɛŋan hetow ɲɛtun ɛ pulun*
2DU POT.NS.go AG 3PCL up.in.house 3PCL child.3SG and spouse.3SG
You two go to them in the house, to his children and his wife.

(99) *mačɛhɛ mačulumɔw ɛ mahamɔw*
how.many three or four
How many were there? There were three or four.

(100) *iy ilɛ tɛwɛ ɲanɛn ma um ilɛ pɔʔɔ čaŋa ke...*
3SG 3SG.go put mother.3SG and house 3SG.go within centre tree
He put his mother and the house into the centre of the tree.

(101) *sɛh huti puh ma ni ɛ sɛh la pʷahalɛŋ*
3PL take trap and fish and 3PL go beach
They took the trap and the fish and they went to the beach.

(102) *...hipiri mačɔlɔh ɔ mahah*
like three or four
...about three or four.

(103) *iy kičɛʔiti kilɛ čupučupun ɔ wɔlɔwɔlɔn itiyɛn*
3SG POT.SG.cut POT.SG.go little.bits and pieces DEM
She would cut him up into little bits and pieces now.

In a series of more than two noun phrases, the coordinator *ɛ* normally occurs only once, preceding the final noun phrase of the series (104). The conjunctions *ma* and *ɔ*, however, are normally repeated preceding each noun phrase in the series (105)–(107).

(104) *mɛnuway iy iwɔh uwɛnɛ kɔ masih, pʷahalɛŋ, pɛtɛ kɔ*
eagle 3SG 3SG.fly until land all beach near village

ɛ pɛtɛ pučɔ
and near offshore.island
The eagle flew to all the lands, to the coast, near the villages and near the offshore islands.

(105) *wɔw ma ɲapulum ma ɲɛtum ɛtow masih ɛtow huyan...*
2SG and spouse.2SG and child.2SG 2PCL all 2PCL well
You and your husband and children, are you all well...?

(106) *ɲaton ipɔtowɛ iy ... ma tɛliki*
grandmother.2SG 3SG.take 3SG ... with rope.of.dog.teeth

a iy ma ɛpi a iy...
POSS 3SG and sago POSS 3SG
Her grandmother takes her..., with her ropes of dog's teeth and her sago...

(107) *suʔu tɔ hilite suʔu amat maʔamɔw ɔ hetow mačulumɔw*
3DU STAT choose 3DU man two or 3PCL three

ɔ mahamɔw
or four
They choose two men or three or four.

Prepositional phrases within the noun phrase may be coordinated. There is only one example of prepositional phrases conjoined by *ma* (109).

(108) *ɛ hipiti kɔmu pɛti kɔ ɛ pɛti taya pʷɛlɛyah hipiti itiyɛn*
and like word from land and for catching parrotfish like DEM
So the story about Loniu and catching parrotfish is thus.

(109) *sɛh tay pɛti putuwa sɛh ma pɛti hepe hepe a sɛh*
3PL beat.it for belly 3PL and for bit bit POSS 3PL
They make it for their food and for many traditional uses.

The conjuncts need not be parallel in structure. Example (110) contains a prepositional phrase in coordination with a preceding and following noun phrase.

(110) *pɔta tupunah ɔ pɛti tɛwɛya tɛliŋ ɔ ana pihin...*
doing boy or for piercing ear or food woman
Circumcision or for piercing ears or as food for women...

Noun phrases may also be coordinated with no overt conjunction. In such cases, the context determines which type of coordination is intended.

(111) *sɛh kaman sɛh pihin sɛh kɛli lɔmʷi ɛpi kɛli pʷe*
3PL male 3PL female 3PL PERF plant sago PERF NEG
The men and women have finished planting the sago.

(112) *hipiti masaŋat maʔuŋɛt*
like one.hundred two.hundred
about one or two hundred

(113) *...mʷat itɔ yaw ... ilɛ ta anan lawat*
snake 3SG.STAT go ... 3SG.go kill food.3SG possum

lɔsow pɛlimat ŋɛtukan pɛti lɔ ke
bush.rat flying.fox bird of in tree
The snake would go kill his food, possum, bush rat, flying fox, (and) forest birds.

There is also a pronoun + noun construction which is a type of coordination without overt conjunction. This consists of a dual personal pronoun followed by a noun which names one of the two individuals involved.

(114) *čɔhɔna suʔu ŋanɛn*
revenge 3DU mother.3SG
The revenge of him and his mother.

(115) *u pat u ma kɛŋihi nimɛ u*
1DU.EXC Pat 1DU.EXC INT POT.NS.wash hand 1DU.EXC
Pat and I want to wash our hands.

This construction appears to be limited to human beings, and to pairs rather than larger groups.

CHAPTER 5
THE VERB PHRASE

For purposes of description, the verb phrase here is divided into two parts: the nucleus and the periphery. The nucleus consists of the main verb stem and the person/number prefixes as well as the pre-verbal tense and aspect markers. If the main verb is transitive, any stated direct object is also considered to be part of the nucleus.

The periphery consists of any co-verbs and co-verb phrases which follow the nucleus.

5.1 THE VERB PHRASE NUCLEUS

5.1.1 PRE-VERBAL CONSTITUENTS

The pre-verbal consistuents include the person/number prefixes, which are obligatory, and various auxiliaries and particles which are used to indicate tense and/or aspect, in accordance with the formula given in (1) below:

(1) ({ FUTURE / INCHOATIVE }) PERSON/NUMBER ({ POTENTIAL / PERFECTIVE }) (AUX) (VERB)

5.1.1.1 PERSON/NUMBER

Person/number is shown by a prefix, which is the only obligatory pre-verbal constituent. The prefixes are listed in (2) below. The variation in form of the prefixes is due to verb stem class (3.4.2) and vowel assimilation rules (2.6.2.3).

(2)		
	i- ~ *u-*	first or third person singular
	ɛ- ~ *ɔ-* ~ *a-*	second person singular
	Ø ~ *-ɛ-* ~ *-a-*	non-singular

While the non-singular prefix is shown as Ø above, it does surface as a non-high vowel in the potential forms (5.1.1.3.1) and in the perfective marker for non-singular (5.1.1.3.2).

The prefixes, when overt, are attached to the main verb only in the absence of any auxiliary verb or perfective marker (3).

(3) Stem *mɛ* 'come'

1SG	*imɛ* ~ *umɛ*	I come/came
2SG	*ɛmɛ*	You come/came; Come!
3SG	*imɛ*	He/she/it comes/came
NS	*mɛ*	We/you/they come/came

If the auxiliary verb occurs with no preceding perfective marker, it will receive the marking for person. The perfective marker, which varies in form depending on person, carries the only person marker in a perfective verb phrase.

(4) *yo utɔ min tan*
1SG 1SG.STAT sit down
I was sitting down.

(5) *suʔu kɛli tɔ mete*
3DU PERF STAT sleep
They slept/were sleeping.

Thus, person marking is as follows: if a perfective marker occurs, its form marks person. If no perfective marker is present, the first verb in the nucleus receives the prefix – if an auxiliary verb is present, it is inflected for person; if not, the main verb receives the prefix. If the auxiliary particle *ta* 'CONT' is present, there is no person prefix on either the auxiliary or the main verb.

5.1.1.1.1 FUNCTION OF THE MINIMAL VERB PHRASE

When the main verb occurs with only the obligatory prefix, and no other pre-verbal constituent, the tense/aspect indicated is present or past, depending on context. If present, the meaning is usually habitual rather than progressive.

(6) *sɛh la lɔʔɔŋow*
3PL go Lorengau
They go to Lorengau (often, periodically).

(7) *iy ipɔ ana suʔu ni*
3SG 3SG.go food 3DU fish
He catches their fish (for their food).

Thus this form, when present tense in meaning, does not indicate a single event, but is a general statement of behavioural patterns. Chafe (1970) has called such usage 'generic', and terms it an inflectional unit on the verb.

If the form is used as a past tense (which is determined by context, rather than by inflection), however, no such habitual aspect is implied.

(8) *iy ileʔe ay a iy ɔ*
3SG 3SG.see blood POSS 3SG spill
She saw her blood spill out.

(9) *sɛh la lɔʔɔŋow*
3PL go Lorengau
They went to Lorengau (e.g. yesterday).

5.1.1.2 AUXILIARIES IN THE VERB PHRASE NUCLEUS

Auxiliaries are of two types: verbs (which take person prefixes and may take the potential prefix *k-*) and particles (which take no affixes). The verbs which may function as auxiliaries are listed in (10).

(10)	*la*	go
	mɛ	come
	yaw	go (away)
	tɔ	be in or at a place; stative, durative, continuative, habitual
	yɛ	be in/on a place; sit
	sɔ	be in/on a place; stand

The particles which may occur as pre-verbal aspect markers are listed in (11).

(11)	*ta*	continuative
	lɛʔi	present continuative, simulfactive

The particle *a* 'still' also may occur in the auxiliary slot, but only preceding *tɔ*, *ta*, or *sɔ*, or combinations which include one of these.

The possible combinations of these verbs and particles within the auxiliary slot may be characterised by the following scheme.

(12)

la ({ *tɔ* / *sɔ* / *ta* })

mɛ *(tɔ)*

(a) *(lɛʔi)* ({ *tɔ* / *sɔ* })

yɛ

ta

yaw ({ *la* / *to* })

Each auxiliary verb or particle may occur as the sole auxiliary, or may occur in combination with one or another of the other constituents of the auxiliary slot, as depicted in (12) above. The functions of the various verbs and particles and their combinations are discussed in 5.1.1.2.1 below. Examples of each of the auxiliaries and the attested combinations are given below (13) – (28).

(13) *la* : *sɛh la lɔmʷi ɛpi*
3PL go plant sago
They go/went to plant sago.

(14) *la tɔ* : *hetow la tɔ pukute kupʷɛn*
3PCL go STAT mend net
They are mending nets (over there).

(15) *la sɔ* : *suʔu kala sɔ čɛlu ɛy*
3DU POT.NS.go stand stand PRO
They would go stand there.

(16) *la ta* : *hah la ta yɛni*
2PL go CONT eat
You people are eating.

(17) *mɛ* :
hah mɛ huti u
2PL come take 1DU.EXC
You came and caught us.

(18) *mɛ tɔ* :
suʔu mɛ tɔ lɔmʷi ɛpi
3DU come STAT plant sago
They came (and) are planting sago.

(19) *lɛʔi* :
uto lɛʔi min ɛpʷe
1PCL.EXC PRES sit only
We are just sitting here.

(20) *tɔ* :
yo utɔ mete
1SG 1SG.STAT sleep
I am/was sleeping.

(21) *sɔ* :
iy a isɔ čɛlu
3SG still 3SG.stand stand
She was still standing there.

(22) *lɛʔi tɔ* :
yo lɛʔi tɔ ehe
1SG PRES STAT lie.down
I am lying down.

(23) *lɛʔi sɔ* :
yo a lɛʔi sɔ čɛlu
1SG still PRES stand stand
I am still standing.

(24) *yɛ* :
hah kɛyɛ in an
2PL POT.NS.sit drink water
Help yourselves to water.

(25) *yaw* :
suʔu yaw mɔn
3DU go return
They come/came back.

(26) *yaw la* :
uto yaw la mete
1DU.EXC go go sleep
We went to go to sleep.

(27) *yaw tɔ* :
suʔu yaw tɔ tuwe
3DU go STAT cook
They went (and) were there cooking (it).

(28) *ta* :
ɲanɛ suʔu iy ta haŋeni suʔu ilɛ ɛy
mother 3DU 3SG CONT feed 3DU 3SG.go PRO
Their mother was feeding them with it.

Examples (29) – (31) show the use of *a* 'still' with *tɔ* and *ta* (see also (21) and (23) above for the use of *a* with *sɔ*).

(29) *palan a tɔ ŋɛti*
head.3SG still STAT hurt
He head is still hurting.

(30) *iy a ta lɛlɛ*
3SG still CONT look
He's still alive/aware.

(31) *iy a lɛʔi tɔ yɛnɛyan*
3SG still PRES STAT eat
He's still eating.

The auxiliary verbs *la*, *mɛ*, *tɔ*, *yɛ*, *sɔ*, and *yaw* may also occur as main verbs, and as co-verbs in the verb phrase periphery (5.2). The particle *ta* may also occur without a following verb, in which case the meaning is locative rather than continuative:

(32) *ɲanɛn ta pɛlɛŋan*
mother.3SG LOC on.top
Her mother is up in the house.

These two uses of *ta* may in fact represent homophones rather than a single morpheme, but probably do not, given the use of verbs, such as *tɔ*, with both locative and progressive meanings.

5.1.1.2.1 FUNCTIONS OF THE AUXILIARIES

The various verbs and particles of the auxiliary function as aspect markers. There are overlapping areas in the translations, and it is not always possible to make a clear and consistent distinction, particularly in the case of *tɔ* and *ta*. These two are compared and contrasted in their aspectual function later in this section.

The motion verbs *la* 'go' and *mɛ* 'come' are used to indicate movement toward the activity expressed by the main verb. If the activity is located away from a point of reference, *la* is used; if located at or near the point of reference, *mɛ* is used. Thus if the speaker is in the house, she will say *ala lɔmʷi ɛpi* 'Go plant (the) sago!' (The gardens are located at a distance from the houses). If she is in the garden, she might call out *ɛmɛ lɔmʷi ɛpi* 'Come plant (the) sago!' Only when the addressee is actually in the sago garden would she say *ɔlɔmʷi ɛpi* 'Plant (the) sago!' Such use of *la* and *mɛ* also implies relative distance from the speaker – see (14) above, in which *la* indicates that the actual motion toward the activity of mending nets has been completed and *tɔ* indicates that the mending itself is ongoing at the moment of speech, at some distance from the speaker.

The point of reference is not always the speaker, however, but may be a character or place in a story. In such cases, the narrator may use *la* and *mɛ* to change the audience's focus from one character or place to another. This is a discourse function of the two motion verbs, and is beyond the purview of the present work.

The auxiliary verb *yaw* 'go' also indicates motion away from a point of reference, but does not imply that there is a specific destination or purpose. The verb *la*, on the other hand, normally does, and when it functions as main or co-verb (see 5.2), can be followed immediately by a noun phrase of destination or goal; *yaw* is never directly followed by a noun phrase of destination or goal, but may be followed by *la* or *tɔ* + noun phrase.

It is likely, therefore, that the use of *yaw* as pre-verbal auxiliary in most cases implies that the speaker does not know or is not interested in expressing the destination of the *yaw* type

of going, or that the subject of the *yaw* + main verb construction has no specific destination. Thus in (25) above, *suʔu yaw mɔn* 'they came back', the place to which they went and from which they are returning is neither implied nor important in the narrative; in (27), *suʔu yaw tɔ tuwe* 'they went (somewhere, and) were (there) cooking (it)', the two persons referred to by *suʔu* are in some unidentified place some distance from where they were before, in the process of cooking something; in (26), *uto yaw la mete*, the translation in English might be something like 'We took off and went to bed' or 'We went off to bed'. In the example below, (33), the idea of no specific purpose is made clear by the use of *yaw*, although in context no motion was implied.

(33) *uto la laʔo a uto ... iy ilɛ mete ɛ*
1PCL.EXC go shed POSS 1PCL.EXC ... 3SG 3SG.go sleep and

uto yaw la tah itiyɛn ... aŋ sih piŋɛhɛ itiyɛn
1PCL.EXC go go LOC DEM ... day one yesterday DEM

uto yaw tɔw ɛ tɔw ɛ uto tɔw itiyɛn
1PCL.EXC go stay and stay and 1PCL.EXC stay DEM
We went to our shed...he went to sleep and we stayed sitting there.
...The whole day yesterday we sat around, we just sat around there.

The verb *yɛ* and *sɔ* are used as auxiliaries to indicate the location of the subject at the site of the activity expressed by the main verb, and may imply some duration. The verb *yɛ* usually implies longer duration, and an informal or relaxed atmosphere – it is often translated as 'sit'. The verb *sɔ* tends to imply a more temporary stay, usually in a standing position. As a pre-verbal auxiliary, *sɔ* is only used with the main verb *čɛlu* 'stand', but as a co-verb (see 5.2) *sɔ* occurs alone with the same meaning 'stand'. The combination of *sɔ čɛlu* is thus 'stand for a short time'.

(34) *wɔw ɛsɔ čɛlu ɛy*
2SG 2SG.stand stand PRO
You stand on it (for a short time).

The verb *tɔ* (which has a longer form *tɔw* when functioning as a stative main verb or as a co-verb with no following noun phrase (see 5.2)) functions as an aspect marker in the auxiliary slot of the verb phrase. When it occurs with no other optional pre-verbal constituents, it is labelled stative, but may also indicate continuative, durative, or habitual aspect.

(35) *hɔmɔw he itɔ taŋ*
one who 3SG.STAT cry
Who is crying?

(36) *u tɔ čan ɛnum a u*
1DU.EXC STAT clear garden POSS 1DU.EXC
We were clearing our garden.

(37) *sɛh tɔ pɔ purɛt ilɛ ɛy*
3PL STAT do work 3SG.go PRO
They used to do the work (to produce) it.

(38) *kɔ itiyɛn iy iŋɔh ... ɛ itɔ pʷačɛrahani iy*
wind DEM 3SG 3SG.blow ... and 3SG.STAT toss 3SG

... *itɔ* *tipiyani* *iy*
... 3SG.STAT roll 3SG
The wind blew...and was tossing her...(and) rolling her around.

(39) *pɛw* *itɔ* *ɲɛni* *amat*
shark 3SG.STAT eat human
Sharks eat people.

(40) *hetow* *tɔ* *yɛnɛyan* *ilɛ* *suwɛ* *itiyɛn*
3PCL STAT eat 3SG.go yam DEM
They would eat these yams (their diet consisted of yams).

The verb *tɔ* also co-occurs with the verbal prefix *k-* for potential aspect and with the perfective marker *kili* (~ *kɛli* ~ *ɛli*).

(41) *ɲato* *u* *ma* *kitɔ* *yaw* *kilɛ* *lɔ*
grandmother 1DU.EXC INT POT.SG.STAT go POT.SG.go in

um *ɛ* *u* *mɛ*
house and 1DU.EXC come
Our grandmother was about to go into the house when we came.

(42) *himɔmɔn* *iy* *ipʷɛ* *ya* *iy* *kitɔ* *kɛlɛwe* *um*
Himomon 3SG 3SG.say FUT 3SG POT.SG.STAT care.for house

a *yo*
POSS 1SG
Himomon said she would look out for my house.

(43) *ɛtɔw* *kɔtɔ* *čulumʷi* *kɔ* *kilɛ* *ɛy*
2PCL POT.NS.STAT burn village POT.SG.go PRO
You will be able to burn villages with it.

(44) *sɛh* *kɛli* *tɔ* *pʷay* *ilɛ* *ɛtɛ* *iy*
3PL PERF STAT say.it 3SG.go AG 3SG
They were telling it to him.

Example (44) is the only example of an affirmative sentence with the perfective marker co-occurring with the *tɔ* aspect marker. Normally such sentences are negative.

(45) *suʔu* *kɛli* *tɔ* *pɔ* *puɾɛt* *piton* *pʷe*
3DU PERF STAT do work hard NEG
They didn't do any hard work.

(See 6.6 for a description of negative sentences.)

The particle *ta*, when in pre-verbal position, always indicates continuative aspect, either present or past. *Ta* never co-occurs with other pre-verbal constituents except the auxiliary *la* as indicated in (16) above. When *ta* is alone as auxiliary, the person of the verb is determined by a stated subject noun or pronoun.

(46) *palan* *ta* *hunaŋ* *hepe*
head.3SG CONT rest bit
His headache is a bit better. (lit. his head is resting a bit)

(47) *hetow ɲɛtu ta mete*
3PCL child.1SG CONT sleep
My children were sleeping.

(48) *sɛh ta tamana sɛh ta ta tɛmɛy*
3PL CONT dance 3PL CONT beat drum
They were dancing, they were beating the drums.

The auxiliaries *tɔ* and *ta* overlap in this function (as present/past continuative), and there is no clear distinction between them. (See also 5.2 (The verb phrase periphery) and 6.1 (The verbless sentence).)

The form *lɛʔi* 'present continuative, simulfactive, witnessed' is used to indicate that the activity of the main verb is ongoing at the moment of speech and implies that the speaker is or has been a witness to the current activity. In the majority of the attested occurrences of *lɛʔi*, it is in combination with the aspect marker *tɔ*; this is not always the case, however – see (19) above.

(49) *čɛlɛwan uwɛh a lɛʔi tɔ potowɛy*
many 1PL.EXC still PRES.CONT STAT hold
Many of them we are still using (lit. still holding).

(50) *iy lɛʔi tɔ mete*
3SG PRES.CONT STAT sleep
She is sleeping (I saw her).

See also (22) above.

Lɛʔi may also indicate that the activity or state expressed by the verb is or was simultaneous with some other activity.

(51) *yo uto kantin; yo lɛʔi tɔ kantin itiyɛn tayaʔɛpi*
1SG 1SG.STAT canteen 1SG SIM STAT canteen DEM Tayaʔepi
imɛ
3SG.come
I was at the canteen; while I was at the canteen, Tayaʔepi came.

5.1.1.3 Other pre-verbal constituents

The remaining pre-verbal constituents are potential, perfective, future, and inchoative/ intentional.

5.1.1.3.1 Potential

In potential constructions, the prefix *k-* occurs on forms prefixed for first and third person singular.

(52) *yo kutiyani čah*
1SG POT.SG.tell what
What shall I tell? (what story?)

(53) *iy kilɛ mɔn kimɛ*
3SG POT.SG.go return POT.SG.come
He will go and then come back.

The second person singular potential forms do not contain the potential prefix *k-*, but rather are the same forms which occur in the non-potential (i.e. present/past) verb phrase.

(54) *wɔw ma ɛmɛ pɔʔɔ yo*
2SG INT 2SG.come with 1SG
Do you want to come with me?

(55) *ala huti iy*
2SG.go take 3SG
Go take her, pick her up.

The example in (55) is the imperative use of the potential form – see 6.6 (The imperative construction).

The non-singular forms in the potential have the prefix *k-* and a non-high vowel which functions as the person prefix. This vowel, which is not present in non-singular forms of the present/past, is the same vowel which appears for second person singular forms for the same verb.

(56) *čuto kaʔač*
1PCL.INC POT.NS.hide
We will hide.

(57) *suʔu kala ɲu ɛy*
3DU POT.NS.go wash PRO
They would go wash in it.

(58) *mahu sɛh kahasɛʔi wɔs*
tomorrow 3PL POT.NS.plant taro.stem
Tomorrow they will plant the taro.

(59) *ɛtow kɛmɛ yɛnɛyan*
2PCL POT.NS.come eat
Come eat!

The example in (59) is the non-singular imperative use of the potential – see 6.6 (The imperative construction).

5.1.1.3.2 PERFECTIVE

The perfective construction is marked by the presence of *kili* '1SG/3SG'; *ɛli* '2SG'; or *kɛli* 'non-singular'. The respective forms used with the verb *la* 'go' are *kiʔi*, *ɛ*, and *kɛʔɛ*. When the perfective marker occurs, the verb and any other accompanying auxiliaries are in the base form, with neither person nor potential prefix; a co-verb following the main verb may also receive the perfective marking (see 5.2.4).

(60) *mʷat iyɛti hɔmɔw amat ɛ iy kili lɔs ta tan*
snake 3SG.bite one man and 3SG PERF tall LOC down
The snake bit a man and he has fallen down.

(61) *sɛh kɛli čaʔiti*
3PL PERF cut
They had chopped it up.

(62) *wɔw ɛli yɛnɛyan kɛli pʷe ɛ pʷe*
2SG PERF eat PERF NEG or NEG
Have you finished eating or not?

The perfective also occurs in negative constructions (see 6.5).

The uses of *kɛli pʷe* (62) and the intransitive verb *pʷič* as constituents of the verb phrase periphery which indicate perfective or completive aspect are described in 5.2.2. and 5.2.3 respectively.

5.1.1.3.3 FUTURE

Future is marked by the presence of the pre-verbal constituent *ya*, which co-occurs with the potential form of the verb.

(63) *ya mʷiʔin yo kuposowɛy ŋaʔan*
FUT later 1SG POT.SG.name name.3SG
Later I will give its names.

(64) *ya yo kulɛ loʔɔŋow mahu*
FUT 1SG POT.SG.go Lorengau tomorrow
I will go to Lorengau tomorrow.

(65) *hetow pʷa ya hetow kɛtuwani mah a čuto*
3PCL say FUT 3PCL POT.NS.cook taro POSS 1PCL.INC
They said they would cook our taro.

The *ya* future marker normally precedes the subject pronoun, but may follow it.

(66) *sɛh ya kɛmɛ ɛtɛ u*
3PL FUT POT.NS.come AG 1DU.EXC
They will come to (visit) us.

5.1.1.3.4 INCHOATIVE/INTENTIONAL

Inchoative or intentional aspect are marked by the presence of pre-verbal *ma*, which also must co-occur with the potential form of the verb. It is translated as 'want to, going to, about to' as well as 'when'.

(67) *sɛ ma kala iwani puh a sɛh*
3PL INT POT.NS.go pull trap POSS 3PL
They were about to go pull up their (fish) trap.

(68) *ɛ iy ma kiyoʔose*
and 3SG INT POT.SG.walk
And does she want to leave?

(69) *wɔw ma yani ɛ pʷe*
2SG INT 2SG.eat or NEG
Are you going to eat or not?

(70) *hetow ma kala, pu ⁿrɔpɔ itiyɛn iy ki?i la hɔmɔw*
3PCL INT POT.NS.go banana DEM DEM 3SG PERF go one

hi amat
FEM human
When they went, that banana had become a human female.

The forms *ya* and *ma* also occur in negative sentences in combination with the perfective marker.

(71) *ya yo kili pʷay kili mɛ ɛtɛ wɔw pʷe*
FUT 1SG PERF say.it PERF come AG 2SG NEG
I will not tell it to you.

(72) *su?u pʷa tɛt ma kili mɛ tan pʷe*
3DU say ladder INT PERF come down NEG
They said the ladder wasn't to be lowered.

In verbless sentences, *ma* occurs with the meaning 'when':

(73) *su?u ma nɛ?ɛhin ɛpʷe...*
3DU when girl only
When they were just girls...

5.1.1.3.5 THE EMPHATIC PARTICLE *ti*

The emphatic particle *ti* is attested in two instances in a pre-verbal position (74) – (75), and twice preceding a non-initial clause (6.2, (33) – (34)); all other instances of this particle occur in pre-nominal position (4.2.4).

(74) *iy ti wɛčɛ kapɛnin hapay*
3SG EMPH break wing.3SG one
He broke his wing.

(75) *...ta yo kisɔ itiyɔ ala ti ˈkiɲɛla*
POSS 1SG POT.SG.stand DEM first EMPH POT.SG.cool
...mine can stay here awhile and cool off.

5.1.2 THE MAIN VERB

5.1.2.1 THE INTRANSITIVE VERB PHRASE

The intransitive verb phrase in Loniu consists minimally of an intransitive verb with a person/number prefix attached either to the main verb or to a co-occurring pre-verbal auxiliary.

(76) *iy ilɔs*
3SG 3SG.fall
He fell.

(77) *su?u kɛli yaw*
3DU PERF go.away
They left.

5.1.2.2 THE TRANSITIVE VERB PHRASE

The transitive verb phrase consists minimally of a transitive verb, a person/number prefix as above, and a following direct object noun phrase. The direct object may be realised as a full noun phrase (78), a personal pronoun (79), a third person singular pronominal object suffix *-y* (80), or may be implied or understood from context (81). Most transitive verbs end in *-ani*, *-ɛni*, or simply *-i* (see 3.8.3.4). These verbs do not take the pronominal suffix *-y*. Only those transitive verbs ending in vowels other than *-i* take this suffix. It is not clear whether sentences like (81) are the result of deletion of the direct object noun phrase, or whether the lack of an overt direct object is the result of a phonological process by which *i + y* becomes *i*.

(78) *yo uto leʔe pʷičik*
1SG 1SG.STAT see hole
I see holes (through it).

(79) *mʷan ičulumʷi iy*
fire 3SG.burn 3SG
The fire burned him.

(80) *yo ileʔe-y*
1SG 1SG-see.it
I see it.

(81) *mʷan ičulumʷi*
fire 3SG.burn
The fire is burning (something).

Other than the suffixes *-i*, *-ani*, or *-ɛni*, nothing may intrude between the transitive verb and its stated direct object.

The direct object may also be realised as a full sentence in the case of at least four transitive verbs: *leʔe* 'see'; *pʷa* 'say, think'; *yɛliŋi* 'like, want'; *hinɛni* 'make, do, cause'.

(82) *iy ipʷɛ yo kɛtɛmɛnɛni wɔw kilɛ ɛy*
3SG 3SG.say 1SG POT.SG.ask 2SG POT.SG.go PRO
She said I should ask you about it.

(83) *yo upʷɛ iy kili huti ɛpʷe*
1SG 1SG.think 3SG PERF take only
I thought she had taken it away.

(84) *yo yɛliŋi wɔw ɛmɛ mɛʔiyɛn*
1SG 1SG.want 2SG 2SG.come quickly
I want you to come soon.

(85) *iy ileʔe ay a iy ɔ*
3SG 3SG.see blood POSS 3SG 3SG.spill
She saw her blood spill out.

(86) *hɛnɛni iy kuhuŋaŋ tilɛŋ*
2SG.make 3SG POT.SG.rest crying
Make him stop crying.

There is some difficulty in determining whether other verbs may also take sentential objects, due to the structure of the post-main verb constituents (see 5.2 below). In most of these, the co-verb is in the third person singular form with no stated subject, and unless the main verb has a third person singular subject, there is no person/number agreement between the subject of the main verb and the co-verb(s). In some cases, however, there is agreement between the object of the main verb and the co-verb. In these cases the structure following the main verb may in fact be a sentential object.

(87) *ɛli* *iy* *kimɛ* *in* *an*
2SG.call 3SG POT.SG.come drink water
Call him to come drink water.

(88) *sɛh* *kɛtɔʔunani* *uto* *ma* *kala* *lɔʔɔŋɔw*
3PL POT.NS.send 1PCL.EXC INT POT.NS.go Lorengau
They will send us to Lorengau.

In (87) the underlined portion has the structure of a complete sentence, as does the underlined portion of (88). Under one interpretation, *iy* and *uto* are the direct objects of their respective main verbs, *ili* 'call' and *tɔʔunani* 'send', and the remaining portions are co-verb constructions. Under the other possible interpretation, the two are subjects of the following verbs, and the sentences of which they are the subjects are the direct objects of the preceding main verbs. In any case, the structures of (87) and (88) are, on the surface, syntactically parallel to the structures of (82) – (86).

5.2 VERB PHRASE PERIPHERY

5.2.1 CONSTITUENTS OF THE VERB PHRASE PERIPHERY

Post-verbal adjuncts of various structures and functions may follow both the intransitive verb and the transitive verb (+ direct object) structures. These post-main verb structures involve, for the most part, the same set of verbs which may occur in the pre-main verb auxiliary slot of the verb phrase nucleus, and are listed in (89) below. This set of verbs is here referred to as co-verbs, and the structures in which they occur in the verb phrase periphery are referred to as co-verb phrases.

(89)

la	go
mɛ	come
tɔ(w)	stative, locative
yaw	go (away)
yɛ(n)	be in or at a place
sɔ(w)	stand
mɔn	return
pʷiǰ	finish, complete

Note that *mɔn* 'return' is the only verb of the set which is not attested as occurring as auxiliary in the verb phrase nucleus. In addition to the verbs listed in (89), the stative/locative particle *ta(h)* may also occur in the verb phrase periphery, and will be included in the general discussion of co-verbs, even though it is not attested as taking any verbal affixes, and is thus termed a particle rather than a verb. The pre-verbal aspect marker *lɛʔi* 'present continuative, simulfactive' may also function in the co-verb phrase. In

pre-verbal position, *lɛʔi* is attested as occurring with several verbs (*sɔ(w)* 'be in, on or at a place', *min* 'sit', and *tɔ(w)* 'stative, locative'), but it is attested only with *tɔ(w)* in the verb phrase periphery.

With the exception of *mɔn*, these co-verbs and particles may combine with each other and are attested in the following combinations:

(90) *mɛ tɔw*
la tɔw
lɛʔi tɔw
la tah
yɛ tah
sɔw tah
mɛ yaw
la sɔw

Most of the co-verbs and combinations, including *tah* when it occurs alone (i.e. without *la*, *yɛ* or *sɔw*), may be followed by a noun phrase. The co-verb structures which are not attested as occurring with a following noun phrase are *(mɛ) yaw*, *mɔn*, and *la sɔw* (*sɔw* alone or *sɔw tah* may have a following noun phrase, however).

More than one co-verb phrase may occur in the verb phrase periphery, in a serial-type construction. The possible combinations and the relative ordering are presented in the following scheme:

$$\text{MV}\quad (\text{DO})\quad (\text{ADV})\quad \left(\left\{\begin{array}{l}(mɛ)\ yaw\\ mɔn\\ sɔw\ \text{NP}\end{array}\right\}\right)\quad \left(\left\{\begin{array}{l}la\\ mɛ\\ yɛ\end{array}\right\}\ \text{NP}\right)\quad \left(\left\{\begin{array}{l}la\\ yɛ\\ sɔw\end{array}\right\}\right)\ (tah)\ (\text{NP})\quad \left(\left\{\begin{array}{l}lɛʔi\\ la\\ mɛ\end{array}\right\}\right)\ tɔw\ (\text{NP})$$

$$\left\{\begin{array}{l}tah\ \text{NP}\\ la\ sɔw\end{array}\right\}$$

$$\left\{\begin{array}{l}la\\ \\ mɛ\end{array}\right\}\ (\text{Prep})\ \text{NP}$$

Note that if the main verb (MV) is transitive with a stated direct object (DO), that direct object must immediately follow the main verb and precede any constituents of the verb phrase periphery. There may be an adverbial element in the periphery, such as *mɛʔiyɛn* 'quickly', *puliye* 'also, again', and *ɛpʷe* 'only, just', which may immediately follow the nucleus of the verb phrase (and thus precede the co-verb phrase(s)) or may occur at the end of the periphery.

The possible co-verb phrases and combinations are quite complex. There may be as many as three and possibly more co-verb phrases in a single verb phrase, each introduced by a co-verb. The most commonly occurring co-verb phrases involve *la* 'go', *mɛ* 'come', or *tɔ(w)* 'stative, locative'. As noted above, these may be followed by a noun phrase (91) – (93), or may not (94) – (96).

(91) *iy ipɛk ilɛ kɛyaw*
3SG 3SG.climb 3SG.go platform
He climbed onto the platform.

(92) *paton ičop imɛ tuwɛn*
grandmother.3SG 3SG.arrive 3SG.come outside.3SG
Her grandmother came outside.

(93) *ow kolomʷi yo kito maʔakosɔ kalipap*
2DU POT.NS.plant 1SG POT.SG.STAT next.to Kalipap
Bury me next to Kalipap.

(94) *amɛy isisimi ilɛ*
Amey 3SG.think 3SG.go
Amey thought about it.

(95) *iy ilɛ huti imɛ*
3SG 3SG.go take 3SG.come
He went and brought it back.

(96) *iy ičɛlɛpʷɛni ɛpi itɔw*
3SG 3SG.lose sago 3SG.STAT
He dropped the sago (and left it there).

The co-verb *tɔ(w)* may also be preceded by *mɛ* or *la*:

(97) *ɛtɛwɛy imɛ tɔ tan*
2SG.put.it 3SG.come STAT down
Put it down.

(98) *um isɔ ilɛ ilɛ tɔw, um isɔ*
house 3SG.sway 3SG.go 3SG.go STAT house 3SG.sway
imɛ imɛ tɔw
3SG.come 3SG.come STAT
The house swayed one way and then swayed back.

The particle *lɛʔi* may also precede the co-verb *tɔw*:

(99) *hetow law ... kɛli mɛ lɛʔi tɔw*
3PCL relative ... PERF come PRES STAT
The relatives...have come (and are here).

The combinations exemplified in (97) – (99) must occur in final position in the series. That is, they are attested as being preceded by other co-verb phrases, but not as being followed by any further co-verb expressions in the same verb phrase.

The verb *yaw* 'go (away)' also functions frequently as a co-verb in the verb phrase periphery, but is never directly followed by a noun phrase (see 5.1.1.2.1 above).

(100) *yo kili čalapʷɛni kili yaw*
1SG PERF lose PERF go.away
I threw it away.

As stated earlier, more than one co-verb or co-verb phrase may occur in a single verb phrase. The possible co-occurring verbs and combinations are as indicated in the scheme

given above (5.2.1). The following generalisations about the order of co-verb elements may be made. If *(mɛ) yaw* occurs, it is always the first in the series, and is usually followed by a *la* (NP) or *mɛ* (NP) phrase, or occurs with no following constituents at all.

(101) *ɛčɛpʷɛni kiyɛw*
2SG.throw POT.SG.go.away
Throw it away.

(102) *ŋɛsumʷan itɔ lɔ ke imɛ yaw imɛ pʷahaleŋ*
smoke 3SG.STAT in forest 3SG.come go 3SG.come beach
The smoke was inland, coming out toward the coast.

See also (140) and (162) below.

Emphatic particles or intensifiers may also follow the co-verb *yaw*:

(103) *iy iwɔh iyɛw ɛ*
3SG 3SG.fly 3SG.go.away EMPH
He flew right off.

(104) *hah kɛčɛlɛpʷɛni kiyɛw tasih*
2PL POT.NS.lose POT.3SG.go.away INTENS
Get rid of it completely!

The verb *mɔn* may occur alone following the main verb, or may in turn be followed by a *la* or *mɛ* phrase. Like *yaw*, *mɔn* occurs in first position in the co-verb series of the periphery. The verbs *yaw* and *mɔn* are not attested as co-occurring as co-verbs, and neither may take a directly following noun phrase.

(105) *iy ta yoʔose imɔn*
3SG CONT walk 3SG.return
He is walking back.

(106) *iy iyɛw imɔn imɛ um a hetow*
3SG 3SG.go 3SG.return 3SG.come house POSS 3PCL
He went back to their house.

(107) *u kaw kumɔn kala mʷanus*
1DU.EXC POT.NS.go POT.SG.return POT.NS.go Manus
We will go back to Manus.

The sentence in (107) is an interesting one, for it shows potential marking on all three verbs. Recall that when an auxiliary verb occurs in pre-verbal position, the potential (if present) and person/number will be prefixed to the auxiliary, and the main verb will be in its base form. On the other hand, if either an auxiliary or the main verb is marked for potential, the co-verbs are also so marked in the majority of such clauses. Thus it would seem in (107) that the main verb is *yaw* (*k*-NS-*yaw* = *kaw*), and *kumɔn* and *kala* are co-verbs. Note the lack of concord between the subject and the co-verb *kumɔn*, but the agreement in person/number between the subject and the co-verb *kala*, which is difficult to explain (but see 5.2.4 for a discussion of agreement in the verb phrase).

Compare (108) below with (107):

(108) *yo kilɛ mɔn kimɛ*
1SG POT.SG.go return POT.SG.come
I will come back.

In (108), *mɔn* is clearly the main verb, the form *kilɛ* a pre-verbal auxiliary, and *kimɛ* a co-verb.

Co-verb expressions involving *tah* (NP) may be preceded by other co-verb expressions, but are not attested as being followed by anything other than a demonstrative. The form *tah* may occur alone or with a preceding *la*, *yɛ*, or *sɔw* (recall that final /h/ may be deleted when followed by a consonant-initial morpheme).

(109) *suʔu tɔ pet ta pɛlɛŋan ɛpʷɛ*
3DU STAT float LOC on.top only
They were floating right on the surface.

(110) *suʔu po wɔs ilɛ ta suʔu*
3DU do taro.stalk 3SG.go LOC 3DU
They got some taro stalks (for planting) for them.

(111) *ala leʔe lawɛyap kilɛ tah*
2SG.go see fish.net POT.SG.go LOC
Go see (about) the fish net over there.

(112) *yo umɛ tɛwɛy isɔ ta tɛkɛ ke*
1SG 1SG.come put.it 3SG.stand LOC base tree
I put it down at the base of a tree.

There are no attested examples of *tah* alone (i.e. without a preceding *la*, *yɛ*, or *sɔw* and without a following noun phrase.

Co-verb phrases with *yɛ* 'be in a place, sit', may occur as the only co-verb expression, or may be either preceded or followed (or both) by further co-verb phrases. The co-verb *yɛ* must be accompanied by a following noun phrase – there are no examples of sentence-final *yɛ* or *yɛ tah* in the data.

(113) *iy imɛ tɛwɛy iyɛ palakɛtuŋ*
3SG 3SG.come put.it 3SG.sit veranda
He came and put it on the veranda.

(114) *iy imɛ ačɛčɛʔɛt itiyɛn imɛ mata tas itiyɛn iyɛ*
3SG 3SG.come crawl DEM 3SG.come edge sea DEM 3SG.sit

lɔ tas iyɛ pɔʔɔ pʷinah
in sea 3SG.sit within vine
He came crawling right to the edge of the water, right to the sea, among the vines.

(115) *ɛto kala huti pun a yo ilɛ pɔʔɔ pu*
2PCL POT.NS.go get pepper POSS 1SG 3SG.go within banana

a yo iyɛ ta palakɛtuŋ
POSS 1SG 3SG.sit LOC veranda
Go get my pepper which is among my bananas over on the veranda.

The morpheme *sɔ(w)* in co-verb expressions may be followed by a further co-verb phrase. In clause-final position, it may combine with a following *tah* (NP) or with a preceding *la*. In the latter case, there are no attested examples of a following noun phrase.

(116) *ana hi pawi ɲanɛn ɛ ɲataman tɛwɛ iy*
INDEF FEM Pawi mother.3SG and father.3SG put 3SG

isɔ lɔ čɔw
3SG.LOC in mat
A Pawi girl, her mother and father put her into isolation.

(117) *iy yɛkaʔani ɲɛtun isɔ maʔakɔsɔ um itɔ*
3SG 3SG.hide child.3SG 3SG.LOC next.to house 3SG.STAT

pɔʔɔ kuh
among bush
She hid her child next to the house among the bushes.

(118) *ɛto kala huti humɛy isɔ tah itiyɛn*
2PCL POT.NS.go get fruit 3SG.LOC LOC DEM
Go get some fruit from over there.

(119) *yo ma kɛhɛn wɛwɛ ilɛ sɔw*
1SG INT POT.SG.pick mango 3SG.go LOC
I want to pick a/some mango(s) over there.

See also (112) above.

There are no examples of *sɔ(w)* (NP) preceded by another co-verb expression.

Both *la* and *mɛ* may occur with or without a following noun phrase, either in first position in a series, medially, or in a series final position. In the latter case, the directional preposition *ya* may introduce a locative expression.

(120) *suʔu tɔ lɔs ilɛ ya ɛy*
3DU STAT fall 3SG.go through PRO
They were falling through it.

(121) *ya yo kiyoʔose kimɛ ya itiyɔ*
FUT 1SG POT.SG.walk POT.SG.come toward DEM
I'll walk in this direction, toward here.

Both *mɛ* and *la* may combine with most other co-verbs or particles. The exceptions, for which no examples are attested, are as listed in (122).

(122) **ilɛ mɔn*
**imɛ mɔn*
**ilɛ yaw*
**imɛ tah*
**imɛ sɔw*
**lɛʔi mɛ*
**lɛʔi la*

There are also no examples of the two combining with each other. The lack of examples of at least some of the combinations listed above may simply be due to lacunae in the corpus.

La and *mɛ* are thus the least restricted of the co-verbs. Furthermore, *la* is much the more frequent of the two, and plays a wider variety of roles (see 5.2.5).

5.2.2 *kɛli pʷe*

The phrase *kɛli pʷe* (~ *kali pʷe*) is used clause-finally to emphasise that the action of the main verb is completed. The constituents appear to be a form of the perfective marker followed by the negative *pʷe*. While this phrase is most often preceded by a perfective form of the main verb ((62) above, (123) below), it may occur with a non-perfective main verb in questions (124). In addition, the phrase *kɛli/kali pʷe itiyɛn* is often used at the end of a narrative (125).

(123) *yo kili ča?iti kɛli pʷe*
1SG PERF cut PERF NEG
I finished eating my yams.

(124) *iy yɛtahani um a iy kali pʷe ɛ pʷe*
3SG put.on sago.thatch POSS 3SG PERF NEG or NEG
Has he finished putting on his sago-thatch or not?

(125) *kɛli pʷe itiyɛn* (~ *kali pʷe itiyɛn*)
PERF NEG DEM
That's all; that's the end.

5.2.3 THE INTRANSITIVE VERB *pʷič*

The intransitive verb *pʷič* 'be complete, be finished' may occur as the main verb. In most attested examples of this use of *pʷič*, it is preceded by the auxiliary *la* 'go' (127).

(126) *purɛt a uwɛh kaman ma kipʷič*
work POSS 1PL.EXC male 3SG.go POT.SG.be.finished
The work of the men is almost finished.

(127) *peŋ mačuluŋon kilɛ pʷič ... itiyɛn ɛ wɔw ɛmɛ...*
night thirty POT.SG.go be.finished ... DEM and 2SG 2SG.come
When thirty nights have passed...then you come...

The presence of *pʷič* indicates that some activity has been completed, usually before a second activity begins/began. Thus the phrase *ilɛ pʷič* '3SG.go be.finished' at the beginning of a sentence is frequently used to relate the new sentence to the preceding sentence.

(128) *uto tuwe ti, uto in. ilɛ pʷič, yo*
1PCL.EXC boil tea 1PCL.EXC drink 3SG.go be.finished 1SG

uto kantin
1SG.STAT canteen
We made tea and we drank it. When we had finished, I was in the canteen for a while.

(129) *iy hɛčɛley ay a iy ilɛ ɛy. ilɛ pʷič,*
3SG pour blood POSS 3SG 3SG.go PRO 3SG.go be.finished

iy itɛwɛ ay a iy itɔ pʷepʷe poke iy
3SG 3SG.take blood POSS 3SG 3SG.STAT shell clam 3SG

itɛwɛy ilɛ poʔɔ čaŋa čɔw
3SG.take.3SG 3SG.go within middle?? mat
She poured her blood into it. When it was full, she took her blood which was in the clam shell and put it into the centre of the mat.

The verb *pʷičˇ* may also occur as a co-verb in the verb phrase periphery. Here, however, it does not always co-occur with a preceding *la*. Again, the presence of *pʷičˇ* indicates the completion of an activity – in this case that activity expressed by the main verb.

(130) *sɛh mɛ tamana ilɛ pʷičˇ. sɛh mɛ ɛ sɛh kɛli yaw...*
3PL come dance 3SG.go be.finished 3PL come and 3PL PERF go
They came and danced. They came and they went away...

(131) *iy ili ilɛ pʷičˇ ɛ iy ma kilɛ ili tu*
3SG dig 3SG.go be.finished and 3SG INT POT.SG.go dig post

kɔʔɔtut ...
back.of.house
He finished digging (them), and when he was going to dig the posts at the back...

(132) *iy ili tu mɛsɛʔɛn ipʷičˇ ɛ iy ma kimɛ*
3SG dig post front.of.house 3SG.be.finished and 3SG INT POT.SG.come

ili tu kɔʔɔtut...
dig post back.of.house
He finished digging up the front posts and was about to come dig up the back posts...

(Examples (131) and (132) are from versions of the same story, told by two different speakers.)

(133) *čito kani kani kani kipʷičˇ*
1PCL.INC POT.NS.eat POT.NS.eat POT.NS.eat POT.SG.be.finished

čito kaw
1PCL.INC POT.NS.go
We'll eat and eat until we finish, (and then) we'll leave.

(134) *hetow yan ipʷičˇ ɛ suʔu pʷa ɛtɔw*
3PCL eat 3SG.be.finished and 3DU say 2SG.STAT
They finished eating and the two said 'Stay here'.

Note that *pʷičˇ* as a co-verb does not co-occur with any other co-verbs except *la*. And, unlike the other co-verbs, the phrase *ilɛ pʷičˇ* may occur sentence-initially, preceding both the subject and the verb of the main clause.

5.2.4 AGREEMENT IN THE VERB PHRASE

Note that the potential form of the main verb in (93) above, *kɔlɔmʷi*, is reflected in the repetition of the potential prefix on the co-verb *kitɔ*, and that the perfective in (100) occurs both with the main verb and with the co-verb. This type of tense/aspect sequencing, or

'harmony', is very common, and includes the repetition of pre-verbal *ma* 'intentional/ inchoative' (5.1.1.3.1) in co-verb phrases.

(135) *suʔu ma kɛlɛlɛ ma kilɛ čɛʔɛrɛkow*
3DU INT POT.NS.look INT POT.go Ceʔerekow
They were looking toward Ceʔerekow.

However, this repetition of tense/aspect marking is not obligatory. There are attested examples in which the tense/aspect is not the same in the two parts of the verb phrase, nucleus and periphery.

(136) *yo ma kunɛnɛs ilɛ puret peti epi*
1SG INT POT.SG.talk 3SG.go work for sago
I want to talk about the procedures for making sago.

(137) *iy kili ɛku itow*
3SG PERF pile.up 3SG.STAT
He sat down and stayed there.

(138) *suʔu iw ma kilɛ ɛtɛ iy epʷe*
3DU NS.call INT POT.go AG 3SG only
They called out to her.

(139) *sɛh yaletɛni pun kiʔi la*
3PL NS.divide pepper.leaf PERF go
They divided out the pepper leaf.

It is thus not a rigid rule that if the main verb is in one tense/aspect, all accompanying co-verbs must also be in the same tense/aspect. However, it is most generally true that all verb forms in a given verb phrase are in the same tense/aspect, at least as far as potential, perfective, or intentional/inchoative are concerned. There is no indication that pre-verbal auxiliaries *tow*, *tah*, *leʔi*, *yaw*, *sow* or *yɛ* are repeated in the co-verb expressions, and there is no attested example of a repeated *ya* 'future'.

As regards person agreement between the main verb and the co-verb(s), however, the situation is not so easily stated. Most often, the co-verb forms are in the first/third person singular – that is, they are prefixed with *i-/u-* (see 5.1.1.1). This is commonly true even when the subject of the main verb and/or the direct object of a transitive main verb is second person singular or non-singular. There are cases, though, where there appears to be person/number agreement, such that the subject of an intransitive main verb, or the direct object of a transitive main verb, are reflected in the person of the co-verb.

(140) *yaʔase yaw*
2SG.walk 2SG.go
Get out of here.

(141) *sɛh la mɔn mɛ*
3PL NS.go return NS.come
They came back.

(142) *uto kɔʔɔluwɛni wɔw ala tan*
1PCL.EXC POT.NS.lower 2SG 2SG.go down
We'll lower you down.

(143) *sɛh ɲak la pɛlɛŋan*
3PL NS.climb NS.go on.top
They climbed up into the house.

In view of these and other examples of person/number agreement between a preceding noun phrase and the co-verb, it is possible to suggest that wherever the subject of an intransitive main verb (144) or the direct object of a transitive main verb (145) is first/third person singular, and the co-verb is also first/third person singular, there is person/number concord.

(144) *lawat ičɛʔɛt ilɛ ɛy ilɛ ɛtɛ hetow*
possum 3SG.crawl 3SG.go PRO 3SG.go AG 3PCL
The possum crawled along it toward them.

(145) *ɔw kɔlɔmʷi yo kitɔ maʔakɔsɔ kalipap*
2DU POT.NS.plant 1SG POT.SG.STAT next.to Kalipap
Bury me next to Kalipap.

However, there are so many cases where the co-verb is first/third person singular and the possible governing noun phrases are not, that one must look elsewhere for an explanation of the form of the co-verb(s). There is support in studies of other related languages for the hypothesis that co-verbs may evolve into frozen monomorphemic forms which serve as post-verbal particles and as prepositions (cf. Johnston 1980; Bradshaw 1979). Examine the following:

(146) *suʔu tɔ lɔs ilɛ ya ɛy*
3DU NS.STAT fall 3SG.go through PRO
They were falling through it.

(147) *sɛh sɛʔɛhi sɛh imɛ tun*
3PL NS.carry.on.shoulder 3PL 3SG.come canoe
They carried them to the canoe on their shoulders.

(148) *suʔu yɛnɛyan itɔw ɛ suʔu mete*
3DU NS.eat 3SG.STAT and 3DU NS.sleep
They ate and then, later, they slept.

(149) *suʔu yay mɛʔiyɛn ɛpʷe iyɛw ulɛ, ilɛ pɛhɛka*
3DU NS.wade quickly only 3SG.go 3SG.go 3SG.go Peheka
They waded very quickly straight to Peheka.

Clearly there is no concord between any preceding noun phrase and the co-verbs in the above sentences. Thus the status of the co-verb forms as verbs seems to be changing, such that they are no longer required to agree with a subject in person/number, and further, that they seem to be 'freezing' into an invariable first/third person singular form.

5.2.5 FUNCTIONS OF THE CO-VERB PHRASES IN THE VERB PHRASE PERIPHERY

In this section, the various category labels (for example, locative goal/place, purpose, instrumental, and so on) are intended only to indicate the wide variety of relationships between the main verb of a sentence and any oblique object noun phrases, which may be expressed by the use of one or another of the possible co-verb phrases. These categories should therefore be understood as functional rather than formal.

5.2.5.1 LOCATIVE PLACE

The stative/locative verb *tɔ(w)* and the stative/locative particle *ta(h)* function in the verb phrase periphery as indicators of locative place. The verb *tɔ(w)* may be followed directly by noun phrase (153) – (154), or the place may be contextually determined or unspecified (150) – (152). In the latter case, additional aspectual information is also provided by the co-verb construction, which tends to indicate durative aspect, in the sense of 'remain' or 'stay'.

(150) *amɛy imɛ, imɛ ač itɔw*
Amey 3SG.come 3SG.come hide 3SG.STAT
Amey came and hid (and stayed hidden).

(151) *iy ičɛlɛpʷɛni ɛpi itɔw*
3SG 3SG.lose sago 3SG.STAT
He dropped the sago (and left it).

(152) *hetow law a ɲɛtukɔmɔpu kɛli mɛ lɛʔi tɔw*
3PCL relative POSS grandchild.1SG PERF come PRES STAT
My grandson's relatives have come (and are still here).

(153) *iy iyɛw itɔ tɛkɛn*
3SG 3SG.go 3SG.STAT base.3SG
He went and stayed at its base.

(154) *ɔw kɔlɔmʷi yo kitɔ maʔakɔsɔ kalipap*
2DU POT.NS.plant 1SG POT.SG.STAT next.to Kalipap
Bury me next to Kalipap.

When *tah* occurs without a preceding co-verb, such as *la* or *mɛ*, it must be followed by a noun phrase:

(155) *suʔu tɔ pet ta pɛlɛŋan ɛpʷe*
3DU STAT float LOC on.top only
They were floating right on top.

(156) *yo ma kipɛsani čihi lɔŋɔw ɛpʷe wɔw yakaʔani ta*
1SG INT POT.know which thing only 2SG hide LOC

lɔtiyɛ tɔp
inside basket
I want to know what things you hid in the basket.

With a preceding co-verb, however, no following noun phrase is necessary with *tah*:

(157) *yo utuʔuŋi čaŋah a suʔu ilɛ tah*
1SG 1SG.close door POSS 3DU 3SG.go LOC
I closed their door over there.

(158) *ɛtow kala huti humɛy isɔ tah itiyɛn*
2PCL POT.NS.go take fruit 3SG.be LOC DEM
Go pick some *humey* fruit over there.

The verb *yɛ* 'be in a place, sit', which must be followed by a stated noun phrase, also functions as locative place:

(159) *iy imɛ tɛwɛy iyɛ palakɛtuŋ*
3SG 3SG.come put.it 3SG.sit veranda
He came (and) put it on the veranda.

Locative place can also be indicated by *(la) sɔw* (NP):

(160) *iy ilɛ taputiʔi isɔ pʷɛlɛn*
3SG 3SG.go come.across 3SG.be in.centre.3SG
He came across (it) up in the centre (of a tree).

(161) *yo ma kɛhɛn wɛwɛ ilɛ sɔw*
1SG INT POT.SG.pick mango 3SG.go LOC
I'm going to pick a mango over there.

The *la sɔw*, *la tah*, and *la tɔw/mɛ tɔw* forms combine direction with location, indicating motion toward or away from a point of reference, and a stay of some duration at the point of destination:

(162) *suʔu iwani iy iyɛw ilɛ tɔ lɔ tas*
3DU NS.drag 3SG 3SG.go 3SG.go STAT in sea
They dragged him into the sea (and left him).

(163) *apʷa ɛtɛwɛy imɛ tɔ tan*
2SG.say 2SG.put.it 3SG.come STAT down
Say 'Put it down (and leave it here)'.

See also (157) and (161).

5.2.5.2 LOCATIVE GOAL/DIRECTION

A small class of the motion verbs which may occur as co-verbs serve as directional indicators. These verbs are *la* 'go (away from X)'; *mɛ* 'come (toward X)'; *mɔn* 'return, reverse direction'; and *yaw* 'go away (direction unspecified)'. Neither *yaw* nor *mɔn* may be followed directly by any type of noun phrase. Both *la* and *mɛ* may be followed by a noun phrase of location. When no locative noun phrase is stated, the action of the main verb either has no specific locative goal or that goal is understood from context.

(164) *iy iwɔh iyɛw*
3SG 3SG.fly 3SG.go away
He flew off.

(165) *iy ta yoʔose imɔn*
3SG CONT walk 3SG.return
He is walking back.

(166) *yo kilɛ mɔn kimɛ*
1SG POT.SG.go return POT.SG.come
I will come back.

(167) *iy iyɛw imɔn imɛ lɔ um*
3SG 3SG.go 3SG.return 3SG.come in house
He came back home.

(168) *suʔu yoʔose ilɛ ilɛ ilɛ*
3DU walk 3SG.go 3SG.go 3SG.go
They walked for some distance.

(169) *pinɛhɛ yo ɛh ilɛ tan*
yesterday 1SG 1SG.jump 3SG.go down
Yesterday I jumped down.

(170) *ɔpo an kilɛ sih pɛlɛt, hoti kimɛ*
2SG.do water POT.SG.go one plate 2SG.take POT.SG.come
Put some water into a dish, (and) bring it here.

(171) *sɛh takɛni kumum ilɛ yaw*
3PL throw spear 3SG.go go.away
They threw the spears (and hit nothing).

(172) *iy itɛkɛni ilɛ kapɛnin hapay*
3SG 3SG.throw 3SG.go wing.3SG one
He threw it at his wing (and hit it).

(173) *kɛtipiyɛni iy kiyɛw kilɛ tan pahali*
POT.NS.roll 3SG POT.3SG.go POT.SG.go down downhill
Roll him down to the bottom of the hill.

(174) *iy imɛ tɛpɛluwani imɔn, iy imɔn*
3SG 3SG.come turn.around 3SG.return 3SG 3SG.return
He turned (himself) around (and) came back.

All other functions of the co-verb phrases involve *la/mɛ* + noun phrase constructions.

5.2.5.3 ANIMATE GOAL

Nouns introduced by *la* or *mɛ* may function as animate goal (traditionally termed indirect object or benefactive). Such *la* or *mɛ* + noun phrase constructions are similar to the locative goal constructions (5.2.5.2 above), with the exception that the noun phrase is human, or is one of a small class of non-human animates (including *mʷi* 'dog' and *poŋ* 'turtle', but not *pow* 'pig' or *lawat* 'possum'). The members of this subset of noun phrases are always preceded by the particle *ɛtɛ* when in construction with a preceding *la* or *mɛ* and functioning as an animate goal.

(175) *lawat iče?ɛt ilɛ ɛy ilɛ ɛtɛ hetow*
possum 3SG.crawl 3SG.go PRO 3SG.go AG 3PCL
The possum crawled along it to them.

(176) *u kɛčɛwɛnɛni potan kimɛ ɛtɛ wɔw*
1DU.EXC POT.NS.show doing.3SG POT.SG.come AG 2SG
We will show you how to do it.

(177) *ew kilɛ ɛtɛ iy kimɛ*
2SG.call POT.SG.go AG 3SG POT.SG.come
Call him to come.

(178) *iy ipʷɛy imɛ ɛtɛ yo*
3SG 3SG.say.it 3SG.come AG 1SG
He said it to me, he told me.

If the noun phrase is first or second person, *mɛ* is normally the co-verb used in the animate goal phrase. Otherwise, *la* is generally used, although *mɛ* may be used for third person if the speaker wishes to make a point of focus.

(179) *suʔu ili ɲɛtu suʔu pihin imɛ ɛtɛ suʔu*
3DU NS.call child 3DU woman 3SG.come AG 3DU
They called their daughter to them.

(180) *iy ipʷɛy imɛ ɛtɛ suʔu*
3SG 3SG.say.it 3SG.come AG 3DU
He answered them.

In both (179) and (180), the speaker is identifying with or focusing on the *suʔu* of the animate goal, and thus uses *mɛ* 'motion toward' rather than *la* 'motion away from'.

5.2.5.4 FACTITIVE

In constructions which function as factitives, the noun phrase introduced by *la* or *mɛ* has come into being as a result of the action of the main verb.

(181) *iy čilimatan imɛ ɛk ilɛ niw, ilɛ niw*
3SG eyeball.3SG 3SG.come grow 3SG.go coconut 3SG.go coconut
maʔuwey
two
His eyeballs grew into coconuts, into two coconut trees.

(182) *sih imɛ čahow imɛ ɲɛtukan sih imɛ čahow*
one 3SG.come appear 3SG.come bird one 3SG.come appear
ilɛ mʷat
3SG.go snake
One had become a bird, the other had become a snake.

(183) *sɛh tiʔi ilɛ puh*
3PL weave 3SG.go fish.trap
They wove (it) into a fish trap.

5.2.5.5 PURPOSE

Generally, if *la* or *mɛ* as co-verb introduce a subordinate verb phrase rather than a noun phrase, the function will be purpose, telling why the action of the main verb takes place. Purpose may also be indicated by *la/mɛ* + noun phrase.

(184) *iy huti kɛtuŋ imɛ yɛtiŋi palan ilɛ ɛy*
3SG take club 3SG.come split head.3SG 3SG.go PRO
He took the club to split his head with it.

(185) *iy iyɛw ilɛ ɲu*
3SG 3SG.go 3SG.go bathe
He went to take a bath.

(186) *iy iputi iy ilɛ čani putɔn*
3SG 3SG.take 3SG 3SG.go cut umbilical.cord.3SG
She took him in order to cut the umbilical cord.

(187) *sɛh to tay ilɛ puɾɛt*
3PL STAT beat.it 3SG.go work
They produce it for traditional uses.

(188) *ɛtow kɔhɔti pɛtiʔo itiyɛn kilɛ wake*
2PCL POT.NS.take bone.1SG DEM POT.SG.go ornament
Take this bone of mine as an ornament.

5.2.5.6 RESULT

There are a great many examples of constructions in which the direct object of the main verb is (or can be construed as being) the subject of the co-verb. This is a kind of serial causative construction, in which the first verb is the cause, and the second is the result. Note that the direct object need not be overtly expressed – in such cases, it is understood from context.

(189) *ɲanɛ suʔu itɔ tuwani ilɛ mɛʔisan*
mother 3DU 3SG.STAT cook 3SG.go done
Their mother would cook it until it was done.

(190) *ya iy kihinɛni tɔʔu kilɛ muwan*
FUT 3SG POT.SG.do 1DU.INC POT.SG.go bad
He will do us harm.

(191) *iy iyɛni putɔn ilɛ huyan*
3SG 3SG.eat core.3SG 3SG.go good
She ate the core and it was good (she didn't get ill).

The remainder of the identified functions involve only *la* + noun phrase.

5.2.5.7 TIME

Co-verb phrases expressing passage of time are introduced by the co-verb *la* 'go'.

(192) *suʔu min tan ilɛ ɛlɛwɛn hepe*
3DU sit down 3SG.go long bit
They sat down for a while.

(193) *ɔw kɔtɔ ɔŋɔhe aŋ a yo kilɛ wɛnɛy*
2DU POT.NS.STAT count day POSS 1SG POT.SG.go until
aŋ malimɛh
day five
Count my days until they reach five.

Other expressions of time are described in 3.5.1 (Temporal adverbs).

5.2.5.8 REASON

Reason phrases are introduced by *ilɛ čah* (lit. 'goes to what'), which is equivalent to English 'because' or 'why'. The word *čah* 'what, something' is used also in information questions (see 6.7.3.2), and may function as a noun.

(194) *tɛlɛ ulin hipiri maʔawey ɔ mačuluwey...*
canoe lead/point?? like two or three

ilɛ čah law mata itɔ yɛliŋi tun čɛlɛwan
3SG.go what net big 3SG.STAT like canoe many
There are about two or three lead or point canoes...because the big net likes/ needs many canoes.

(195) *yo lɛʔi tɔ hinɛ ilɛ čah čačah ipʷɛy*
1SG PRES STAT do 3SG.go what father 3SG.say.it
I'm doing it because my father told me to.

(196) *yo kili ɲihi kɔlaw a yo pʷe ilɛ čah an*
1SG PERF wash clothes POSS 1SG NEG 3SG.go what water

čɛlɛwan pʷe
plenty NEG
I didn't wash my clothes because there wasn't enough water.

5.2.5.9 THEME

Some intransitive verbs of mental or verbal activity, such as *nɛnɛs* 'talk' or *ɔŋɔʔɔŋɔhɛ* 'think', may take a noun phrase argument which expresses the content of the activity; these noun phrases are here termed 'theme', and are introduced by *ilɛ*:

(197) *ɲataman iy inɛnɛs ilɛ kɔmu itiyɔ ilɛ ɛtɛ iy*
father.3SG 3SG 3SG.talk 3SG.go word DEM 3SG.go AG 3SG
Her father spoke to her about these words/this conversation.

(198) *sɛh tɔ ɔŋɔʔɔŋɔhɛ ilɛ puɾɛt pɛti ɛpi*
3PL STAT think 3SG.go work for sago
They think about the procedures for making sago.

The idiom *kɔlu* + possessor *tut* 'throat-possessor close' means 'to forget'. The theme in a 'forget' construction is also introduced by *la*:

(199) *ya kɔlu ɔw kili tut kiʔi la ɛy pʷe*
FUT throat 2DU PERF close PERF go PRO NEG
You must not forget about it.

5.2.5.10 INSTRUMENT

The instrument noun phrase is introduced by *la*:

(200) *ɛypʷi kilɛ mumum*
2SG.beat POT.SG.go pole
Beat it with poles.

(201) *uwɛh lɛʔi tɔ taʔi kanas ilɛ ɛy*
1PL.EXC PRES STAT catch mullet 3SG.go PRO
We catch mullet with it.

5.2.5.11 MANNER

One further function of the *la* + noun phrase co-verb phrase may be labelled manner:

(202) *hetow taʔiy ilɛ ɔŋɔʔɔŋɔhɛy a hetow ɛpʷe*
3PCL catch.it 3SG.go thinking POSS 3PCL only
They catch them according to their own ideas.

(203) *suʔu kɛli yɛsow kiʔi la ɔŋɔʔɔŋɔhɛy a suʔu pʷe*
3DU PERF marry PERF go thinking POSS 3DU NEG
They do not (ever?) marry according to their own ideas.

5.2.5.12 MISCELLANEOUS

Some instances of the *la* + noun phrase co-verb phrase are not easily categorised, and do not seem to fit under any of the above headings. These miscellaneous functions are exemplified in (204) – (209) below:

(204) *iy tɔ haŋɛni suʔu ilɛ sɔʔɔh*
3SG STAT feed 3DU 3SG.go meat
She would feed them with meat.

(205) *hetow tɔ yɛnɛyan ilɛ suwɛ itiyɛn*
3PCL STAT eat 3SG.go yam DEM
They would eat these yams (as a dietary staple).

(206) *kɔ ilɛ tɛhita ilɛ amat*
village 3SG.go fill.up 3SG.go people
The village filled up with people.

(207) *ɛto kɛsuwa ɛpi kilɛ niw*
2PCL POT.NS.fry sago POT.SG.go coconut
Fry the sago with coconut (meat).

(208) *ya sɛh kɛleʔey kilɛ kilima tɔ ɛpʷe itiyɛn*
FUT 3PL POT.NS.see POT.SG.go sign pole only DEM
They can tell just from the clue of the punting poles.

(209) *iy iputi pataŋohun ilɛ ŋapulun*
3SG 3SG.take Patanyohun 3SG.go spouse.3SG
She took Patanyohun as her husband.

Note the example in (205), in which the intransitive form of the verb 'eat' is used – *yɛnɛyan*, which is a reduplicative form of the transitive verb root *yan* 'eat' (see 3.8.1 (Reduplication)). The transitive equivalent of this sentence is *hetow to yan suwɛ* 'They are/were eating yams'. The difference between the two seems to be the emphasis, in (205), on the central role of yams in the habitual diet, while the transitive version does not imply such a role, and can be understood as continuative rather than habitual.

5.2.6 Coordination of verb phrase and co-verb phrases

5.2.6.1 Coordination of verb phrases

Normally, coordination of clauses with the same subject involves repetition of the subject following each occurrence of a conjunction. There are however three clear examples in which the subject of the non-initial clause has been deleted under identity with the subject of the initial clause:

(210) *ɛ wɔw ɛlɛ lih ɛlɛwɛn ɛ ɛlɛ lih puwɔn*
and 2SG 2SG.PERF.go ?? long or 2SG.PERF.go ?? short
And did you go far or near?

(211) *kɔ itɔw ɛ ma kilɛ kɛhɛyah...*
land 3SG.STAT and INT POT.SG.go afternoon
It was getting to be afternoon...
(Tok Pisin: *Ples i stap i laik go apinun...*)

(212) *wɔw tɔ yaw ɛ tɔ yaw...*
2SG STAT go.off and STAT go.off
You keep going off...

There are other examples which may in fact be of the type exemplified in (210)–(212). However, in these other cases, the verbs involved are in the third person singular form. In most sentences which are composed of several clauses, each of which has as its subject the third person singular pronoun *iy*, the pronoun is clearly present, but there are some in which it is not clear whether the *iy* is present in the non-initial clauses or not. When *iy* precedes the third person singular verbal prefix *i-*, the two together are pronounced in various ways: [iy i], [iʔi], [i:], or [i]. When there is a single vowel, with no lengthening (as in (213)–(214), it is difficult to determine if the third person singular pronoun has been deleted under identity with the subject of the initial clause, or is present but not clearly perceptible.

(213) *pɔkɔwɛy ilɛ čɔŋ pow ɛ ilɛ čɔŋ ilɛ čɔŋ...*
Pokowey 3SG.go hunt pig and 3SG.go hunt 3SG.go hunt
Pokowey went to hunt pig, and he hunted for a while...

(214) *tɛmɛy itɛŋ ɛ itɛŋ ɛ itɛŋ ɛ seh la pilɛŋ*
drum 3SG.cry and 3SG.cry and 3SG.cry and 3PL go garden
The drum beat and beat and beat and they went to the garden.

In the absence of more examples of coordinated verb phrases in which the verbs are different, and of examples with a plural subject, it is impossible to make a definite statement here as to whether such sentences as 'They ate and went to sleep' (which would be **hetow yɛnɛyan ɛ mete*) are possible in Loniu. Certainly no sentences of this type are attested in the texts and conversations which make up the data on which the present work is based. My

intuition tells me that these are not possible in Loniu, and that the subject pronoun would have to be repeated: *hetow yɛnɛyan ɛ hetow mete*; such coordination of complete sentences is very common (see 7.2).

A construction composed of a verb phrase with no stated subject, similar to the coordinate verb phrases exemplified above (210) – (214), is frequently attested in multiple clause sentences. These constructions differ, however, in that the verb is most often unmarked for person, and the subject cannot always be understood as being deleted under identity with a preceding noun phrase. These constructions are described in 7.1 (Paratactic structures).

5.2.6.2 COORDINATION OF CO-VERB PHRASES

Co-verb phrases within the verb phrase may be conjoined with either *ɛ* 'and, or' (215), (216) or *ɔ* 'or' (217). However, overt coordination is not a commonly used strategy for joining co-verb phrases; normally, such phrases are simply juxtaposed in a series, with no overt connector (218).

(215) *wɔw ɛtɛkɛni kilɛ ɛ kilɛ mʷɛkɛw*
2SG 2SG.throw POT.SG.go and POT.SG.go deep.sea
Throw it far out to sea.

(216) *puh itiyɛn kilɛ takɛni kilɛ pat ɛ kilɛ*
trap DEM POT.SG.go throw POT.SG.go stone or POT.SG.go
tɛʔɛwɔn...
sand
If the trap hits against stones or against sand...

(217) *iy iɲɛk ilɛ kɛyaw ɔ ilɛ tun*
3SG 3SG.climb 3SG.go platform or 3SG.go canoe
She climbs up onto a platform or onto a canoe.

(218) *iy itɔ čalapʷɛni ilɛ tan imɛ pɛlɛŋan*
3SG 3SG.STAT toss 3SG.go down 3SG.come on.top
He was waving (it) up and down.

CHAPTER 6
SENTENCE TYPES

The sentence in Loniu is here defined as the subject-predicate construction, which may be of several types: the verbless sentence (6.1), in which the predicate consists of a noun phrase, a prepositional phrase, or a locative phrase; the simple verbed sentence (6.2), in which the predicate consists of a single verb phrase (see Chapter 5); and the comparative sentence (6.4). Also included as major sentence types are the negative constructions (6.5), imperatives (6.6), and interrogatives (6.7). Complex or multiple-clause sentences are described in Chapter 7 (Coordination, subordination, and sentence connectors).

The unmarked order of constituents in a sentence is Subject – (Verb) – Object/ Complement. However, the direct object may be fronted for purposes of focus (6.8). Clauses without a stated subject also occur, and are described in 7.1 (Paratactic structures). In many clauses, a pronominal copy of the subject occurs between the subject and verb (6.3).

6.1 THE VERBLESS SENTENCE

The verbless sentence in Loniu has a structure in which the subject, which may be a full noun phrase, a personal pronoun (modified or unmodified), or a demonstrative pronoun, is followed by a predicator consisting of either a full noun phrase, a personal pronoun (one example), an adjective (but see 3.3), a demonstrative pronoun, a *peti* + NP phrase (see 3.6.1) or a *ta* + NP phrase (see 5.2). There may also be a pronoun copy of the subject between the subject and predicator (see 6.3). The structure of the verbless sentence may be schematised as follows:

(1) { NP / PRO / DEM } (PRO) { NP / ADJ / PRO / DEM / *peti* + NP / *ta* + NP }

Depending on the semantic content of the constituents, the verbless sentence is understood as equative, descriptive, possessive, or locative in meaning. There is no specific syntactic marking to distinguish among these possibilities.

6.1.1 THE EQUATIVE VERBLESS SENTENCE

The equative sentence most often contains two noun phrases, the second of which is a further identification or classification of the first:

(2) *napʷanan peti ɛy pʷɛlɛyah*
big.one of PRO parrotfish
The biggest of these is the parrotfish.

(3) *yo yo amat*
1SG 1SG human
Me, I am human.

(4) *tuwɛnan yo ɲɛtukan*
true 1SG bird
It is true that I am a bird.

(5) *yo ŋoʔo mɛnuway*
1SG name.1SG eagle
I am called eagle.

(6) *hepe ɛpʷe yo ɲɛtu amat*
bit only 1SG child human
But I am the child of a human.

(7) *ɛpi iy ɛnɛyan a uwɛh pɛti ko ⁿrokow*
sago 3SG food POSS 1PL.EXC from land Loniu
Sago is the food of us Loniu people.

6.1.2 THE DESCRIPTIVE VERBLESS SENTENCE

The predicate of a descriptive verbless sentence consists most commonly of a descriptive adjunct (3.3) or a *pɛti* + NP phrase (3.6.1). While it may have the same structure as the noun phrase, the descriptive verbless sentence is distinguishable from simple noun phrases by intonation (there may be a slight pause between the subject and the complement) and by context.

(8) *yo pɛti ko ⁿrolokow mʷɛnɛn*
1SG from land Loniu straight
I am from Loniu village itself.

(9) *u maʔamow u musih*
1DU.EXC two 1DU.EXC same
We two, we are the same/just alike.

(10) *maʔam piʔɛn*
skin.2SG white
Your skin is white.

(11) *čumow iy piʔɛn*
k.o. crab 3SG white
The *cumow* crab is white.

6.1.3 THE POSSESSIVE VERBLESS SENTENCE

In addition to the possessive constructions described in 3.1.1, possession may be expressed in a verbless sentence. Note that the second noun phrase in this type of sentence is a predication about, rather than an identification or classification of, the first noun phrase:

(12) *wɔw ɛrɛnɛʔim muwan*
2SG attitude.2SG bad
You have a bad attitude.

(13) *wɔw itiyɛn wɔw ɲɛtum*
2SG DEM 2SG child.2SG
You here, you have a child/you are pregnant.

(14) *u tun pʷe*
1DU.EXC canoe NEG
We have no canoe.

(15) *suwe iy ti čɔhɔnan*
yam 3SG EMPH place.3SG
Yams have their own place.

6.1.4 THE LOCATIVE VERBLESS SENTENCE

In locative sentences, the predicate consists of a demonstrative (see 3.5.2 and 4.3.7) or a noun phrase of location introduced by the locative particle *ta* (which is not categorised as a verb, because it never takes verbal inflections of any kind).

(16) *pun a wɔw itiyɔ*
pepper.leaf POSS 2SG DEM
Here is your pepper leaf.

(17) *ɲanɔ ta pɛleŋan*
mother.1SG LOC up.in.the.house
My mother is in the house.

6.1.5 THE VERBAL NOUN *pasan*

The lexeme *pasan* 'knowledge' seems to require special treatment; it is categorised as a noun based on the separability of the final *-n*, which appears to be the third person singular possessive suffix. The suffix, in the case of *pasa-n*, refers to the fact of which one has the knowledge (18), but may be replaced by a noun expressing what it is that one knows (19) or by a personal pronoun when knowledge of a human being is indicated (20).

(18) *wɔw pasan*
2SG knowledge.3SG
You know (it).

(19) *hɔmɔw pasa ŋaʔan pʷe*
one knowledge name.3SG NEG
No one knows her name.

(20) *he pasa iy*
who knowledge 3SG
Who knows/understands him?

It is likely that a literal translation of, for example, the sentence in (18) would be something like 'you have knowledge of it' (cf. (12) in 6.1.3 (The possessive verbless sentence)). There is no example of *pasa-* with either the first or second person singular possessive

suffix. Although *pasa-* does not occur with verbal prefixes, there is a related form which does. This form, *pɛsani*, is derived by suffixing the *-ani* transitive ending (see 3.8.3.4) on the *pasa-* root, and occurs when a specific tense or aspect is present in a sentence involving the acquisition of knowledge:

(21) *iy kili pɛsani kali pʷe*
3SG PERF know PERF NEG
He found out.

(22) *yo ma kupɛsani kɔmu a kɔ*
1SG INT POT.SG.know language POSS land
I want to know the Loniu language.

(23) *putuwa ɔw kipɛsani*
belly 2DU POT.SG.know
Your bellies will come to know it, become accustomed to it.

This is the only example of an inalienably possessed noun from which a verb is derived by means of the *-ani* suffix.

6.1.6 Coordination of verbless predicates

The predicate in a verbless sentence may be compound:

(24) *ɔ ɲapulum huyan ɛ muwan*
oh spouse.2SG good or bad
Oh, is your husband handsome or ugly?

(25) *itiyɛn ni pʷe ɛ amat*
DEM fish NEG but human
That is not a fish, but a human being.

(26) *ɛyn ta ɛtɛ wɔw ɛ ta ɛtɛ sɛh law a wɔw*
smell.3SG LOC AG 2SG and LOC AG 3PL relative POSS 2SG
Her smell is on you and on your relatives.

6.2 The simple verbed sentence

The simple or minimal construction which contains a verb and fits the definition given above for the category *sentence* consists of a subject noun phrase (as defined and described in Chapter 4) followed by a single verb phrase (as defined and described in Chapter 5). Sentences of this type are exemplified, with the verb phrase underlined, in (27) through (32):

(27) *yo upʷɛ kɔmu pɛti kɔ*
1SG 1SG.speak language from land
I speak the local language (Loniu).

(28) *sɛh tɔ tay pɛʔɛsih pɛti pɛʔɛsih*
3PL STAT beat.it one.time after one.time
They make it (sago) all the time.

(29) *yo ma kunɛnɛs kilɛ mʷalih pɛti ɛpi*
1SG INT POT.SG.talk POT.SG.go story about sago
I want to tell the story of sago.

(30) *ɛ iy pihin ⁿrɔpo kɛsɔwani iy iy itɔ kɛyaw*
and 3SG woman RC adorn 3SG 3SG 3SG.STAT platform
And the woman who has been adorned is on the platform.

(31) *itiyɛn ɛ wɛn itɛwe wɛn ilɛ lɔ čɔw*
DEM and sibling.3SG 3SG.put sibling.3SG 3SG.go in mat
And so the brother put his sister into ritual isolation.

(32) *sɛh pɛti pʷahačaŋ sɛh pɛtɔt*
3PL of mouth.net 3PL be.firm
Those at the mouth of the net are firm.

This type of minimal construction is not the most common sentence type, especially in connected discourse. Most often, strings of clauses of this type occur, as described in Chapter 7 (Coordination, subordination, and sentence connectors).

6.3 THE PRONOUN COPY

Both verbed and verbless sentences may contain a pleonastic subject; that is, the subject, whether a full noun phrase, a personal pronoun, or a demonstrative pronoun, may be followed by a personal pronoun which copies the person and number of the subject. This pronoun copy is then followed by the predicate of the sentence.

In order to determine whether or not the pronoun copy is predictable (by rule or co-occurrence restrictions, for example), the following possible distinctions were investigated for both verbed and verbless sentences:

(a) The internal syntactic structure of the subject, that is, person/number, immediate constituency, and relative size.

(b) The type of predicate, that is, descriptive, equative, possessive, or locative for verbless sentences, transitive or intransitive for verbed sentences; further considerations such as tense/aspect and type of verb affixation were also compared.

(c) Semantic distinctions such as the specificity of the subject; the definiteness of the subject, especially as regards previous versus first mention; reference to wholes or to parts of a whole; and/or whether the subject can be said to contrast with some other referent in the immediate context.

None of these distinctions appear to be related to the presence or absence of the pronoun copy. However, if the subject is a modified personal pronoun, the pronoun tends to be repeated immediately preceding the predicate:

(35) *u puliye u hipɛta itiyɛn puliye*
1DU.EXC also 1DU.EXC like DEM also
We too, we are like that.

(36) *tɔʔu itiyɔ tɔʔu kala ɛhɛ*
1DU.INC DEM 1DU.INC POT.NS.go where
We two here, where can we go?

Unmodified pronoun subjects are only repeated if special emphasis is intended:

(37) *yo yo pihin wɔw wɔw kaman*
1SG 1SG woman 2SG 2SG man
Me, I am a woman, you, you are a man.

Otherwise, with unmodified, non-emphatic pronoun subjects, there is no pronoun copy:

(38) *u hi amat*
1DU.EXC FEM human
We are humans (female).

(39) *wɔw ala tah ɛ wɔw ɛli yaw*
2SG 2SG.go LOC or 2SG 2SG.PERF go
Are you there or have you gone away?

If the subject noun phrase contains a noun modified by a pre-nominal determiner (which is a personal pronoun – see 4.2), the subject *tends* to be followed by a pronoun copy, especially in verbless sentences:

(40) *iy amat itiyɛn iy amat a kaw*
3SG man DEM 3SG man POSS sorcery
That man is a sorcerer.

(41) *sɛh ɲɛtu tahah sɛh la pɔ purɛt*
3PL child 1PL.INC 3PL go do work
Our children went to work.

(42) *uwɛh kaman uwɛh wɛčɛ ake*
1PL.EXC male 1PL.EXC cut tree
We men, we cut down the trees.

There are, however, a small number of verbed sentences which are counter to this pattern, and contain no pronoun copy:

(43) *iy pihin huti petuwet*
3SG woman 3SG.take fire.stone
The woman took a fire stone.

(44) *suʔu amat puliye tɔ hilite suʔu amat...*
3DU man also STAT choose 3DU man
Another two men choose two men...

In no other cases was there any evidence that the internal structure of the subject had any bearing on the presence or absence of the pronoun copy.

As far as the type of predicate is concerned, neither verbless nor verbed sentences show any indication of a pattern for the occurrence or non-occurrence of a pronoun copy. Nor does variation of tense or aspect appear to trigger the pronoun copy.

In verbed sentences, the majority of those which *do not* contain pronoun copies (53 of 60 examples) have singular subjects, while those which *do* are fairly evenly divided between singulars and plurals (51 of 107 examples with singular subjects, 56 of 107 with plural subjects). This is not surprising, since the singular subjects require an overt prefix to be present on the verb, while the plural subjects have a *Ø-* prefix. The inclusion of a pronoun copy of the singular subject could provide a total of three separate indications of

person/number, and would be therefore less likely to occur than the plural pronoun copies, which provide only a second marking for person/number, and in some cases provide the only syntactic marking for plurality:

(45) *hipʷɛtu ɛ ameɣ su?u tɔw*
Hipwetu and Amey 3DU STAT
Hipwetu and Amey remained.

(46) *ɲatama su?u ma ɲanɛ su?u hetow pasan...*
father 3DU and mother 3DU 3PCL knowledge.3SG
Their mothers and fathers know...

In example (46), the reference could be ambiguous without the pronoun copy, since the noun phrase subject could refer to the father of the two siblings and the mother of the two siblings, in which case the pronoun copy would have been *su?u* rather than *hetow*. The presence of *hetow* makes it clear that the subject refers to the fathers and mothers of two unrelated children.

Neither definiteness, specificity, nor part/whole distinctions are consistently marked by the *presence* of a pronoun copy. The copy is attested for both first-mention noun phrases and previously mentioned noun phrases (47)–(48); for both specific and non-specific noun phrases (49)–(50); and for both partitive and non-partitive noun phrases (51)–(52).

(47) First mention:
ɔw kɛle?e lɔŋɔw ya iy kimɛ čahow...
2DU POT.NS.see thing FUT 3SG POT.SG.come appear
You will see a thing (which) will come up...

(48) Previous mention:
...mʷalih pɛti ɛpi. ɛpi iy ɛnɛyan a uwɛh
story about sago sago 3SG food POSS 1PL.EXC
...a story about sago. Sago is our food.

(49) Specific:
kɛ?ipow iy iwɔh iyɛw
k.o. bird 3SG 3SG.fly 3SG.go
The bird flew away.

(50) Non-specific:
suwɛ iy kɛ?ɛk...
yam 3SG POT.SG.grow
When the yams grow...

(51) Part:
ɔw kɛle?e su?u, sih iy kimɛ čahow...
2DU POT.NS.see 3DU one 3SG POT.SG.come appear

ɛ sih iy kimɛ čahow...
and one 3SG POT.SG.come appear
You will see the two, one will come up...and one will come up...

(52) Whole:

suwɛ iy ti čɔhɔnan, mah iy ti čɔhɔnan
yam 3SG EMPH place.3SG taro 3SG EMPH place.3SG
Yams have their place, and taro has its place.

Nor does the *absence* of the pronoun copy seem to follow a pattern based on any one of these three distinctions. There are similar pairs of sentences which contain no pronoun copy for either type within each pair.

Finally, neither the presence nor the absence of the pronoun copy can be seen to imply any kind of contrast between two or more noun phrases.

In view of the negative results of the various tests and comparisons mentioned, including the internal structure of the subject, the type of predicate, and the several semantic distinctions investigated, the conclusion that the pronoun copy is an optional constituent in the Loniu sentence seems unavoidable. It is not impossible, however, that in-depth analysis of discourse strategies or pragmatic factors may provide evidence for a rule predicting the occurrence of the copy. Such analysis is, however, beyond the purview of the present description.

6.4 Comparison

6.4.1 Relationships of equality

There are several ways to indicate similarity or equality between two objects or activities. The adjective *musih* is roughly equivalent to English 'alike', and compares nouns. Both nouns precede *musih*, which functions as the complement:

(53) *suwɛ ɛ pičinah musih ɛpʷe*
little.yam and big.yam alike only
The small yams and the big yams are alike.

(54) *sɛh amat masih sɛh musih ɛpʷe*
3PL man all 3PL alike only
All men are alike.

(55) *iy ɛ wɔw ɔw maʔamɔw ɔw musih*
3SG and 2SG 2DU two 2DU alike
You and he, the two of you, are alike (physically).

To indicate that one thing is like another, usually relative to a single parameter, *hipɛta* (variants *hipiti*, *hipɛra*, *hipiri*) is used. The noun phrase being compared precedes *hipɛta*, the standard of comparison follows:

(56) *mɛtiyɛn čahʔ mɛtiyɛn hipɛta um itiyɛn*
big what big like house DEM
How big is it? As big as that house.

(57) *lɔmʷa pičinah hipɛta lɔmʷa suwɛ ɛpʷe*
planting big.yam like planting small.yam only
The way to plant the big yams is the same as the way to plant the small ones.

(58) *ke itiyɔ ɛlɛwɛn hipɛta sih ɛpʷe itiyɛn*
wood DEM long like one only DEM
This stick is as long as that one.

Hipɛta may also be used more generally, like *musih*:

(59) *pɔpʷa iy hipɛta ɲataman ɛpʷe*
Popwa 3SG like father.3SG only
Popwa is just like his father.

(60) *kɔ a suʔu hipɛta pupi itiyɛn*
land POSS 3DU like Pupi DEM
Their land was like Pupi here.

The *hipɛta* construction is parallel to the comparative construction (see below), with the formula:

Item compared – *hipɛta* – Standard

while the *musih* constructions contain the two items compared as the subject of a verbless sentence, of which *musih* is the descriptive complement.

A third possibility for stating similarity is the form *lɛŋɛʔi*, which is most often used to compare clauses or activities rather than objects (see also 7.3.1):

(61) *hetow hinɛ puriyan pɛti ɛy lɛŋɛʔi suwɛ ɛpʷe*
3PCL do work.3SG for PRO like small.yam only
They did the work for it just like (they did for) small yams.

(62) *mʷat itɔ yɛni lɛŋɛʔi ɲanɛ suʔu*
snake 3SG.STAT eat like mother 3DU
The snake would eat the way their mother did.

(63) *ⁿrɛkɛpʷɛn a iy iy lɛŋɛʔi paʔɔh iy ma kilɛ*
behaviour POSS 3SG 3SG like near 3SG INT POT.SG.go
lɔŋɔw muwan
thing bad
His behaviour is such that he is close to becoming an evil thing.

Both *lɛŋɛʔi* and *hipɛta* are used in constructions other than equatives, and are discussed in 7.3.1 and 7.3.2.

6.4.2 COMPARATIVE RELATIONSHIPS

The comparative construction consists of the following structure:

$$\text{Item compared} - (\text{Verb}) - \text{Parameter} - \left\{ \begin{matrix} ilɛ \\ imɛ \end{matrix} \right\} - \text{Standard}$$

The variation between *ilɛ* and *imɛ* is dependent on the speaker's focus. Normally, if the standard is first or second person, *imɛ* is used. However, the speaker may use either one, to indicate a closer (*imɛ*) or a more distant (*ilɛ*) relationship, either spatial or psychological, between the items/persons compared and the speaker.

(64) *ke itiyɔ ɛlewɛn ilɛ ke itiyɛn*
wood DEM long 3SG.go wood DEM
This stick is longer than that stick.

(65) *jɔnah iy pata amat ilɛ ɛtɛ timɔti*
Jonah 3SG old man 3SG.go AG Timothy
Jonah is older than Timothy.

(66) *wɔw čɛŋim malahan imɛ ɛtɛ yo*
2SG flesh.2SG broad 3SG.come AG 1SG
You are fatter than I am.

(67) *ɛpi a hetow čɛlewan imɛ ta uto*
sago POSS 3PCL much 3SG.come POSS 1PCL.EXC
They made more sago than we did.

(68) *ɲɛtun iy imɛ hanɔ imɛ ɛtɛ ɲɛtu*
child.3SG 3SG 3SG.come before 3SG.come AG child.1SG
Her child was born before mine.

(69) *ku itiyɔ iy huyan ilɛ paŋataha an ŋatahan ilɛ*
pot DEM 3SG good 3SG.go heat water hot 3SG.go
ku sih ilɛ tah puliye
pot one 3SG.go LOC also
This pot is better for heating water than that other one over there.

Note that the parameter may be a single word (*čɛlewan*, *hanɔ*, etc.), or a phrase, as in *huyan ilɛ paŋataha an ŋatahan* in (69).

A superlative meaning is implied when the standard of comparison consists of a defined group:

(70) *jɔnah iy pata amat ilɛ famili a hetow*
Jonah 3SG old man 3SG.go family POSS 3PCL
Jonah is the oldest in their family.

(71) *fransis iy inɛn ilɛ ɛtɛ hetow mačulumɔw pučey*
Francis 3SG small 3SG.go AG 3PCL three together
Francis is the smallest/youngest of the three.

Compare (71) with (72):

(72) *fransis iy inɛn ilɛ ɛtɛ hetow mačulumɔw*
Francis 3SG small 3SG.go AG 3PCL three
Francis is smaller than those three.

A different construction, without *ilɛ* or *imɛ*, also indicates superlative. This construction includes a stated parameter modified by an intensifier, and a standard which takes the form of a relative clause modifying the parameter:

(73) *lɔlɔ iy ni napʷanan tasih to laman*
whale 3SG fish big INTENS STAT deep.sea
The whale is the biggest fish in the ocean.

(74) *mɔyap iy čɛŋin napʷanan tasih leʔi tɔ kɔ*
Moyap 3SG flesh.3SG big INTENS PRES STAT village
Moyap is the biggest man in the village.

In both (73) and (74) it is possible to rephrase the sentence in such a way that a noun phrase occurs in the slot between the intensifier *tasih* and the relative clause, and the *ilɛ/imɛ* forms are present. A paraphrase of, for example (75), would be (76):

(75) *pʷɛlɛyah iy ni napʷanan tasih uwɛh huti*
parrotfish 3SG fish big INTENS 1PL.EXC catch
The parrotfish is the biggest fish we catch.

(76) *pʷɛlɛyah iy ni napʷanan ilɛ ni (masih) uwɛh huti*
parrotfish 3SG fish big 3SG.go fish (all) 1PL.EXC catch
The parrotfish is the biggest of (all) the fish we catch.

Compare (75)–(76) and (77):

(77) *pʷɛlɛyah itiyɔ iy napʷanan ilɛ masih*
parrotfish DEM 3SG big 3SG.go all
This parrotfish is the biggest of all.

In (77), *masih* is previously defined and restricted to a group of several parrotfish which had been caught. In (75) and (76), however, the standard of comparison is the entire set of fish species regularly caught by the Loniu.

6.5 NEGATION

The negators in Loniu are *pʷe* 'not, no' and *ma sow* 'not yet'. Each may be used alone in response to a request or question:

(78) *ɛmɛ tɔʔu kanayan. ma sow*
2SG.come 1DU.INC POT.NS.eat not yet
Come, let's eat. Not yet.

(79) *sara ilɛ tahʔ pʷe*
Sara 3SG.go LOC NEG
Is Sara there? No.

To negate a verbless sentence or sentence fragment, the negator is placed following the sentence or phrase negated:

(80) *itiyɔ kɔ a wɔw pʷe, kɔ a yo puliye pʷe*
DEM land POSS 2SG NEG land POSS 1SG also NEG
This is not your land, nor is it mine.

(81) *itiyɔ lɔ pʷaha čɔʔuka pʷe, itiyɔ lɔ pʷaha wɛ tɔʔu*
DEM in mouth bird NEG DEM in mouth sibling 1DU.INC
That was not the call of the chawka bird, that was the voice of our sister.

(82) *iy ipʷɛ purɛt ma sow*
3SG 3SG.say work not yet
She said 'Don't do the work yet'.

(83) *ti ɲaman* pʷe
tea sweet NEG
The tea is not sweet (enough).

(84) *hepe ɲɛtu ni, mɛtiyɛn* pʷe
bit DIM fish big NEG
Just a little piece of fish, not a big one.

(85) *ley laʔɛlɛwɛn paʔɔh* pʷe
Lae far near NEG
Lae is far away, not near.

(86) *hɔmɔw pasa ŋaʔan* pʷe
one knowledge name.3SG NEG
No one knows her name.

Only one example of a non-final negative occurs in the data (87); in this sentence, the phrase *kɔmu pʷe ⁿrɔkɔw* was an intonational unit:

(87) *itɔ čɛpʷi kɔmu* pʷe *nrɔkɔw*
3SG.STAT *cepwi* word NEG Loniu
'Ito cepwi' is not a Loniu phrase.

Verbed sentences are negated by placing the appropriate perfective marker (*kili/ɛli/kɛli)* in the pre-verb position, and adding the negative at the end of the clause:

(88) *iy kili tɔ mete* pʷe
3SG PERF STAT sleep NEG
She isn't sleeping.

(89) *sɛh kɛli taʔi pʷɛlɛyah* pʷe
3PL PERF catch parrotfish NEG
They didn't catch any parrotfish.

(90) *iy kili yat ma sow*
3SG PERF burn not yet
It isn't lit yet.

(91) *yo kili inap* pʷe *ɛ yo kili hɔpim* pʷe
1SG PERF able NEG and 1SG PERF open NEG
I'm not strong (enough) and I can't open it.

If there is a co-verb, it also receives the perfective marker:

(92) *yo kɪli tɛwɛ tɛt kiʔi la tan* pʷe
1SG PERF put ladder PERF go down NEG
I didn't put the ladder down.

(93) *mʷat iy kili tɔ huti hepe čah kili mɛ lɔ*
snake 3SG PERF STAT take bit something PERF come in
um pʷe
house NEG
The snake would never bring anything home.

For negations of future or potentially occurring events, the future marker *ya* or the inchoative or intentional *ma* are used in conjunction with the perfective marker and the negator:

(94) *ya yo kili yaw pʷe, yo kutɔw*
FUT 1SG PERF go NEG 1SG POT.SG.STAT
I won't go anywhere, I'll stay here.

(95) *ya kɔlu ɔw kili tut kiʔi la ɛy pʷe*
FUT throat 2DU PERF close PERF go PRO NEG
You must not forget about it.

(96) *ɛtow ma kanayan ɛ pʷe pʷe, uto ma kɛli*
2PCL INT POT.NS.eat or NEG NEG 1PCL.EXC INT PERF

yɛnɛyan ma sow
eat not yet
Do you want to eat or not? No, we don't want to eat yet.

(97) *pʷe. suʔu pʷa tɛt ma kili mɛ tan pʷe*
NEG 3DU say ladder INT PERF come down NEG
No. They said not to put the ladder down.

There are several examples in the data of negative sentences containing *tɔ* 'stative, habitual, durative or continuative aspect', in which, rather than the full perfective forms *kili tɔ*, *kɛli tɔ*, or *ɛli tɔ*, a shortened *k* + vowel + *tɔ* (equivalent to the potential prefix + *tɔ*) occurs. When speakers notice this, however, they generally reject it in favour of the full perfective marker:

(98) *sɛh kɔtɔ mete pʷe / sɛh kɛli tɔ mete pʷe*
3PL POT.NS.STAT sleep NEG 3PL PERF STAT sleep NEG
They don't sleep. (Both sentences attested, same meaning.)

(99) *ni ⁿrɔpɔ itiyɛn iy kitɔ ni pʷe*
fish DEM DEM 3SG POT.SG.STAT fish NEG
That fish was no longer a fish.

(100) *suʔu kɔtɔ hilow puʔun tan pʷe*
3DU POT.NS.STAT run underneath.3SG down NEG
They were not swimming underwater.

This variation occurs only with *tɔ*. It is not clear whether the shorter form is an abbreviation of the full *perfective* + *tɔ* construction or is in fact the potential form of *tɔ*.

6.6 THE IMPERATIVE CONSTRUCTION

The imperative in Loniu consists of the potential form of the verb. It is most frequent in second person, but first person non-singular imperatives also occur. No third person imperatives are attested. The personal pronoun is frequently omitted for second singular, but is usually present for the non-singular forms, which could be ambiguous due to the fact that the same verb form is used for all non-singular persons.

(101) *ɛnɛnɛs*
2SG.talk
Talk! Say something!

(102) *ɔw kɔtɔw*
2DU POT.NS.stay
You two stay (here).

(103) *ɛtow kala huti umɛy*
2PCL POT.NS.go take k.o. fruit
Go get some *umey* fruit.

(104) *hah kɛmɛ itiyɔ*
2PL POT.NS.come DEM
Come here!

(105) *tɔʔu kɛyɛni ɛ*
1DU.INC POT.NS.eat EMPH
Let's eat now!

Negative imperatives are formed with the word *tɔpu* (variant form *tupɔ*), followed by the potential form of the verb:

(106) *tɔpu wɔw ɛmɛ pɛlɛŋan*
NEG 2SG 2SG.come on.top
You cannot/don't come up here!

(107) *ɛyn muwan tɔpu ɛyn*
smell.3SG bad NEG 2SG.drink
It smells bad, don't drink it!

6.7 INTERROGATIVES

6.7.1 THE YES-NO QUESTION

There are two ways to ask a yes-no question in Loniu. The most common form involves only a modification of the intonation pattern. In terms of pitch levels, the basic intonation contour for a declarative sentence is (1)221 with a falling intonation, while that for a yes-no question is (2)332 with less of a falling off of pitch at the final juncture. Thus:

(108) 3
2 *yo to yan ni* ↓
1
I am eating fish.

(109) 3 ↓
2 *yo kuyɛni itiyɔ*
1
Can I eat this?

The salient perceptual cue to the interrogative nature of the yes-no question appears to be a combination of higher pitch level within the utterance, and less of a falling off of pitch at the terminal juncture.

The second type of yes-no question indicates that the speaker expects an affirmative answer (a type of 'leading' yes-no question), and is formed by adding the question particle *ɛ* following a typically declarative sentence intonation:

(110) 3 —↑
2 *itiyɛn ta wɔw ɛ*
1 ⌐⌐
This is yours, right?

The pitch of the question particle is generally somewhat higher than the intonation peak of the preceding sentence. (This particle is translated *laka?* in Tok Pisin, roughly equivalent to English 'Right?').

There is one attested example of a negative question, which was used with the expectation of an answer confirming the negative proposition:

(111) *ya wɔw ɛ la pʷe ɛhɛ, ya yo kiʔi la pʷe*
FUT 2SG PERF go NEG yes FUT 1SG PERF go NEG
Aren't you going? Yes, I'm not going.

Note that the answer in (111) is 'yes, I am not...', agreeing with the propositional content of the question, while in English the expected response would be 'no, I am not...'.

6.7.2 ALTERNATIVE QUESTIONS

There are three types of alternative questions. The most common of these involves the addition of the phrase *ɛ pʷe* 'or not' at the end of a sentence:

(112) 3
2 *wɔw ɛleʔe hepe hetow ɛ pʷe* ↓
1
2SG 2SG.see bit 3PCL or not
Have you had a glimpse of them (or not)?

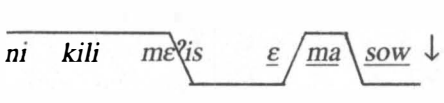
The pitch falls on the last syllable of the statement portion, then rises again on *ɛ* and falls on *pʷe*. The pitch levels involved in this type of question may be the same as for a declarative statement, involving only levels 1 and 2, or may parallel the yes-no question intonation:

(113) 3
2 *u hihuya u ɛ pʷe* ↓
1
1DU.EXC FEM.good 1DU.EXC or not
Are we good-looking or not?

(114) 3 ↓
2 *itiyɔ ta wɔw ɛ pʷe*
1
DEM POSS 2SG or not
Is this yours or not?

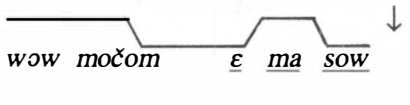
Similarly, the *ɛ ma sow?* 'or not yet' type of questions are signalled by the presence of the tag, but may also involve higher levels of pitch in the intonation contour:

(115)



fish PERF be.cooked or not yet
Is the fish ready yet?

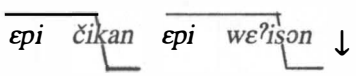
(116)



2SG enough.2SG or not yet
Are you finished yet?/Have you had enough yet?

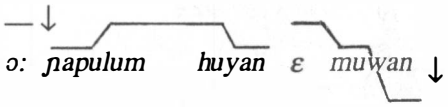
A third form of alternative question is formed by stating the alternatives, with or without an intervening conjunction:

(117)



sago tough sago soft
Is the sago tough or soft?

(118)



oh spouse.2SG good or bad
Oh, is your husband handsome or ugly?

The key feature here seems to be the fall at the end of the first alternative with a subsequent rise in the second. In addition, the fall in pitch in the first alternative does not appear to be to as low a level as the terminal fall, thus indicating, perhaps, the continuation of the utterance.

6.7.3 Information questions

The interrogative words in Loniu are as follows:

he	who
čah	what
pɛti čah	why (purpose)
(k)ilɛ čah	why (reason)
čihi	which
mačɛhɛ	how many, how much
ɛhɛ	where (origin, destination)
itɛhɛ	where (location)
tukɛhɛ	when
tɛtapɛ	how
hitapɛ	how

Generally, information questions are formed by placing the appropriate interrogative word in the same position in the sentence which could be occupied by the corresponding response – that is to say, there is no WH-movement transformation in Loniu. Variations of the general formula occur for *pɛti čah* and *tukɛhɛ*, and are discussed in 6.7.3.3 and 6.7.3.7 respectively.

The intonation of the information question is most commonly the same as that of the declarative statement ((1)221↓), but examples of the high pitch levels common to the yes-no and alternative questions do occur.

6.7.3.1 THE INTERROGATIVE *he*

This form is used to ask 'who' and may be used to question any human noun phrase in an utterance:

(119) *he to takɛni pat*
who CONT throw stone
Who is throwing stones?

(120) *mʷi iyɛti he*
dog 3SG.bite who
Who did the dog bite?

(121) *yo upʷɛy ilɛ ɛtɛ he*
1SG 1SG.say.it 3SG.go AG who
Who did I say it to?

(122) *u kala ɛtɛ he*
1DU.EXC POT.NS.go AG who
Who can we go to?

(123) *ay a he lɛʔi to ɛtɛ yo*
blood POSS who PRES STAT AG 1SG
Whose blood is on me?

(124) *ɛtow he*
2PCL who
Who are you people?

The form *hɔmɔw he* is a variant of *he*, attested in only one example:

(125) *hɔmɔw he ta taŋ*
one who CONT cry
Who is crying?

Interrogative *he* may also occur in combination with the third dual personal pronoun *suʔu*, to ask 'in addition to X, who else...?' This parallels the pronoun + noun construction described in 4.4 (Coordination in the noun phrase).

(126) *itiyɛn suʔu he iyɛ ta itiyɛn ɛ tɛmɛyan iy ta taŋ*
DEM 3DU who 3SG.be LOC DEM and drum.3SG 3SG CONT cry
He and who else are over there beating the drums?

6.7.3.2 THE INTERROGATIVE *čah*

The form *čah* is used to question non-human noun phrases (127)–(131). There are no clear examples involving non-human animates, but on one occasion, a Loniu friend, upon seeing a new kitten in the house, asked in surprise, *'itiyɛn čah?'* 'What's that?'.

(127) *čah ilɛ ɛtɛ iy*
what 3SG.go AG 3SG
What's the matter with him?

(128) *yo kutiyani čah*
1SG POT.SG.tell what
What shall I tell about?

(129) *ɛnɛnɛs kɔmuwa čah*
2SG.talk word what
Talk about what?

(130) *itiyɔ ɛy čah*
DEM smell what
What is this smell?

(131) *puriyam čah*
work.2SG what
What is your work?

There are no examples of *čah* as oblique object except for those which question cause or purpose (see 6.7.3.3); that is, no examples of the type 'What did you do it with?', questioning the instrumental noun phrase.

6.7.3.3 THE INTERROGATIVES *(k)ilɛ čah* AND *pɛti čah*

Although it is not clear that there is a consistent distinction between the two, it seems to be most commonly the case that *(k)ilɛ čah* questions cause, while *pɛti čah* questions purpose. The phrase *(k)ilɛ čah*, literally 'go to what', occurs at the end of the sentence:

(132) *wɔw ta iw ilɛčah? ɔ: činɛn imɛ...*
2SG CONT call why oh demon 3SG.come
Why did you call out? Oh, a demon came...!

(133) *itiyɛn wɔw ta hinɛ ma kilɛ čah? yo lɛʔi tɔ hinɛ*
DEM 2SG CONT do INT POT.why 1SG PRES STAT do

ilɛčah čačah ipʷɛy
reason papa 3SG.say.it
Why are you doing that? I'm doing it because Papa told me to.

Unlike *(k)ilɛ čah*, which is a co-verb phrase, the prepositional phrase *pɛti čah* may occur both initially and finally:

(134) *pɛti čah iy itɛŋ čɛlɛwan*
for what 3SG 3SG.cry much
Why does she cry so much?

ma?in, kapʷa iy ho mow hipiti itiyɛn
don't.know maybe 3SG one like DEM
I don't know, maybe she's just like that.

(135) brush *itiyɛn pɛti čah? pɛti ɲihiya kamana*
brush DEM for what for wash.NOM shell
What is that brush for? For washing shells.

6.7.3.4 THE INTERROGATIVES *ɛhɛ* AND *itɛhɛ*

The form *ɛhɛ* questions place of origin or destination. The form *itɛhɛ* (possibly from *ito ɛhɛ* 'it is where'; see (143)) most often questions location (but see (140), which may be questioning origin). Both occur in final position.

(136) *komuwa ɛhɛ? komuwa ⁿrɔlɔkow*
language where language Loniu
Where is the language from? It's from Loniu.

(137) *wow pɛti ɛhɛ? yo pɛti kansas*
2SG from where 1SG from Kansas
Where are you from? I am from Kansas.

(138) *ow ma kala ɛhɛ? u ma kala mʷanus*
2DU INT POT.NS.go where 1DU.EXC INT POT.NS.go Manus
Where are you going? We are going to Manus.

(139) *yo kulɛ ya ɛhɛ ɛ yo kumɛ ŋɔh*
1SG POT.SG.go toward where and 1SG POT.SG.come away
Where can I go to get away (from this)?

(140) *wow ala usun kihi itɛhɛ*
2SG 2SG.go carry firewood where
Where did you get your wood from?

(141) *wow itiyɛn ɛ tɛ?im itɛhɛ*
2SG DEM and sister.2SG where
You are here but where is your sister?

(142) *umʷɛ hetow itɛhɛ*
house 3PCL where
Where are their houses?

In one case, both *ito ɛhɛ* and *itɛhɛ* were given as alternatives:

(143) *hilɛri ito ɛhɛ hilɛri itɛhɛ*
Hileri 3SG.STAT where Hileri where
Where is Hileri?

6.7.3.5 THE INTERROGATIVE *čihi*

The form *čihi* occurs in prenominal position, and questions 'which':

(144) *čihi kɔ ta ŋɔh hay ta ŋɔh*
which wind CONT blow west.wind CONT blow
Which wind is blowing? The west wind is blowing.

(145) *kansas tɔ čihi kɔ*
Kansas STAT which land
Kansas is in which land?

(146) *wɔw ta pɔ čihi puriyam*
2SG CONT do which work.2SG
Which of your jobs/tasks are you doing?

(147) *čihi lɔmata kɔmu ya yo kupʷɛy puliye*
which kind word FUT 1SG POT.SG.say.it again
What other kinds of words can I say? / What else can I say?

In the last example, the direct object has been fronted, or topicalised, leaving the *-y* object suffix as trace (see 6.8).

See 4.2.3 for a discussion of the use of *čihi* as determiner in the noun phrase.

6.7.3.6 THE INTERROGATIVE *mačɛhɛ*

The form *mačɛhɛ* follows the noun, asking 'how much' or 'how many':

(148) *ŋɛsumʷan a wɔw čumʷɛyan mačɛhɛ*
smoke POSS 2SG packet.3SG how.many
How many packets of cigarettes do you have?

(149) *hetow amat mačɛhɛ la tɔ kɔ*
3PCL human how.many go STAT land
How many people are there in the village?

(150) *wɔw ɔlɔmʷi pɛʔɛ wɔs a wɔw mačɛhɛ*
2SG 2SG.plant handle taro POSS 2SG how.many
How many taro stems did you plant?

(151) *an mačɛhɛ ta ɛtɛ wɔw*
water how.much LOC AG 2SG
How much water do you have?

6.7.3.7 THE INTERROGATIVE *tukɛhɛ*

While the form *tukɛhɛ* was readily provided as the equivalent for English 'when' (Tok Pisin *wanem taim*), it occurs only three times in connected speech in the data; twice in direct questions and once in an embedded question.

(152) *tukɛhɛ u kɔpɔʔɔnɔsani ɲɛtu u*
when 1DU.EXC POT.NS.adorn child 1DU.EXC
When shall we adorn our daughter?

(153) *lɔhɔliyan tukɛhɛ hetow mɛ*
period.of.time when 3PCL come
When did they come?

(154) *ta ɛtɛ wɔw ɛpʷe hipiti wɔw ɔpʷa tukɛhɛ tɔʔu*
POSS AG 2SG only so 2SG 2SG.think when 1DU.INC

kɔwɔp
POT.NS.escape
It's entirely up to you, whenever you think we should escape.

Temporal adverbials, whether a single word or a phrase, may occur either preceding or following the sentence nucleus (subject – verb – object):

(155) *mahu tɔʔu kɔwɔp*
tomorrow 1DU.INC POT.NS.escape
Tomorrow we'll escape.

(156) *yo ulɛ lɔʔɔŋow piŋɛhɛ*
1SG 1SG.go Lorengau yesterday
I went to Lorengau yesterday.

Although there are no examples of *tukɛhɛ* in final position in the recorded and transcribed data, my recollections of conversations and general day-to-day exchanges among the Loniu people are that *tukɛhɛ* may also occur in final position.

6.7.3.8 THE INTERROGATIVES *tɛtapɛ* AND *hitapɛ*

The interrogative words *tɛtapɛ* and *hitapɛ* question manner. The form *tɛtapɛ* tends to occur when the question involves non-human nouns (157) or activities (158), while *hitapɛ* occurs most often in situations where the condition of human referents is the subject of inquiry (159)–(160):

(157) *puriyan tɛtapɛ*
work.3SG how
What does one do with it? / How does one use/do it?

(158) *ya yo kipʷɛy kilɛ ɛtɛ iy tɛtapɛ*
FUT 1SG POT.SG.say.it POT.SG.go AG 3SG how
How can I tell it to him?

(159) *wɔw hitapɛ wɔw tɛwɛ pʷaham*
2SG how 2SG put mouth.2SG
What's the matter with you, that you cried out?

(160) *hetow hitapɛ hetow kɛli mɛ pʷe*
3PCL how 3PCL PERF come NEG
What happened to them, that they didn't come?

However, the two are not strictly separate. One speaker gave *hitapɛ* as the form to use when asking what was wrong with the radio, and said as well that both forms would be acceptable in the frame:

(161) *ya wɔw apʷa kɔmu itiyɔ* _____
FUT 2SG 2SG.say word DEM how
How would you say this word?

A third form, *kihitapɛ*, occurs in a recurrent phrase indicating annoyance (162). It is similar to a first/third person singular potential verb form (see 5.1.1.3.1). However, it is not clear what the actual components of this form are.

(162) *ma kihitapɛ kimɛ ɛtɛ wɔw*
and how POT.come AG 2SG

This was translated in Tok Pisin as *Maski long yu!* – the English equivalent is something like 'Who cares about you!'.

The form *tɛtapɛ* is also found in sentence-initial position, with a falling intonation and a clear pause preceding the remainder of the utterance, which is in the form of an alternative question:

(163) *tɛtapɛ, tuwɛnan ɛ sɛhisah*
how true or false
How is it, true or false?

(164) *tɛtapɛ, pɛʔɛsih tɔʔu kala mʷanus ɛ pʷe*
how one.time 1DU.INC POT.NS.go Manus or NEG
What do you think, will we go to Manus some day?

6.8 OBJECT FRONTING AND COPYING

Both direct objects and oblique objects may be moved to the initial position in the sentence. This strategy appears to be used for purposes of focus or topicalisation, and occurs frequently in connected discourse. In the case of the movement of the direct object, generally the form of the verb indicates its transitivity (see 3.4.1.1), and in some cases the pronominal suffix *-y* occurs in the position vacated by the direct object (168) and (169).

(165) *ɛ loŋɔw itiyɔ ɛtow kɛmɛ sɔʔi kilɛ lɔ tas*
and thing DEM 2PCL POT.NS.come throw POT.SG.go in sea
And this thing you come and throw into the sea.

(166) *maʔin čihi ⁿrɛkɛpʷɛn ya iy kihinɛni*
maybe which behaviour FUT 3SG POT.SG.do
I don't know what he will do.

(167) *suʔu pʷa ɲah itiyɛn ya u kɔhɔti...*
3DU say spear DEM FUT 1DU.EXC POT.NS.take
They said 'These spears we will take...'.

(168) *ɛpi sɛh ɲatupu uwɛh sɛh ɲatama uwɛh sɛh tay*
sago 3PL grandfather 1PL.EXC 3PL father 1PL.EXC 3PL beat.it
Sago, our fathers and grandfathers made it.

(169) *čɛlɛwan kili lɔs ɛ čɛlɛwan uwɛh lɛʔi tɔ pɔtowey*
many PERF fall and many 1PL.EXC PRES STAT hold.it
Many are gone and many we still have.

One example of a fronted sentential object is attested; in this case, the main verb contains the inanimate object suffix *-y*:

(170) *piɲɛhɛ yo hinɛni čah yo leʔe čah ya yo kupʷɛy*
yesterday 1SG do what 1SG see what FUT 1SG POT.SG.say.it
What I did yesterday, what I saw, I will tell it.

If the fronted direct object is human, a pronominal trace occurs in the post-verbal position:

(171) *ɛ ɲɛtun ⁿrɔpɔ itiyɛn suʔu tɔ haŋ iy...*
and child.3SG DEM DEM 3DU STAT feed 3SG
And that child, they were feeding him...

(172) *suʔu mɛ kɔ ⁿrɔpɔ ɲato suʔu suʔu luwɛ iy,*
3DU come village RC grandmother 3DU 3DU leave 3SG

iy a itɔ ɛy itiyɛn
3SG still 3SG.STAT PRO DEM
They came to the village where their grandmother, they had left her,
she was still there.

When an inanimate oblique object is fronted, the pronoun *ɛy* occurs in the original position:

(173) *čihi pʷahačan ɔw ma kaʔase kilɛ ɛy yo*
which road 2DU INT POT.NS.walk POT.SG.go PRO 1SG

tɔ pumʷiʔi ɔw
STAT behind 2DU
Whatever you decide (lit. whatever road you walk on) I am behind you.

(174) *ɛpi puret peti ɛy hipeta itiyɔ*
sago work for PRO like DEM
Sago, the way to prepare it, is like this.

Objects may also be copied in sentence initial position:

(175) *ɛ ni, suʔu la ni maʔamɔw ŋaʔan kemʷaʔay*
and fish 3DU go fish two name.3SG red.cod
And fish, they became two fish called red cod.

(176) *ɛpi henɔ sɛh ɲatupu uwɛh sɛh lɔmʷi ɛpi malimɛyey*
sago before 3PL grandfather 1PL.EXC 3PL plant sago five
Sago, before, our grandfathers planted five kinds of sago palms.

CHAPTER 7

COORDINATION, SUBORDINATION, AND SENTENCE CONNECTORS

7.1 PARATACTIC STRUCTURES

The majority of multiple-clause constructions in Loniu are paratactic in nature, strings of independent clauses which are simply juxtaposed, contain no overt subordinator or coordinator, and are intonationally a unit. The chained clauses usually consist of a series of activities which are named in the order in which they occur (or would occur) chronologically.

(1) a. *iy pihin iy huti kawa*
3SG woman 3SG 3SG.take basket
The woman takes the basket,

b. *iy ikuni ɛpi ta kawa*
3SG 3SG.carry sago LOC basket
carries the sago in the basket,

c. *ikuni ilɛ pasɛ an*
3SG.carry 3SG.go chin water
carries it to the water's edge

d. *iy itɛwɛy ilɛ kupʷi*
3SG 3SG.put.it 3SG.go trough
and puts it into the trough.

Example (1) contains four separate clauses, three of which (a., b., and d.) contain both a subject and a verb phrase predicate, and one of which (c.) lacks a stated subject. The four clauses were spoken with no pauses between them, and with a slightly rising intonation at the end of each non-final clause. The falling intonation characteristic of the final portion of a declarative sentence in Loniu (2.5.2) does not occur until the end of the final clause.

There were also no significant pauses in (2):

(2) a. *huyan ɲanɔ pɛʔɛsih yo kuwɔh kilɛ kɔ ɛlɛwɛn*
good mother.1SG one.time 1SG POT.SG.fly POT.SG.go land far
OK, mother, tomorrow I will fly to far-away lands

b. *yo kukɛhi čɨhi čɔhɔna tɔʔu*
1SG POT.SG.search.for which place 1DU.INC
I will search for some place for us

c. *ya tɔʔu kala ač kilɛ ɛy*
FUT 1DU.INC POT.NS.go hide POT.SG.go PRO
where we can go hide.

The sentence-medial intonations at the ends of each of the two non-final clauses in (2a) and (2b) were slightly rising. Not until the phrase *kilɛ ɛy* in (2c) did the sentence-final falling intonation occur.

The subjects of the chained clauses are not necessarily the same. In those cases where the subjects are different, the activities described may be interpreted as occurring simultaneously rather than chronologically:

(3) *kɛčɛpʷɛ itɔ ta kɛčɛpʷɛ hisuwɛ itɔ in suwɛ*
Kecepwe 3SG.STAT catch bat Hisuwe 3SG.STAT dig yam
Kecepwe was catching bats, Hisuwe was digging yams.

(4) *wɔw itipo činɛn imɛ lih ɛtɛ wɔw*
2SG DEM demon 3SG.come ?? AG 2SG
You were here and the demon come to you?

In addition, many clauses which occur in chains like those exemplified above contain no stated subject. These are often translated into Tok Pisin with the subject unstated as well, and only in some cases can the subject be understood to be a noun phrase stated with an earlier verb in the same sentence. In (5), for example, the brother, not the sister who is in ritual isolation, is doing the cooking. Yet the brother is not mentioned in this sentence, except as the third person singular possessive suffix on the noun *wɛ* 'sibling of the opposite sex'.

(5) *wɛn itɔ lɔ čɔw mapeŋ ɛpʷe tuwani mah a*
sibling.3SG 3SG.STAT in mat morning only boil taro POSS

iy, tuwani lɔʔɔn a iy itɔ lɔ ku itɔw
3SG boil leaf.3SG POSS 3SG 3SG.STAT in pot 3SG.STAT
His sister was in isolation, it was morning, he boiled her taro, boiled her vegetables, and left them in the pot.

In the absence of any non-singular pronoun, the verb *tuwani* would seem to be unmarked for person, but it is clear from the context of the story that the brother is the one doing the cooking. Thus if deletion under identity is the explanation for the lack of subject here, it goes beyond the limits of the sentence, and relies on discourse level analysis for comprehension.

(6) *suʔu kɔsɔwɛni iy, ɛpi imɛ lɔ um, tɛwɛ ɛpi ilɛ*
3DU adorn 3SG sago 3SG.come in house put sago 3SG.go

pɛlɛ um kɔsɔwani iy pihin, hetow yawɛsani iy itɛwɛ
near house adorn 3SG woman 3PCL parade 3SG 3SG.put

papuwe, tɛwɛ lɔmu-kuh, tɛwɛ čɛlaw, tɛwɛ ilɛ palan,
headdress put feathers put cloth put 3SG.go head.3SG

yawɛsani iy ilɛ sipi imɛ sipi
parade 3SG 3SG.go half 3SG.come half
They adorn her, the sago comes to the house, (they) put the sago near the house, (they) adorn the woman, they parade her, put on a headdress, feathers, put a cloth on her head, (they) parade her up and down.

In example (6), the stated subject of the verb *kɔsɔwɛni* is *suʔu*, and was translated as Tok Pisin *emtupela*. However, the first occurrence of the verbs *tɛwɛ* and *kɔsɔwani* were given *ol* '3PL' as their subjects in the translation. The stated subject of the first occurrence of

yawɛsani is *hetow*, which was also translated as *ol*. As for the remainder of the subjectless clauses no subject was stated in the Tok Pisin translation. These may well be examples of a kind of impersonal or passive-type construction, for which the actual actor is not important. Instead, the series of activities is the focus.

Frequently, when an early clause in a series contains a potential verb form (5.1.1.3.1), it is equivalent to a 'when' or 'if' clause. Especially when the intentional/inchoative particle *ma* (5.1.1.3.4) is present, the interpretation is often 'when' (7)–(9):

(7) *itɔw itɔw iy ma kumɔn ma kilɛ*
3SG.STAT 3SG.STAT 3SG INT POT.SG.return INT POT.SG.go

suʔu mɔpɔhɔwe sih ilɛ laʔɛlɛwɛn sih ilɛ puwɔn
3DU break.open one 3SG.go long one 3SG.go short
Time passed, and when she returned, the two were broken open, one was long and one short.

(8) *hilɛpɛpohoč ᵑrɔpɔ itiyɛn iy ma kimɛ lɛlɛ ɛyɛ*
Hilepepohoc DEM DEM 3SG INT POT.SG.come look blood

wɛn iy kili huti iy
sibling.3SG 3SG PERF take 3SG
When Hilepepohoc was waking up, her brother's blood had gotten on her.

(9) *itiyɛn ɛ hetow la hetow ma kala pu ᵑrɔpɔ itiyɛn*
DEM and 3PCL go 3PCL INT POT.NS.go banana DEM DEM

iy kiʔi la hɔmɔw hi amat
3SG PERF go one FEM human
And so they went, and when they went, that banana had become a human female.

However, it is not the case that all *ma* + potential forms are interpreted as 'when' clauses:

(10) *yo kutɔw yo ma kuŋɛk kilɛ lɔ pay*
1SG POT.SG.STAT 1SG INT POT.SG.climb POT.SG.go in rafter

ɛ činɛn iy ma kimɛ iw itiyɛn ɛtɛwɛ tɛt
and demon 3SG INT POT.SG.come call DEM 2SG.put ladder

kilɛ tan
POT.SG.go down
I'll stay here, I'm going to climb up into the rafters, and when the demon comes and calls then you put the ladder down.

Nor is it the case that *only ma* + potential forms are interpreted as 'when' clauses. 'When' clauses can also be clauses introduced by *kilɛ*, containing the potential verb form without *ma* (see also (18)–(20) below):

(11) *kilɛ ni kimɛʔis ɛtow kɛsuwa ɛpi*
POT.SG.go fish POT.SG.be.done 2PCL POT.NS.fry sago
When the fish is done, fry up some sago.

or clauses with the verb in the non-potential form:

(12) *ten hɛluŋi iy hetow pasan pʷɛlɛyah iy*
faeces.3SG cover 3SG 3PCL knowledge.3SG parrotfish 3SG

kili mat
PERF die
When the faeces cover it, they know the parrotfish has died.

A 'when' interpretation is also made possible by the use of *aŋ* 'day' in clause-initial position. The presence of *aŋ* makes the clause which it introduces dependent – it must be followed by a further clause in order for the sentence to be complete (see also (79) in Chapter 4 for a relative clause construction which is similar to the structure of (13) below):

(13) *aŋ itɔ ɛk ilɛ now, itiyɛn sɛh pihin sɛh la*
day 3SG.STAT grow 3SG.go stake DEM 3PL woman 3PL go

hakɛlɛyani ilɛ now
wind 3SG.go stake
When it grows up the stake, then the women go and wind it around the stake.

The form given originally for the sentence in (13), in the taped narrative, was Tok Pisin *taim* instead of Loniu *aŋ*, but *aŋ* was substituted in the dictated version, as the speaker wanted to avoid the use of Tok Pisin.

'When' clauses are also introduced by *lɛŋɛʔi* or *hipɛta*, which are discussed in 7.3.1 and 7.3.2 respectively.

Without *ma*, but with the potential form of the verb (and in at least one case, (15) the perfective with *ya*), the interpretation may be 'if':

(14) *ŋapulu iy kipʷɛ ɛhɛ ya kɔmu a u*
spouse.1SG 3SG POT.SG.say yes FUT word POSS 1DU.EXC

kimɛ tahow kimɛ ɛtɛ wɔw u kɛʔɛli
POT.SG.come appear POT.SG.come AG 2SG 1DU.EXC POT.NS.call

wɔw wɔw ɛmɛ
2SG 2SG 2SG.come
If my wife says 'Yes', our words will come to you, we will call you, (and then) you come.

(15) *...sih ya hetow kɛli leʔe pʷe hetow tɛlɛ law mʷɛnɛn*
one FUT 3PCL PERF see NEG 3PCL canoe net straight

hetow leʔe hetow taʔiy ilɛ ɔŋɔʔɔŋɔhɛ a hetow ɛpʷe
3PCL see 3PCL catch.them 3SG.go thought POSS 3PCL only
...the other case is if they don't see anything, the men in the canoes with the nets will themselves see, and they fish according to their own opinions.

The 'if' clause may contain no verb at all:

(16) *mahu mʷaʔay yo kučɛč*
tomorrow calm 1SG POT.SG.surf
If tomorrow is nice, I'll body-surf.

(17) *ⁿrɔpɔ lɛŋin pʷe, čuto kala lɔʔɔŋow*
today rain NEG 1PCL.INC POT.NS.go Lorengau
If it doesn't rain today, we'll go to Lorengau.

The form *kilɛ* is used by some younger speakers to introduce both 'if' and 'when' clauses (see also (11) above)):

(18) *uto* *pasan* *pʷe.* *kilɛ* *čanɔh* *kimɛ*
1PCL.EXC knowledge.3SG NEG POT.SG.go Canoh POT.SG.come

iy *pasan* *ya* *iy* *kɪpʷɛy*
3SG knowledge.3SG FUT 3SG POT.SG.say.it
We don't know. When Canoh comes (he's expected), he knows, he'll tell us.

(19) *kilɛ* *kɛylɛb* *kitɔ* *itiyɔ* *ya* *iy* *kɪpʷɛy*
POT.SG.go Caleb POT.SG.STAT DEM FUT 3SG POT.SG.say.it
If Caleb were here (but he isn't), he would tell us.

(20) *kilɛ* *hipɛta* *yo* *ikat* *kɔ* *ya* *yo* *kičɛn*
POT.SG.go like 1SG SG.have land FUT 1SG POT.SG.clear

ɛnum *a* *yo* *kilɛ* *ɛy*
garden POSS 1SG POT.SG.go PRO
If I had land (but I don't), I would clear a garden for myself on it.

Note that (19) and (20) are 'contrary-to-fact' sentences; these are the only two examples of this type attested.

While there is no specific, consistent syntactic marking nor overt morphological cue indicating any dependency between or among juxtaposed clauses, there may be close semantic relationships such as 'cause-effect', 'if-then', which speakers may or may not interpret as being present in a given series of clauses. There may in fact be clues to indicate whether such meanings are intended, but they are neither syntactic nor morphological in nature, and do not appear to be intonational/phonological. Thus a single sentence may have several possible interpretations. In several instances, speakers offered alternative translations of a sentence:

(21) *ya* *yo* *kuhuŋaŋ* *ala* *yo* *kusisimi* *huyan*
FUT 1SG POT.SG.rest first 1SG POT.SG.think well
I'll rest first and I'll think well. / I'll rest first so that I can think well.

(22) *iy* *iyɛw* *itɔ* *mɔmɔtani* *pɔ* *puwe* *ⁿrɔpɔ* *itɔ*
3SG 3SG.go 3SG.STAT spit.out juice betel.nut RC 3SG.STAT

pʷahan
mouth.3SG
As she went down she was spitting out the betel nut juice which was in her mouth. / She went down and she was spitting out the betel nut juice which was in her mouth.

7.2 COORDINATION

There are three coordinate conjunctions which may be used to conjoin clauses in Loniu: *ɛ* 'and, or, but'; *ma* 'and, with, together with'; *ɛpʷe* or *hepe ɛpʷe* 'but'. In addition, the Tok Pisin form *o* 'or' has been borrowed into Loniu, and is attested in one instance as 'and' rather than 'or'. However, coordination need not be overtly stated, at least in the case of 'and' or 'but' (there are no attested examples of the meaning 'or' without an overt conjunction).

Coordination of constituents smaller than a clause are discussed elsewhere: coordination of nouns and noun phrases, as well as of prepositional phrases, in 4.4; of verb phrases and co-verb phrases, in 5.2.6; and coordination of non-verbal predicates in 6.1.6.

7.2.1 THE COORDINATING CONJUNCTION *ɛ*

Statistically the most commonly occurring of the coordinating conjunctions, *ɛ* can mean 'and', 'or', or 'but'. In addition to conjoining sentences, as exemplified in (23) through (27) below, it is attested as conjoining noun phrases and prepositional phrases; verb phrases and co-verb phrases; and non-verbal predicates. It may also be used sentence initially ((28), (29)). Normally, the meaning is 'and', but both 'but' and 'or' are attested translations of *ɛ*.

(23) *pɛʔɛkakan wak ɛ̲ ŋɔn ŋɛŋɛy*
shin.3SG bowed and nose.3SG pocked
He has bowed legs and a pockmarked nose.

(24) *yo yɛliŋi hah ɛ̲ yo ma kutɔ ɛtɛ hah ala ɛ̲*
1SG like 2PL and 1SG INT POT.SG.STAT AG 2PL first and

ya yo kili yaw pʷe
FUT 1SG PERF go NEG
I like you and I want to stay with you now, and I will not go away.

(25) *itiyɛn ni pʷe ɛ̲ itiyɛn tɛʔiw*
DEM fish NEG but DEM sibling.1SG
That is not a fish, but is my sister.

(26) *suʔu hi amat ɛ̲ suʔu hi činɛn?*
3DU FEM human or 3DU FEM demon
Are they human women or are they demons?

(27) *kɔ itɔ peŋ ɛ̲ yo utɔ pun ɛ̲ lamp*
land 3SG.STAT night and 1SG 1SG.STAT sew and lamp

itɔ yat...
3SG.STAT burn
It was night-time and I was sewing and the lamp was lit...

(28) *ɛ̲ hipiti kɔmu pɛti kɔ ɛ pɛti taya pʷɛlɛyah hipiti itiyɛn*
and like word from land and for catching parrotfish like DEM
So the story about Loniu and catching parrotfish is thus.

(29) *ɛ̲ wɔw ɛlɛ lih ɛlɛwɛn...*
and 2SG 2SG.PERF.go ?? far
And did you go far...?

7.2.2 THE COORDINATING CONJUNCTION *ma*

The conjunction *ma* was translated as 'and' and 'with'. When the meaning is 'and', speakers indicated that both *ɛ* and *ma* may be used, at least in some instances. In addition to conjoining clauses ((30)–(31)), *ma* is also attested as conjoining noun phrases, and there is one example of prepositional phrases conjoined by *ma*. However, there are no examples of co-verb phrases, verbs, verb phrases, or non-verbal predicates conjoined with *ma*.

Note that the conjunction *ma* differs from the intentional/inchoative particle *ma* in that the former occurs in the frames NP___NP, S___S, and PP___PP, while the latter occurs only in preverbal position, preceding the potential form of the verb. Of course, the meanings also differ.

(30) *suʔu tɛwɛ kɔmu a iy, ta ɲɛtu suʔu ... ma suʔu mɔn*
3DU put word POSS 3SG POSS child 3DU and 3DU return
They give their child's answer...and they return.

(31) *ɲɛtu suʔu kaman iy ipʷɛ ɛhɛ yo yɛliŋi ma lɔŋɔw iy yoʔose*
child 3DU male 3SG 3SG.say yes 1SG like and thing 3SG walk
Their son says 'Yes, I like it', and the agreement is reached.

7.2.3 THE COORDINATING CONJUNCTION ɔ

The conjunction ɔ is borrowed from Tok Pisin, and while it occurs quite frequently in the taped narratives, and was heard regularly in conversations in the village, Loniu speakers are aware that it is not an original Loniu word, and prefer to replace it with Loniu ɛ in the dictated versions of narratives. In addition to conjoining clauses ((32)–(33)), ɔ is used to conjoin noun phrases, prepositional phrases, and co-verb phrases. There are no examples of ɔ used to conjoin verb phrases or non-verbal predicates.

(32) *hetow čɛnɛ ɔ hetow suwani tun*
3PCL paddle or 3PCL pole canoe
They paddle or pole the canoe.

(33) *sɛh leʔe iwɛnɛy ... ɔ sɛh leʔe kili wɛnɛy pʷe*
3PL see 3SG.enough or 3PL see PERF enough NEG
(If) they see it is enough...or (if) they see it isn't enough.

7.2.4 THE COORDINATING CONJUNCTION *(hepe)* ɛpʷe

This form is used only to conjoin clauses, and means 'but, however'. This phrase may be composed of *hepe* '(a) bit' and ɛpʷe 'only, just', but none of the speakers who used it suggested such a connection. The variation between *hepe* ɛpʷe and ɛpʷe appears to be unpredictable.

(34) *aŋ a yo iy kilɛ paʔɔh, hepe ɛpʷe ya*
day POSS 1SG 3SG POT.SG.go near but FUT

yo kili yaw pʷe yo kutɔ ɛtɛ hah ala
1SG PERF go NEG 1SG POT.SG.STAT AG 2PL first
My time is almost over, but I won't go away, I'll stay with you now.

(35) *ŋaʔa namɛtiyɛn ŋaʔan čiʔih ɛpʷe law iy ti law*
name big name.3SG net but net 3SG EMPH net

lawɛyap iy ti lawɛyap
k.o. net 3SG EMPH k.o. net
The cover term is *čiʔih*, but the *law* net is one kind, the *laweyap* net is another kind.

(36) *...iy ŋahan ɔ iy lɛŋɛʔi hipɛta ilɛ čipitan hepe epʷe*
3SG sour or 3SG like like 3SG.go bitter but

iy ɛnɛyan a hetow hetow to yɛni
3SG food POSS 3PCL 3PCL STAT eat
...it was sour or like it was bitter, but it was their food and they would eat it.

In one case, the taped version of a narrative contained only the form *epʷe*, but the speaker supplied the full *hepe epʷe* in the dictated version:

(37) *suʔu to yɛni. (hepe) epʷe suʔu to yɛni suʔu to ɛmɔt*
3DU STAT eat but 3DU STAT eat 3DU STAT vomit
They would eat it. But when they ate it they would vomit.

7.2.5 COORDINATION WITH NO OVERT CONJUNCTION

In multiple clause sentences composed of clauses which occur in a series, with no coordinator or subordinator (see 7.1), a particular type of coordination may be implied. In such cases, the context allows for interpretation of the type of coordination intended – 'and' or 'but'. There are no examples of an implied 'or'; all cases of disjunction are overtly marked by the use of either *ɛ* or *ɔ*.

(38) *ɛ iy ehe ɛ imete iy kili mete pʷe ito*
and 3SG lie.down and 3SG.sleep 3SG PERF sleep NEG 3SG.STAT

mamat epʷe, aŋ iselay
awake only day 3SG.break
And she lay down to sleep but she didn't sleep, she stayed awake until daybreak.

(39) *kaman ɛ pihin suʔu yoʔose huyan suʔu ehe huyan*
male and female 3DU walk good 3DU lie.down good
The man and woman get along well (and) live together well.

7.3 SUBORDINATION

In addition to the paratactic juxtaposition of clauses in a chain and the use of coordinating conjunctions to join clauses, the Loniu language employs three forms which are used as clause subordinators: *lɛŋɛʔi*, *hipɛta*, and *wɛnɛy*. The first two, *lɛŋɛʔi* and *hipɛta*, share many structures and functions, while the third, *wɛnɛy*, is much more limited in both distribution and meaning.

7.3.1 THE SUBORDINATOR *lɛŋɛʔi*

When this form is followed by a noun phrase, it is used as a comparative (see 6.4):

(40) *mʷiʔin ɔw kɛčɛʔiti ke lɛŋɛʔi nas*
later 2DU POT.NS.cut wood like digging.stick
Then you cut a piece of wood like a digging stick.

(41) *ay a iy imɛ čahow lɛŋɛʔi ɛletu ŋetukan*
blood POSS 3SG 3SG.come appear like egg bird
Her blood became like a bird's egg.

(42) *mʷat ito yɛni lɛŋɛʔi ɲanɛ suʔu*
snake 3SG.STAT eat like mother 3DU
The snake would eat like their mother did.

Lɛŋɛʔi may also introduce a full sentence, and in such constructions has the meanings 'such that' or 'as though':

(43) *ⁿrɛkɛpʷɛn a iy lɛŋɛʔi paʔoh iy ma kilɛ*
behaviour POSS 3SG like hear 3SG INT POT.SG.go
lɔŋɔw muwan
thing bad
His behaviour is as if he may become an evil thing.

(44) *tun maʔuwey iy lɛŋɛʔi hetow masɔŋɔn sih hetow*
canoe two 3SG like 3PCL ten one 3PCL
masɔŋɔn sih
ten one
There are two canoes, such that there are ten men in each one.

(45) *ɔ itiyɔ lɛŋɛʔi amat tɔ kɔ sipi itiyɔ*
oh DEM like human STAT land one DEM
Oh, it looks like there are people over there.

(46) *ya yo kupʷɛy lɛŋɛʔi hah ma kaʔaŋɛy*
FUT 1SG POT.SG.say.it like 2PL INT POT.PL.hear.it
I'll tell (about) it so that you can hear it.

Thus *lɛŋɛʔi* may connect a noun phrase with a following noun phrase (40), a sentence with a following noun phrase (41), (42); a noun phrase with a following sentence (43)–(45); or two sentences (46).

Two speakers used the form *lɛŋɛʔi* to mean 'when' (see 7.1). In most of the examples of this type, the word used initially was Tok Pisin *taim*, and the *lɛŋɛʔi* form was substituted in the dictated version as preferable to the Tok Pisin and as equivalent in meaning:

(47) *ɛ lɛŋɛʔi sɛh la sɛh kɛli taʔi pʷɛlɛyah pʷe sɛh la mɔn*
CONJ like 3PL go 3PL PERF catch parrotfish NEG 3PCL go return
And when they go and they don't catch any fish, they come back.

(48) *sɛh čaʔiti ɲɛti ke inɛn lɛŋɛʔi suwɛ imɛ ɛk itiyɛn*
3PL cut DIM wood small like yam 3SG.come grow DEM
ɲɛti ke inɛn sɛh tɔ pɔsɔwe now
DIM wood small 3PL STAT call stake
They cut a small piece of wood when the yams come up, a little piece of wood they call a stake.

While not every instance of *lɛŋɛʔi* as 'when' is a dictated substitute for the spontaneous use of Tok Pisin *taim*, the majority are. One of the speakers who uses *lɛŋɛʔi* as 'when' also uses it to mean 'like, such that', which is the more common usage.

The same speaker also used the form *aŋ* 'day' to replace *taim* (see (13) above). The difference may be related to the specificity of the time period involved, such that *aŋ* is used when a particular day is indicated while *lɛŋɛʔi* is used when a more general time period is

involved. However, due to the scarcity of examples and to the limited use of *lɛŋɛʔi* as a temporal subordinator, no definite statements can be made at this point. It is very possible that the temporal use of *lɛŋɛʔi* is a relatively recent expansion of its functions, perhaps in response to pressure or influence from the Tok Pisin syntactic strategies of subordination (see, for example, Ingemann 1985).

7.3.2 THE SUBORDINATOR *hipɛta*

The form *hipɛta* and its variants *hipiti*, *hipɛra*, and *hipiri* may be used in comparative constructions. Like *lɛŋɛʔi*, they may compare two noun phrases, indicating that one noun phrase is like the other (see 6.4):

(49) *itiyɔ* { *hipɛta* / *lɛŋɛʔi* } *itiyɔ*
DEM like DEM
This one is like that one.

One speaker indicated that 'sometimes' *lɛŋɛʔi* and *hipɛta* are the same in meaning. It seems likely that this type of comparative construction is one of those times.

The form *hipɛta* may also be used to introduce a clause or sentence, and in such constructions has the general meaning 'like, so (that)':

(50) *lɛlɛ pɛti ɛy hipɛta ɲato u iy a ilɛ tah*
look of PRO like grandmother 1DU.EXC 3SG still 3SG.go LOC
It looks like our grandmother is still there.

(*Lɛŋɛʔi* was also accepted in place of *hipɛta* in (50).)

(51) *yo ta čumʷi kɔmu a wɔw ɛpʷe hipɛta toʔu*
1SG CONT agree word POSS 2SG only so 1DU.INC

kɛʔɛli ɲɛtu toʔu pihin iy kimɛ
POT.NS.call child 1DU.INC female 3SG POT.SG.come
I agree with what you say, so let's call our daughter to come.

(52) *sɛh la huti imɛ ɛ hipɛta ŋaʔa sɛh sɛh lɛʔi to*
3PL go take 3SG.come and so name 3PL 3PL PRES STAT
They brought them back, and thus their names are still used.

(53) *ɛ hipɛta ilɛ mʷɛnɛn ilɛ aŋ malimɛh suʔu ma*
and thus 3SG.go straight 3SG.go day five 3DU INT

kɛleʔey imɛ čahow mʷɛnɛn ilɛ kakawah a iy
POT.NS.see.it 3SG.come appear straight 3SG.go grave POSS 3SG
And thus right on the fifth day, when they went to look, it was rising right up out of his grave.

(54) *hetow tɔw tɔw tɔw hipɛta hetow masih hetow mat hipʷɛtu*
3PCL STAT STAT STAT thus 3PCL all 3PCL die Hipwetu

ɛ amɛy suʔu tɔw
and Amey 3DU STAT
They lived there for a long time, and thus they all died and only Hipwetu and Amey remained.

There are also a number of sentences in which the meaning of *hipɛta* was given as 'if' or 'when':

(55) *iy amat ɪtiyɛn ... iy kili mɛ hipɛta iy kilɛ*
3SG man DEM 3SG PERF come if 3SG POT.SG.go

iwiʔiw ... wɔw ɛčumʷi iy
call.out 2SG 2SG.answer 3SG
When that man comes, if he calls out...you answer him.

(56) *kɔ a u itiyɔ ɛ hipiri tɔʔu kaʔase*
land POSS 1DU.EXC DEM and if 1DU.INC POT.NS.walk

hipiri itiyɔ ya tɔʔu kɛmɛ ɛy
like DEM FUT 1DU.INC POT.NS.come PRO
This is our land (my grandmother and me) and if we (you and I) walk this way, we will come to it.

(57) *ɔw kɔlɔmʷi yo ... hipɛta ɔw kɔlɔmʷi yo kilɛ*
2DU POT.NS.plant 1SG when 2DU POT.NS.plant 1SG POT.SG.go

pʷič, ɔw kɔtɔ ɔŋɔhe aŋ a yo...
be.finished, 2DU POT.NS.STAT count day POSS 1SG
Bury me...when you have finished burying me, you must count my days...

(58) *huyan lɛʔi tɔw ɛ hipiri ɔw ma kaw ɛpʷe*
good PRES STAT and when 2DU INT POT.NS.go only

ɔw kɛmɛ
2DU POT.NS.come
OK, leave them here, and when you are ready to go, come here.

There were also several instances of *hipɛta* for which no clear gloss was forthcoming:

(59) *itiyɛn hipiri ŋan itiyɔ ilɛ tɔ lɔn*
DEM like sun DEM 3SG.go STAT inside.3SG
Then the sun is/would be going down.

(60) *kɔsɔnay a uwɛh pʷahačalan ⁿrɛkɛpʷɛn pɛti ɛy hipɛta*
marriage POSS 1PL.EXC road.3SG behaviour of PRO ??

yo ma kunɛnɛs kilɛ ɛy hah kaʔaŋɛy huyan
1SG INT POT.SG.talk POT.SG.go PRO 2PL POT.NS.hear.it well
Our marriage ceremonies, the procedures, the customs involved, I am going to talk about them, you listen well.

There are a number of examples of sentences which include *hipɛta* in combination with one of the other two subordinators, *lɛŋɛʔi* or *wɛnɛy* (see 7.3.3.):

(61) *aŋ a iy iy lɛŋɛʔi hipɛta iy ma kimɛt*
day POSS 3SG 3SG such.that 3SG INT POT.SG.die
His days were such that he was dying.

(62) *hetow tɔw tɔw tɔw hipɛta lɛŋɛʔi hetow tɔ tow itiyɛn*
3PCL STAT STAT STAT such.that 3PCL STAT give.birth DEM
They stayed there so long that they had children.
(Tok Pisin: *Oli i stap i stap olsem ol laik stap karim pikinini nau.*)

(63) *sɛh puti lɔtay iwɛnɛy hipɛta suwɛ ɛpʷe iy kimɛ ma*
3PL pull weed 3SG.until so yam only 3SG POT.SG.come ripe
They pull out the weeds so that only the yams get ripe.

The combinations of *hipɛta* with *lɛŋɛʔi* or *wɛnɛy* seem to have the meanings of either one or the other of the two combined forms. When *wɛnɛy* is involved, the Tok Pisin was usually *inap olsem*; when *lɛŋɛʔi* co-occurred with *hipɛta*, the Tok Pisin was usually just *olsem*.

It should also be pointed out that both *hipɛta* and *lɛŋɛʔi* may occur following the coordinating conjunction *ɛ* – see examples (47), (52), (53), (56) and (58).

7.3.3 THE SUBORDINATOR *wɛnɛy*

The form *wɛnɛy* is classified as a verb, since it occurs with the normal verbal inflections and can serve as the main verb of a sentence, with the meaning 'be able, be sufficient':

(64) *yo kili wɛnɛy pʷe*
1SG PERF able NEG
I am unable (physically); I can't.

(65) *pɛtɔt a iy iwɛnɛy ilɛ huti lɔŋɔw itiyɛn*
strength POSS 3SG 3SG.sufficient 3SG.go take thing DEM
His strength is sufficient to pick up that thing.

(66) *hipɛta mahu čɛŋi hetow kilɛ huyan hetow kɛwɛnɛy*
if tomorrow flesh 3PCL POT.SG.go good 3PCL POT.NS.able

hetow kɛmɛ sukul
3PCL POT.NS.come school
If they are better tomorrow, if they are able, they will come to school.

This verb is also used in co-verb constructions (see 5.2). When it is followed by a noun phrase, the meaning is 'up to, until, as far as':

(67) *iy itɛʔɛŋani iwɛnɛy aŋ malimɛh*
3SG 3SG.wait 3SG.until day five
She waited until the fifth day.

(68) *iy ičɛʔiti mʷat iwɛnɛy čupun masaŋat ɔ čupun maʔuŋɛt*
3SG 3SG.cut snake 3SG.until piece 100 or piece 200
She cut the snake up into 100 or 200 pieces.

(69) *kaw a suʔu hilow uwɛnɛy kɔ masih pučey*
spell POSS 3DU run 3SG.until land all together
The spell reached as far as all the lands.

(70) *titiye pɛti kɔ čalɔke ... imɛ iwɛnɛy imɛ ɲɔkɔmɔpun*
story of land Caloke 3SG.come 3SG.until 3SG.come grandchild.3SG
The story about Caloke...comes as far as (and includes) the grandchildren.

The verb *wɛnɛy* may also function as a sentence connector. In such cases, the two sentences involved are each independent main clause constructions and could stand alone with no modification. The presence of *wɛnɛy* between the two indicates a causal relationship between them, in the sense that the first sentence provides the circumstances for the second to be true:

(71) *wɔw lɛʔi to pʷičikaka mɛnuway ɲapɛriyɛ iwɛnɛy ya*
2SG PRES STAT talon eagle powerful 3SG.able FUT

wɔw ɛli lɔs pʷe
2SG PERF fall NEG
You are in the talons of the powerful eagle, so you can't fall.

(72) *ɛy tɛʔiw ta ɛtɛ wɔw iwɛnɛy ya wɔw ɛli mɛ*
smell sibling.1SG LOC AG 2SG 3SG.able FUT 2SG PERF come

pɛlɛŋan pʷe
on.top NEG
The smell of my sister is on you so you cannot come up here.

There is a group of sentences containing *wɛnɛy* in which the verb of the main clause is *leʔe* 'see'. In these sentences, *wɛnɛy* was translated as 'be suitable/sufficient (for Sentence)':

(73) *iy ileʔe iwɛnɛy ya suʔu ɲanɛn suʔu kaʔač*
3SG 3SG.see 3SG.suitable FUT 3DU mother.3SG 3DU POT.NS.hide

kilɛ ɛy
POT.SG.go PRO
He saw that it was suitable for him and his mother to hide there.

(74) a. *uwɛh leʔe iwɛnɛy ya uwɛh kɛtɛkɛni kilɛ*
1PL.EXC see 3SG.sufficient FUT 1PL.EXC POT.NS.throw POT.SG.go

ɛy
PRO
If/when we see that there is enough space, we can throw it (the net) into it.

In these sentences, the *wɛnɛy* verb is subordinate to *leʔe* and is part of the first clause:

(74) b. *(((uwɛh) (leʔe (iwɛnɛy))) (ya uwɛh kɛtɛkɛni kilɛ ɛy))*
S_1S_2NP NP VP S_3 $S_3VPS_2S_4$ S_4S_1

The subject of the embedded sentence, the subject, that is, of the verb *wɛnɛy*, is not stated in (73) and (74a), but it may be:

(75) *suʔu kɛleʔe ko iwɛnɛy itiyɛn ya suʔu kɛtɛkɛni*
3DU POT.NS.see land 3SG.sufficient DEM FUT 3DU POT.NS.throw

aŋo kilɛ ɛy
k.o. net POT.SG.go PRO
If/when they see that there is enough space they can throw the net into it.

In other cases, the subject of *wɛnɛy* may be understood to be an earlier noun phrase, mentioned in a preceding sentence.

These sentences with *leʔe* are, with a single exception, the only ones in which *wɛnɛy* is followed by an affirmative sentence. The exception is:

(76) *himɔmon iy ipʷe ya iy kitɔ kɛlɛwɛ um a*
Himomon 3SG 3SG.say FUT 3SG POT.SG.STAT care.for house POSS

a yo ma lɔŋɔw a yo ɛ pusi puliye uwɛnɛy yo
POSS 1SG and thing POSS 1SG and cat also 3SG.until 1SG

kilɛ *mɔn* *kimɛ*
POT.SG.go return POT.SG.come
Himomon said she would take care of my house and my things and my cat as well, until I come back.

Unlike examples (71) and (72), the *wɛnɛy* in the *leʔe* sentences is not clearly separable from the first clause. The first clause is not an independent clause in five of the six *leʔe* sentences: *leʔe* requires a stated object, either in the form of a following noun phrase or sentence, or as the objective suffix *-y*. This suffix does not occur in the five sentences mentioned, thus indicating that the *wɛnɛy* construction is a noun phrase or sentence, serving as the object of the verb *leʔe*. (See 7.3.5 (Sentential objects).)

7.3.4 THE SUBORDINATOR *ilɛ čah*

This form, which is composed of the third person singular form of the verb 'go' and the word for 'what, something', is used to introduce reason clauses, and also serves as the interrogative 'why' (see 6.7.3 (Information questions)). The gloss for *ilɛ čah* will be given as 'reason'.

(77) *ɛ* *tɛlɛ* *ulin* *hipiri* ... *mačuluwey* *ɔ* *mahayey* *ilɛ čah*
and canoe lead/point like three or four reason

law *mata* *itiyɛn* *itɔ* *yɛliŋi* *tun* *čɛlɛwan*
net big DEM 3SG.STAT like canoe many
And there are three or four lead or point canoes because the big *law* net requires many canoes.

(78) *uwɛh* *tɛwɛ* *kɔw* *a* *suwɛ* *ilɛ čah* *pow, pow* *iy* *kiyɛni*
1PL.EXC put fence POSS yam reason pig pig 3SG POT.SG.eat

suwɛ *pičinah* *ɛpʷe*
little.yam big.yam only
We put up a fence for the yams, because the pigs will eat the yams.

(79) *yo* *lɛʔi* *tɔ* *hinɛ* *ilɛ čah* *čačah* *ipʷɛy*
1SG PRES STAT do reason papa 3SG.say.it
I am doing it because Papa told me to.

7.3.5 SENTENTIAL OBJECTS

Full sentences may function as the direct object of the verb in the case of four transitive verbs: *leʔe* 'see', *pʷa* 'say', *yɛliŋi* 'like, want', and *hinɛni* 'make, do, cause'. Examples of this type of construction are given in 5.1.2.2 (The transitive verb phrase). There are no sentential subjects attested.

7.3.6 SUMMARY

The data available indicate that the most common method for conjoining clauses is simple parataxis, while the use of the subordinators *hipɛta, wɛnɛy, lɛŋɛʔi*, and *ilɛ čah* provides additional strategies to make overt some of the possible dependency relationships between clauses. Of the subordinators, *hipɛta* is the most frequently occurring and has the broadest semantic field, ranging from 'like, thus, so that' to 'when, if, until'. *Lɛŋɛʔi* has the same

syntactic distribution as *hipɛta*, and has some semantic overlap as well, especially in prenominal position. However, only *hipɛta* is used to mean 'thus' or 'if'. The 'when' meaning of *hipɛta* is always future, while the 'when' meaning of *lɛŋɛʔi* is normally habitual, and this use of *lɛŋɛʔi* is an equivalent for Tok Pisin *taim*, which appears to be a relatively recent innovation and is limited in use.

The verb *wɛnɛy* is much more restricted in distribution and semantic content, but appears to be expanding to include at least those structures and meanings for which Tok Pisin *inap* has been borrowed into the Loniu. The pressure from the syntactic patterns of Tok Pisin, with its subordinators *taim* and *inap*, seems to be causing or encouraging modifications of Loniu syntax to allow for the overt expression of a wider range of the semantic dependency relationships between clauses.

7.4 SENTENCE CONNECTORS

Among the most frequent strategies for cohesion in Loniu discourse is a sentence-initial reference to a preceding sentence. The form *hipɛta* (7.3.2) may be used sentence and clause initially with the meaning 'thus, so', indicating that the new sentence is in some way a result or effect of the preceding one (see examples (51)–(55) above). Preceding sentences may also be referred to in other ways: part or all of the preceding sentence may be repeated (80); the intransitive verb *pʷičˇ* 'be completed, finished' may begin the sentence, indicating that the activity of the preceding sentence has been completed before the activity of the new sentence begins (81); and the phrase *itiyɛn ɛ*, literally 'that and', may introduce the new sentence, and appears to be roughly equivalent to English 'and so, and then' (82).

(80) *...ɛ sɛh sɛʔɛhi sɛh imɛ tun itiyɛn. sɛh sɛʔɛhi sɛh*
and 3PL carry 3PL 3SG.come canoe DEM 3PL carry 3PL

imɛ tun ɛ hipiti sɛh leʔe iwɛnɛy, sɛh taʔi sipi
3SG.come canoe and so 3PL see 3SG.enough 3PL catch half

ɛpʷe tun masih iy lɔn. tun masih iy lɔn ɛ itiyɛn
only canoe all 3SG down canoe all 3SG down and DEM

ɛ sɛh mɔn
and 3PL return
...and they carry them to the canoe. They carry them to the canoe, and so they see if they have caught enough to make the canoe ride low. If the canoe rides low, then they go back (home).

(81) *uto tuwe ti, uto in. ilɛ pʷičˇ yo*
1PCL.EXC cook tea 1PCL.EXC drink 3SG.go finish 1SG

uto kantin
1SG.STAT canteen
We made tea and drank it. After that, I was in the canteen for a while.

(82) *hetow min tan ilɛ um a hetow. itiyɛn ɛ iy*
3PCL sit down 3SG.go house POSS 3PCL DEM and 3SG

itɛwɛ komu ilɛ mʷɛlɛŋa hetow
3SG.put word 3SG.go between 3PCL
They sat down in their house. And then he put the matter before them.

LEXICON

LONIU TO ENGLISH

INTRODUCTION

Alphabetisation following the standard Roman alphabet except as follows:

(a) *č* replaces *c*;
(b) *ɛ* precedes *e*;
(c) nasals are alphabetised in the following order: *m* m^w *n* *ɲ* *ŋ*;
(d) *ɔ* precedes *o*;
(e) *p* precedes p^w;
(f) ^{n}*r*, the variant of /ɾ/ in initial position, follows p^w.

The format of the entries is generally as follows:

main entry.variant(s) (grammatical class) definition [derivation]; long or short form; derived forms; (synonyms or antonyms).

Question marks (?) indicate lack of information or uncertainty.

Variants are included when the main entry was attested with more than a single form.

The grammatical class of verbs includes the Class I (*ɛ-* prefix) or Class II (*a-* prefix) membership (see 3.4.2) where clearly established. Nouns which are inalienably possessed are indicated by (i.n.).

Where a definition is not clear, and the Tok Pisin (TP) translation may be helpful for clarification, it is included.

The derivation of polymorphemic forms is indicated by square brackets ([ ]); in many cases, the analysis is speculative, and these cases are indicated by inclusion of a question mark following the left bracket. Roots which are probable bases in a derivation, but are not attested as independent forms, are indicated with an asterisk (*). Derivations which are exclusively reduplicational are indicated by the phrase 'redup. of (base)'. Nouns which are nominalisations of verbs are so identified, by use of the phrase 'nom. of (verb)'; where the nominalisation is achieved by suffixation of *-(y)a*, no further morphological analysis is provided – see 3.8.3.5.

The abbreviations s.f. (short form) and l.f. (long form) in an entry refer to the long or short alternant of the main entry. Nouns with long and short forms are discussed in 2.6.2.2.2 and 3.1.1.3, and verbs with long and short forms in 2.6.2.4 and 3.4.1.3.

Forms which are derived from the main entry are indicated by the abbreviation der. (derived forms). Derivation in general is discussed in 3.8.

Entries which have identified synonyms or antonyms contain reference to these forms as the last part of the entry, in parentheses.

The abbreviation cf. is used to indicate that the form which follows it is semantically related to the main entry, and may provide the reader with further material for comparative work.

Main entries do not include personal names or Tok Pisin borrowings. Names of fish species which were attested independently with the same referent from more than one speaker are indicated by the term 'probably' (prob.); where the source was a single speaker, or where the definitions differed among speakers, the term 'possibly' (poss.) is used. Names of fish were, for the most part, obtained based on identification of illustrations in Ian S.R. Munro's very helpful book, *The fishes of Papua New Guinea.*

The following abbreviations are also used in the lexicon and finderlist:

adv.	adverb	n.f.	noun formative
ant.	antonym	neg.phrase	negative phrase
aux.	auxiliary	num.	number
conj.	conjunction	part.	particle
d.a.	demonstrative adjective	prep.	preposition
dem.	demonstrative	pro.	pronoun
det.	determiner	quant.	quantifier
i.n.	inalienably possessed	sub.conj.	subordinating conjunction
interj.	interjection	syn.	synonym
interr.	interrogative	trans.	transitive
interr.pro.	interrogative pronoun	v.i.	intransitive verb
n.	noun	v.t.	transitive verb

a (part.) still.

a/ta (part.) alienable possessive marker (see 3.1.1.1).

ač/ay (v.i. Class II) hide.

ačaŋ (n.) gloss unclear, poss. a stick used as a kind of tool.

ačaŋačaŋan (n.) gloss unclear, poss. the type of leaf which is deeply scalloped around the edge [*a* '?' + redup. of **čaŋa* '?'].

ačɛčɛʔɛt (v.i. Class I) crawl [*a-* '?' + *čɛ* 'redup' + *čɛʔɛt* 'crawl'].

ah (n.) placenta.

ah (n.) central stem of sago leaf, possibly of any palm leaf.

ah (n.) k.o. cane.

ah (v.i. Class II) jump, step into, embark.

ahan (n.) beauty, beautiful; nom. of *ahi* 'beautify'.

ahani (v.t. Class II?) beautify [?*ahi* 'beautify' + *-ani* 'trans.'].

ahani (v.t. Class ?) put to bed; spread out (as covers on a bed).

ahi (v.t. Class II) step on, usually with some force; also may be short form of *ahani* 'beautify', but is attested only in phrases which indicate sarcasm: *itiyɔ čah, ɛhi wɔw?* 'What's that? It makes you look ridiculous!'

akalakan (v.i. Class II) grope; feel around without seeing [*?a* '?' + redup. of **kal* '??'].

akapata (i.n.) frond; vine, e.g. of yam plant; [*aka* '?' + *pata* 'stem, branch'].

ake (n.) gloss unclear, poss. group of trees [*?a* '?' + *ke* 'tree'].

akɪhiye (i.n.) firewood fetcher and carrier [*a* '?' + *kihiye* 'firewood (i.n.)'].

ako (n.) name of point of land near Loniu village.

akuwɛn (n.) k.o. fish, prob. sprat.

aley (n.) line around edge of fishing net to which floats or sinkers are attached.

aman (n.) k.o. coconut, apparently the most common type.

aman (n.?) red (syn. *mɛ?iman*).

amat (n.) human being, person; often used to refer only to males.

amɛy (n.) k.o. bird, poss. the purple swamphen.

amʷisi (v.t. Class I) infect, poison, cause to itch or swell; fig. to give someone the creeps; ?der. *ɛmusun* 'poisonous'.

an (n.) fresh water, lake, river; (l.f.) *ɛnu* 'water, juice'.

an (n.) termite.

an (v.t. Class ?) gather certain kinds of molluscs.

ana (i.n.) consumable possession; see 3.1.1.2.2.

ana (n.) unspecified person, as in *ana hi pawi* 'a woman from Pawi'.

ana (n.) k.o. fish, poss. herring or pilchard.

aŋɛliŋan (v.i. Class ?) crawl on all fours; [*a* '?' + redup. of *ŋan* 'crawl on all fours'].

aŋ (n.) day; in the phrase *amat aŋ*, means living human, as opposed to *amat su* 'spirit, ghost'.

aŋo (n.) gloss unclear, poss. k.o. fishing net.

apa?ahan (n.) bottom portion of a tree trunk, felled and divided along its length [*a* '?' + *pa?aha* 'area underneath' + *-n* '3SG possessor']; cf. *atatan*.

apɛ / yapɛ formative in questions, poss. short form of *tɛtape* 'how'.

apɛti (v.t. Class II) press down, put together; steer canoe with pole or paddle held straight, close in to side of canoe; cf. *yaliwi* 'steer with pole held out from canoe'.

apɔ (n.) k.o. tree, which in Loniu has some traditional restrictions as to its use for firewood.

apow (n.) small sparse plant with ivy-shaped leaf, used for weaving carrying bags or baskets.

apučɔ (n.) Loniu name for the island Rambutsyo.

apulɔk (v.i.?) hang up.

apulupun (n.) k.o. fish, poss. k.o. eel or long-tom [*a* '?' + redup. of **pul* '??'].

apʷɛsi (v.t. Class II) take off, poss. get rid of.

arikoko (n.) k.o. shell with leg-like projections, prob. family *Strombidae* or *Muricidae* [? *ari* '?' + *koko* 'my leg'].

as (v.t. Class II) scratch; l.f. *asi* [*as* + *-i* 'trans.'].

atatan (n.) top half of tree trunk, felled and divided along its length [*a* '?' + *tata* 'upper surface' + *-n* '3SG possessor']; (ant. *apaʔahan* 'bottom half of tree trunk').

atay (n.) side of canoe without outrigger; rope or line used on sailing canoes.

awah (n.) k.o. fish, poss. squirrel fish.

ay (n.) blood; l.f. *ɛyɛ*.

aya (n.) nom. of *aʔɛ* 'split' [*ʔaʔɛ* + *ya* 'NOM'].

aʔah (n.) lookout, spy.

aʔat / eyt (n.) caulking; the hard, inedible fruit from which the caulking is made.

aʔɛn (n.) name of place not far from Loniu village.

aʔɛ / yaʔɛ (v.t. Class II) split or separate a tree trunk lengthwise; der. *aya*.

čačah (n.) intimate or vocative for *ɲatama* 'father', as well as other close relationships (not clearly defined); cf. *čačoh, čapoh, yaya*.

čačoh (n.) intimate or vocative for *ɲato* 'grandmother', as well as father's sisters, children of ego's older sister who are older than ego; cf. *čačah, čapoh, yaya*.

čah / čika (interr. pro.) what; something; see 6.7.3.2.

čah (n.) k.o. tree/wood, used for making canoe attachments.

čahan/čahow/tahow (part. ?) used only following *mɛ* 'come': appear, come up, come out successfully.

čakulut (n.) rubbish, junk, garbage.

čakɛliyɛw (n.) k.o. fish, poss. herring or bream.

čakilikin (v.i.) jump around, wriggle, throw a fit.

čakɪn (d.a.) old, dirty, used.

čakɔpuʔɛpi (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of goatfish.

čakuputi (v.i. Class ?) run away, escape (syn. *wɔp*).

čala (i.n.) path, road; s.f. *čan*.

čalapʷɛni (v.t. Class I) lose, throw away, leave behind (for good).

čalɔke (n.) placename, section of Loniu village; forest debris [*čah* 'something' + *lɔ* 'in' + ke 'tree'].

čam/yam form used to indicate hesitation.

čam (n.) outrigger portion of canoe; l.f. *čama*.

čama (i.n.) outrigger portion of canoe; s.f. *čam*.

čama (v.i. Class ?) swell, abcess; get dry (e.g. reef).

čamɛlɛhɔn (n.) placename of a section of Loniu village.

čamɛti (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of goatfish.

čam^{w}at (n.) k.o. fish, sweetlips or sea perch.

čam^{w}a?aw (n.) a soft rain, a drizzle.

čan (n.) path, road; l.f. *čala*; der. *p^{w}ahačan.*

čan (v.t. Class I) cut, clear; l.f. *čani*; der. *čana.*

čana (i.n.) cutting, clearing; nom. of *čan* 'cut, clear'.

čani (v.t. Class I) clear, cut down (bush or sugarcane, e.g.); [*čan* 'clear' + *-i* 'trans.'].

čaŋa pɛtuwet (n.) arrangement of stones or tins used for holding pots over the fire.

čaŋah (n.) door.

čaŋaw (v.t. Class ?) ask for.

čapaŋ (n.) k.o. fish, poss. tang or surgeonfish.

čapɛruwa (n.) name of a section of Loniu village.

čapoh (n.) intimate or vocative for *ɲatupu* 'grandfather' cf. *čačah, čačoh, yaya.*

čap^{w}a (n.) k.o. fish, poss. sea bream; has large eyes.

čap^{w}atap^{w}at (v.i.) jump up, be startled.

čap^{w}ɛni (v.t. Class I) toss, throw gently (something which is intended to be recoverable).

čap^{w}ɛ?imam (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of wrasse.

čap^{w}iyani (v.t. Class I) to beat sago; one of the various steps or methods for beating the sago pulp in the production of edible sago.

čarɛm/čarɛwa (part.) must, should; apparently a hortative form, not commonly used; e.g. *čarɛm lɛŋin kimɛ* 'The rain must come!'

čatɔp (n.) k.o. fish, poss. false scorpionfish, roguefish, waspfish.

čaw (n.) married housing; area where married women live.

čaway (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of sardine or anchovy.

čay (n.) variety of Malay apple (syn. *me?e*).

ča?a (n.) gloss unclear; attested only in the phrase *mɛto kili ča?a 'hay bilong mi i no moa slip nau'.*

ča?ača (v.i.) wither, dry, as when a leaf dies or turns colour on a ripening yam plant.

ča?akɔ/ča?akoh (n.) dusk; almost dark [? *ča?a* '?' + *kɔ* 'land'].

ča?ɛh (v.t. Class I) cut into pieces.

ča?e (v.t. Class I) cut; l.f. *ča?iti.*

ča?iti (v.t. Class I) cut; [*ča?it* (s.f. *ča?e*) 'cut' + *-i* 'trans.']

čɛč (v.i. Class ?) skip across surface of water; body-surf.

čɛčɛ (n.) stain caused by fluid from a sore.

čɛčɛ?ɛt (v.i. Class I) crawl [*čɛ* 'redup.' + *čɛ?ɛt* 'crawl']; der. *ačɛčɛ?ɛt.*

čehemɛtiyɛn (d.a.) very large, huge [*čehe* '?' + *mɛtiyɛn* 'big'].

čɛhit (n.) a kind of sago palm with powdery substance on the branches; variety of the *pamat* type of sago palm.

čɛkɛhɛnɛ (i.n.) part of; related to, e.g. *iy čɛkɛhɛnɛm* 'What relationship is she (*iy*) to you (*-m*) ?'.

čɛkɛnan (v.i. Class ?) gloss unclear, poss. mutter.

čɛla tun (n.) gloss unclear, poss. canoe route through reef [? *čala* 'road' + *tun* 'canoe'].

čɛlaw (n.) piece of cloth used as woman's headdress; clothing (syn. *kɔlaw*).

čɛlɛhɛy (n.) k.o. small white bird, poss. k.o. tern.

čɛlɛmʷa (i.n.) pitiful thing; usually used with 3SG possessive suffix: *čɛlɛmʷan*; but also occurs without: *sɛh čɛlɛmʷa usiyay* 'the poor highland people!'

čɛlɛŋat (n.) water from ground pool, used for washing only.

čɛlɛp (n.) bed of the canoe.

čɛlɛwa (i.n.) many, much.

čɛli (v.t. Class I) slap.

čɛlipuh (n.) k.o. fish, prob. triggerfish; *čɛlipuh kɔ?ɔ* whitebarred triggerfish.

čɛliti (v.t. Class ?) trace, track, follow signs.

čɛlu (v.i. Class I) stand, get up; l.f. *čɛluwɛni*.

čɛluwɛni (v.t. Class I) stand, stand (NP) up [*čɛluw* (s.f. *čɛlu*) 'stand' + *ɛni* 'trans.'].

čɛmɛ (n.) k.o. fish, prob. unicornfish.

čɛmɛna (n.) witnessing, supporting; nom. of *čɛmɛni* 'witness, support, speak for'.

čɛmɛnani (v.t. Class ?) to witness, speak up for someone [*čɛmɛni* + *ani* 'trans.'].

čɛmɛni (v.t. Class ?) to witness, speak up for someone; support (physically); l.f. *čɛmɛnani*.

čɛn (v.t. Class I) show, point out; l.f. *čɛnɛwani*.

čɛnɛ (v.t. Class I) punt a canoe with punting pole; l.f. *čɛnɛni*.

čɛnɛni (v.t. Class I) punt a canoe [*čɛnɛ* + *ɛni* 'trans.'].

čɛnɛwani (v.t. Class I) show, point out [*čɛnɛw* (s.f. *čɛn*) 'show, point out' + *-ani* 'trans.'].

čɛŋi (i.n.) fruit; body or flesh; especially good yams used for feasts and gift exchanges.

čɛpɛritɛwi/ čapɛritɛwi (n.) name of mountain and tree on Rambutsyo Island, occurs in a Loniu legend.

čɛpʷi (v.t.) collect, e.g. bats by beating at a tree with a long stick; l.f. *čɛpʷiyani*; ?der. *kɛčɛpʷe* 'bat'.

čɛpʷiyani (v.t.) collect [*čɛpʷiy* (s.f. *čɛpʷi*) 'collect' + *-ani* 'trans.'].

čɛrikow (n.) k.o. bird with large eyes, said to cry at night, and to take the souls of the dead; prob. k.o. owl.

čɛrɔw (n.) carving; attested only in the phrase *amat a čɛrɔw* 'a carver'.

čɛwɛhe (v.t. Class I) pour or put (into a container).

čɛwɛnɛni/čɛwɛnani (v.t. Class ?) show, demonstrate.

čɛwɛti/sɛwɛti (v.t. Class I) fasten or sew with rope or twine.

čɛwi (i.n.) gloss unclear, poss. a kind of revenge (?syn. *čɔʔuya*).

čɛʔɛn (i.n.?) gloss unclear, poss. variant of *čiʔe* woman's sister-in-law.

čɛʔɛt (v.i. Class I) crawl, move along a narrow way, such as a branch or tree trunk; der. *čɛčɛʔɛt, ačɛčɛʔɛt;* also, to look for mangrove crabs (when used with *la* 'go').

čɛʔiča (v.i. Class ?) ripen, wither; variant of *čaʔača.*

čɛʔih (n.) k.o. fish, poss. trevally; poss. k.o. orchid.

čeʔekas (n.) fibre used to fasten wooden pieces together; used specifically with roof parts; [*čeʔe* '?' + *kas* 'k.o. bamboo'].

čeʔe ta pučɔn (n.) house supports.

čeʔi (n.) k.o. bush or tree.

či (v.i. Class ?) bleed.

čič (n.) k.o. fish, poss. garfish; *čič kɔhɔh* 'flying fish'.

čičiŋew (v.i.?) ache; attested only in the phrase *tɛliŋɔ čičiŋew* 'my ears ache from so much noise'.

čiči?ɔn (n.) k.o. shell, prob. mud whelk, *Terebralia palustris* (*Linnaeus*), of the family *Potamididae.*

čihi (interr. pro.) which, what, non-specific (see 6.7.3.5).

čihi (n.) small parrot.

čika (n.) variant of *čah* 'what, something'.

čikan (d.a.) tough, uncooked.

čikičik (v.i.) be arrogant, boast; redup. of *čikiya.*

čikiya (i.n.) arrogance, boasting; der. *čikičik, čikiyani.*

čikiyani (v.t.) gloss unclear; apparently related to *čikiya* [*čikiya* 'arrogance' + *-ani* 'trans.'].

čili (i.n.) sprout, especially banana shoot.

čilim (n.) k.o. fruit-eating bird.

čilimata (i.n.) eyeball or socket; [*čili* 'sprout' + *mata* 'eye'] *čilimata ni*, lit. 'fish eyeball/socket', may be slang for 'money'.

čilimʷɛkɛw (n.) k.o. fish, poss. bream or jobfish [cf. *mʷɛkɛw* 'deep sea'].

čim (v.t. Class I) buy, sell, barter; l.f. *čimani.* (n.) purchase; der. *čima.*

čima (i.n.) purchase; buying, paying for; nom. of *čim(ani).*

čimani (v.t. Class I) buy, sell, barter [*čim* 'buy' + *-ani* 'trans.'].

čimɛnat (n.) small bushy tree with gluey sap.

čin (n.) canoe masts.

činɛn (n.) ceremonial platform, similar to but not as important as the *kɛlɛw* type. Each area of the village has one of each type.

činɛn (n.) a demon or spirit.

činiti (v.t. Class ?) fasten together; possibly the line used to do the fastening. Used specifically with nets.

čip (n.) window.

čipɛtun (n.) wood chips and shavings from making a canoe.

čipiči (v.i.?) gloss unclear, poss. have some form of illness.

čipitan (d.a.) spicy, bitter, strong-tasting.

čipɔʔɔmʷan (n.) charcoal [*či* '??' + *pɔʔɔ* 'within' + *mʷan* 'fire'].

čipʷan (n.) crossbars fixed to edge of canoe bed for holding punting poles.

čito/čuto/čuro/ču (pro.) first person paucal inclusive.

čiʔe/čɛʔɛ (i.n.) woman's sister-in-law.

čiʔih (n.) general term for fishing nets.

čɔ (n.) foolish or crazy person.

čɔčɔmʷi (v.t. Class I) sharpen, make a point on.

čɔčɔʔɔtani (v.t.) gloss unclear, poss. gather food together for meal.

čɔhɔna (i.n.) place.

čɔlay (n.) sailfish, marlin, poss. also swordfish.

čɔmun (n.) dish, plate from which one eats.

čɔmuna (i.n.) place for sitting or sleeping; possibly also a place where the possessor belongs.

čɔmʷɛya (i.n.) packet; variant of *čumʷɛya*.

čɔnay (n.) k.o. fish, poss. bananafish, black-tip fusilier.

čɔŋ (v.i. Class ?) arrive, enter.

čɔŋ (v.t. Class ?) hunt (for wild pig).

čɔŋ (??) in the phrase *yo kili mat čɔŋ* 'I am dying of hunger', seems to be equivalent to 'hunger', although it is not attested elsewhere with this meaning.

čɔŋɔhani (v.t. Class ?) gloss unclear, poss. thread (a needle).

čɔŋɔn (n.) k.o. fish, mackerel or sea pike.

čɔŋɔt (v.i. Class ?) be overdone, charred, burned; also attested in the phrase *kaw ičɔŋɔt* 'the spell produced no results'.

čɔpɔŋ/čɔpoŋ (n.) water jug made of clay.

čɔpu/čupu (i.n.) piece; der. *čɔpučap, čɔpučpun*.

čɔpučap (n.) dust mote [*čɔpu* 'piece' + **čap* poss. s.f. of *čɔpu* – this would then be a reduplicated form].

čɔpučɔpun (i.n.) small bits of trash or dirt; redup. *čɔpu*.

čɔte/čɔtɛ (i.n.) hip.

čɔtɛkaka (i.n.) heel [*čɔtɛ* 'hip' + *kaka* 'foot, leg'].

čɔw (n.) mat woven of natural leaves and fibres; (l.f.) *čɔwa; čɔw tutuh* 'mat for sleeping'; *čɔw palan* 'mat for keeping rain off'; *lɔ čɔw*, lit. 'inside the mat', a term used to refer to the traditional isolation of a young woman at puberty.

čɔwa (i.n.) mat; s.f. *čɔw*.

čɔwɛya/čɛwɛya (i.n.) thigh.

čɔyɛt (n.) k.o. tree/wood.

čɔʔɔ (v.i. Class ?) burn down, as fire when there is no more flame.

čɔʔuka (n.) k.o. bird, indigenous to Manus Island, appears on the Manus Provincial flag; called 'chauka' in Tok Pisin; poss. of the kingfisher or flycatcher type, has a very distinctive call.

čɔʔuya/čɔʔɔya (i.n.) repayment, revenge; *pɔ čɔʔuyan* 'to repay'.

čo (n.) k.o. fish, prob. species of long-tom.

čočow (n.) k.o. bird, described as building nests on tree branches.

čohok (v.i. Class ?) dive.

čor (n.) k.o. long, thin fish, prob. pike.

čowɔh (n.) variant of *čuwuh* k.o. fish.

ču (n.) traditional type of comb.

ču (n.) k.o. fish, prob. long-tom; *ču kɔhɔh* prob. long-finned garfish; *ču mas* prob. garpike.

ču (pro.) variant of *čito* first person paucal inclusive.

čučuh (n.) variant of *čuhučuh* covering; redup. *čuhɛ*.

čučum (n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of garfish.

čučupat (n.) variant of *čupupat* little pieces; loose change [*ču* 'redup.' + *ču(pu)* 'piece' + *pat* 'stone'].

čučupɛ (v.t.?) help, give aid to; redup. *čup(ani)* 'help'.

čučuye/čuču?uye (n.) exchange; change of clothing. (v.t. Class ?) exchange [*ču* 'redup.' + *čuye* 'exchange'].

čuh (n.) kind of mollusc, TP *mataporo*; in the phrase *pʷe čuh*, 'shell of *čuh*' refers to a cutting tool made from the sharpened half of a bivalve shell (TP *blaklip sel*).

čuhɛ (v.t. Class I) make a packet, wrap; der. *čuhučuh*, *čuhuya*. (?syn. *čumʷɛ(y)*).

čuhučuh/čučuh (n.) wrapping, covering [redup. *čuhɛ* 'wrap']; *ɛpi čuhučuh* 'sago baked in palm leaves'.

čuhuya (i.n.) wrapping; nom. of *čuhɛ* 'wrap'.

čuli (v.i. Class ?) call out, especially in surprise or anger.

čulumʷa (i.n.) cooking; nom. of *čulumʷi* 'cook'.

čulumʷi (v.t. Class I) cook over fire, burn [*čulumʷ* (s.f. *čun* 'cook') + *-i* 'trans.']; der. *čulumʷa*.

čuluŋi (v.t. Class I) cover, close, put a lid on.

čumow (n.) k.o. crab with a white shell.

čumʷɛ (v.t. Class I) wrap, usually with leaves; der. *čumʷɛya*; (?syn. *čuhɛ*).

čumʷɛya/čɔmʷɛya (i.n.) wrapping, covering, usually of leaves; nom. of *čumʷɛ* 'wrap'.

čumʷi (v.t. Class I) catch; agree with.

čun (v.t. Class I) cook over fire; l.f. *čulum^{w}i.*

čunah (v.t. Class I?) to husk (a coconut); l.f. *čunɛhi*; der. *čunaha.*

čunaha (i.n.) husking; nom. of *čunah.*

čunɛhi (v.t. Class I?) husk (coconut) [*čunah* 'husk' + *-i* 'trans.'].

čuŋuhani (v.t. Class ?) put on (clothes).

čup (n.) aid; l.f. *čupani*, der. *čučupɛ.*

čupani (v.t. Class ?) help, aid [*čup* 'help' + *-ani* 'trans.'].

čupat (n.) broken-up coral, used on paths and around houses [*ču* 'piece?' + *pat* 'stone'] der. *čučupat/čupupat.*

čupu (i.n.) variant of *čɔpu* piece.

čupučupun (i.n.) variant of *čɔpučɔpun* small bits.

čupupat/čučupat (n.) lots of small bits of broken coral [*čupu* 'piece' + *pat* 'stone'].

čurɛy (n.) k.o. bird, possibly a k.o. small blue kingfisher.

čuro/čuto (pro.) variants of *čito* first person paucal inclusive.

čutup^{w}ɛ (n.) a word used to refer to tea when it was first introduced into the culture; now most people use the Tok Pisin forms *ti* or *lipti.*

čuwɛm^{w}ɛkɛw (n.) k.o. fish, prob. hornpike long-tom [*čuwɛ* '?long-tom' + *m^{w}ɛkɛw* 'deep sea'].

čuwɛni (v.t. Class ?) turn or twist, as in *čuwɛni kakan* 'twist one's ankle'.

čuwɛp (n.) spike make from the outer covering of the sago palm branch, used in the construction of the trough used for washing sago.

čuwuh/čowɔh (n.) k.o. fish, poss. red-throated rainbowfish.

čuy (n.) broth.

čuyani (v.t. Class ?) change, exchange [*čuye* 'exchange' + *-ani* 'trans.'].

čuye/ču?uye (v.t. Class ?) exchange; change (clothes); l.f. *čuyani*; der. *čučuye.*

ɛ (conj.) and, or, but.

ɛ (part.) now, about to; emphatic marker.

ɛ (n.) small crack (e.g. in a canoe).

ɛ (part.) the second person form of the perfective used with the verb *la* 'go'.

ɛčɛ (n.) k.o. fish, prob. unicornfish.

ɛčɛy (n.) order, command.

ɛhɛ (part.) yes.

ɛhɛ (interr. pro.) where; see 6.7.3.4.

ɛhin (n.) young girl; more commonly *nɛ?ɛhin.*

ɛk (v.i. Class ?) grow.

ɛkɛs (n.) the last bit of powdery sago pulp which is tapped or scraped from the inside of the emptied trunk of the sago palm.

ɛkɛsa (i.n.) collarbone.

ɛki (n.) k.o. fish, poss. trevally or scad.

ɛku (v.i. Class ?) gloss unclear, poss. pile up, poss. sit.

ɛlɛlih (v.i.) you (SG) went; [*ɛ* '2SG perfective' + *la* 'go' + *lih* '??']; appears to be a phonological word, although the perfective is not normally prefixed to the verb.

ɛlɛwɛn (d.a.) long, far; der. *laʔɛlɛwɛ*.

ɛlɛʔiliyɛ (n.) part of the traditional procedures for marriage involving a presentation to the bride's family by the groom's, preceding the main part called *mačah*.

ɛleke/ɛlike (n.) coconut oil.

ɛli (part.) 2SG perfective marker.

ɛlimaŋ (n.) k.o. mangrove crab.

ɛlɔn (n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of silver-biddy.

ɛlučɛmu (n.) lobster or crayfish, poss. inedible.

ɛlutu (i.n.) egg.

ɛmɛn (n.) lightning.

ɛmɛnani (v.t. Class I) peep at, spy on [*ɛmɛnɛ* 'peep at' + *-ani* 'trans.'].

ɛmɛnɛ (v.t. Class I) peep at, spy on; l.f. *ɛmɛnani*.

ɛmɛtɛʔi (i.n.) owner, person in charge; inhabitant.

ɛmɛʔiman (n.) k.o. nocturnal red crab, abundant on the roads at night. [*ɛ* '?' + *mɛʔiman* 'red'].

ɛmiʔɛmi (i.n.) gloss unclear; either 'odour' or 'trace' or something; redup. of **ɛmi*.

ɛmɔt (v.i. Class II) vomit; der. *ɛmʷɛta*, l.f. *ɛmʷɛtɛni*, *ɛmʷɛtani*.

ɛmusun (n.) poison; prob. related to *amʷisi* 'infect', but relationship unclear.

ɛmuʔun (d.a.) wet [*?*ɛmuʔu* (s.f. *ɛmʷa* 'be wet') + *-n* '3SG possessor'].

ɛmʷa (v.i. Class ?) be wet; der. *ɛmuʔun*.

ɛmʷɛs (v.i. Class ?) be magic, have magic powers; der. *ɛmʷɛsi*.

ɛmʷɛsi (v.t. Class ?) magically attract [*ɛmʷɛs* 'be magic' + *-i* 'trans.'].

ɛmʷɛta (i.n.) vomit; nom. of *ɛmɔt* 'to vomit'.

ɛmʷɛtɛni (v.t. Class ?) vomit out, throw up [*ɛmɔt* 'vomit' + *-ɛni/-ani* 'trans.'] (syn. *mɔmɔtani*).

ɛnɛ (n.) thing; poss. borrowed term.

ɛnɛyan (n.) food.

ɛnu (i.n.) liquid, juice, water; s.f. *an* 'fresh water'.

ɛnum (n.) garden; l.f. *ɛnumʷa*; (syn. *pilɛŋ*).

ɛnumata (i.n.) tears [*ɛnu* 'water' + *mata* 'eye'].

ɛnumɛnan (n.) seed yam used for planting.

ɛnumʷa (i.n.) garden; s.f. *ɛnum*.

ɛŋɔw (n.) hibiscus.

ɛŋ/ɛŋɛ (v.t. Class II) hear, listen; l.f. *ɛŋɛyɛni*; der. *ɛŋɛʔɛŋ*.

ɛŋɛy (n.) k.o. tree (TP *golip*).

ɛŋɛyɛni (v.t. Class ?) hear, listen; [*ɛŋɛy* (s.f. *ɛŋ(ɛ)*) 'hear' + *-ɛni* 'trans.'].

ɛŋɛʔɛŋ (v.i.?) listen; redup. *ɛŋ(ɛ)* 'listen to'.

ɛŋisa (i.n.) resentment.

ɛŋisɛni (v.t. Class ?) to resent [*ɛŋisa* 'resentment' + *ɛni* 'trans.'].

ɛpi (n.) sago, both the palm and the processed pulp.

ɛpʷe (conj.) only, just.

ɛraw (v.i. Class ?) sway.

ɛrɛna (i.n.) way, method, manner.

ɛrɛnɛʔi (i.n.) attitude; look, appearance.

ɛtɛ/ɛrɛ (part.) animate goal marker.

ɛtɛ (i.n.) liver.

ɛtipun (n.) k.o. salt-water crab.

ɛtɔw (idiom.) you stay; equivalent to English 'good-bye', said by one who is leaving.

ɛtow (pro.) second person paucal.

ɛtun (n.) k.o. small fish, prob. scad (TP *melambur*).

ɛw (n.) k.o. fish, poss. cod.

ɛwɛt/ɛwɛr (n.) k.o. red salt-water crab.

ɛwɛtay (n.) game; [*ʔɔw* 'play' + ?? + *ay* 'NOM'] attested once as *ɛwɛra*: *ɛwɛta iy* 'her playing'.

ɛwi (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of flying fish, garfish or pike.

ɛy (pro.) third person inanimate pronoun used in oblique NP's, especially locative phrases.

ɛy (i.n.) smell.

ɛyɛ (i.n.) blood; s.f. *ay*.

ɛʔah (n.) k.o. large fish with white mouth which feeds near beach at night; poss. Painted Sweetlips.

ɛʔɛ/uʔɛ/wɛʔɛ (v.i. Class ?) be afraid; tremble or shiver from fear or cold; der. *ɛʔɛya(ni)*.

ɛʔɛya (v.t.) to frighten: *yo kili ɛʔɛya iy* 'I frightened him'; l.f. *ɛʔɛyani* [*ɛʔɛya* (s.f. *ɛʔɛ*) + *-ani* 'trans.'].

ehe (v.i. Class II) lie down, sit, recline.

eke/e:ke/eyke (n.) k.o. edible mushroom

et/e:t/eyt/aʔat (n.) k.o. hard, round brown fruit and the caulking made from its grated pulp.

hV- (num.) root for 'one'; (the vowel varies according to the form of the numeral classifier – see 3.2); cf. also *sV-*.

ha (num.) root for 'four'.

hačɛle (v.t. Class II) pour something into a container to the point of filling it.

hah (pro.) second person plural.

hakɛleyani (v.t. Class II) wind or twist something around a pole or post.

hamɔ (adv.) variant of *hanɔ*.

han (v.t. Class II) pick (fruit); l.f. *hanɛʔi*.

han (v.i. Class II) laugh.

han (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of surgeonfish or tang.

hanɛʔi (v.t. Class II) pick (fruit) [*hanɛ* (s.f. *han*) 'pick (fruit)' + *-i* 'trans.'].

hanɔ/hamɔ/hɛnɔ (adv.) before, first.

hanuwɛni/hanɔwani (v.t. Class II?) teach, try.

haŋ (v.t. Class I) feed, give food to; l.f. *hɛŋɛni*; der. *haŋahaŋ*.

haŋahaŋ (d.a.) adoptive; attested only in the phrases *ɲanɛn haŋahaŋ* 'adoptive mother' and *ɲataman haŋahaŋ* 'adoptive father'; redup. of *haŋ*.

haŋɛni (v.t. Class I) feed, give food to [*haŋ* 'feed + *-ɛni* 'trans.'].

haŋɛtuwɛ (v.t. Class ?) sense, feel, perceive.

haŋɔŋɔtɔw (v.?) gloss unclear, poss. related to *haŋɛtuwɛ*.

has (v.t. Class II) plant; used with plants such as taro, banana, coconut palm, which are stood up in the ground; l.f. *hasɛʔiy*; der. *hasaʔa*.

hasaʔa (i.n.) planting; nom. of *has(ɛʔiy)* [*hasɛʔ* (s.f. *has*) 'plant' + *-a* 'NOM'].

hasewɛni/hasawɛni (v.t. Class ?) name; give name to, call by a name.

hasɛʔiy (v.t. Class II) plant [*hasɛʔ* (s.f. *has*) 'plant' + *-i* 'trans.'].

hasuwɛ (v.t. Class II) nurse, care for (e.g. a child); may refer to breastfeeding.

hat (v.t. Class II) break up (firewood); pick or break off (corn, but not fruit).

hati (v.t. Class II?) carry on the back, carry piggyback.

hawan (n.) gloss unclear, poss. nook or cranny in reef where fish sleep or hide.

haway (n.) name of offshore island north of Lorengau.

hay (n.) west wind.

hɛ (v.t. Class I) wash (sago); one of the steps in the production of edible sago from the pulp; involves pouring water over the sago pulp and filtering out the powder, which is then dried, stored, and used as food; der. *hɛya*.

hɛlɛsay (v.i. Class ?) be happy.

hɛliya (i.n.) spirit, sacredness; *mɛlɛwan hɛliyan* 'holy spirit'.

hɛlowɛni/hɛlɔwani/ halawɛni/hɛlɛwɛni (v.t. Class II) run; drive (a vehicle); carry away [*hilow* 'run' + *-ɛni/-ani* 'trans.'].

hɛluhɛluŋ (n.) cloak, cover-up; redup. of *hɛluŋa*.

hɛluŋa (i.n.) cover(s), e.g. for sleeping.

hɛluŋi (v.t. Class II) cover, put cover over [*hɛluŋa* 'cover' + *-i* 'trans.'].

hɛnɛhɛnɛwɛ (v.i. Class ?) learn, try; [*hɛnɛ* 'redup.' + **hɛnɛwɛ* '??' – prob. related to *hanuwɛni* 'teach'].

hɛnɔ (adv.) variant of *hanɔ*.

hɛpʷe (n.?) gloss unclear, poss. 'out of (something)'; attested in the phrase *ŋɔsɔho hɛpʷe* 'I'm out of breath' (lit. 'my breath' + ??); possibly related to *pʷe* 'no, not'.

hɛwin (d.a.) gloss unclear, poss. crooked.

hɛya (i.n.) washing; nom. of *hɛ*.

hɛyah (n., adv.) today, now.

hɛyɛw (d.a.) of the same age.

he (interr. pro.) who; see 6.7.3.1.

hepe (n., det., adv.) a bit (of), a part.

hepe ɛpʷe (conj.) but, however; lit. 'a bit only'.

hes (v.i. Class I) jump.

hetow (pro.) third person paucal.

hi (part.) female; the first syllable of all women's names in Loniu; occurs prenominally to make the female gender of the referent overt.

hi (v.t. Class I) make, do, cause, allow; l.f. *hinɛ, hinɛni*.

hič (v.i. Class ?) become united or fastened together.

hičɛle/hičɛli (n.) name of a constellation.

hičɛmičɛmitɔʔɔ (n.) late afternoon, sunset.

hikupʷi (n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of mullet.

hikurɔw (n.) k.o. fish, poss. greenbacked or brown-banded mullet.

hilite (v.t. Class ?) choose.

hiliyɛni (v.t. Class I) avoid due to traditional taboo, especially referring to customary behaviour around in-laws.

hilow (v.i. Class I) run, fly, swim; generally, move rapidly, whether on the ground, in the water, or in the sky; flow; der. *hɛlowɛni*.

himʷa (n. ?) gloss unclear, poss. (female?) twins.

hinɛ (v.t. Class I) make, do, cause, allow; s.f. *hi*, l.f. *hinɛni*; der. *hinɛya*.

hinɛni (v.t. Class I) make do, cause, allow [*hinɛ* 'make' + *-ɛni* 'trans.']; der. *hininiya*.

hinɛya (i.n.) making, doing; nom. of *hinɛ*.

hininiya (i.n.) making, doing; nom. of *hinɛni*.

hipɛhɛna (n.) name of a star which rises and sets early in the evening; a Loniu legend says that this star sets early because it is going to steal all the belongings of the other stars [?*hi* 'FEM' + *pɛhɛna* 'steal'].

hipɛlit (n.) k.o. fish, prob. freshwater, poss. species of perch [?*hi* 'FEM' + *pɛlit* 'ghost'].

hipɛta (sub. conj.) like, as, thus, so that, until; variant forms *hipiti*, *hipɛra*, *hipiri* (TP *olsem*).

hitapɛ (interr. pro.) how, what happened; cf. *tɛtapɛ*; see 6.7.3.8).

hitapɔ (n.) female servant [*hi* 'FEM' + *ta* 'CONT' + *pɔ* 'do'].

hitɔtɔʔaŋ (n.) time of day near dawn.

hitupu (i.n.) woman's mother-in-law [*?hi* 'FEM' + *tupu* '?' – but cf. *ɲatupu* 'grandfather'].

hiwɛnɛ (v.i. Class ?) have a picnic, relax.

hoh (v.i. Class I?) be open; win out; go or arrive first.

homɛy/umɛy (n.) k.o. inedible fruit.

hu (v.t. Class I) take, hold, carry in hands; when used with *wɛ?i* 'song', means 'sing'; l.f. *huti*.

huh/huhu (n.) sea swell.

huni (v.t. Class ?) to awaken; der. *hunuhun*, *huniya*.

huniya (i.n.) awakening; nom. of *huni*.

hunuhun (v.i. Class ?) to awaken of one's own accord; redup. of *huni* 'awaken (someone)'.

huŋaŋ (v.i. Class I) rest; relax; (v.t. Class I?) stop what one is doing.

huŋɛ (v.t. Class I) smell.

hus (v.t. Class I) suck or chew (e.g. sugarcane); l.f. *husi*.

hus (v.i. Class ?) be smoking or curing over fire; l.f. *husuwɛ*; der. *husuhus*.

husi (v.t. Class I) tie together, fasten with rope or twine, bind; der. *husiya*; suck, chew [*hus* 'suck' + *-i* 'trans.'].

husiya (i.n.) tying, binding, fastening with rope or twine; nom. of *husi*.

husuhus (v.i. Class ?) be smoking or curing over fire; redup. of *hus*.

husuwɛ (v.t. Class ?) smoke, e.g. fish, over fire; s.f. *hus*, l.f. *husuwɛni*.

husuwɛni (v.t. Class ?) smoke [*husuwɛ* 'smoke' + *-ɛni* 'trans.'].

huti (v.t. Class I) take, hold, carry in hands; catch; bring; open door or window; sing (with *wɛ?i* song); [*hut* (s.f. *hu*) 'take'+ *-i* 'trans.']; der. *hutiya*.

hutiya (i.n.) carrying, taking, singing; nom. of *huti*.

hutuhutuŋ (n.) bunch; very large group, as in a large school of fish; redup. of *hutuŋ(ani)*.

hutun (d.a.) thick, heavy.

hutuŋani (v.t. Class ?) make a heap, put into a pile [**hutuŋ* 'heap?' + *-ani* 'trans.'].

huya (i.n.) goodness, niceness; cf. *huyan*.

huyan (n.) adult; (d.a.) good, right, correct, nice [*huya* 'goodness' + *-n* '3SG possessor'].

ičiŋi (v.t. Class ?) break, e.g. a spear.

ilani (v.t. Class ?) taunt, slander, insult [*?ili* 'call' + *-ani* 'trans.'].

ilɛčah (sub. conj.) because, why [*i-* '3SG' + *la* 'go', *čah* 'what']; see 6.7.3.3, 7.3.4.

ili (v.t. Class I) call to.

ili (v.t. Class I) dig, harvest, e.g. tubers [*in* 'dig' + -i 'trans.']; der. *iliya*.

iliya (i.n.) calling; nom. of *ili.*

imɛman (n.?) gloss unclear; attested only in the phrase *wan imɛman* 'be tired of, annoyed with', in which the form *wan* is apparently '3SG's body'.

im^{w}ani (v.t. Class I) get water (syn. *wo*).

in (v.t. Class I) drink; l.f. *inum^{w}i.*

in (v.t. Class I) dig, harvest tubers; l.f. *ili.*

inɛn/ninɛn (d.a.) small.

ini (v.t. Class ?) gather, collect, usually fruits which have fallen from the trees.

inum^{w}ay (n.) drinking; nom. of *inum^{w}i.*

inum^{w}i/ilum^{w}i (v.t. Class I) drink; also, with *ŋɛsum^{w}an* 'cigarette': smoke; [*inum^{w}* (s.f. *in*) 'drink' + *-i* 'trans.'].

ip^{w}i/up^{w}i (v.t. Class I) pound sago pulp with long poles; one of the steps in the production of edible sago from pulp [*up^{w}* 'pound' + *-i* 'trans.'].

ip^{w}iti (v.t. Class I) separate, unwind, untangle, untie.

irani/i^{n}rani (v.t. Class I) fasten sarong [*irɛ* 'fasten' + *-ani* 'trans.'].

irɛ (v.t. Class I) fasten sarong; l.f. *irani.*

isi (i.n., v.i. Class I) fart.

isi (v.t. Class I) wring out (clothes).

itɛ (interjection) Is that so?

itɛhɛ (interr. pro.) where (location); possibly combination of *ito ɛhɛ* '3SG-stative where'; see 6.7.3.4.

iti (v.t. Class I) have sexual relations with.

itipo (dem.) here, this; near speaker (see 3.5.2, 4.3.7).

itiyɛn (dem.) there, that; relatively distant from speaker (see 3.5.2, 4.3.7).

itiyo (dem.) here, this; near speaker (see 3.5.2, 4.3.7).

iw (v.i. Class I) call out; der. *iwani, iwi?iw.*

iwani (v.t. Class I) pull, drag, pull out or up [*iw* 'call out' + *-ani* 'trans.'].

iwi?iw (n.) calling out, counting; nom. of *iw.*

iy (pro.) third person singular.

iya (interjection) Let's do it!, Let's go!

iyɛ(n) (dem.) this, here; possibly prefixed form of *yɛ(n)* 'be in a place', poss. short form of *itiyɛn* (see 4.3.7).

ka (n.) k.o. bush.

kačam (n.) k.o. deepwater seaweed.

kačan (n.) floor [*?ka* 'n.f.' + *čan* 'clear'].

kačaw (n.) bride price [*?ka* 'n.f.' + *čaw* 'married quarters']; l.f. *kɛčɛwa.*

kah (v.t. Class I) search for, find; l.f. *kahi*; der. *kɛhɛkah.*

kahah (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of flying fish or garfish.

kahatay (n.) grated coconut meat; especially the dish made by mixing grated coconut with sago.

kahi (v.t. Class I) search for, find; [*kah* 'search for' + *-i* 'trans.'].

kaho (n.) k.o. two-man fishing net.

kaka (i.n.) foot, leg.

kakaw (n.) long-handled ladle for pouring water on sago pulp during the production of edible sago; redup. of *kawi* 'ladle, scoop up'; spear made of black palm (TP *spia limbum*).

kakawah (n.) grave.

kalama (i.n.) accompanied by, in addition to (used only with food).

kalaŋat (n.) k.o. bird, poss. pigeon.

kalapulin (n.) k.o. hardwood tree, prob. ironwood (TP *kuila*).

kalih (n.) breaking wave with foamy crest.

kalipuwɛy (n.) k.o. fish, poss. tasselled wobbygong [*kali* '?' + *puwɛy* 'crocodile'].

kali?aw/kaliyaw (n.) k.o. fish, prob. species of wrasse; *kali?aw ma?aw* k.o. fish

kalɔn (n.) ant.

kaluŋ (n.) pillow; originally wooden block used as pillow, now extended to mean the feather or filled cloth kind.

kamakaman (d.a.) sweet; redup. of **kaman* (syn. *ŋaman*).

kamalay (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of rainbowfish.

kaman (n.) male; men's house; l.f. *kɛmɛli.*

kamana (n.) shells of the cowrie type, fam. *Cypraeidae*; also general term for shells [?*ka* 'n.f.' + *mana* 'white cowrie'].

kam^{w}an (n.) ashes; area near fire where food preparation takes place [*ka* 'n.f.' + *m^{w}an* 'fire'].

kam^{w}at (n.) large black ant [*ka* 'n.f.' + *m^{w}at* 'snake'].

kam^{w}ɛt (n.) decorative body tattoos, normally for women.

kan (n.) circumcision; also the ceremony and celebration accompanying circumcision; food.

kana (i.n.) taste.

kanas (n.) sea mullet.

kanaw (n.) k.o. bird with black body and white head and beak; possibly a kind of noddy.

kap (n.) a k.o. tree which produces a natural fibre used to make string or thread, which is then used to make belts and to string beads and dogs' teeth.

kapara (??) like; attested only in the phrase *kapara itiyɛn* 'like that'; may be related to *hipɛta*, but the relationship is not clear.

kapɛni (i.n.) wing [*ka* 'n.f.' + *pɛni* 'wing'].

kap^{w}ana (i.n.) self; used as emphatic reflexive: *wɔw kap^{w}anam wɔw ɛputi?* 'Did you yourself do it?'.

karuli/ⁿruli (n.) k.o. bird said to walk on the beach, possibly a species of plover [*?ka* 'n.f.' + *ⁿruli* 'k.o. bird'].

kas (n.) k.o. bamboo.

kasi (n.) k.o. fish, poss. pennant coralfish or Moorish idol.

katah (n.) large black seabird with white markings; dives to feed [*?ka* 'n.f.' + *tah* 'k.o. shell'].

katamʷan (n.) bits of charred wood left when fire has burned [*?ka* 'n.f.' + *ta* 'LOC' + *mʷan* 'fire'].

katuŋ (n.) thunder.

katu?uhe (v.i. Class ?) bend down [*ka* '?' + *tu?uhe* 'bend over'].

kaw (n.) sorcery; spell done with betel pepper leaf to foretell future events or locate people.

kawa (n.) a kind of woven bag, normally used for storing food, esp. sago.

kawa (i.n.) fence; s.f. *kɔw*.

kawi (v.t. Class I) ladle or scoop liquid; der. *kakaw*.

kayaw (n.) a drinking cup, usually with handles, but also may be a coconut shell used for drinking.

ka?ah (n.) cloud.

ka?ah pɛti pat (n.) k.o. edible crab [*ka?ah* 'cloud'; *pɛti* 'of'; *pat* 'stone'].

ka?ahay (n.) part of the coconut palm: the woody, pod-like appendage which grows above a new bunch of coconuts; used in fires.

ka?ɔh (n.) the slanted side of a roof.

ka?upʷɛn (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of spinefoot.

kɛ (n.) k.o. fish, poss. gold-striped sea perch.

kɛčɛpu?u (i.n.) the underside of [*kɛčɛ* '?' + *pu?u* 'bottom'].

kɛčɛpʷɛ (n.) species of small bat [*?kɛ* '?' + *čɛpʷi* 'collect (bats)'].

kɛčɛwa (i.n.) bride price; s.f. *kačaw*.

kɛčilew (n.) area to the rear of the house.

kɛhɛkah (v.i. Class I) go hunting, go on a search for something; redup. of *kah* 'search for'.

kɛhɛya (i.n.) shoulder.

kɛhɛyah (n.) afternoon [*?kɛ* '?' + *hɛyah* 'now, today'].

kɛhisɛ?iŋan (v.i.?) gloss unclear, poss. open up (e.g. a meeting) to public; poss. related to getting food.

kɛkɛluh (n.) variant of *kɔkɔluh* signal.

kɛkɛɲah (n.) k.o. fish, poss. sharp-nosed rainbowfish [*?kɛ* 'redup.' + *kɛ* '?' + *ɲah* 'spear'].

kɛlaw (n.) unmarried person [*?kɛ* '?' + *law* 'relative'].

kɛlaw (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of surgeonfish.

kɛlɛŋa (i.n.) back (body part).

kɛlɛpɛ (i.n.) tail.

kɛlɛw (n.) ceremonial platform; cf. *činɛn.*

kɛlɛwɛ (v.t.) take care of, look out for, care for.

kɛli (n.) k.o. fish, poss. various species of rock-cod.

kɛli (part.) non-singular form of the perfective marker.

kɛli (v.t. Class I) cook, boil; used figuratively: *putuwo iy ilɛ kɛli tasih* 'My guts boiled; I got very very angry'.

kɛlikan (n.) hot sago soup or gruel, often made with shellfish, and with healing properties similar to those attributed to chicken soup in other parts of the world; ?redup. of *kan* 'food'.

kɛlimata (i.n.) cheek [*kɛli* '?' + *mata* 'eye'].

kɛlipap (n.) placename; possibly name of one of the mens' houses in Loniu; also glossed as the side of a mountain at its base; a dark cloud foretelling illness or death.

kɛlipawɪ (i.n.) jaw.

kɛli?aman (n.) k.o. fish, prob. k.o. rock-cod [*?kɛli* '?' + *aman* 'red'].

kɛmɛli (i.n.) mens' house; the male of a species; s.f. *kaman.*

kɛmɛy (n.) flavour.

kɛnɛya (i.n.) method of cooking, using or eating a food.

kɛniyɛ (n.) gloss unclear, poss. related to eating.

kɛnukan (n.) variant of *kɔnukan*, dust or small bits of matter which can be carried on the air (but not dust from the road).

kɛŋuwe (i.n.) neck.

kɛŋu?u (v.?) gloss unclear, poss. 'sneeze', but cf. *yɛsɪŋ.*

kɛpase (i.n.) chin [*kɛ* '?' + *pase* 'chin'].

kɛpɛlɛy (n.) canoe mast [*?ke* 'wood' + *pɛlɛy* 'sail'].

kɛpɛra (??) variant of *kapara.*

kɛpɛ?ɛ (i.n.) curving portion of the side of a canoe.

kɛpulɪŋ (n.) the area underneath a house which is built on posts or stilts.

kɛpʷɛtɛn (n.) gloss unclear, poss. underarm, but cf. *pa?ahakɛhɛya.*

kɛray (n.) operculum, especially of the shells of family *Turbinidae.*

kɛrinaway (n.) frog; attested once as *karandaway.*

kɛsi (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of emperor.

kɛsiŋay (n.) sneeze [*?kɛ* '?' + *yɛsiŋ* 'sneeze (v.i.)' + *-ay* 'n.f.'].

kɛsow (n.) variant of *kɔsɔw* marriage.

kɛsuwas (n.) a bushy plant which grows along the beach, the leaves of which are used to produce a liquid for curing both coughing and diarrhoea.

kɛti (n.) edge (e.g. of a water hole)

kɛtiyat (n.) betel nut; said to be an 'older' way to say *puwe* betel nut.

kɛtuŋ (n.) wooden club.

kɛwɛsay (v.i.) walk around, with no particular destination or purpose [*?kɛ* '?' + *yawɛs(ani)* 'go' + *-ay* 'n.f.'].

kɛwe (n.) k.o. small bush, with lime green leaves sometimes used with betel nut.

kɛyaw (n.) platform, table, bed.

kɛʔɛ (part.) non-singular form of the perfective marker used with the verb *la* 'go'.

kɛʔɛmɛt (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of sea-perch; also poss. a k.o. plant.

kɛʔɛniyɛ (n.) variant of *kɔʔɔniyɛ* crumbs (of food).

kɛʔɛŋ (n.) k.o. parrot.

kɛʔɛŋaŋay (n.) k.o. bird, poss. a wader; identified by one speaker as a little whimbrel.

kɛʔipow/karipow (n.) k.o. bird, prob. a reef egret.

kɛʔiwɔh (n.) k.o. insect: lime-green, small grasshopper-like, 1 to $1^1/_2$ inches long.

ke (n.) tree, wood, piece of wood.

ke (i.n.) edible portion of bivalve mollusc.

kečew (n.) small bit of mucus in eye.

keh (n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of sea perch or bream.

kemey (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of mackerel.

kem^{w}aʔay (n.) k.o. fish, poss. red cod or snapper.

kepahaw (n.) place where long paddle is secured on rim of canoe [*ke* 'wood' + *pahaw* 'paddle'].

kes (n.) k.o. plant with red branches, the leaves of which are fragrant and are used in ceremonial dress.

kih (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of emperor.

kihi (n.) firewood; l.f. *kihiye*.

kihitapɛ (??) gloss unclear; attested in the phrase *ma kihitapɛ kimɛ ɛtɛ wɔw* 'Who cares about you!' (TP *maski long yu*); cf. *tɛtapɛ*, *hitapɛ*.

kihiye (i.n.) firewood; s.f. *kihi*.

kikiw (n.) k.o. bird, possibly a swift.

kilɛ/kilɛala (idiom) you go (now); equivalent to English 'good-bye'; cf. *ɛtɔw* 'you stay'.

kili/kiʔi (part.) first and third person singular form of the perfective marker.

kilim (n.) clean water, used for cooking and drinking; cf. *čɛlɛŋat*.

kilim (n.) tool made from spine of palm leaf, used in production of coconut oil, poss. for stirring.

kilim (n.) sign, trace, clue; l.f. *kilima*.

kilima (i.n.) sign, trace, clue; s.f. *kilim*.

kiniw (n.) gloss unclear, poss. k.o. bird.

kip (v.t. Class ?) lie to; l.f. *kipani*.

kipani (v.t. Class ?) lie to [*kip* 'lie to' + *-ani* 'trans.'].

kit (n.) octopus.

kiw (n.) small bench which has a neck with a serrated edge, used for scraping or grating coconut.

kiyɛč/kiyɛy (n.) outrigger boom.

kiʔam (n.) long slender tool used for placing lime in the mouth while chewing betel nut.

kiʔi (n.) k.o. plant which produces small berries used to produce a medication for treating earache.

kiʔi (part.) the variant of *kili*, 1SG/3SG perfective, which is used with the verb *la* 'go'.

kɔ (n.) land, village, place; l.f. *kɔhɔna*; *kɔ tan* 'earth', *kɔ laŋ* 'heaven'.

kɔ (n.) wind.

kɔčɔ (n.) in the phrase *motow kɔčɔ*, a kind of long knife similar to a machete.

kɔha (n.) chicken.

kɔhɔh (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of flying fish; cf. *čič kɔhɔh* prob. flying fish.

kɔhɔn (n.) large, shallow clay or metal dish used for frying or baking over fire; also a deeper, more rounded dish for making *kɛlikan*, a kind of sago soup.

kɔhɔna (i.n.) land, village, place; s.f. *kɔ*.

kɔhu (i.n.) side, trunk of body; in the phrase *kɔhun upuh a yo* 'he misses me'.

kɔkɔ (i.n.) part of a plant, poss. bark (but cf. *kulihi*).

kɔkɔluh/kɛkɛluh (n.) sign; (d.a.) enchanted; redup. of **kɔluh*, poss. nom. of *takɔluh*.

kɔkɔnɛ (n.) spoiled (child).

kɔlaw (n.) clothes, especially sarong (syn. *čɛlaw*, *kɔlɔʔu*).

kɔlɔ/kɔlu (i.n.) handle or shaft, esp. of canoe paddle or spear.

kɔlɔkɔn (n.?) gloss unclear, poss. related to caring for or serving someone; redup. of **kɔl*.

kɔlɔpʷaw (n.) k.o. fish.

kɔlɔʔu (i.n.) clothing; (syn. *kɔlaw*, *čɛlaw*).

kɔlu (i.n.) throat; der. *pukɔlu*.

kɔlučukaka/ kuličukaka (i.n.) ankle [*kɔluču* 'joint??' + *kaka* 'leg, foot'].

kɔlučunimɛ (n.) elbow [*kɔluču* 'joint??' + *nimɛ* 'hand, arm'].

kɔluh (n.) sign, signal given to attract attention or to cause someone to come; der. *kulihi*, *kɔkɔluh*; used with verbal formative *ta*.

kɔlum (n.) corn (prob. borrowed).

kɔmu (n.) word, talk, language; l.f. *kɔmuwa*.

kɔmupala (i.n.) skull [*?kɔmu* 'word' + *pala* 'head']; also given once as 'hair', but see *lɔmupala*.

kɔmuwa (i.n.) word, talk, language; s.f. *kɔmu*.

kɔna (i.n.) gloss unclear, attested in the phrases *kɔna kɔmu* 'Cut out the chatter!' and *kɔnan* 'It doesn't matter'; TP *maski.*

kɔnɔ (i.n.) bit of (food); der. *kɔnukɔnun.*

kɔnɔh (n.) peace offering; gifts to family of deceased person; l.f. *kɔnɔha.*

kɔnukan/kɛnukan (n.) dust or small bits of matter which can be carried on the air (but not dust raised by passing cars).

kɔnukɔnun (n.) little bits, usually of food; redup. of *kɔnɔ*, bit of food.

kɔpɔmatan (n.) gloss unclear, poss. morning star.

kɔpɔw (n.) k.o. taro; k.o. fish, poss. catfish or catfish-eel.

kɔpu (n.) bowl made by coiling slender bundles of natural fibre.

kɔpuča (n.) mangrove tree.

kɔputu (i.n.) navel.

kɔpuʔa (i.n.) dirty, especially water.

kɔpʷiliŋ/kɛpuliŋ (n.) area under house which is built on posts or stilts.

kɔrɔ (n.) k.o. small yam.

kɔrɔs (n.) sago fried with coconut oil.

kɔsɔ (i.n.) close to, next to; most commonly occurs in the compound *maʔakɔsɔ* 'next to, beside'.

kɔsɔnay (n.) marriage, poss. also married person [*ʔkɔsɔw* 'marriage' + *-(nʔ)ay* 'n.f.'].

kɔsɔw/kɛsɔw (n.) part of the procedure of marriage involving the adorning of the bride on the wedding day; der. *kɔsɔwɛni.*

kɔsɔwɛni (v.t. Class ?) adorn the bride.

kɔt (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of cod; der. *mɛlɛkɔt.*

kɔw (n.) fence; l.f. *kawa.*

kɔwas (n.) friend; celebration.

kɔwɛsun/kɔwɔsun (n.) coconut in the intermediate stage of maturity, neither green nor at the copra stage.

kɔʔɔč/koʔoc (n.) k.o. shell.

kɔʔɔkaw (n.) sweet potato; borrowed from TP *kaukau.*

kɔʔɔkɔ (v.i. Class ?) have chills, as with malaria.

kɔʔɔniyɛ/kɛʔɛniyɛ (i.n.) crumbs (of food); bits and pieces (of trees or plants).

kɔʔɔnɔn (n.) foodstuffs, including betel nut, grown in garden.

kɔʔɔŋat (n.) Loniu name for Coroŋat.

kɔʔɔtan (n.) bundle (e.g. of spears or bamboo).

kɔʔɔtut (n.) rear portion of the interior of a house.

kɔʔɔwow (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of jobfish or emperor.

kɔʔum (n.) bamboo water jug.

kɔʔun (n.) yams for daily eating, i.e. neither for celebrations nor planting; also, the left side.

kohowa (i.n.) repayment, return for favour or help received.

kokopɛlos (n.) k.o. fish, poss. beaked leatherjacket.

kow (n.) hook used for fishing.

ku (n.) pot, saucepan used for boiling foods; traditionally of clay, obtained from Hus or Mbuke.

kuče (i.n.) kidney.

kučum (n.) a short pointed stake stuck in the ground, used for husking coconuts.

kuh (n.) k.o. plant with fragrant leaves.

kuku (n.) k.o. tree/wood used for making digging sticks (*nas*).

kuličukaka (i.n.) variant of *kɔlučukaka* ankle.

kulihi (i.n.) bark; skin (of crocodile); cf. *kɔkɔ*, *maʔa*.

kulihi (n.) with verbal formative *ta*, to signal; s.f. *kɔluh*.

kulupačow (n.) rope; k.o. sea-snake, poss. harlequin snake-eel or culverin.

kumum (n.) a length of wood used to throw up into trees to cause the fruit to fall; also used in fighting.

kumʷɛt (n.) part of the floor supports of a house.

kun (n.) breadfruit tree, its fruit, and the wood from it, which is used in canoe building.

kun (v.t. Class I) carry suspended from the head; l.f. *kuni*, der. *kunukun*.

kuni (v.t. Class I) carry suspended from the head [*kun* 'carry' + *-i* 'trans.'].

kunukun (n.) carrying; redup. of *kun*.

kuŋ (n.) flat, woven basket normally carried by men; l.f. *kuŋɛ*.

kuŋɛ (i.n.) flat, woven basket, normally carried by men; s.f. *kuŋ*.

kup (n.) the east wind.

kupʷɛn (n.) type of fishing net.

kupʷi (n.) trough in which sago is pounded [*ʔka* 'n.f.' + *upʷi* 'pound sago'].

kus (v.t. Class ?) sulk; l.f. *kusuwɛni*, *kusuwani*.

kusuwɛni/kusuwani (v.i. Class ?) sulk [*kusuw* (s.f. *kus*) 'sulk' + *-ɛni/-ani* 'trans.']; note that this verb does not appear to be transitive, in spite of the transitivising suffixes – see 3.4.1.3).

kut (n.) louse.

kutukutupɛliyaw (n.) k.o. sea-snake, black with white stripes; cf. *pɛliyaw* 'k.o. fish.

kutukutupʷahaleŋ (n.) gloss unclear, may refer to sandy bottom area within reef; cf. *pʷahaleŋ* 'beach'.

kutuŋaŋay (n.) k.o. fish, poss. winged dragonfish, razorfish, or shrimpfish.

kutuwalas (n.) freshwater seahorse [*ʔkutu* 'ʔ' + *walas* 'sea grass'].

kuwɛ (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of spinefoot.

kuwɛn (n.) adze-type tool, used for breaking up core of sago palm to extract pulp; der. *takuwɛli*; also poss. a type of fishing net.

kuwɛpat (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of spinefoot [*kuwɛ* 'k.o. fish' + *pat* 'stone'].

kuʔu (i.n.) loud, thundering noise, as of breaking waves or thunder.

kuʔu (n.) k.o. fish, poss. various species of squirrelfish.

la (v.i. Class II) go (to a destination); motion away from.

lač (n.) coral.

lah (n.) various species of ray; der. *lɛhɛʔan, lɛhɛpat.*

lahah (n.) white spot (skin disease which causes whitish blotches to appear on skin).

lakahani (v.t. Class II) touch, feel (e.g. the edge of a knife) for sharpness [**lakah* '?feel' + *-ani* 'trans.']; poss. der. *akalakan* 'feel around without seeing'.

lala (n.) k.o. fish.

laman (n.) deepwater area, where no bottom is visible.

lamanpuket (n.) gloss unclear, poss. high seas (TP *bigwara*); cf. *marapuket.*

lamɛtiyɛn (d.a.) variant of *mɛtiyɛn* big.

lan (n.) south wind.

laŋ (n.) sky; *kɔ laŋ* 'heaven', lit. 'land (of the) sky'.

laŋah (n.) k.o. fish, poss. wrasse.

lapak (n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of sole.

lapan (n.) leader; God.

lapʷanan/napʷanan (d.a.) big; not used with fish, but otherwise appears to be interchangeable with *(la)mɛtiyɛn.*

lapʷe (part.) with no purpose or result; poss. related to *pʷe* 'no, not'.

lasɔhɔ (i.n.) man's mother-in-law and sisters-in-law (no age specified).

law (n.) type of large fishing net; der. *lawɛyap.*

law (n.) family, supporters, relatives (TP *lain*), l.f. *lawa.*

lawa (i.n.) family, supporters, relatives; s.f. *law.*

lawat (n.) possum.

lawɛyap (n.) type of fishing net [*lawɛ* (s.f. *law*) 'fishing net' + *yap* 'foreigner'].

laʔɛlɛwɛ (i.n.) length [*la* '?go' + *ɛlɛwɛn* 'long, far'].

laʔo (n.) small open-sided structure near main house.

lɛhɛ (i.n.) tooth; poss. der. *lɛhɛtu.*

lɛhɛpat (n.) k.o. ray [*lɛhɛ* (s.f. *lah*) 'ray' + *pat* 'stone'].

lɛhɛtu (n.) part of house frame [*?lɛhɛ* 'tooth' + *tu* 'house post'].

lɛhɛʔan (n.) k.o. ray [*lɛhɛ* (s.f. *lah*) 'ray' + *an* 'water'].

lɛkɛhi (v.t. Class I) grope or feel around for [**lakah* '?feel' + *-i* 'trans.']; l.f. *lakahani*; der. *akalakan.*

lɛkɛn (n.) sore, wound, scratch.

lɛlɛ (v.i. Class I) look.

lɛlɛn (d.a.) nice; light-coloured; pretty.

lɛmɛti (v.t. Class I) remove the root hairs of yams and other tubers [?**lɛmɛt* (s.f. *lɛmi/*lam*) 'root hair' + *-i* 'trans.'].

lɛmi (i.n.) short hairs, fur; root hair of yams and other tubers; der. *lɛmɛti*, *lɛmilam*, *lɛmilɛmin*.

lɛmilam (n.) fur; lots of little hairs; poss. redup. of **lam* or *lɛmi*; k.o. fish, poss. pennantfish or plumed trevally.

lɛmilɛmi (i.n.) root hairs of yams and other tubers; the hair-like growth on the husk of the coconut; redup. of *lɛmi*, indicates plurality.

lɛŋ (n.) beach; der. *p^{w}ahalɛŋ*.

lɛŋɛʔi (sub. conj.) like, as, as though; when.

lɛŋin (n.) rain.

lɛpɛkanay (n.) name used to refer to or address someone whose name either one may not mention due to tabus or one does not know.

lɛt (n.) belt; prob. borrowed from TP.

lɛʔi/lɛʔɛ (part.) present continuative, simulfactive.

lɛʔin (n.) from TP *lain*, 'group, relatives, supporters'.

len (n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of wrasse or rainbowfish; *len sas* poss. zig-zag wrasse; *len maʔaw* poss. Gaimard's rainbowfish; *len kun* [*len* + *kun* 'breadfruit'] poss. green-blocked wrasse; *len pop^{w}ilow* [*len* + *pop^{w}ilow* 'butterfly'] poss. red-throated rainbowfish.

leʔe (v.t. Class I) see, look at; der. *leʔeya*, *leʔečɛčɛliye*, *leʔečɛlɛyani*, *leʔečɛliye*.

leʔečɛčɛliye (n.) examination [*leʔe* 'see' + *čɛ* 'redup.' + *čɛliye* '?'].

leʔečɛlɛyani (v.t. Class I?) consider carefully [*leʔe* 'see' + *čɛliye* '?' + *-ani* 'trans.'].

leʔečɛliye (v.t. Class I?) consider carefully, examine [*leʔe* 'see' + *čɛliye* '?']; l.f. *leʔečɛlɛyani*.

le ʔeya (i.n.) seeing; nom. of *leʔe*.

lih (part.) gloss unclear, poss. indicates some immediacy regarding the activity referred to by the main verb; used with *la* 'go' and *mɛ* 'come'; may be suffix, but does not appear to cause the stem-vowel raising common of affixation, except in the case of *ɛlɛlih* (which cf.).

lɔ (i.n.) inside of, within the boundaries or limits of (an object or a period of time); *lɔ ke* the bush, the forest; used frequently in place names, e.g. *lɔniw*; der. *lɔku*, *lɔlɔn*, *lɔtiyɛ*.

lɔ čɔw (phrase) lit. 'inside the mat', refers to the traditional custom of isolating the pubescent girl in a type of rite of passage. The girl is dressed in a woven mat (cf. *čɔw*), stays in the house for a period of up to two to three months, and comes out only at night, still dressed in the mat, to bathe. While in isolation, she does not prepare her own food nor wash her own clothes, but is cared for by relatives. Traditionally, the girl's ears are pierced just prior to the isolation period.

lɔhayɛn (n.) placename, now called Lolak.

lɔhɔliyan (n.) a (possibly indefinite) period of time.

lɔhɔluwa (i.n.) middle portion of, part in between two extremities; e.g. *lɔhɔluwa kanas* 'the middle portion of the mullet (neither head nor tail)'; middle child; index finger.

lɔkɔn (n.) more than enough; excellent.

lɔkɔtuŋ (n.) support underneath the bed of the canoe, runs parallel to canoe edge.

lɔku (n.) traditional gifts and celebration by mother's family for the first-born child [*lɔ* 'inside' + *ku* 'cooking pot']; cf. *saʔɔŋ*.

lɔlɔ (n.) whale; cf. *mɔlɔwam*.

lɔlɔn (n.) planting.

lɔlɔw (n.) k.o. cane plant.

lɔlɔwa (i.n.) scent, odour, smell; (?syn. *ɛy*).

lɔlumulum (n.) placename.

lɔmata (i.n.) kind, type.

lɔmɔt (n.) name of a section of Loniu village.

lɔmu (i.n.) body hair, fur of animal, feather; der. *lɔmukan*, *lɔmulɔmu*, *lɔmupala*.

lɔmukan/lɛmukan (n.) feather [*lɔmu* 'fur, feather' + **kan* '?bird' (cf. *ɲɛtukan* 'bird')].

lɔmulɔmu (i.n.) lots of hair or fur; redup. of *lɔmu*.

lɔmupala (i.n.) hair of the head [*lɔmu* 'hair' + *pala* 'head'].

lɔmʷa (i.n.) planting; nom. of *lɔmʷi*.

lɔmʷi (v.t. Class I) plant; der. *lɔmʷa*.

lɔniw (n.) Loniu [*lɔ* 'inside' + *niw* 'coconut palm']; name used to refer to the ⁿ*rɔlɔkɔ* people, their language and their village. They themselves use this term when speaking Tok Pisin or English, but use the term ⁿ*rɔlɔkɔ* when speaking their language.

lɔŋɔw (n.) thing; l.f. *lɔŋɔwa*.

lɔŋɔwa (i.n.) thing; s.f. *lɔŋɔw*; *lɔŋɔwa pɔʔɔ lɔ ke* 'the things of the bush, wild life' [*lɔŋɔwa* 'thing' + *pɔʔɔ* 'within' + *lɔ* 'inside' + *ke* 'tree'].

lɔpɛtah (n.) name of an area near the beach at Loniu village.

lɔpuʔun (n.) placename, Lombrum.

lɔs (v.i. Class I) fall down, land, go down (e.g. moon or month).

lɔsow (n.) short-tailed animal, prob. bushrat, bandicoot, or marmot; (TP *mumut*).

lɔt (n.) skin disease involving heavy rash; possibly a type of ringworm.

lɔtay (n.) weeds.

lɔtiyɛ (i.n.) inside of or within [*lɔ* 'inside' + *tiyɛ* 'interior, insides'].

lɔwɛs (n.) placename; Lawes.

lɔwi (n.) k.o. fish, poss. bright-saddled goatfish.

lɔʔɔ (i.n.) leaf; l.f. *lɔʔɔna*; der. *lɔʔɔke*, *lɔʔɔŋɔw*, *lɔʔɔput*, poss. *lɔʔuyaŋ*.

lɔʔɔke (n.) paper, paper money [*lɔʔɔ* 'leaf' + *ke* 'tree'].

lɔʔɔna/nɔʔɔna (i.n.) leaf; s.f. *lɔʔɔ; lɔʔɔ niw* is equivalent to *lɔʔɔna niw* 'coconut leaf' (both occur); only the long form may be suffixed: *lɔʔɔnan* but not **lɔʔɔn.*

lɔʔɔŋow (n.) Lorengau [*lɔʔɔ* 'leaf' + *ŋow* 'k.o. plant'].

lɔʔɔput (n.) k.o. fish, poss. lesser fantail ray [*lɔʔɔ* 'leaf' + *put* 'k.o. plant'].

lɔʔu (n.) k.o. fish, poss. short-bodied mackerel.

lɔʔuyaŋ (n.) k.o. fish, poss. banded scad or herring trevally [*?lɔʔɔ* 'leaf' or *lɔʔu* 'k.o. fish' + *yaŋ* 'k.o. plant'].

lolow (n.) spy, thief.

lot (n.) shells of the family *Turbinidae*, turbans.

low (n.) k.o. fish, poss. sweetlips or sea bream; name of offshore island visible to the south of Loniu village, near Baluan and Pak.

luluwɛ (n.) line used to raise the sail; poss. redup. of *luwɛ* 'lose, let go'.

luŋ (v.t. Class ?) catch (fish); l.f. *luŋuti.*

luŋuti (v.t. Class ?) catch (fish) [*luŋut* (s.f. *luŋ*) 'catch' + *-i* 'trans.'].

lus (n.) nit.

lus (n.) shallow wooden bowl with a flat bottom, traditionally used for men's food.

luwɛ (v.t. Class I) lose, drop, let go, leave; wait; poss. der. *luluwɛ.*

luwin (n.) white sandy ocean floor, esp. with no stones or coral.

ma (conj.) and, with, together with (see 7.2.2).

ma (v.i. Class ?) ripen.

ma (part.) intentional or inchoative marker (see 3.4.3.2, 5.1.1.3.4).

ma (pref.) number formative (see 3.2.1).

ma sow (neg. phrase) not yet (see 6.5).

mačah/mɛčah (n.) one of the major steps in the marriage procedures involving preparation of feast and presentation of gifts between the bride's and the groom's family; takes place after the birth of at least the first child.

mačaw (n.) ocean passage between two islands.

mačɛhɛ (interr. pro.) how much, how many (see 6.7.3.6).

mah (n.) taro.

mahu (adv.) tomorrow.

mahun (d.a.) new, newborn; (syn. *mamahun*).

mak (n.) oarlock.

makɔʔɔhun (n.) pre-dawn, not enough light to see well.

malahan (d.a.) wide, broad.

malin (n.) k.o. wood which floats, poss. balsa.

malɔlɔm^{w}an (n.) time of morning when sun is coming up, there is just enough light to see; about 4.30 a.m.; [?TP *malolo* 'rest' + *m^{w}an* 'fire'].

mam (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of wrasse.

mamahun (d.a.) new, newborn; redup. of *mahun*.

maman/mama?an (n.) newborn child.

mamat (v.i.?) be awake.

mamɔ?an (d.a.) fresh; (syn. *mamʷɛmʷɛ?an*).

mamʷa/mʷamʷa (v.i.?) be sorry, have pity; attested in the phrases *kɔlu mamʷa a wɔw* 'I am sorry for you' (lit. 'my throat *mamʷa* POSS you'), and *putuwo mʷamʷa a wɔw* 'I am angry with you' (lit. my belly *mamʷa* POSS you').

mamʷɛmʷɛ?an (d.a.) fresh; (syn. *mamɔ?an*).

mamʷɛnɛ?ɛn (d.a.) whole, entire, not cut into pieces.

mamʷi?in/
mamʷimʷi?in (d.a.) alive.

mana (n.) white egg cowrie, *Ovula ovum Linnaeus*; used as penis ornament in one of the traditional Manus dances; der. *kamana*, *tamana*.

manaw (n.) k.o. fish, poss. purple-headed parrotfish.

manunuwɛ (v.i. Class ?) sway back and forth.

manuwɛnan (n.) boundary.

maŋawe (v.t. Class ?) be clear, open, have long-range visibility.

mapeŋ (n.) morning [*ma* '?' + *peŋ* 'night'].

mapitan (d.a.) raw.

mara (n.?) in the area of, around, near; may be variant of *mata* 'eye, edge'.

mara (aux.?) poss. a modal verb meaning 'might, may, must'.

marakɛčɛy (n.) gloss unclear, may be related to fastening parts of canoe together; poss. *matakɛčɛy*.

marapuket (n.) area near the reef.

marɔn (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of herring or bream.

mas (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of garpike or long-tom.

masa (v.i. Class ?) dawn; time of day when there is enough light to see; later than *malɔlɔmʷan*, about 5.30 – 6.00 a.m.

masɔ?ɔnɛ (n.?) a mess, messy.

mat (n.) reef.

mat (v.i. Class II) die.

mata (v.i. Class I) be or become big; grow up.

mata (i.n.) eye; edge; lid (of pot).

mata (d.a.) big; attested only in the phrase *own mata* 'his big bone, his spine'; poss. l.f. *mɛtiyɛn*.

matačip (n.) window frame.

matakapʷa (i.n.) bunch or cluster (e.g. of fruit); ground vine.

mataluh (n.) k.o. shell, poss. fam. *Turbinidae*; said to have a black operculum; also, money.

matapupʷilin (n.) anus.

mata?an (v.i.?) gloss unclear, poss. talk without knowing, invent.

may (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of surgeonfish, poss. poison-spined fish of some type.

ma?a (i.n.) skin; close to, as in *ma?a pat* 'close to the stone(s)'; der. *ma?a* + *kɔsɔ*.

ma?akɔsɔ/ma?aŋɔsɔ (i.n.) beside, near [*ma?a* 'skin' + *kɔsɔ* 'next to'].

ma?aw (n.) formative used in fish names, no specific gloss available; cf. *len ma?aw, kali?aw ma?aw*.

ma?in (part.) maybe; TP *ating*.

mɛ (v.i. Class I) come, motion toward.

mɛhiyun (d.a.) bad-tasting, sour (e.g. old sago).

mɛkɛhɛn (d.a.) thin.

mɛkɛyaŋ (n.) mollusc of the family *Volutidae, Aulicina vespertilio* (*Linnaeus*).

mɛla?an (n.?) big, open area, with no mountains, from which you can see the ocean in all directions; cf. *malahan*, of which this may be a variant form.

mɛlɛkɔt (n.) k.o. fish, prob. species of cod [*mɛlɛ* '?' + *kɔt* 'k.o. fish'].

mɛlɛmun (d.a.) soft, overripe.

mɛlɛn (n.) k.o. plant whose leaves are used as a vegetable, TP *aipika*.

mɛlɛsɛwa (i.n.) man's brothers-in-law and his sisters-in-law who are older than his wife; also, woman's brothers-in-law who are older than her husband.

mɛlɛwa (i.n.) spirit, soul.

mɛliwi (n.) k.o. fish, poss. surgeonfish or tang.

mɛmɛsu (v.i. Class ?) hiccough.

mɛmey (n.) k.o. plant or natural fibre used for making baskets.

mɛnih (n.) large black bee; k.o. deep water seaweed which stings.

mɛnuway (n.) eagle; k.o. ray, poss. duckbill-ray or spotted eagle-ray.

mɛsɛ?ɛn (n.) front portion of the interior of a house.

mɛsɛ?ɛn (n.) clean (water).

mɛtɛpɔw (n.) long two-man pole used for carrying things suspended between shoulders (cf. *si?ihi*); pole placed at the edge of the canoe bed to ease the feeding of the net into the water; poles arranged under the roof of the house, used for storage; may be made from palm-leaf stalks.

mɛtiput (n.) crosspieces of a canoe.

mɛtiyɛn/lamɛtiyɛn/ namɛtiyɛn (d.a.) large, big; may be l.f. of *mata* 'big'; der. *čehemɛtiyɛn*.

mɛtɔ (n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of emperor.

mɛy (n.) brown-skinned (person).

mɛ?ɛmɛ (n.) type of fishing net, used to catch mullet.

mɛ?ɛsan (d.a.) cooked, done; nom. of *mɛ?is*.

mɛ?ɛw (n.) k.o. fruit.

mɛʔipihinɛ/mɛtipihinɛ (i.n.) groin [*?mɛʔi/mɛti* '?' + *pihinɛ* (s.f. *pihin* 'female')].

mɛʔiman (d.a.) red; (syn. *yamaʔam, aman*).

mɛʔiŋat (??) gloss unclear, poss. be or become rotten.

mɛʔis (v.t. Class I) become cooked, done.

mɛʔiyɛn (adv.) quickly, hurriedly.

mete (v.i. Class I) sleep; der. *meteten, meteʔewɔh, meteʔiw*.

meteten (v.i. Class ?) sleep heavily, poss. redup. of *mete* (but see 3.8.1.1; reduplication is normally pre-root rather than post root).

meteʔewɔh (n.) day before yesterday [*mete* 'sleep' + *uwɔh* 'two'].

meteʔiw (n.) sleeping; nom. of *mete*.

meʔe (n.) k.o. fruit, prob. variety of Malay apple (syn. *čay*).

mimim (v.i. Class I ?) urinate.

min (v.i. Class I) sit; most often in the phrase *min tan* 'sit down'.

misimisiye (v.i. Class ?) chant for extended period; redup. of *misiye*.

misiyɛni (v.t. Class ?) praise (an accomplishment) [*misiye* 'chant' + *-ɛni* 'trans.'].

misiye (v.i. Class ?) chant, esp. in praise of someone's accomplishment; der. *misimisiye, misiyɛni*.

misuwa (v.t. Class ?) fill; l.f. *misuwani*.

misuwani (v.t. Class ?) fill up a large area, e.g. the village with food [*misuwa* 'fill' + *-ani* 'trans.'].

miʔi (n.) k.o. small ant.

mɔkɛʔɛŋ (n.) Mokoreng.

mɔlɔwam (n.) whale; cf. *lɔlɔ*.

mɔm (n.) line used to adjust the sail.

mɔmɔ (i.n.) liquid; *mɔmɔ niw* 'coconut water'.

mɔmɔhɔnɛ (v.i.?) gloss unclear, poss. be in a hurry.

mɔmɔtani (v.t. Class ?) spit out, vomit; (syn. *ɛmʷɛtɛni*).

momʷak (n.) k.o. fish, poss. cuttlefish.

mɔn (v.i. Class I) return; reverse direction

mɔn (n.) a very long outrigger canoe.

mɔn (n.) variant or *mʷɔn* beaded or woven armband.

mɔnɔy (n.) k.o. fish, poss. long-snouted unicornfish.

mɔɲ (d.a.) gloss unclear, poss. yellow-coloured, but cf. *ɔŋɔwa* 'yellow'.

mɔɲɔmɔɲ (n.) k.o. small yam with purplish flesh; redup. of *mɔɲ*.

mɔpɔhɔwe (v.i. Class ?) break open, e.g. an egg [*mɔ* '?' + *pɔhɔwe* 'broken up'].

mɔrɛ (n.) k.o. bird, poss. a variety of swift.

mɔsɔʔɔŋɛ/mɔsɔŋ (v.i. Class ?) be scattered about, to go or be here and there, as molluscs among the mangrove roots.

mɔt (v.i. Class ?) be broken, break.

mɔtɔmʷat/mɔtɛmʷat (n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of reef eels, poss. spotted snake-blenny; redup. of *mʷat* 'snake'; *mɔtɔmʷat kɔʔɔ* 'brown moray'; *mɔtɔmʷat kɔʔɔtulutun* 'Arabian pike-eel or ashen conger-eel'.

mo (n.) variant of *mu* k.o. fish.

močo/ŋočo (n.) enough, sufficiency.

motow (n.) k.o. knife or cutting tool.

moʔɔhow (n.) k.o. plant, natural fibre for basket making.

mu/mo (n.) k.o. fish, poss. various species of spinefoot.

muči (i.n.) variant of *mʷiče* husk of betel nut or coconut.

mučumuč (n.) variant of *mʷičimʷič* very small betel nut.

mulow (n.) k.o. fish, poss. silver spinefoot or black trevally.

mumučay (n.) k.o. very small fish.

mumum (n.) long poles used for pounding sago in *kupʷi* trough.

musih (d.a.) alike.

muwan (d.a.) bad, evil.

muʔu (i.n.) stern, rear end.

muʔu (n.) k.o. fish, poss. harlequin sweetlips.

muʔun (v.i. Class I) be hungry.

mʷalat (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of albacore.

mʷalih (n.) story; repeated three or four times to begin a story; l.f. *mʷalihi*.

mʷalihi (i.n.) story; s.f. *mʷalih*.

mʷamʷa (v.i. Class ?) variant of *mamʷa* 'be sorry or angry'.

mʷamʷaw (n.) k.o. fish.

mʷan (n.) fire; l.f. *mʷɛnu*; der. *kamʷan, čipɔʔɔmʷan, katamʷan, malɔlɔmʷan, suluŋamʷan*.

mʷanus (n.) Manus; coastal people of Manus.

mʷasas (n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of goatfish.

mʷat (n.) snake; der. *mɔtɔmʷat*.

mʷat (n.) k.o. large yam.

mʷat (n.) wounds resulting from accident.

mʷatahatah (v.i.?) gloss unclear, poss. be in a hurry; said not be used with first person.

mʷati (n.) axe.

mʷay (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of angelfish, poss. spotted surgeonfish.

mʷaʔay (n.) peace, calm.

mʷaʔɛn (d.a.) gloss unclear, poss. alive or be alive; poss. der. *mamʷɛnɛʔɛn, mamʷɛmʷɛʔan*.

mʷaʔusuwɛ (v.i. Class ?) twist and turn about, e.g. to avoid smoke.

mʷɛ (i.n.) buttocks.

mʷɛčɛpu/mʷičɛpu (n.) last-born child; last bit of something.

mʷɛkɛlikɛliyɛ (v.i. Class ?) be uneasy, queasy [*?mʷɛ* '?' + *kɛli* redup.+ *kɛli* 'boil' + *yɛ* '?'].

mʷɛkɛw (n.) deep sea; overseas.

mʷɛlɛhɛ (d.a.) emptyheaded, useless; plain, water with no flavouring.

mʷɛlɛŋa (i.n.) the area in between two objects or persons.

mʷɛli (i.n.) canoe with built-up sideboards; also used to refer to large trucks; der. *mʷɛlipʷe.*

mʷɛlipʷe (n.) small canoe; also used for small vehicles such as jeeps; [*mʷɛli* 'canoe with built-up sideboards' + *pʷe* 'no, not'].

mʷɛnɛn (d.a.) straight, correct; der. *mʷɛniyɛni.*

mʷɛniyani/ mʷɛnɛyani (v.i. Class ?) be easy, soft; [*mʷɛniyɛ* 'easily, softly' + *-ani* 'trans.'].

mʷɛniyɛ (adv.) easily, softly, carefully, gently; l.f. *mʷɛnɛyani*; (v.t. Class ?) straighten; poss. s.f. *mʷɛnɛn*; *mʷɛniyɛni, mʷɛniyani.*

mʷɛniyɛni/ mʷɛniyani (v.t. Class ?) straighten, arrange [*mʷɛniyɛ* 'straighten' + *-ɛni/-ani* 'trans.'].

mʷɛnu/mʷɔnu/ mɔnu (i.n.) fire; s.f. *mʷan*; der. *mʷɔnuyap.*

mʷɛŋɛʔiyɛ (v.i.) move, reposition oneself.

mʷey (n.) k.o. beach crab.

mʷi (n.) dog.

mʷi (n.) k.o. seabird with webbed feet.

mʷičɛ/muči/mʷiči (i.n.) husk of betel nut or coconut.

mʷiči (i.n.) variant of *mʷičɛ* husk of betel nut or coconut.

mʷičimʷič/mučumuč (n.) very small betel nut.

mʷičiŋat (v.i.?) be hot [*mʷiči* 'husk' + *ŋatah* 'be hot'].

mʷičiŋɛni (v.t. Class ?) reprove, reject.

mʷimʷiʔin (n.) youngest child; redup. of *mʷiʔin* 'afterwards'.

mʷiʔin (adv.) afterwards, later; der. *pumʷiʔi, mʷimʷiʔin.*

mʷiʔiw (n.) grass.

mʷɔn/mɔn (n.) beaded or woven arm or leg band.

mʷɔnu (i.n.) variant of *mʷɛnu* 'fire'.

mʷɔnuyap/mɔnoyap (n.) matches, lighter [*mʷɔnu* 'fire' + *yap* 'foreigner'].

mʷɔŋ (n.) k.o. fruit, prob. pandanus.

nametiyɛn (d.a.) variant of *metiyɛn* 'big'.

napʷanan (d.a.) variant of *lapʷanan* 'big'.

nas (n.) digging stick; l.f. *nɛsi.*

nay (n.) short ornamented skirt.

nɛn (n.) part of the palm leaf, used or sewing palm leaf thatch.

nɛn (v.i. Class I?) crawl on the belly, e.g. a snake.

nɛnɛs (v.i. Class I) talk.

nɛsɪ (i.n.) digging stick; s.f. *nas.*

nɛti (v.t. Class I) divide up a garden plot into sections for planting.

nɛʔɛhin (n.) young woman [*nɛ* '?' + *ɛhin* 'girl']; l.f. *nɛʔɛhiyɛ.*

nɛʔɛhiyɛ (i.n.) young woman; s.f. *nɛʔɛhin.*

nɛʔi (i.n.) clothes, dress.

ni (n.) general term for fish; l.f. *niyɛ.*

nihiyani (v.t. Class ?) dream about.

nimɛ/limɛ (i.n.) hand, arm.

nin (n.) spike, nail.

ninɛn (d.a.) variant of *inɛn* 'small'.

nini (n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of trevally, esp. bluefin trevally; redup. of *ni* 'fish'.

niniyɛ may/ niniyɛ mač (n.) k.o. anemone fish or clownfish [*ni* 'redup.' + *niyɛ* (s.f. *ni*) 'fish' *may* 'k.o. fish'].

niniyɛ mɔluč (n.) k.o. fish, poss. similar to *niniyɛ mač.*

nipaŋ (n.) k.o. fish, prob. rainbowfish, wrasse or parrotfish [*ni* 'fish' + *paŋ* '?'].

niw (n.) coconut, both the palm and the fruit.

niw aman (n.) species of coconut, most common type [*niw* 'coconut' + *aman* 'red'].

niw mami (n.) species of coconut, very sweet [?*niw* 'coconut' + *mami* 'TP: type of yam'].

niw pa (n.) species of coconut, whose fruits cluster on a single branch [?*niw* 'coconut' + *pa* 'k.o. plant'].

niw paʔaŋ (n.) species of coconut with red shoots [?*niw* 'coconut' + *paʔaŋ* 'k.o. bird'].

niw pɛlɛwa (n.) species of short coconut palm, with small round reddish coconuts [?*niw* 'coconut' + *pɛlɛwa* 'k.o. fish'].

niyɛ (i.n.) fish; s.f. *ni.*

niyɛ pat (n.) general term for fish which feed on the reef [*niyɛ* (s.f. *ni*) 'fish' + *pat* 'stone'].

niyɛ tin (n.) gloss unclear, poss. the fish caught or prepared for the family of a deceased person.

nɔh (v.i. Class I) be afraid; der. *nɔhɔnɔh.*

nɔh (n.) k.o. fish, poss. poison; poss. species of butterfly-cod, turkeyfish, or scorpion-cod.

nɔhɔnɔh (n.) fear; redup. of *nɔh* 'be afraid'.

nɔʔɔna (i.n.) variant of *lɔʔɔna* 'leaf'.

nɔʔɔnɔw (n.) gloss unclear, poss. a kind of woman's headdress.

now (n.) small stake around which yam vines are wound.

ɲah (n.) spear.

ɲačun (n.) k.o. fish, poss. fusilier or bananafish.

ɲak (v.t. Class ?) climb, go up onto or into; (v.i. Class ?) go up, e.g. a house; der. *ɲakoh, ɲɛkɛta.*

ɲakɔ (n.) k.o. bird which sings at night and, traditionally, heralds a death; may be a night heron or curlew.

ɲakɔkɔn (n.) basket made of bark.

ɲakoh (n.) rope or cloth used for climbing palm trees [*ɲak* 'climb' + *oh* '?'].

ɲala (n.) cold wind; (v.i. Class ?) be or become cold; der. *ɲɛlɛtun.*

ɲaman (d.a.) sweet; sharp (syn. *kamakaman*).

ɲaman (n.) lard, fat, grease.

ɲamɔn (n.) mosquito.

ɲan (v.i. Class ?) crawl on all fours; der. *aɲɛliɲan.*

ɲana (i.n.) man's father-in-law.

ɲanɛ (i.n.) mother.

ɲanɛmʷat (n.) k.o. insect, approximately six inches long, flexible body and large wings; found in the upper parts of trees [*ɲanɛ* 'mother' + *mʷat* 'snake'].

ɲani (v.t. Class II) variant of *yani* 'eat'.

ɲaɲay (n.) k.o. seagrass.

ɲaɲaʔe/ɲɔɲɔʔi (v.t. Class I) peel off outer bark.

ɲapɛriyɛ (d.a.) large in size and powerful, esp. in reference to *mɛnuway* 'eagle'.

ɲapič (n.) k.o. deepwater crab, has very strong claws.

ɲapɔn (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of surgeonfish.

ɲapulu (i.n.) spouse [*ɲa* 'n.f.' + *pulu* 'spouse'].

ɲapʷɛlɛkɛw (n.) canoe part, parallel to the poles which attach to the outrigger.

ɲat (n.) melon; *ɲat kun* 'pumpkin'; *ɲat pɔpɔ* 'papaya'.

ɲatama (i.n.) father; father's brothers.

ɲato (i.n.) grandmother.

ɲatupu (i.n.) grandfather; woman's father-in-law; man's nieces and nephews on his wife's side.

ɲɛhɛti (v.t. Class I?) divide large bunches of fruit into smaller bunches.

ɲɛkɛta (n.) climbing; nom. of *ɲɛkɛti.*

ɲɛkɛti (v.t. Class I?) climb; prob. l.f. of *ɲak.*

ɲɛkuwan (d.a.) good-tasting, sweet, e.g. fruit; (ant. *ɲɛmulɛn*).

ɲɛlɛtun (d.a.) cold; prob. l.f. of *ɲala.*

ɲɛmulɛn/ɲumulɛn (d.a.) sour (e.g. fruit); (ant. *ɲɛkuwan*).

ɲɛti/ɲɛtu (det.) diminutive marker.

ɲɛtu (i.n.) offspring, child; woman's brothers-in-law who are younger than her husband, man's sisters-in-law who are younger than his wife.

ɲɛtukan (n.) bird [*?ɲɛtu* 'child' + **kan* 'bird' (cf. *lɔmukan*)].

ɲɛtukɛmɛpu/ ɲɛtukɔmɔpu/ ɲɔkɔmɔpu (i.n.) grandchild [*ɲɛtu* 'child' + *kɛmɛpu* '?'].

ɲɛtumʷan (n.) young man [*ɲɛtu* 'child' + **mʷan* '?'].

ɲɛtupoke (n.) illegitmate child [*ɲɛtu* 'child' + *poke* '?'].

ɲɛtut (n.) k.o. tree/wood used for canoe building.

ɲɛtuwɛnɛyan (n.) middle-sized [*?ɲɛtu* 'child' + *wɛnɛyan* '?'].

ɲihi (v.t. Class I) wash, bathe; [**ɲuh* (s.f. *ɲu*) 'bathe' + *-i* 'trans.']; der. *ɲihiya*.

ɲihiya (i.n.) washing; nom. of *ɲihi*.

ɲikiɲik (n.) gloss unclear, possibly a kind of picnic; redup. of **ɲik*.

ɲikiti (v.t. Class I) remove food from cooking pot.

ɲipiɲip (n.) small, lapping waves; redup. of **ɲip*.

ɲɔkɔmɔpu (i.n.) variant of *ɲɛtukɛmɛpu* 'grandchild'.

ɲɔŋɔʔi (v.t. Class I) variant of *ɲaŋaʔe* 'peel or scrape off bark'.

ɲɔw (n.) mahogany.

ɲɔʔɔhiye (i.n.) sweat (syn. *ɲɔŋɔʔo*).

ɲɔʔɔŋɔ (v.t.) variant of *ɲɔŋɔʔo* 'sweat'.

ɲohi/ɲɔhi (i.n. Class I) fill basket with food, e.g. yams; der. *ɲohoŋoh*.

ɲohoŋoh (v.i.) fill a basket; redup. of *ɲohi*.

ɲɔŋɔʔo/ɲɔʔɔŋɔ (i.n.) sweat, perspiration (syn. *ɲɔʔɔhiyɛ*).

ɲu (v.i. Class I) bathe oneself, wash; der. *ɲuhay*, *ɲihi*.

ɲuhay (n.) washing; nom. of *ɲu*.

ɲuk (n.) squid or cuttlefish.

ɲumulɛn (d.a.) variant of *ɲɛmulɛn* 'sour'.

ɲumʷa (i.n.) grating; nom. of *ɲumʷi*.

ɲumʷi (v.t. Class I) scrape, grate (e.g. coconut); der. *ɲumʷa*.

ɲuwɛlaw (v.i. Class ?) swim underwater [*?ɲu* 'bathe' + **wɛlaw* '?'].

ŋah (n.) lime, used with betel nut; l.f. *ŋaha*.

ŋahan (n.) fathom.

ŋahan (d.a.) hot, spicy.

ŋan (n.) sun; time.

ŋan (n.) k.o. fish, prob. barracuda.

ŋara (n.) gloss unclear, poss. opening or hole.

ŋatah (v.i. Class ?) be hot, feel hot; der. *ŋataha*, *ŋatɛhi*, *paŋataha*.

ŋatahan (d.a.) hot; l.f. of *ŋatah*.

ŋatɛhi/ŋɛtɛhi (v.t. Class ?) heat [*ŋatah* 'be hot' + *-i* 'trans.'].

ŋay (n.) hole, esp. in the ground; cave; l.f. *ŋɛyɛ*.

ŋay (n.) k.o. water bird, swims or floats on surface; poss. k.o. duck or booby.

ŋaʔa (i.n.) name.

ŋɛlɛpu/ŋɛlipu (n.) fly.

ŋɛŋɛy (d.a.) scarred, pocked from disease; prob. redup. of *ŋɛyɛ* 'hole'.

ŋɛsu (i.n.) smoke; most often *ŋɛsumʷan*; der. *ŋɛsuŋɛsun.*

ŋɛsumʷan (n.) smoke; cigarette[*ŋɛsu* 'smoke' + *mʷan* 'fire'].

ŋɛsuŋɛsun (d.a) smoky; redup. of *ŋɛsu.*

ŋɛtɛhi (v.t. Class ?) variant of *ŋatɛhi* 'heat'.

ŋɛti (v.i. Class ?) hurt, be painful; der. *ŋɛtiyan.*

ŋɛtiyan (n.) pain; nom. of *ŋɛti* 'hurt'.

ŋɛyɛ (i.n.) hole; s.f. *ŋay*; der. *ŋɛŋɛy.*

ŋɛʔɛ (n.) when used with man's father's name, 'Mr'; cf. *sɔ* 'Miss'.

ŋɔ (i.n.) nose, beak.

ŋɔh (part.) away, out.

ŋɔh (v.i. Class I) blow (e.g. wind).

ŋɔŋɔn (n.) crazy person (syn. *ŋɔw, čɔ*).

ŋɔsɔha (i.n.) breath [?*ŋɔ* 'nose' + base of *sɔʔɔhani* 'blow out'].

ŋɔtɛyan (n.) k.o. fish, poss. diagonal-banded sweetlips.

ŋɔtun (n.) bow of a canoe [*ŋɔ* 'nose' + *tun* 'canoe'].

ŋɔw (n.) crazy person.

ŋɔʔɔ/puŋɔʔɔ (i.n.) root.

ŋočo (i.n.) variant of *močo* 'enough'.

ɔ (v.i. Class ?) wither, fall, come down; pour down (e.g. water); poss. also come to an end.

ɔ (conj.) or; prob. borrowed from Tok Pisin.

ɔh (v.t. Class II) draw, write, adorn with designs; l.f. *ɔhɔy*; der. *ɔʔɔh.*

ɔhɔy (v.t. Class II) draw, write, adorn with designs; s.f. *ɔh.*

ɔhuwɛn/ɔhɔwɛn (n.) dust; powdery substance found on branches of one species of sago palm (esp. *epi pamat*); der. *ɔhuʔɔhu, ɔʔɔhu.*

ɔhuʔɔhu (i.n.) dust, car exhaust [*ɔhu* redup. + **ɔhu* (l.f. *ɔhuwɛn*)].

ɔkɛt (n.) mature coconut, at the stage when copra is extracted; black, l.f. *ɔkɔtɛn.*

ɔkɔtɛn (d.a.) black, s.f. *ɔkɛt.*

ɔlɛn (n.) k.o. fish, poss. gold-spotted trevally.

ɔlɔh (n.) wooden bailer.

ɔlow (n.) k.o. fish, poss. demoiselle or sergeant-major.

ɔŋɔhani (v.t. Class II?) think of; count [*ɔŋɔhe* 'think of' + *-ani* 'trans.'].

ɔŋɔhe (v.t. Class II) think of; count; der. *ɔŋɔhani, ɔŋɔʔɔŋɔhe.*

ɔŋɔwa (i.n.) yellow, fair-skinned; (?syn. *mɔŋ*).

ɔŋɔʔɔŋɔhe (v.i. Class ?) think; (n.) thought, opinion; redup. of *ɔŋɔhe*.

ɔpah (n.) the celebration which is held upon the birth of a child.

ɔpukaka (i.n.) ankle [*ɔpu* '?' + *kaka* 'leg, foot']; (syn. *kɔlučukaka*).

ɔpunimɛ (i.n.) hand [*ɔpu* '?' + *nimɛ* 'hand, arm'].

ɔw (v.i. Class I?) play; ?der. *ɛwɛtay*.

ɔw (pro.) second person dual.

ɔwak/kɔwak (n.) k.o. tree/wood used in canoe building.

ɔwan (n.) shade.

ɔwatas (n.) k.o. fish, poss. anchovy.

ɔʔɔčun (n.) placename, Rosun.

ɔʔɔh (v.i. Class I) draw, write; redup. of *ɔh*.

ɔʔɔhu (i.n.) dust, exhaust; redup. of **ɔhu* (l.f. *ɔhuwɛn*); (syn. *ɔhuʔɔhu*).

ɔʔɔwan (d.a.) green, blue; ?redup. of *ɔwan* 'shade'.

oč (v.i. Class I?) jump.

ow (n.) k.o. fish trap.

ow (i.n.) bone.

pa (n.) poles running parallel to canoe, part of the structure which attaches the outrigger to the canoe (cf. *kiyɛč*, *ɲapʷɛlɛkɛw*)

pa (n.) k.o. plant with long slender leaf; coconut species.

pač (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of sardine or pilchard.

pačɛpow (n.) toilet facility built out over the water; (syn. *palaʔah*).

pačičiʔi (v.t. Class ?) sweep.

pačilew (n.) screen woven from palm fronds, used as filter.

pah (n.) k.o. plant whose fibres are used for weaving baskets.

pah (n.) market; l.f. *pɛhɛyani*, *pɛhɛyɛni*.

paha (n.) k.o. tree.

paha (v.i. Class ?) be careful.

paha (i.n.) front (of).

pahali (n.) downhill.

pahapičalay (n.) placename, Papitalai.

pahatɔʔɔpaŋ (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of flutemouth or trumpetfish.

pahaw (n.) long, two-man paddle; l.f. *pahawɛ*.

pahun (n.) cuttlebone; l.f. *pahunɛ*.

pakak (v.i. Class ?) dry up, e.g. reef when the tide is out.

pakɔw/pakow (n.) k.o. tray or serving plate.

pakɔw (n.) species of wild banana.

pala (i.n.) head, skull; in the phrase *pala kɔmu*, 'the point of a speech'.

palačɛʔɛtay (n.) wooden log used as bridge [*pala* 'head' + *čɛʔɛt* 'crawl' + *-ay* 'n.f.'].

palačɔpɔn (n.) point, promontory.

palakaka pɔkɛmata (i.n.) toe [*pala* 'head' + *kaka* 'leg' + *pɔkɛmata* 'thumb'].

palakɛčɔ/palakɔčɔ (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of gudgeon or blenny.

palakɛtuŋ (n.) veranda, porch.

palakɛʔimɛ (i.n.) tongue [*pala* 'head' + *kɛʔimɛ* '?'].

palaken (i.n.) k.o. fish, prob. species of trevally.

palalaw (n.) k.o. sago palm with a long leaf, not used for thatch; a variety of the *pamat* type of sago.

palanimɛ (i.n.) fist [*pala* 'head' + *nimɛ* 'hand, arm'].

palaŋap (n.) betel pepper leaf, poss. slang term (syn. *pun*).

palapa/pɛlapa (i.n.) branch, esp. of palm tree.

palapow (n.) k.o. fish, prob. species of mullet [*pala* 'head' + *pow* 'pig'].

palaputuwɛhɛ (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of trevally.

palapʷɛlɛyah (n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of parrotfish [*pala* 'head' + *pʷɛlɛyah* 'parrotfish'].

palatɔpɔn (n.) placename [*pala* 'head' + *tɔpɔ* 'point' + *-n* '3SG possessor'].

palawati (n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of parrotfish [*pala* 'head' + *wati* 'lizard'].

palaʔah (n.) toilet facility built over water (syn. *pačɛpow*).

palɛʔun (n) species of coconut with relatively little meat; not used for grating.

pamat (n.) species of sago palm, has no thorns; c.f. *čɛhit*, *palalaw*.

paᵐboŋ (n.) k.o. fish, prob. a species of ray; not a food fish; Note: this is the only occurrence of a prenasalised bilabial stop in the data.

pan (n.) k.o. bird, said to eat berries whole; poss. Pacific imperial pigeon or helmeted friar bird.

panah (n.) k.o. fish, prob. garfish; TP *ponpon*.

paŋɔh (n.) ground cover made of leaves, used to hold sago pulp during processing.

paŋataha (i.n.) heating, boiling; [*pa* '?' + *ŋatah* 'be hot' + *-a* 'nom.'].

papaha (v.i. Class ?) inform, explain; poss. redup. of *paha* 'be careful'.

papan (n.) k.o. plant, whose leaf is used for making packets; poss. redup. of *pan* 'k.o. bird'.

papaʔɔh (adv.) very near; redup. of *paʔɔh* 'near'.

papɛt (n.) borderline, boundary of stones in garden; l.f. *papɛti*.

papɛti/papɛtɛ (i.n.) boundary; s.f. *papɛt*.

papuwɛ (n.) base of palm leaf stalk, used as plate, fan, cover for food; part of bride's headdress.

paramanan (n.) green coconut, from which coconut water is extracted.

parɛpit (n.) species of small yam with white flesh.

pasa (i.n.) knowledge, understanding; der. *pɛsani.*

pase/pasɛ (i.n.) chin, edge; der. *kɛpase.*

pasisi (n.) k.o. fern.

pat (n.) stone.

pata (i.n.) stem, branch, trunk.

patah (n.) trough with a system of filters for washing sago and extracting sago powder.

patahuyan/ patapatahuyan (n.) older adult [*pata* 'redup.' + *pata* 'trunk' + *huyan* 'adult']; (syn. *pata?amat*).

patakɔ/pɛtekɔ (n.) big or main island [*pata* 'trunk' + *kɔ* 'land'].

pataniw (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of emperor [*pata* 'stem' + *niw* 'coconut'].

patapɛlɛy (n.) k.o. plant with vines used as twine [*pata* 'stem' + *pɛlɛy* 'sail'].

patapow (n.) k.o. wood whose inner bark is used to make traditional skirt [*pata* 'stem' + *pow* 'pig'].

pata?amat (n.) old person [*pata* 'trunk' + *amat* 'human'].

patɛč (n.) gift given in return for participation and help in a celebration, such as betel nut, betel pepper, food.

pay (n.) shelf, rafter.

pa?a (??) gloss unclear, possibly 'in the area of'.

pa?aha (i.n.) area underneath; under.

pa?ahakɛhɛya (i.n.) underarm [*pa?aha* 'under' + *kɛhɛya* 'shoulder'].

pa?ahan (n.) right hand, right side [?*pa?aha* 'under' + *-n* '3SG possessor'].

pa?aŋ (n.) species of coconut with red shoots.

pa?aŋ (n.) k.o. white seabird which flies over the sea and feeds on small fish; poss. variety of tern or heron.

pa?at (n.) k.o. fish, prob. species of grunter.

pa?ɔh (adv.) near, close by; der. *papa?ɔh.*

pa?ɔn (n.) small lean-to near main house.

pɛčuču (n.) k.o. plant with a leaf used for medicinal purposes.

pɛhɛ (v.i. Class I?) defecate.

pɛhɛna (n.) gecko; nom. of *pɛhɛnɔ* 'steal'.

pɛhɛnɔ (v.t. Class ?) steal.

pɛhɛyani/pɛhɛyɛni (v.t. Class I) barter, shop for [*pah* 'market' + *-ani/-ɛni* 'trans.'].

pɛlɛ (i.n.) area to the side of, near, around.

pɛlɛŋan (n.) up in the house (houses are traditionally built on stilts or posts); up in the air; on top. [*pɛlɛ* 'near' + *ŋan* 'sun'].

pɛlɛwa (n.) species of coconut.

pɛlɛwa (n.) k.o. fish, poss. anchovy.

pɛlɛy (n.) sail.

pɛlɛy (n.) k.o. fish, poss. razorfish or shrimpfish.

pɛlɛ?ip (n.) tongs made from bamboo strips, used as a cooking utensil.

pɛlih (n.) the very top; the zenith of the sun.

pɛlimat (n.) flying fox.

pɛliŋɛʔi/piliŋɛʔi (i.n.) relation, accompaniment, companion; with.

pɛlit (n.) ghost, spirit.

pɛliwa/pɛluwa (n.) Baluan (offshore island south of Loniu).

pɛliway (n.) opposite side, other side; toward.

pɛliyaw (n.) k.o. fish, poss. tuna or mackerel.

pɛluwani (v.t. Class I) head off, change direction of (including one's thinking); der./syn. *tapɛluwani*.

pɛn (n.) taro mashed with coconut oil.

pɛni (i.n.) wing; der./syn. *kapɛni*.

pɛpaʔa (v.i. Class ?) go to sleep (e.g. a leg or arm).

pɛpe (n.) k.o. plant.

pɛsani (v.t. Class I) know [*pasa* 'knowledge' + *-ani* 'trans.']; see 6.1.5.

pɛtɛkɔ (n.) variant of *patakɔ* big or main island.

pɛtɛpučɔ/pɛrɛpučɔ (n.) offshore islands.

pɛti (prep.) from, of, about, after, for; see 3.6.1.

pɛti čah (interr.) why; see 6.7.3.3.

pɛtimʷɛs (n.) k.o. seed from a tree, used in ornaments.

pɛtin (n.) k.o. tree, whose leaves are used as filters in the processing of sago.

pɛtitupuwe (i.n.) body.

pɛtiʔɔ (i.n.) bone; (syn. *ow*).

pɛtɔt (v.i. Class I) insist, be firm, argue; (n.) strength.

pɛtihɛ (n.) placename.

pɛtuwet (n.) firestones or tins used in the fire as supports for cooking pots.

pɛw (n.) shark; *pɛw čupɛlaʔuwɔh* poss. hammerhead [*čupɛla* '?' *uwɔh* 'two']; *pɛw iŋay* poss. tawny shark; *pɛw kɛlɛwɛy* poss. black-tip or mullet shark; *pɛw kɔpɔw* poss. tasselled wobbygong (but cf. *kalipuwɛy*) [*kɔpɔw* 'k.o. fish']; *pɛw mʷɛtamat* poss. epaulette shark or Freycinet's shark; *pɛw pɛliyaw* poss. Maclot's shark or gray whaler shark [*pɛliyaw* 'k.o. fish']; *pɛw pusuwan* poss. tiger shark [*pusuwan* 'uncircumcised']; *pɛw sɛlɛyaw* poss. whale shark or Tufi whaler-shark; *pɛw wati* poss. banded wobbygong or carpet shark [*wati* 'lizard']; *pɛwiʔan* poss. white-cheeked whaler-shark [*pɛwi* 'l.f. of *pɛw* shark' + *an* 'fresh water'].

pɛʔɛ (i.n.) source (of river, creek); brain (?); handle (of knife); stem (of taro plant).

pɛʔɛkaka (i.n.) shin, lower leg [*pɛʔɛ* 'stem' + *kaka* 'leg'].

pɛʔɛpa (n.) paper (from TP *pepa*).

pɛʔič (n.) cutting tool made of sharpened bamboo; lime used with betel nut (syn. *ŋah*).

peŋ (n.) night, dark.

pepe?eh (n.) woven screen used for keeping rain out.

pet (v.i. Class I) float, drift.

pey (n.) k.o. mud whelk, fam. *Potamididae, Telescopium telescopium (Linnaeus)*.

pičɛlalan (n.?) gloss unclear, poss. chest.

pičɛlɛ (n.) raised wooden platform, bed.

pičɛy (v.t. Class I) squeeze; der. *popičɛy, tapičɛy*.

pičilow (n.) obsidian spear point.

pičilu (n.) placename, Pitilu.

pičinah (n.) k.o. large yam.

pihin (n.) woman, female; l.f. form *pihinɛ*.

pihinɛ (i.n.) woman; s.f. *pihin*.

pilɛŋ (n.) garden; l.f. *pilɛŋa*; (syn. *ɛnum*).

pilɛŋa (i.n.) garden; s.f. *pilɛŋ*.

piliŋ/pɛliŋ (v.i. Class I) wait; der. *piliŋani, pipiliŋ*.

piliŋani/pɛlɛŋɛni (v.t. Class I) wait for [*piliŋ* 'wait' + *-ani/-ɛni* 'trans.'].

piliŋa?a (i.n.) name [*pili* '?' + *ŋa?a* 'name'].

piloh (n.) lightning bug.

pin (v.i. Class ?) sway; change into.

pini (n.) soft shelled clam, found among mangrove roots; also described as a k.o. shellfish.

pinɔ (i.n.) season, time for planting or work.

pinɔsɔsɔ/pinɛsɔsɔ (n.) time for playing, relaxation [*pinɔ* 'season' + *sɔsɔ* 'be eager'].

piŋɛhɛ (adv.) yesterday.

piŋɛ (n.) k.o. fish, poss. sardine or sprat.

pipɛtow (n.) in the phrase *motow pipɛtow*, axe-type tool used for making canoes.

pipiliŋ (n.) wait; nom. of *piliŋ* [*pi* 'redup.' + *piliŋ* 'wait'].

pipow (n.) kind of caterpillar, somewhat poisonous.

pisili (v.t. Class I) push over, push down.

piti (n.) star.

piti (n.) container.

pito (i.n.) strength, ability.

piyɛsi?i (n.) k.o. fish, poss. small-toothed squirrelfish.

pi?ah (v.i. Class ?) be itchy.

pi?ɛn (d.a.) white.

pi?ihɪt (n.) k.o. shell.

pi?iti (v.t. Class I) screen off with woven screen.

piʔiw (??) gloss unclear; poss. body part with first person singular possessor *-w*.

pɔ (v.t. Class I) do, make, get, gather, catch; der. *pɔta*.

pɔ (i.n.) juice or water, e.g. of coconut; (syn. *mɔmɔ*).

pɔhɔwe (d.a.) broken up, not worth mending; der. *mɔpɔhɔwe*.

pɔhutuŋani (v.t. Class I?) pile together into a heap [*pɔ* 'make' + **hutuŋ* 'heap' + *-ani* 'trans.'].

pɔkaʔani (v.t. Class I) straighten up, pack [*pɔ* 'do' + *kaʔani* '?']; see also *yakaʔani* 'hide'.

pɔkɛlɛyani/ pʷakɛlɛyani (v.t.) contradict, disobey [*pɔ* 'do'/*pʷa* 'say' + *kɛlɛy* '?' + *-ani* 'trans.'].

pɔkɛlɔkɔluč (n.) bone joint [*pɔkɛ* '?' (see 3.8.3.8) + *lɔ* 'in' + *kɔluč* '?joint' – *kɔlučunimɛ* 'elbow', *kɔlučukaka* 'ankle'].

pɔkɛmata (i.n.) thumb.

pɔkɛpikan (n.) ankle bone.

pɔkɛʔɛnimɛ (i.n.) finger [*pɔkɛ* '?' + *ɛ* '?and' + *nimɛ* 'hand'].

pɔkɛʔi (n.) little finger.

pɔkɛtak (n.) the bottom of the net (where the sinkers are) [*pɔkɛ* '?' + *tak* 'sinker'].

pɔkɪt (d.a.) saltwater coloured.

pɔkimɛt (n.) gloss unclear, poss. a person in a trance-like or zombie-like state, who only eats and sleeps but does not talk.

pɔkutumʷani (v.t. Class I) pile packets into a single place.

pɔli (prep.) as far as, up to.

pɔlɔm/purɔn (n.) a kind of sago soup made with coconut oil.

pɔm (n.) k.o. colourful snail which lives among the rocks at low tide mark.

pɔmɛnɛ (v.t. Class I) care for, cuddle, caress (a child).

pɔn (d.a.) purple.

pɔnɔsani (v.t. Class I?) clear out, sweep, straighten up a garden after heavy clearing is completed; trim trunk of tree before chopping up.

pɔŋ (n.) k.o. reef grass; may have been used in the preparation of pigment for painting canoe.

pɔŋ (n.) k.o. small shell.

pɔŋɔsus (n.) large round basket for food, poss. made from palm leaves.

pɔp (n.) sago with coconut cream.

pɔpicɛy (v.t. Class I?) squeeze (e.g. sago in water) [*pɔ* 'do' + *pičɛy* 'squeeze'].

pɔpɔtɛ (v.i. Class ?) do repeatedly, do for some time; work on [*pɔ* 'redup.' + *pɔtɛ* '?do (s.f. *pɔ*)'].

pɔpʷalah (d.a.) branched or forked, attested only with *čan* 'road, path'.

pɔpʷilow (n.) butterfly.

pɔs (n.) paddle, oar; der. *pɔsɔkuli*, *pɔsɔtun*; cf. *pahaw*.

pɔsɔkuli (n.) rudder, steering paddle [*pɔsɔ* (s.f. *pɔs*) 'paddle' + *kuli* '?'].

pɔsɔŋani (v.t. Class I) gloss unclear, poss. wipe out or get rid of.

pɔsɔtun (n.) small paddle or pole [*pɔsɔ* (s.f. *pɔs*) 'paddle' + *tun* 'canoe'].

pɔsɔwɛ (v.t. Class I) variant of *pʷasɔwɛ* 'give name to, call'.

pɔsɔwɛn (d.a.) dried up; poss. l.f. of *pʷasaw* 'get dry'.

pɔta (i.n.) way to do, method; nom. of *pɔ* 'do'.

pɔtɛʔiy (n.) sago thorn, used as needle for sewing [*ʔpɔtɔ* 'thorn' + *iy* '?'].

pɔtɔ (i.n.) thorn.

pɔtɔh (n.) gloss unclear, poss. a kind of container.

pɔtɔhɔŋ (n.) cockroach; attested once as *tɔpɔhɔŋ*.

pɔtɔpaŋ (n.) k.o. sago palm with thorns [*pɔtɔ* 'thorn' + *paŋ* '?'].

pɔtɔpɔtɔ (i.n.) thorns; redup. of *pɔtɔ*.

pɔtɔwɛ (v.t. Class ?) hold, grab, keep; der. *pɔtɔwɛya*.

pɔtɔwɛya (i.n.) holding; nom. of *pɔtɔwɛ*.

pɔw (n.) small crossbars, part of the structure which attaches the outrigger to the canoe.

pɔʔɔ (i.n.) within, among, mixed in with.

pɔʔɔčaŋah (n.) centre, e.g. of a mat [*ʔpɔʔɔ* 'within' + *čaŋah* 'door'].

pɔʔɔčɔwa (i.n.) bedding [*pɔʔɔ* 'within' + *čɔw* 'mat'].

pɔʔɔkaka (i.n.) sole of foot [*pɔʔɔ* 'within' + *kaka* 'foot'].

pɔʔɔkɛya (i.n.) gloss unclear, poss. provision or support for a family.

pɔʔɔmatam (i.n.) 'Excuse me (for blocking your view, standing in front of you)' [*pɔʔɔ* 'within' + *mata* 'eye' + *-m* '2SG possessor'].

pɔʔɔn (n.) k.o. rot in tree or other wood.

pɔʔɔnimɛ (i.n.) palm of hand [*pɔʔɔ* 'within' + *nimɛ* 'hand'].

pɔʔɔnɔsani/ pɔʔɔsani (v.t. Class I?) adorn, decorate.

pɔʔɔŋɔ (i.n.) nose; point of land [*pɔʔɔ* 'within' + *ŋɔ* 'nose'].

pɔʔɔŋusu (i.n.) lip; rim of canoe [*pɔʔɔ* 'within' + *ŋusu* '?'].

pɔʔɔsani (v.t. Class I?) variant of *pɔʔɔnɔsani* 'adorn'.

pɔʔɔt (n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of triggerfish.

pɔʔɔsɔŋaʔani/ pɔsɔʔɔŋaʔani (v.t. Class I?) separate.

pɔʔun/pɔn (n.) k.o. fish, prob. gobies.

pohow (n.) sago waste (after powder has been washed and filtered out).

poŋ (n.) sea turtle.

pot (v.i. Class ?) be broken; be chopped down (e.g. tree).

pow (n.) pig.

powet (n.) k.o. bamboo.

powo (n.) material used for making baskets.

poʔowan (d.a.) rotten, smelly.

pu (n.) banana (both the plant and the fruit); *pu ay* k.o. banana with red skin [*ay* 'blood'].

pu (i.n.) back of, behind; der. *pumʷiʔin, pukɛlɛŋa.*

pučɛ (v.i. Class ?) tear, rip.

pučey/pučɛy (quant.) together.

pučiliya (i.n.) chasing; nom. of *pʷičili.*

pučɔ (n.) island.

pučɔn (n.) gloss unclear, poss. rat.

puh (v.i. Class ?) gloss unclear; used in the phrases *kɔhun upuh a yo* 'He misses me', *kɔhu upuh* 'I'm exhausted'.

puh (n.) woven fish trap.

puhut (n.) fence posts.

pukɛlɛŋa (i.n.) behind one's back [*pu* 'behind' + *kɛlɛŋa* 'back'].

puke (n.) k.o. clam.

pukɔlu (i.n.) throat [*pu* 'behind' + *kɔlu* 'throat'].

pukupukute (v.i. Class ?) redup. of *pukute* 'do repeatedly', implies duration.

pukuta (i.n.) curse; nom. of *pukute* 'do repeatedly'.

pukutani/pukutɛni (v.t. Class ?) ensorcel, curse [*pukute* 'do repeatedly' + *-ani/-ɛni* 'trans.'].

pukute (v.i. Class ?) keep doing, do repeatedly in the same way; der. *pukutani, pukutɛni, pukupukute.*

pulɛʔut (n.) k.o. taro.

puli (n.) variant of *pʷili* 'mountain'.

puliyan (n.) gloss unclear, poss. mound, heap; poss. l.f. of *pʷili.*

puliye (adv.) again, also, additionally.

pulu (i.n.) spouse; der. *ɲapulu.*

pulut (n.) k.o. vine used to fasten some parts of canoe together; used in making tools and bowls.

pumʷiʔi (i.n.) area behind, in back of [*pu* 'behind' *mʷiʔin* 'behind'].

pun (n.) part of roof.

pun (n.) betel pepper plant, leaf, and fruit.

pun (n.) moon.

pun (n.) wooden blocks used to hold shape of canoe while it is being hollowed.

pun (n.) chambered nautilus.

puɲ (n.) k.o. fish; poss. variant of *poɲ* 'sea turtle'.

puŋew (n.) k.o. tree, wood used for canoes; poss. raintree.

puŋey (n.) roof of a house.

purɛt/purɛr (n.) work, job, activity (esp. traditional or custom); l.f. *puriya.*

puriya (i.n.) work; s.f. *purɛt.*

purɔn (n.) variant of *pɔlɔm* k.o. soup made with sago and coconut oil.

pusani (v.t. Class ?) gloss unclear, poss. like, enjoy, embrace [*?pʷis* 'embrace' + *-ani* 'trans.'].

pusɛsa (i.n.) lung; poss. also heart.

pusumata (i.n.) eyebrow, eyelash [*pusu* '?' + *mata* 'eye'].

pusuwan (d.a.) uncircumcised.

put (n.) k.o. tree and its fruit, which is used for stunning fish.

put (n.) fishing net floats.

puta (v.i. Class ?) be loose, be falling off (e.g. sarong).

putɛlɛ (n.) very large mollusc shell, used as gong for calling pigs.

puti/pʷiti (v.t. Class I) take from one place to another; hold and walk with someone; marry.

putiyɛmɛʔis (n.) k.o. fish, poss. orange-banded rainbowfish.

putɔ (i.n.) core, esp. of coconut; umbilical cord.

putɔhaw (v.i. Class ?) belch.

putɔŋuč (n.) k.o. fish, poss. various species of sergeant-major.

putuwa (i.n.) belly, guts.

putuwapuwɔkɔp (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of trevally or snub-nosed dart [*putuwa* 'belly' + *puwɔkɔp* '?'].

putuʔuhe (v.i. Class ?) be face or head down [*?pu* 'back of' + *tuʔuhe* 'bend over'].

puwɛ (i.n.) testicle; fruit, seed.

puwɛkuh (n.) poss. feather, especially bird of paradise [*?puwɛ* 'fruit' + *kuh* 'k.o. plant'].

puwɛlan (n.) k.o. sago palm with many thorns [*?puwɛ* 'fruit' + *lan* 'south wind'].

puwɛni (i.n.) mother's brother.

puwɛpat (n.) k.o. large yam [*puwɛ* 'fruit' + *pat* 'stone']; cf. *pičinah.*

puwɛpičinah (n.) k.o. large yam [*puwɛ* 'fruit' + *pičinah* 'yam'].

puwɛpɛ (n.) sago dish made with commercial cooking oil and coconut meat.

puwɛtin (n.) ear ornament.

puwɛy (n.) crocodile.

puwɛyap (n.) store-bought beads, trade beads; ornaments made of beads and dogs' teeth [*puwɛ* 'seed' + *yap* 'foreigner'].

puwɛʔɛpi (n.) k.o. fish, poss. sunrise goatfish [*puwɛ* 'fruit' + *ɛpi* 'sago'].

puwɛʔe/puʔe (i.n.) dislike.

puwɛʔuy (n.) k.o. sago palm with small thorns [*puwɛ* 'fruit' + *uy* 'k.o. sago'].

puwe (n.) betel nut palm, and its fruit.

puwɔn (d.a.) short; round.

puʔis (n.) k.o. vine used in construction of sago washing trough.

puʔu (i.n.) root, base, bottom.

puʔučiʔey (n.) swampy area; poss. not a Loniu word.

puʔuhu (n.) k.o. red pigment made from clay and coconut oil, used as part of ornamentation of bride.

pʷa (v.t. Class II) say; think; der. *pʷasowɛ*, *pʷačɛlɛyani*, *pʷačɔʔɔyani*, *pʷaŋunuŋun*, *pʷasaw*.

pʷa (n.) k.o. fish, poss. bream or herring.

pʷačɛlɛya (i.n.) explanation; nom. of *pʷačɛlɛyani*.

pʷačɛlɛyani (v.t. Class I) explain; cf. *leʔečɛliye* 'examine' [*pʷa* 'say' + *čɛlɛyani* 'detail'].

pʷačɛrahani (v.t. Class ?) toss about, push here and there.

pʷačɔʔɔyani (v.t.) talk back to, contradict [*pʷa* 'say' + *čɔʔɔya* 'repayment, revenge' + *-ani* 'trans.'].

pʷah (n.) mouth; l.f. *pʷaha*.

pʷah (n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of wrasse; *pʷah aman* 'Diana's wrasse'; also poss. species of perch or hussar.

pʷaha (i.n.) mouth; s.f. *pʷah*.

pʷahačala/pʷahačanɛ (i.n.) path, footpath or private route; also route of action [*pʷaha* 'mouth' + *čala* (s.f. *čan*) 'road']; s.f. *pʷahačan*.

pʷahačan (n.) road, path, public path [*pʷaha* 'mouth' + *čan* 'road']; l.f. *pʷahačala*.

pʷahačaŋah (n.) doorway [*pʷaha* 'mouth' *čaŋah* 'door'].

pʷahačɔpɔn (n.) point of land [*pʷaha* 'mouth' + *čɔpɔn* '?'].

pʷahakɛtuŋ (n.) the middle of the canoe [*pʷaha* 'mouth' + *kɛtuŋ* 'wooden club']; attested once as *pʷahakɛtun* (*tun* 'canoe').

pʷahalɛŋ (n.) beach [*pʷaha* 'mouth' *lɛŋ* 'beach'].

pʷahaliyam (n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of trevally.

pʷahalɔʔan (n.) Loniu Passage, a waterway which divides the Los Negros section of Manus from the remainder [*pʷaha* 'mouth' + *lɔ* 'inside' + *an* 'fresh water'].

pʷahamɛsa (n.) opening of mouth of a river [*pʷaha* 'mouth' + *mɛsa* '?'].

pʷahatɔpɔŋa (i.n.) central chest area, breastbone [*pʷaha* 'mouth' + *tɔpɔŋa* '?'].

pʷahɛn (n.) k.o. small yam.

pʷak (n.) k.o. shell, used for money and bride-price payments, found on the west coast of Manus (TP *tambu*).

pʷakah (n.) k.o. small yam with white flesh.

pʷanam (n.) placename, Ponam.

pʷaŋunuŋun (v.i. Class II?) whisper [*pʷa* 'say' + *ŋunu* 'redup.' + **ŋun* '?'].

pʷapɔhɔwan (n.) k.o. large yam.

pʷasaw (v.i. Class ?) dry up (e.g. reef); poss. nom. *pɔsɔwɛn*.

pʷasaw (v.i. Class II?) have fun, laugh a bit, talk nonsense [*ʔpʷa* 'say' + *saw* '?']; *pʷasɔsɔwɛyɛ*, *pʷasɔwɛyani*, *pʷasɔwɛsɔwɛyɛ* and

	pʷasowɛsowɛyani are all variant forms of the meanings 'have fun, laugh a bit'. The distinctions among these forms are not clear.
pʷasosowɛyɛ	(v.i. Class II?) have fun [*?pʷa* 'say' + *so* 'redup.' + *sowɛyɛ* (s.f. *saw*) '?'].
pʷasowɛ/posowɛ	(v.t.) give name to, say out loud, read.
pʷasowɛsowɛyɛ	(v.i.?) have fun [*?pʷa* 'say' + *sowɛ* 'redup.' + *sowɛyɛ* (s.f. *saw*) '?'].
pʷasowɛsowɛyani	(v.i.? Class II?) have fun [*pʷa* 'say' + *sowɛ* 'redup.' + *sowɛyɛ* (s.f. *saw*) '?' + *-ani* 'trans.'].
pʷasowɛyani	(v.i.? Class II?) have fun [*pʷa* 'say' + *sowɛyɛ* (s.f. *saw*) '?' + *-ani* 'trans.'].
pʷatay	(n.) k.o. tree, with large dark green leaves and an edible nut (TP *paw*).
pʷaw	(n.) k.o. fruit which grows in clusters.
pʷaʔa	(v.i.?) stink, rot.
pʷaʔi	(v.t. Class I) be cross with, scold.
pʷɛ/pʷe	(i.n.) empty shell of any type, including clam, snail, or coconut; der. *pʷɛpʷɛ*.
pʷɛku	(d.a.) head down and buttocks in the air.
pʷɛlɛ	(i.n.) top or crown (of tree).
pʷɛlɛyah	(n.) parrotfish.
pʷɛm/pʷem	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of coralfish.
pʷɛŋat	(v.i. Class ?) rot; poss. nom. *pʷɛŋɛtun*.
pʷɛŋɛt	(n.) clay soil.
pʷɛŋɛtun	(d.a.) overripe, not edible; poss. nom. of *pʷɛŋat*.
pʷɛpʷɛ	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of tang or triggerfish; poss. redup. of *pʷɛ* 'shell'.
pʷɛpʷɛ/pʷepʷe	(i.n.) container made from a shell; redup. of *pʷɛ*.
pʷɛram	(n.) k.o. large yam.
pʷɛsi	(n.) gloss unclear, poss. maternal cousins.
pʷe	(i.n.) variant of *pʷɛ* 'shell'
pʷe	(part.) negative; no, not.
pʷekasi	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of coralfish or boarfish.
pʷemačaw	(n.) k.o. fish, poss. k.o. herring or bream.
pʷepʷe	(i.n.) variant of *pʷɛpʷɛ* 'container made from shell'.
pʷi	(i.n.) female genitalia.
pʷič	(v.i. Class ?) be finished.
pʷič	(n.) k.o. fish, prob. species of demoiselles or sergeant-majors.
pʷičɛpak	(n.) unglossed.
pʷičik	(n.) hole through something.
pʷičikatay	(n.) snail; green land snail indigenous to Manus only: fam. *Camaenidae, papustyla pulcherrima Rensch* [*pʷiči* '?claw' + *katay* '?'].
pʷičikaka	(i.n.) talon, claw, toenail [*pʷiči* '?claw' + *kaka* 'leg, foot'].

pʷičili (v.t. Class I) chase, run off; der. *pučiliya*.

pʷičinimɛ (i.n.) fingernail, claw [*pʷiči* '?claw' + *nimɛ* 'hand'].

pʷičipʷičin/ pučipučin (n.) fish scales; k.o. skin disease (TP *grile*); redup. of *pʷiči* 'claw'.

pʷihi (v.t. Class I) gut (e.g. fish).

pʷikɔw (n.) gloss unclear, poss. coconut shell used as cup; also used to refer to bald or shaved head.

pʷili/puli (n.) mountain; poss. der. *puliyan*.

pʷili (n.) k.o. fish, prob. toadfish or puffer; *pʷili pɔtɔpɔt* 'freckled porcupinefish'.

pʷiliyah (n.) small wooden crosses which form part of the structure attaching the outrigger to the canoe.

pʷinah (n.) fibre-woven armbands, legbands, belts.

pʷis (v.i.? Class ?) gloss unclear, poss. kiss or embrace; poss. der. *pusani*.

pʷisipʷis (n.) gloss unclear, poss. nom. of *pʷis*.

pʷisiʔi (n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of squirrelfish.

pʷiʔɛ (n.) trunk of sago palm when pulp has been removed; in the phrase *lɔ pʷiʔɛ* 'in the trunk', refers to the area where the men do the felling of the sago palm and the breaking up of the core of the trunk in the preparation of sago.

pʷɔkat (n.) musket; poss. a borrowed term.

pʷɔmɛlɛw (n.) k.o. large yam.

ⁿračɛk (n.) man's name.

ⁿrakaw (n.) pig spear.

ⁿrakɛy (n.) man's name.

ⁿrakɔr (n.) placename.

ⁿrɛhiyaw (n.) k.o. fish.

ⁿrɛkɛpʷɛn (n.) behaviour, custom, usage.

ⁿriw (n.) cricket.

ⁿrɔka (n.) k.o. fish, poss. bluefin tuna.

ⁿrɔkɔ (n.) depth, deep water, ocean.

ⁿrɔlɔkɔ/ⁿrɔkɔ (n.) Loniu name for themselves, their village and their language.

ⁿrɔlɔw (n.) deep wooden bowl with rounded bottom; traditionally used for serving women's food when they are *lɔ čɔw* 'in ritual isolation'.

ⁿrɔpa (n.) placename, Ndrova, an offshore island southwest of Loniu.

ⁿrɔpɔ/ⁿrɔlɔpɔ (adv.) today, now (variant form *ⁿrɔlɔpɔ*); used often to introduce relative clauses, and in the phrase *ⁿrɔpɔ itiyɛn* 'aforementioned'.

ⁿrɔw (n.) mucus.

ⁿrɔw (n.) k.o. very hard wood, poss. mahogany (but cf. *ɲɔw*).

ⁿruli/karuli (n.) k.o. bird, poss. eastern golden plover.

sV- (num.) root for 'one'; the vowel is determined by the vowel of the numeral classifier – see 3.2.2.

sa (v.i. Class ?) be cleared (e.g. land or garden).

sah (v.t. Class I?) chop, carve, sharpen, whittle; l.f. *sɛhi*, der. *sɛhisah*.

sahasah (v.i.?) poss. variant of *sɛhisah* 'carve'.

sala (v.t. Class I?) cut open, split, slit, break; der. *tasala*, *salay*.

salay (v.i. Class ?) break, e.g. *aŋ isɛlay* 'day breaks' [*sala* 'break' + *-y* '?'].

salay (n.) large crack in canoe [*sala* 'break' + *-y* '?'].

saput (n.) k.o. fish, prob. yellow spotted emperor.

sas (n.) k.o. tree.

sasa (n.) a constellation of ten stars; the rising and setting of this constellation are used to determine passage of time.

sasaw (n.) gloss unclear, poss. clear surface water when all sediment has settled to the bottom.

saʔoŋ (n.) celebration and traditional gifts (usually fish) from father's side for the first-born child; cf. *loku*.

sɛh (pro.) third person plural.

sɛhi (v.t. Class I) chip, carve, sharpen, whittle [*sah* 'chop' + *-i* 'trans.']; der. *sɛhiya*.

sɛhi (v.t. Class I) lie; der. *sɛhisah*.

sɛhisah (v.i. Class I) carve, whittle; redup. of *sah*.

sɛhisah (n., v.i. Class I) lie [*?sɛhi* 'redup.' + **sah* 'lie'].

sɛhiya (i.n.) carving; nom. of *sɛhi*.

sɛn (v.t. Class I?) chop with axe, e.g. firewood.

sɛpʷi (v.t. Class I) dry off.

sɛsɛma (n., v.i. Class ?) cough.

sɛwɛti (v.t. Class I) fasten with rope or vines; variant of *čɛwɛti*.

sɛwe (v.i. Class I?) dance (women's dancing).

sɛwi (v.t. Class I) remove ornaments; skim off clean surface water.

sɛyani (v.t. Class I?) argue about, debate.

sɛʔɛ (v.t. Class I) shred leaves or bark for making skirts or ornaments.

sikey (n.) k.o. large insect with large wings, hangs in trees; poss. also called *ɲanɛmʷat*.

siliŋ (v.t. Class I) break or chop into many small pieces, e.g. firewood, the core of a tree trunk in canoe building, the meat in a coconut shell; l.f. *siliŋi*, der. *siliŋa*.

siliŋa (i.n.) chopping; nom. of *siliŋ*.

siliŋi (v.t. Class I) break or chop into pieces [*siliŋ* 'chop' + *-i* 'trans.'].

siliyani/siliyɛni (v.t. Class I) survey, look over carefully.

sɪŋ (v.i. Class ?) shine, be bright (see 2.4.5 regarding [ɪ]).

sipi (num.) half; form of 'one' used for halves or parts.

sisimi (v.t. Class ?) think of, remember.

sisiya (i.n.) holding shape.

si?ihi (v.t. Class I?) carry suspended from shoulder or from pole.

sɔ (v.t. Class ?) throw away, get rid of; l.f. *sɔ?i.*

sɔ (v.t. Class ?) sway, rock back and forth.

sɔ (n.) when used with a girl's father's name, means 'Miss'.

sɔ (v.t. Class I) put or dig a hole in, esp. with a stick; pierce or spear; gut (a pig); l.f. *sɔ?i*; der. *sɔsɔ.*

sɔw/sow (v.i.) be temporarily in a place, usually standing.

sɔhan (n.) roof supports.

sɔliyɛni/sɔlɛyani (v.t. Class I) rub, crumble with hands.

sɔlɔsɔn (n.) drinking cup; prob. redup. of **sɔl.*

sɔp (v.i. Class ?) close, be closed or enclosed; be full, stuffed, stopped up.

sɔpɔ?ɔti (v.t. Class ?) pierce, scrape.

sɔri (n.) long string of shell money (TP *tambu*).

sɔs (n.) water coloured red from making sago.

sɔsɔ (v.i. Class ?) be eager; der. *pinɔsɔsɔ.*

sɔsɔ (i.n.) wife's brother-in-law, older sister of man's wife; also used generally for some distant relationships.

sɔsɔ (n.) fork or other pronged tool; redup. of *sɔ* 'pierce'.

sɔsɔ (i.n.) soiled, dirty.

sɔsɔlɛŋɛ?in (n.) splotches, mottles.

sɔsɔ?iyɛ (v.i. Class ?) mix with, be among.

sɔsɔ?ɔyani (v.i.?) gloss unclear, poss. be confused or mixed up; redup. of *sɔ?ɔyani.*

sɔtɛhɛyani (v.t. Class ?) drive into or stand up in the ground, e.g. a stake.

sɔtɔwɛ (v.t. Class I?) gloss unclear, poss. beach a canoe, park a car.

sɔwɛli (v.t. Class ?) pierce and sew.

sɔya (i.n.) putting a hole in; nom. of *sɔ.*

sɔyani/sɔyɛni (v.t. Class ?) bore (holes), e.g. termites eating wood [*sɔ* 'dig' + *y* '?' + *-ani/-ɛni* 'trans.'].

sɔ?i (v.t. Class I) put or dig a hole in; pierce or spear [*sɔ* 'dig' + *-i* 'trans.'].

sɔ?ɔh (n.) edible flesh, meat.

sɔ?ɔhan (v.t. Class I) blow out from nose; l.f. *sɔ?ɔhani*; poss. der. *ŋɔsɔha* 'breath'.

sɔ?ɔyani (v.t.?) gloss unclear, poss. be confused or mixed up; der. *sɔsɔ?ɔyani.*

sɔ?un (n.) shells used as beads.

sonat (n.) diagonal poles used to support house.

sow (part.) in the phrase *ma sow* 'not yet'.

su (n.) in the phrase *amat su* 'spirit, ghost' (ant. (*amat*) *aŋ*).

suhani/suŋani (v.t. Class I) blow (on fire).

sulɛ (v.t. Class ?) singe to remove fur or bristles; s.f. *sun.*

suluŋa (i.n.) lighting, nom. of *suluŋi*; *suluŋa m^{w}an* 'lamp-lighting time'.

suluŋani/suluŋɛni (v.t. Class I) blow on a fire to cause it to burn [**suluŋ* 'light' + *-ani/ɛni* 'trans.'].

suluŋi (v.t. Class I) kindle fire [**suluŋ* 'light' + *-i* 'trans.'].

sum^{w}ili (v.t. Class I) close up, e.g. nose against a bad smell.

sun (v.t. Class ?) singe; l.f. *sulɛ.*

sun (v.t. Class I) scoop with hands; l.f. *suni.*

sunani (v.t. Class I) push from one place to another [*?sun* 'scoop' + *-ani* 'trans.'].

suni (v.t. Class I) scoop; s.f. *sun.*

suŋani (v.t. Class I) variant of *suhani* 'blow on fire'.

suŋusuŋ (n.) markings or designs: *suŋusuŋ inɛn* [*inɛn* 'small'] speckles; *suŋusuŋ nap^{w}anan* [*nap^{w}anan* 'big'] dots or spots; *suŋusuŋ ɛlɛwɛn* [*ɛlɛwɛn* 'long'] or *suŋusuŋ čɛčɛn* [*čɛčɛn* '?'] stripes.

sus (n.) milk; l.f. *susu.*

sus (v.t. Class I) sew sago leaves into thatch; l.f. *susuwi.*

susu (i.n.) breast; s.f. *sus.*

susuwa (i.n.) sewing thatch; nom. of *susuwi.*

susuwah (d.a.) plain, with no additives, esp. sago; redup. of *suwah* 'fry'.

susuwi (v.t. Class I) sew sago leaves into thatch [*susuw* (s.f. *sus*) 'sew thatch' + *-i* 'trans.'].

susuyɛlaw (n.) rainbow.

sut (v.t. Class I) pull out (weeds); l.f. *suti.*

suti (v.t. Class ?) pull out (weeds) [*sut* 'pull out' + *-i* 'trans.'].

suwa (i.n.) paddling; nom. of *suwɛ* 'paddle (canoe)'.

suwah (v.t. Class I) fry plain sago; l.f. *suwɛhi*; der. *susuwah.*

suwaha (i.n.) frying; nom. of *suwah.*

suwani (v.t. Class I?) paddle (canoe) [*suwɛ* 'paddle (canoe)' + *-ani* 'trans.'].

suwɛ (n.) k.o. small yam.

suwɛ (v.t. Class I?) paddle (canoe); l.f. *suwani.*

suwɛhi (v.t. Class I) fry (sago) [*suwah* 'fry' + *-i* 'trans.'].

su?u (pro.) third person dual.

ta (n.) k.o. fish.

ta (v.t. Class II) pierce or cut ear for ornamentation; cut along the length of a tree to split it; beat, pound, catch, kill; l.f. *ta?i*; der. *taya.*

ta (part.) variant of alienable possessive marker *a* (see 3.1.1.1).

ta (part.) variant of *tah* locative.

ta verbal formative, possibly indicates human agent (see 3.8.2.2.).

ta (part.) pre-verbal continuative aspect marker.

tah/ta (part.) locative.

tah (n.) Pacific triton or trumpet shell, fam. *Cymatiidae, Charonia tritonis (Linnaeus)*; used as a signal horn.

tah (n.) coconut fibre screen used for filtering sago powder.

tahah (pro.) first person plural inclusive.

tahapule (i.n.) forehead, face; der. *tahapulekaka, tahapulen.*

tahapulekaka (i.n.) knee [*tahapule* 'forehead' + *kaka* 'leg'].

tahapulen (n.) k.o. fish, poss. blue-girdled angelfish [*tahapule* 'forehead' + *-n* '3SG possessor'].

tahasuwɛ (v.t. Class ?) dry or smoke over fire [*ta* 'human agent?' + *husuwɛ* 'smoke'].

tahilisi (v.t. Class ?) take after, become like, grow to be like.

tahitay (v.t.?) gloss unclear, poss. fight.

tahiti (v.t. Class I?) gloss unclear, poss. divide up.

tahɔhɔy (v.i. Class II?) grunt or pant while working.

tahow (v.t.) come in sight, appear; syn. *čahan.*

tak (n.) weights or sinkers for fish nets; l.f. *tɛkɛ.*

takɛkɛʔɛ (v.t. Class I) tickle.

takɛmɛs/takemes (v.t. Class ?) wish (for).

takɛmɛyam (v.i. Class ?, n.) groan, cry (in or of pain).

takɛni (v.t. Class I) throw, e.g. spear or fishing net [*ʔtakɛye* 'throw' + *-ɛni* 'trans.'].

takɛye (v.t. Class I) throw; der. *takɛni, tɛkɛya.*

takɛʔɛŋ (n.) k.o. tree/wood, used in canoe construction.

takɛʔi (v.i. Class I?) wink.

takilim (v.i. Class II?) leave a trace or sign [*ta* 'human agent' + *kilim* 'sign'].

takɔkɔw/takokow (v.i Class ?) wonder, ask oneself, be surprised, bemoan.

takɔluh (v.i. Class II?) make signal [*ta* 'human agent' + *kɔluh* 'signal']; l.f. *takulihi.*

takɔʔo(w) (v.i Class ?) cry out, usually in anger.

takulihi (v.t. Class II?) signal to someone [*ta* 'human agent' + *kɔluh* 'signal' + *-i* 'trans.'].

takuwɛla (i.n.) digging with adze; nom. of *takuwɛn.*

takuwɛli (v.t. Class I) dig with adze [*ta* 'human agent' + *kuwɛn* 'adze' + *-i* 'trans.'].

takuwɛn (v.t. Class I) dig or chop with adze [*ta* 'human agent' + *kuwɛn* 'adze'].

talas (n.) species of taro.

talas (n.) drying rack; l.f. *tɛlɛsa.*

tamana (v.i. Class ?) dance (men's dancing) [*ta* 'human agent' + *mana* 'white cowrie'].

tames (v.t. Class I) clear off the bottom portion of tree trunk before felling; l.f. *tamese?e.*

tamese?e/tamɛse?e (v.t. Class I) clear; s.f. *tames.*

tameti/tamɛti?i (v.i. Class ?) gloss unclear, poss. weaken.

tan (adv.?) down, on the ground; *kɔ tan* 'earth'.

tan (n.) k.o. shell, prob. fam. *Trochidae*; collected and used for ornaments and buttons.

tanɛnɛs (v.t. Class ?) make fire by rubbing sticks together.

taŋɛ?iye (v.t. Class I) clear up area by dragging all bits and pieces together into a pile; slide something across the ground; l.f. *taŋɛ?iyani.*

taŋɛ?iyani (v.t. Class I) clear [*taŋɛ?iye* 'clear' + *-ani* 'trans.'].

taŋ (v.i. Class ?) cry; sound out (e.g. drumbeats); l.f. *taŋɛsi.*

taŋ (part.) poss. locative, as in *...imɛ taŋ imɛ itiyɔ* '...comes up to here'.

taŋɛsi (v.t. Class ?) mourn, grieve for [*taŋɛs* (s.f. *taŋ*) 'cry' + *-i* 'trans.'].

taŋɛ?ɛyani (v.t. Class ?) tell on, disclose (e.g. secret or hiding place) [?*taŋ* 'sound out' + *ɛ?ɛy* '?' *-ani* 'trans.'].

taŋini (n.) k.o. fish

tapɛlihani (v.t. Class I) take (e.g. canoe) around a point of land.

tapɛluwani (v.t. Class I) variant of *pɛluwani* head off, change direction of (including one's thinking).

tapɛrɛnani (v.t. Class ?) gloss unclear, poss. push.

tapɛyani (v.t. Class I?) send (inanimate object).

tapičɛy (v.t. Class I?) squeeze, wring; deliver (e.g. the placenta) [*ta* 'human agent' + *pičɛy* 'squeeze'].

taputi?i (v.t. Class ?) come across, discover.

tap^{w}a (i.n.) basket, string bag; s.f. *tɔp.*

tap^{w}ey (n.) variant of *tup^{w}ey*, k.o. crab.

tas (n.) sea, ocean, salt water, salt.

tasala (v.t. Class ?) split (open) [*ta* 'human agent' + *sala* 'split'].

tasih (adv. intens.) very.

tasus (n.) small piece of wood supporting canoe mast.

tata (i.n.) top, area above, upper surface.

tawa (v.i. Class ?) be heavy, be tired.

tawan (n.) k.o. fish, prob. species of perch or grunter.

tawayah (n.) (ear-)piercing.

tawihi (v.t. Class I) clear the large growth from an area to make a garden [*tawoh* 'clear' + *-i* 'trans.'].

tawiwi (n.) fan; der. *tawiwoh.*

tawiwihi (v.t. Class I) fan [*tawiwi* 'fan' + *-oh* '?' + *-i* 'trans.'].

tawiwoh (v.t. Class I) fan [*tawiwi* 'fan' + *-oh* '?']; l.f. *tawiwihi.*

tawoh (v.t. Class I) clear the large growth from an area to make a garden; cut down but not carry away; l.f. *tawihi.*

taya (i.n.) beat, catch, kill; nom. of *ta.*

taʔas (v.i.?) fall over backwards, be flat on one's back.

taʔay (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of squirrelfish or silver-biddy.

taʔɛŋan (n.) birth, the giving of birth.

taʔi (v.t. Class I) kill, fight, hit, beat; catch (fish) [*ta* 'kill' + *-i* 'trans.'].

taʔi (v.t. Class I) put one thing on top of another.

tɛ (part.) and, or; prob. borrowed form, cf. *ɛ.*

tɛhɛta/tɛhita (v.i. Class I) fill up (with), be full.

tɛhi (v.t. Class I) wash (in salt water without soap).

tɛhi/tihi (v.t.) sharpen or form wood.

tɛkɛ (i.n.) bottom, base; origin; poss. s.f. *tak.*

tɛkɛlimʷɛt (n.) earthworm [*ʔtɛkɛli* '?' + *mʷat* 'snake'].

tɛkɛya (n.) throwing; nom. of *takɛye.*

tɛlɛ (i.n.) because of, due to.

tɛlɛ (i.n.) canoe; s.f. *tun.*

tɛlɛsa (i.n.) structure for hanging things; s.f. *talas.*

tɛli (v.t. Class I?) squeeze coconut in cloth to extract oil.

tɛliki (n.) string of dogs' teeth, used in ceremonial exchanges; line used to attach sail to mast.

tɛliŋa (i.n.) ear.

tɛlipɛʔɛ (n.) gloss unclear, poss. k.o. ground vine with morning glory type flower.

tɛlus (n.) k.o. tree with edible nut, prob. *Terminalia catappa.*

tɛmɛnani/tɛmɛnɛni (v.t. Class I) ask [*tɛmɛnɛ* 'ask' + *-ani/-ɛni* 'trans.'].

tɛmɛnɛ (v.t. Class I) ask; l.f. *tɛmɛnani, tɛmɛnɛni*; der. *tɛtɛmɛnɛ.*

tɛrnɛy (n.) drum; l.f. *tɛmɛya.*

tɛrnɛya (i.n.) drum; s.f. *tɛmɛy.*

tɛni (v.t. Class ?) fall on (top of); used only with inanimate subject.

tɛnih (n.) k.o. fish, prob. sardine.

tɛpɛʔi (v.t. Class ?) lift up (e.g. floor boards).

tɛpʷɛča (i.n.) k.o. marriage arrangement, poss. a type of dowry.

tɛt (n.) small step ladder used at the door or a house on posts.

tɛtapɛ (interr. pro.) how; see 6.7.3.8.

tɛtɛ (n.) infant.

tɛtɛhi (v.t. Class I) tap on outer sides of emptied trunk of sago palm to dislodge remaining powder.

tɛtɛmɛnɛ (v.t.) gloss unclear; redup. of *tɛmɛnɛ* 'ask'.

tɛtɛy (n.) part of canoe, possibly long piece placed on rim.

tɛwɛ/tɔwɛ (v.t. Class I) give, put, place; s.f. *tow*; der. *tɛwɛya*.

tɛwɛya (i.n.) gift, arrangement; nom. of *tɛwɛ*.

tɛʔɛŋani (v.t. Class I) wait for; (syn. *piliŋani)*.

tɛʔɛwɔn (n.) sand, sandy soil.

tɛʔi (i.n.) sibling of same sex; cf. *wɛ*.

tɛʔi (i.n.) the upper surface of; der. *tɛʔitun*.

tɛʔin (n.) bark-fibre rope used in fence building.

tɛʔitun (n.) platform or deck of canoe [*tɛʔi* 'upper surface' + *tun* 'canoe'].

tɛʔɔʔɔsani (v.t. Class ?) gloss unclear, poss. throw down.

te (i.n.) faeces; waste (e.g. *te mʷan* 'ashes or remains of the fire'].

ti (part.) emphatic particle, uniqueness marker; see 4.2.4, 5.1.1.3.5.

tič (v.t. Class ?) sweat, perspire.

tihičay (n.) gloss unclear, poss. second-born child.

tihow (n.) first born male child.

tikɛn (n.) some, a bit of, small amount.

tikɔ aŋ (phrase) midday; may be used as greeting [*tikɔʔɔ* 'middle of' + *aŋ* 'day'].

tikɔ peŋ (phrase) midnight [*tikɔʔɔ* 'middle of' + *peŋ* 'night'].

tikɔʔɔ (i.n.) waist, middle of.

tikɔʔɔn (n.) name of a central section of Loniu village.

tileŋ (n.) crying; also attested: *tiliŋin*.

tilow (n.) placename, Ndrilow, an offshore island on the northern coast of Manus.

timɛta (n.) k.o. tree with edible fruit and leaf; wood used for making digging stick to plant taro.

tinani (v.t. Class I) clean up, clean out (e.g. garden).

tiŋan (d.a.) huge, wide open.

tipɛʔi (v.t. Class I) open, start up; move aside.

tipiyani/tipiyɛni (v.t. Class I?) push over, roll something long and thin, like a log, a body, a cigarette.

titiyɛ (v.t. Class I) tell (a story); talk about; redup. of *tiyɛ*. (n.) story, especially a true story.

titiʔi (n.) k.o. tree; wood used for digging sticks to plant taro.

tiw (n.) k.o. fish, poss. sunrise goatfish.

tiyan (v.i. Class I) give birth.

tiyani (v.t. Class I) tell (a story) [*tiyɛ* 'tell' + *-ani* 'trans.'].

tiyɛ (v.t. Class I) tell (especially a true story), talk about; l.f. *tiyani*; der. *titiyɛ*.

tiyɛ (i.n.) interior, inside of; der. *lɔtiyɛ-*.

tiʔi (v.t. Class I) weave; der. *tiʔiya*.

ti?ihi (v.t. Class ?) pick or break off (flowers or leaves).

ti?iŋi (v.t. Class ?) make sound, beat on, e.g. large shell (*putɛlɛ*), for calling pigs.

ti?itin (v.t. Class I) peer, look (through).

ti?iya (i.n.) weaving; nom. of *ti?i* 'weave'.

tɔ (n.) punting pole.

tɔ (aux.) stative, continuative, durative or habitual aspect; l.f. *tɔw*.

tɔh (n.) ridge pole of roof.

tɔhu (d.a.) swollen; l.f. *tɔhuwa*.

tɔhuwa (i.n.) swelling.

tɔk (n.) k.o. fish, poss. black trevally.

tɔlaw (n.) north wind.

tɔlus (n.) variant of *tɛlus* 'k.o. tree'.

tɔmatake (n.) tree strump [*tɔ* '??' + *mata* 'eye' + *ke* 'tree'].

tɔmɔn (n.) k.o. tuber, staple diet of the Loniu in earlier times.

tɔmɔn (n.) k.o. fish, poss. blue-spot or blue-tail mullet.

tɔp (n.) basket, string bag; l.f. *tap^{w}a*.

tɔpɔ (i.n.) point, clarification, explanation; attested only preceded by *p^{w}a* 'say, speak'.

tɔpɔhɔwani/tɔpɔwani (v.t. Class I) throw down and break [*tɔ* '?' + *pɔhɔwe* 'break' + *-ani* 'trans.']; slap, hit.

tɔpɔkɔw (n.) part of house.

tɔpɔkɔw (n.) k.o. fish.

tɔpɔtap (n.?) gloss unclear, poss. high water, big seas.

tɔpɔwani (v.t.) variant of *tɔpɔhɔwani* 'break'.

tɔpɔ?ɛte/tɛp^{w}ɛ?ɛte (i.n.) upper chest, over the heart.

tɔpu/tupɔ (i.n.) taboo; negative imperative marker; see 6.6.

tɔtɔhun (n.) promontory; skin disease with large, prominent scales; redup. of *tɔhu* 'swollen'.

tɔtɔ?aŋ (adv.?) very early morning, about 2.00 – 3.00 a.m.

tɔtu?um (n.) torch.

tɔw (v.i. Class I) be in a place; stay, remain, live; s.f. *tɔ*.

tɔwɛ (v.t. Class I) variant form of *tɛwɛ* 'give'.

tɔ?ɔhač (n.) k.o. skin disease; a small, very painful rash.

tɔ?ɔnani/tɔ?unani (v.t. Class I) send, cause to go (human object).

tɔ?ɔw (n.) *ti* plant; also given as *tɔrɔw*, which is poss. a Koro word (see 2.4.1); k.o. basket with designs woven in.

tɔ?ɔwani (v.t. Class ?) align.

tɔ?u (pro.) first person dual inclusive.

toh (n.) sugarcane.

tow (v.t. Class I) give, put; give birth to; l.f. *tɛwɛ.*

tu (n.) k.o. mullusc, prob. clam.

tu (n.) posts or stilts of a house.

tuhu (v.t. Class ?) drown.

tukɛhɛ (interr. pro.) when; see 6.7.3.7.

tukuni (v.t. Class ?) prod with foot; knock (at door).

tukutuk (n.) noise, esp. unwelcome noise (e.g. in a taboo situation, such as when someone dies).

tukuwani (v.t. Class ?) gloss unclear, poss. throw away, e.g. trash.

tukuwɛy (v.t. Class ?) break open (e.g. coconut).

tuma?aw (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of trevally.

tun/ton (n.) canoe; l.f. *tɛlɛ.*

tun pɛti pɛlɛŋan (n.) airplane; lit. canoe for near the sun.

tun pɛti pʷahačan (n.) car, truck; lit. canoe for the road.

tun pɛti tas (n.) ship, warship; lit. canoe for the (deep) ocean.

tup (n.) k.o. plant; a vine used for binding bundles.

tupo (i.n.) variant of *tɔpu*, attested from a single speaker.

tupunah (n.) young male, boy; ?s.f. *tupunɛ.*

tupunan/tupunani/ tupunɛni (v.t.) call in debts, ask for payment of obligations; der. *tuputupunɛ.*

tupunɛ (i.n.) boy; ?l.f. *tupunah.*

tupuɲɛtu (i.n.) children of one's ancestors; predecessors.

tupuŋɛ?ɛy (n.) k.o. fish, poss. half-banded sea perch.

tuputupunɛ (v.t.?) gloss unclear, poss. call in obligations, either of family or supporters; related to *tupunani.*

tupʷey/tapwɛy (n.) k.o. crab.

tus (n.) k.o. fish, poss. species of emperor.

tut (v.i. Class ?) be closed (e.g. door); close in with; in the phrase *kɔlu tut* (lit. throat closed), to forget.

tutuh (n.) cover, lid; a leaf used as a lid; l.f. *tutuha.*

tutuha (i.n.) cover; s.f. *tutuh.*

tutukun (n.?) noise; der. *tukutuk, tukuni.*

tutupu (n.) k.o. sago dish, baked with coconut over hot stones, covered with leaves.

tutut (n.) one of the lines attached to the sail of a canoe.

tutuwah (v.t. Class I) chew (betel nut); redup. of *tuwah*, may imply duration.

tuwah (v.t. Class I) chew (betel nut); l.f. *tuwɛhi*, der. *tutuwah.*

tuwan (d.a.) heavy; poss. l.f. of *tawa.*

tuwani (v.t. Class I) cook [*tuwe* 'cook' + *-ani* 'trans.'].

tuwɛ (n.) outside, outer part of a curve, the outer or ocean side of a point of land.

tuwɛhi (v.t. Class I) chew (betel nut); spray with betel nut juice [*tuwah* 'chew' + *-i* 'trans.'].

tuwɛnan (n.) truth, real thing.

tuwɛs (n.) k.o. mollusc, prob. a small clam.

tuwɛy (n.) fresh-water eel, family *Anguillidae.*

tuwe (v.t. Class I) boil, cook in water; l.f. *tuwani.*

tuʔuhe (v.i. Class I) bend over; put down, land; der. *katuʔuhe, putuʔuhe.*

tuʔuŋi (v.t. Class ?) cover over with thin layer of earth; close.

u (pro.) first person dual exclusive

u (v.i. Class ?) go down (e.g. into a hole).

u (interj.) agreement, generally spoken with high rising pitch.

u (num.) root form for 'two'.

ulɛh (n.) k.o. fish with long, thin nose, which feeds on reef, poss. long-nosed parrotfish; poss. *ulɛy.*

ulɛy (n.) k.o. cane plant; (d.a.) spoiled, said of baby which cries a lot.

uli (v.t.) pull out (e.g. stake or spear).

ulin (n.) the canoe(s) in a fishing expedition, esp. for parrotfish, which carries the men who look out for the fish and will beat the water with poles to herd the fish into the nets; the *telɛ law* 'net canoes' carry the fishing nets.

ulu (v.i. Class ?) be at high tide, be covered with water (e.g. the reef); l.f. *uluwani.*

uluwani/uluwɛni (v.i. Class I) lower into the water and/or pull up out of the water on a rope; poss. long form of *ulu.*

um (n.) house; house thatch made from sago palm leaves; l.f. *um^{w}ɛ.*

umɛy/homɛy (n.) k.o. fruit; k.o. sago palm without thorns.

umɔw (num.) (*u* 'two' + *mɔw* 'classifier') some, a few, a bit of; see 3.2.3.1.

um^{w}ɛ (i.n.) house; s.f. *um.*

un (n.) maggot.

uŋiyɛni (v.t. Class I) tug on (a rope).

up (v.t. Class I) pound sago with long poles; l.f. *ip^{w}i*; der. *up^{w}iya.*

upeŋ (adv.) day after tomorrow [*u* 'two' + *peŋ* 'night'].

up^{w}iya (i.n.) pounding sago with long pole; nom. of *up.*

uput (n.) some, a few [*u* 'two' + *put* 'classifier]; see 3.2.3.1.

urɔh (part.) thank you; when used at the beginning of a speech, 'welcome'.

usiyay (n.) people of the interior or highlands of Manus; also given as people of the offshore islands such as Lou, Baluan, etc.

usun (v.t. Class I?) carry in a canoe, or any transport; l.f. *usuni.*

usun (v.i. Class ?) gloss unclear, poss. itch or have rash.

usuni (v.t. Class I?) carry in canoe [*usun* 'carry' + *-i* 'trans.'].

usuʔus (n.) sago cooked in the form of a pancake.

uti (i.n.) penis.

uti (v.t. Class I) pack a carrying basket, e.g. with sago.

uto (pro.) first person paucal exclusive.

utu (v.t. Class I) split open (e.g. coconut); l.f. *utuwɛ*.

uwɛh (pro.) first person plural exclusive.

uwɔh (quant.) some (lit. 'two').

uy (n.) k.o. sago palm with thorns.

uʔɛ (v.t. Class I) variant of *ɛʔɛ* tremble.

wa (i.n.) flesh, body; meat (e.g. unprocessed sago pulp).

wahaw (n.) k.o. cane plant.

wak (d.a.) bowlegged (poss. resulting from yaws).

wake (n.) ornament.

walaŋ (n.) k.o. fish, poss. thumb-print emperor.

walas (n.) k.o. long seagrass which grows in sandy area near shore.

walɛlɛy (n.) k.o. large yam; cf. *pičinah*.

wamata (n.) a line which goes from the mast to the stern of the canoe, prob. a stay.

wanaw (v.i. Class ?) leave, go away; attested only with first person singular.

was (n.) rope made of vines.

wati (n.) lizard.

wawa (i.n.) gloss unclear, poss. coconut waste.

wɛ (i.n.) sibling of the opposite sex; also, children of ego's paternal uncles or maternal aunts who are of the opposite sex from ego; cf. *teʔi*.

wɛ (i.n.) k.o. fish, poss. tarwhine or ashen drummer.

wɛč (v.t. Class I) cut down, fell (a tree), break; l.f. *wɛčɛ*.

wɛčič (n.) broom made of palm leaf spines or stiff reeds.

wɛlɛn (n.) k.o. bird, poss. pigeon or dove; may have webbed feet.

wɛlɛy (n.) anchor.

wɛlɛya (i.n.) gloss unclear, poss. nom. of *wɛlɛyani*; attested in phrases such as: *wɛlɛyam puret* 'you yourself take care of the work'; *wɛlɛyo iy kili mat* 'my arms are dead', *iy wɛlɛyan* 'she is not good'.

wɛlɛyani/wɛlɛyɛni (v.t. Class ?) fasten.

wɛnɛy (v.i. Class I) be able, be sufficient or suitable for; TP *inap*; see 7.3.3.

wɛsiw (n.) cane, rattan.

wɛwɛ (n.) mango, mango tree.

wɛʔi (n.) song.

wɛʔis (d.a.) smooth, soft, not stiff; l.f. *wɛʔisɔ*.

wɛʔisɔ (i.n.) smoothness, gentleness, softness, comfort; s.f. *wɛʔis*.

wi (n.) k.o. plant with small green-skinned fruit whose flesh is greenish-white, fibrous, and crunchy, and whose leaves are used as seasoning.

wihi (v.t. Class I) blow with mouth, esp. to move something [*wɔh* 'fly' + *-i* 'trans.'].

wilaw (n.) spider.

wi?i (n.) dolphin.

wɔh (v.i.) fly; der. *wihi.*

wɔlɔwɔlɔn (n.) little pieces; any little bits of rubbish.

wɔnɔ (num.) root for 'six'; see 3.2.

wɔp (v.i. Class I?) escape, run away.

wɔs (n.) the stem of the taro, used for planting.

wɔw (pro.) second person singular; s.f. *wɔ.*

wo (v.t. Class I?) fetch (water).

wo (v.i. Class ?) heal.

wo (n.) k.o. fish, prob. various species of angelfish.

ya (part.) future marker.

ya (prep.) toward, through, over.

yahiti/yahati (v.t. Class II) break up with hand; crumble.

yaka?an/yaka?ani (v.t. Class II) hide [*ya* 'v.f.' + *ka?an* '?' + *-i* 'trans.'].

yakulum^{w}ani (v.t. Class I) make a fist; make a package with cloth around grated coconut for squeezing in the production of coconut cream or oil.

yalɛsani (v.t. Class II?) wring or squeeze with hands, esp. coconut meat.

yalɛtɛni (v.t. Class II?) gloss unclear, poss. partition, apportion.

yaliwi (v.t. Class II?) steer with paddle held away from the side of the canoe; cf. *apɛti.*

yam (interj.) sound made in hesitation; cf. *čam.*

yama?am (v.i. Class ?) be red, turn red, esp. leaves of the yam plant.

yamiyam (n.) k.o. fish, poss. violet-lined Maori-wrasse.

yan (v.t. Class II) eat; l.f. *yani, yɛnɛyan.*

yani (v.t.) eat [*yan* 'eat' + *-i* 'trans.']; variant form *ɲani.*

yanohi (v.t. Class ?) mend (fishing nets).

yaɲɔ?oh (v.i. Class II) spit.

yaŋ (n.) k.o. plant with large green leaves which are made into fringe and used as ornamentation in traditional dress.

yaŋ (n.) k.o. spider shell, prob. fam. *Strombidae.*

yaŋaŋay (v.i. Class ?) gloss unclear, poss. swim on surface.

yap (n.) k.o. sickness, poss. cough.

yap (n.) foreigner, esp. Europeans; der. *m^{w}ɔnuyap, puwɛyap.*

yapɛ (part.?) cf. *apɛ, tɛtapɛ.*

yarɛhɛni (v.t. Class II) keep in hiding, isolate.

yas (n.) the small canoe-shaped trough into which the sago powder is filtered during the processing of sago pulp.

yasa (v.t. Class II) sharpen (a cutting edge).

yat (v.i. Class ?) burn, be lit.

yataha (n.) putting thatch on roof; nom. of *yɛtɛhɛ*.

yatahani (v.t. Class II) put thatch on roof; [*yɛtɛhɛ* 'put thatch on' + *-ani* 'trans.'].

yaw (v.i. Class II) go, leave (direction/destination unspecified); l.f. *yawɛsɛni*.

yaw (n.) k.o. fish, poss. fairy cod or lunar-tailed cod.

yawɛsɛni (v.t. Class II) to carry someone or something while walking about; to parade someone, esp. a bride [*yawɛse* (s.f. *yaw*) 'go' + *-ɛni* 'trans.'].

yawɛse (v.i. Class I) go; s.f. *yaw*.

yay (v.i. Class ?) swim, esp. on the surface; wade.

yaya (n.) vocative or intimate form for mother or mother's sisters; cf. *čačah, čačoh, čapoh*.

yaʔɛ (v.t. Class II?) variant of *aʔɛ* 'split'.

yɛ (v.i. Class I) be in a place (esp. sitting), stay, live in a place (implies comfort and/or long duration).

yɛ (v.i. Class I?) jump from surprise.

yɛhuh (v.i.?) be a gray or dull day due to 'colour of the sun'.

yɛhut/yɛhur/ yɔhut/yɛʔuh (v.i. Class I) sulk (syn. *kus(uwani)*).

yɛlimaw (v.i. Class ?) yawn.

yɛliŋ (v.t. Class II?) want, desire, like, prefer; l.f. *yɛliŋi*; der. *yɛyɛliŋ*.

yɛliŋi (v.t. Class II) want [*yɛliŋ* 'want' + *-i* 'trans.'].

yɛn (v.i. Class ?) lie down; prob. related to *yɛ*.

yɛnɛyan (v.i. Class I?) eat; redup. of *yan*.

yɛsɛhɛ (v.t. Class ?) gloss unclear, poss. coax.

yɛsiŋ (v.i. Class ?) sneeze; poss. l.f. *yɛsiŋi*; der. *kɛsiŋay*.

yɛsiŋi (v.t. Class ?) burn (sun as agent); irritate, as the smoke from a fire irritates [*ʔyɛsiŋ* 'sneeze' + *-i* 'trans.'].

yɛsow (v.i. Class II) get married; (n.) marriage.

yɛsoway (n.) married male; *hi yɛsoway*, married female [*hi* ''FEM' + *yɛsɔw* 'marry' + *-ay* 'n.f.'.

yɛtɛhɛ (v.t. Class II?) put sago-leaf thatch on roof; l.f. *yatahani*; der. *yataha*.

yɛti (v.t. Class II) bite.

yɛtiŋ (v.t. Class II) cut (meat) into pieces; cause pain or illness (from eating too much coconut); long form *yɛtiŋi*.

yɛyɛliŋ (n.) liking, desire, preference; nom. of *yɛliŋ*.

yen	(n.) a fight or battle; war.
yiw	(v.t. Class ?) search for and gather clams.
yɔyɔʔu	(d.a.) cloudy, no sun; redup. of *yɔʔu(wa).*
yoʔɔsi	(v.t. Class I) scrape; peel with shell.
yoʔuwa	(i.n.) shade; der. *yɔyɔʔu.*
yo	(pro.) first person singular.
yoʔose	(v.i. Class II) walk.

ENGLISH TO LONIU FINDERLIST
AND APPENDICES

This finderlist is provided specifically to facilitate the work of comparatists searching for cognate forms. It is not complete, in the sense that not all forms which occur in the Loniu to English lexicon are referred to here; it is hoped, however, that sufficient English entries are provided to guide the researcher to those forms most likely to be useful in comparative work. In addition, eight appendices follow the finderlist. Seven of these are organised according to semantic field:

Appendix A	Plant and tree names
Appendix B	Bird names
Appendix C	Shell names
Appendix D	Canoe parts and related terms
Appendix E	Fish names
Appendix F	Body parts and kin terms
Appendix G	Inalienably possessed nouns expressing spatial relationships

Appendix H contains as many of those roots which have been identified as having both long and short forms. These are, for the most part, nouns and verbs, but a few roots identified as descriptive adjuncts are also attested with two forms.

Appendices A – E do not contain glosses, since in most cases the translations are not definite; and those forms which have definite translations, such as coconut, eagle, or parrotfish, are included in the finderlist. All of the forms listed in each appendix are also included in the Loniu to English lexicon, with the most complete definition available.

ache	(v.i.?) *čičiŋew*; see also pain.
adoptive	(d.a.) *haŋahaŋ*.
adorn	(v.t.) *pɔʔɔnɔsani ~ pɔʔɔsani*; *kɔsowɛni*.
adult	(n.) *huyan*; *patahuyan*.
adze	(n.) *kuwɛn*; (v.t.) *takuwɛli*.
afraid	(v.i.) *nɔh*; see also fear.
after	(prep.) *pɛti*.
afternoon	(n.) *kɛhɛyah*.
afterwards	(adv.) *mʷiʔin*.
again	(adv.) *puliye*.
agree (with)	(v.t.) *čumʷi*.
aipika	(n.) *mɛlɛn*.
align	(v.t.) *tɔʔɔwani*.
alike	(d.a.) *musih*.

alive	(d.a.) *mamʷiʔin, mamʷimʷiʔin, aŋ.*
allergy (to cause)	(v.i.) *amʷisi*; see also poison, rash, skin disease.
allow	(v.t.) *hinɛ(ni).*
also	(adv.) *puliye.*
anchor	(n.) *wɛlɛy.*
and	(conj.) *ɛ; ma; tɛ*; see 7.2.
angry	(phrase) *putuwa mamʷa*; cf. sorry.
animal	(phrase) *lɔŋɔwa poʔo lɔ ke* 'things of the forest'.
animate goal	(part.) *ɛtɛ*; see 5.2.5.3.
ankle	(i.n.) *ɔpukaka.*
ankle bone	(n.) *pokɛpikan.*
ankle joint	(i.n.) *kɔlučukaka.*
ant	(n.) *miʔi, kamʷat, kalɔn.*
anus	(n.) *matapupʷilin.*
appear	(part.) *tahow, čahow, čahan.*
appearance	(i.n.) *ɛrɛnɛʔi.*
arm	(i.n.) *nimɛ; pɛni.*
around	(i.n.?) *mara* (poss. *mata*); *paʔa.*
arrive	(part.) *čɔŋ.*
arrogance	(i.n.) *čikiya*; be arrogant: *čikiyani.*
as	(sub.conj.) *hipɛta; lɛŋɛʔi.*
as far as	(prep.) *pɔli.*
ash	(n.) *kamʷan*; (i.n.) *te.*
ask	(v.t.) *tɛtɛmɛnɛ, tɛmɛnani, tɛmɛnɛni.*
ask for	(v.t.) *čaŋaw.*
attitude	(i.n.) *ɛrɛnɛʔi.*
aunt	(n.) *yaya.*
avoid	(v.t.) *hiliyɛni.*
awake	(v.i.?) *mamat.*
away	(adv.) *ŋɔh.*
axe	(n.) *mʷati; motow pipɛtow.*

baby	see infant; child.
bad	(d.a.) *muwan.*
back	(i.n.) *kɛlɛŋa.*
back (of house)	(n.) *kɛčilew; kɔʔɔtut.*
bailer	(n.) *ɔlɔh.*
bald	(d.a.) *pʷikɔw.*
balsa	(n.) *malin.*
bamboo	(n.) *kas; powet.*
banana	(n.) *pu.*
bark	(i.n.) *kulihi; kɔkɔ*; see also skin.

barter (v.t.) *pɛhɛyani*, *pɛhɛyɛni*; *čim(ani)*; see also market, buy.
base (i.n.) *tɛkɛ*.
basket (n.) *tɔp* ((i.n.) *tapʷa*); *pɔŋɔsus*; *kawa*; (i.n.) *kuɲ*.
bathe (v.i.) *ɲu*; see also wash, swim.
bat (n.) *kɛčɛpʷɛ*.
beach (n.) *lɛŋ*; *pʷahalɛŋ*.
bead (n.) *sɔʔun*; *puwɛyap*.
beat (v.t.) *ta*; *taya*; *ipʷi*; *čapʷiyani*; *tiʔiŋi*; see also hit, kill.
beautify (v.t.) *ahi*; *ahani*.
beauty/beautiful (n.) *ahan*.
because (phrase) *ilɛ čah*, *pɛti čah* (see 6.7.3.3., 7.3.4); because of or due to, (i.n.) *tɛlɛ*.
bedding (phrase) *čɔw tutuh*; (i.n.) *pɔʔɔčɔwa*.
bee (n.) *mɛnih*.
before (adv.) *hanɔ* (~ *hɛnɔ* ~ *hamɔ*).
behind (i.n.) *pu*; *pumʷiʔi*.
belch (v.i.) *putɔhaw*.
belly (i.n.) *putuwa*.
belt (n.) *lɛt*; *pʷinah*.
bench (n.) *kiw*; *kɛyaw*; *čɔmuna*.
bend (v.i.) *tuʔuhe*; *katuʔuhe*; *putuʔuhe*; (d.a.) *pʷɛku*.
betel nut (n.) *puwe*, *kɛtiyat*, *kɛwe*, *mʷičimʷič*.
betel pepper (n.) *pun*.
between (i.n.) *mʷɛlɛŋa*.
big (d.a.) *mɛtiyɛn* ~ *lamɛtiyɛn* ~*namɛtiyɛn*; *mata*; *napʷanan* ~ *lapʷanan*; *mɛlaʔan*; see also huge.
bird (n.) *ɲɛtukan*.
birth (n.) *taʔɛŋan*; give birth (v.i.) *tiyan*; (v.t.) *tow* ~ *tɛwɛ*.
birth celebration (n.) *ɔpah*; *saʔɔŋ*; *lɔku*.
bit (part.) *hepe*; (i.n.) *čupu*; *wɔlɔwɔlɔn*.
bite (v.t.) *yɛti*.
bitter (d.a.) *čipitan*; see also sour.
black (d.a.) *ɔkɛt*, *ɔkɔtɛn*.
bleed (v.i.) *či*.
blood (n.) *ay*; (i.n.) *ɛyɛ*.
blow (v.t.) *suhani* ~ *suŋani*; *wihi*; *sɔʔɔhani*; (v.i.) *ŋɔh*.
blue (d.a.) *ɔʔɔwan*.
body (i.n.) *pɛtitupuwe*; *čɛŋi*.
boil (v.t.) *tuwe*, *tuwani*; *kɛli*; see also cook, heat.
bone (i.n.) *ow*; *pɛtiʔo*.
bore (holes) (v.t.) *sɔyɛni*, *sɔyani*.
borrow (v.i.) *čučuye*; see also exchange.

bottom (i.n.) *puʔu*; *kɛčɛpuʔun*; *apaʔahan*; *pɔkɛtak*; see also base.
boundary (i.n.) *papɛti*; *manuwɛnan*.
bowl (n.) *kɔpu*; *lus*; *ⁿrɔlɔw*; *pɔŋɔsus*; see also basket.
bowlegged (d.a.) *wak*.
boy (n.) *tupunah* ((i.n.) *tupunɛ*); *ɲɛtumʷan*; see also child.
brain (i.n.) *pɛʔɛ*.
branch (i.n.) *palapa* ~ *pɛlapa*.
breadfruit (n.) *kun*.
break (v.t.) *yahiti*; *tɔpɔhɔwani*, *tiwɛč(e)*; *ičiŋi*; *tukuwɛy*; *tasala*; (v.i.) *salay*; *mɔt*; *pot*; *mɔpɔhɔwe*.
break wind (v.i.) *isi*.
breast (i.n.) *susu*; see also milk.
breath (i.n.) *ŋɔsɔha*.
bride price (n.) *kačaw*; *ɛlɛʔiliyɛ*; (i.n.) *kɛčɛwa*; *čima pihin*; see also marriage.
bridge (n.) *palačɛʔɛtay*.
broken (d.a.) *pɔhɔwey*; see also break.
broom (n.) *wɛčič*.
brother see sibling.
brother-in-law (i.n.) *mɛlɛsɛwa*.
brown-skinned (n.) *mɛy*.
bunch (n.) *matakapʷa*; *hutuhutuŋ*.
bundle (n.) *kɔʔɔtan*.
burn (v.t.) *yɛsiŋi*; *čulumʷi*; (v.i.) *yat*; *čɔŋɔt*; *čɔʔɔ*.
bush rat (n.) *lɔsow*.
butterfly (n.) *pɔpʷilow*.
buttocks (i.n.) *mʷɛ*.
buy (v.t.) *čim* ~ *čimani*; see also barter.

call (v.t.) *pɔsɔwɛ*; *ili*; *taŋɛʔɛyani*; (v.i.) *iw*; *čuli*.
call in (debts) (v.t.) *tupunani*, *(tupu)tupunɛ*.
calm (n.) *mʷaʔay*.
cane (n.) *wɛsiw*, *ah*, *lɔlɔw*, *ulɛy*, *wahaw*.
canoe (n.) *tun*; (i.n.) *tɛlɛ*.
care for (v.t.) *pɔmɛnɛ*; *kɛlɛwɛ*; (n.?) *kɔlɔkɔn*.
careful (v.i.?) *(tɔ) paha*.
carry (v.t.) *hu(ti)*; *usun(i)*; *siʔihi*; *kun(i)*; *hati*.
carve (v.t.) *sah*, *sɛhi*, *sɛhisah*.
carver (phrase) *amat a čɛrɔw*.
carving (n.) *sahasah*.
catch (v.t.) *pɔ*; *ta*, *taʔi*; *luŋ(uti)*.
caterpillar (n.) *pipow*.
caulking (n.) *eyt* ~ *et* ~ *aʔat*.

cause (v.t.) *hinɛ(ni)*.
celebration (n.) *ɔpah*; *saʔɔŋ*, *lɔku*; *kan*; *mačah*; *kɔsɔw*; *kɔwas*; see also marriage.
centre (i.n.) *pɔʔɔčaŋa(h)*.
change (v.i.) *pin*; *čuye*, *čuyani*; see also exchange, turn.
chant (v.i.) *(misi)misiye*; (v.t.) *misiyɛni*.
charcoal (n.) *čipɔʔɔmʷan*; *katamʷan*.
chase (v.t.) *pʷičili*; (n.) *pučiliya*.
cheek (i.n.) *kɛlimata*.
chest (i.n.) *tɔpɔʔɛtɛ ~ tɛpʷɛʔɛtɛ*; *pʷahatɔpɔŋa*.
chew (v.t.) *tuwah*, *tutuwah*, *tuwɛhi*; *hus(i)*.
chicken (n.) *kɔha*.
child (i.n.) *ɲɛtu*; (n.) *tihow*; *mʷɛčɛpu*; *mʷimʷiʔin*; see also infant.
chin (i.n.) *pase*, *kɛpase*.
chip (n.) *čipɛtun*.
choose (v.t.) *hilite*.
chop (v.t.) *wɛč(ɛ)*; *siliŋ(i)*; *sɛn*; *sah*; see also carve, cut.
circumcision (n.) *kan*.
clam (n.) *puke*, *pini*, *tu*, *tuwɛs*.
clarification (i.n.) *tɔpɔ*.
claw (i.n.) *pʷičikaka*, *pʷičinimɛ*.
clay (n.) *pʷɛɲɛt*.
clean (d.a.) *mɛsɛʔɛn*.
clear (v.t.) *čan(i)*; *tawoh*, *tawihi*; *tames(eʔey)*; *taɲɛʔiyɛ*, *taɲɛʔiyani*; *tinani*; (v.i.) *sa*; *masa*; *maŋawe*.
climb (v.t.) *ɲak*, *ɲɛkɛti*; (v.i.) *(ačɛ)čɛʔɛt*.
climbing rope (n.) *ɲakoh*.
close (v.t.) *čuluŋi*; *sumʷili*; *tuʔuŋi*; (v.i.) *tut*; *sɔp*.
clothes (i.n.) *kɔlɔʔu*; *nɛʔi*; (n.) *kɔlaw*; *čɛlaw*; *čučuh*.
cloud (n.) *kaʔah*.
cloudy (d.a.) *yɔyɔʔu*; see also shade.
club (n.) *kɛtuŋ*; *mumum*.
cockroach (n.) *potɔhoŋ*.
coconut (n.) *niw*; *kahatay*; *ɔkɛt*; *kaʔahay*; *pɛlɛwa*; *paramanan*; *kɔwɛsun*.
coconut water (n.) *mɔmɔ niw*; *pɔ niw*; *ɛnu niw*.
coconut oil (n.) *ɛleke*.
cold (v.i.) *ɲala*; (d.a.) *ɲɛlɛtun*.
cold wind (n.) *ɲala*.
collarbone (i.n.) *ɛkɛsa*.
collect (v.t.) *čɛpʷi(yani)*; *ini*; *yiw*; *pɔ*; see also gather.
comb (n.) *ču*.
come (v.i.) *mɛ*.
comfort (i.n.) *wɛʔisɔ*.

command (n.) *ɛčɛy.*

conjunction (coordinate) *ɛ, ma, tɛ, ɔ, hepe ɛpʷe* (see 6.4.2.); (subordinate) *hipɛta, lɛŋɛʔi, wɛnɛ(y), ilɛ čah* (see 7.3.).

consider (v.i.) *leʔečɛliye.*

constellation (n.) *hičɛle, sasa, yar, poŋ ɛ pɛw.*

consumable possession (i.n.) *ana* (see 3.1.1.2.2).

container (n.) *kupʷi; piti; pʷepʷe*; see also bowl, basket, jug.

contradict (v.t.) *pokɛlɛyani.*

cook (v.t.) *suwah, suwɛhi; čun, čulumʷi; tuwe, tuwani; kɛli*; (v.i.) *mɛʔis.*

copulate (v.t.) *iti.*

coral (n.) *lač; čupat.*

core (i.n.) *putɔ.*

corn (n.) *kɔlum* (prob. borrowed).

cough (v.i., n.) *sɛsɛma.*

count (v.t.) *oŋɔhe, oŋɔhani.*

cousin (n.) *pʷɛsi.*

cover (i.n.) *hɛluŋa; čuhuya*; (n.) *tutuh(a); hɛluhɛluŋ; paŋɔh*; (v.t.) *tuʔuŋi; hɛluŋi; čuhɛ.*

cowrie (n.) *mana.*

crab (n.) *tupʷey ~ tapʷey; ɛtipuŋ; ɛlimaŋ; čumow; ɛmɛʔiman; ɛwɛt; kaʔah pɛti pat; mʷey; ŋapič.*

crack (n.) *ɛ, salay.*

crawl (v.i.) *ŋan, aŋɛliŋan; nɛn; (ačɛ)čɛʔɛt.*

crayfish (n.) *ɛlučɛmu.*

crazy (n.) *ŋɔw, ŋɔŋɔŋ; čɔ.*

cricket (n.) *ⁿriw.*

crocodile (n.) *puwɛy.*

crown (of tree) (i.n.) *pʷɛlɛ.*

cry (v.i.) *taŋ*; (n.) *tiʼlɛŋ, tiliŋin.*

cup (n.) *solɔsɔn; kayaw; pʷikɔw.*

curse (v.t.) *pukutani, pukutɛni*; (i.n.) *pukuta.*

custom (n.) *ⁿrɛkɛpʷɛn.*

cut (v.t.) *čan(i); yɛtiŋ(i); wɛč(ɛ); čaʔɛh; čaʔiti; sah; siliŋi; ta*; see also break, chop, carve.

cuttle-bone (i.n.) *pahunɛ.*

dance (v.i.) *tamana; sɛwe.*

dawn (n.) *masa; malɔlɔmʷan*; (v.i.) *salay.*

day (n.) *aŋ.*

day before yesterday (adv.) *meteʔewɔh.*

debate (v.t.) *sɛyani.*

debris (forest) (n.) *čalɔke.*

deep sea (n.) *mʷɛkɛw; laman; ⁿrɔkɔ.*

defecate (v.i.) *pɛhɛ.*
deliver (v.t.) *tapičɛy*; see also squeeze.
demon (n.) *činɛn.*
descendant (i.n.) *tupuɲɛtu*; see also child, grandchild.
die (v.i.) *mat.*
dig (v.t.) *takuwɛli*; *sɔ(ʔi)*; *ili.*
digging stick (n.) *nas*; (i.n.) *nɛsɪ.*
dirt/dirty (i.n.) *sɔsɔ*; *kɔpuʔa.*
discover (v.t.) *taputiʔi.*
dish (n.) *kɔhɔn.*
dislike (i.n.) *pu(wɛ)ʔe.*
dive (v.i.) *čohok*; see also jump.
divide (v.t.) *nɛti*; *ɲɛhɛti.*
do (v.t.) *pɔ*; *hinɛ(ni)*; *ta.*
dog (n.) *mʷi.*
doing (i.n.) *pɔta*; *hinɛya ~ hininiya.*
dolphin (n.) *wiʔi.*
door (n.) *čaŋah.*
doorway (n.) *pʷahačaŋah.*
down (adv.?) *tan.*
downhill (n.) *pahali.*
draw (v.t.) *(ɔʔ)ɔh*, *ɔhɔy.*
dream about (v.t.) *nihiyani.*
drink (v.t.) *in(umʷi).*
drinking (n.) *inumʷay.*
drive (v.t.) *haluwɛni.*
drown (v.t.) *tuhu*; (v.i.) *ɛmɔt* (?).
drum (n.) *tɛmɛy*; (i.n.) *tɛmɛya.*
dry (v.i.) *pakak*; *pʷasaw*; *čama*; (d.a.) *pɔsɔwɛn*; (v.t.) *sɛpʷi.*
drying rack (n.) *talas*; (i.n.) *tɛlɛsa.*
dull (d.a.?) *yɛhuh.*
dusk (n.) *čaʔakɔ.*
dust (i.n.) *ɔʔɔhu*, *ɔhuʔɔhu*; (n.) *ɔhuwɛn*; *kɛnukan ~ kɔnukan*; *čɔpučap.*

eager (v.i.) *sɔsɔ.*
eagle (n.) *mɛnuway.*
ear (i.n.) *tɛliŋa.*
ear ornament (n.) *puwɛtin.*
earth (phrase) *kɔ tan*; see also land.
east wind (n.) *kup*; see also wind.
easy, easily see gently.
eat (v.t.) *yan(i) ~ ɲani*; (v.i.) *yɛnɛyan.*

eating (i.n.) *kɛnɛya.*
edge (i.n.) *mata*; *pase*; *kɛti*; *pɛlɛ*; see also side.
eel (n.) *mɔtɔm^{w}at.*
egg (i.n.) *ɛlutu.*
elbow (i.n.) *kɔlučunimɛ.*
embrace (v.t.) *pusani*; (v.i., n.) *(p^{w}isi)p^{w}is.*
emphasis (part.) *ti; ɛ.*
empty-handed (d.a.) *m^{w}ɛlɛhɛ(y).*
enter see arrive.
entwine (v.t.) *hakɛlɛyani.*
escape (v.i.) *wɔp.*
examine (v.t.) *leʔečɛliye.*
examination (n.) *leʔečečɛliye.*
excellent (d.a.) *lɔkɔn.*
exchange (v.t.) *čuye*; (n.) *čučuye.*
excuse me (phrase) *pɔʔɔmatam.*
exhausted (v.i.) *puh*; see also miss.
explain (v.t.) *p^{w}ačɛlɛyani.*
explanation (n.) *p^{w}ačɛlɛya.*
eye (i.n.) *mata*; *pɔʔɔmata.*
eyeball/socket (i.n.) *čilimata.*
eyebrow/lash (i.n.) *pusumata.*

fall (v.i.) *ɔ*; *lɔs.*
fall on (v.t.) *tɛni.*
fan (n.) *tawiwi*; (v.t.) *tawiwoh, tawiwihi.*
far (d.a.) *ɛlɛwɛn*; see also long.
fart (i.n.) *isi*; (v.i.) *isi.*
fasten (v.t.) *wɛlɛyani*; *čɛwɛti*; *irani*; *hus(i)*; *apɛti*; *činiti.*
fastening (i.n.) *husiya.*
fat (n.) *ɲaman*; (d.a.) *malahan*; see also big.
father (i.n.) *ɲatama*; (n.) *čačah.*
father-in-law (i.n.) *ɲana.*
fathom (n.) *ŋahan.*
feather (n.) *lɔmukan ~ lɛmukan.*
fear (n.) *nohɔnɔh*; see also afraid.
faeces (i.n.) *te.*
feed (v.t.) *haŋ(ɛni).*
feel (v.t.) *haŋɛtuwɛ*; *lakahani.*
female (n.) *pihin(ɛ)*; *hi*; *(nɛʔ)ɛhin.*
fence (n.) *kɔw*; (i.n.) *kawa.*
fetch (water) (v.t.) *wo*; *im^{w}ani.*

fibre	(n.) *kap*; *če?ekas*; see also Appendix A.
fight	(v.t.) *ta?i*; (n.) *yen*.
fill	(v.t.) *ŋohi*; *misuwa(ni)*; see also full.
filter	(n.) *tah*.
find	(v.t.) *kah(i)*; see also hunt.
finger	(i.n.) *pɔkɛ?ɛnimɛ*; *pɔkɛ?i*.
finished	(v.i.) *pʷič*.
fire	(n.) *mʷan*; (i.n.) *mʷɛnu ~ mʷɔnu*; see also kindle.
firestone	(n.) *pɛtuwet*.
firewood	(n.) *kɪhi*; (i.n.) *kihiye*.
fish	(n.) *ni*; (i.n.) *niyɛ*.
fishing net	(n.) *law*; *mɛ?ɛmɛ*; *lawɛyap*; *kuwɛn*; *kupʷɛn*; *kaho*; *či?ih*; *pɔkɛ tak*, *aŋo*.
fish trap	(n.) *puh*; *ow*.
fist	(i.n.) *palanimɛ*; make a fist: *yakulumʷani*.
five	(num.) *limɛ*.
flesh	(n.) *sɔ?oh*; (i.n.) *wa*.
float	(v.i.) *pet*; (n.) *put*.
floor	(n.) *kačan*.
fly	(v.i.) *wɔh*; (n.) *ŋɛlɛpu*.
flying fox	(n.) *pɛlimat*.
food	(n.) *kan*; *ɛnɛyan*; *kɔ?ɔnɔn*.
foolish	(n.) *čɔ*; see also crazy.
foot	(i.n.) *kaka*.
for	(prep.) *pɛti*.
forehead	(i.n.) *tahapule*.
foreigner	(n.) *yap*.
forest	(phrase) *lɔ ke*.
fork	(n.) *sɔsɔ*.
forked	(d.a.) *pɔpʷalah*.
four	(num.) *ha*.
fresh	(d.a.) *mamʷɛmʷɛ?an*; *mamɔ?an*.
friction (firemaking)	(v.i.) *tanɛnɛs*.
friend	(n.) *kɔwas*.
frog	(n.) *kɛrinaway*.
front of	(i.n.) *paha*.
fruit	(i.n.) *čɛŋi; puwɛ*.
fry	(v.t.) *suwah*, *suwɛhi*.
full	(v.i.) *tɛhɛta*; *sɔp*.
fur	(i.n.) *(lɔmu) lɔmu*; see also feather, hair.
future	(part.) *ya*.

game (n.) *ɛwɛta(y)*.
garden (n.) *pilɛŋ*, *ɛnum*; (i.n.) *pilɛŋa*, *ɛnumʷa*.
gather (v.t.) *pɔ*; *yiw*; *an*; *in*, *ili*; *ini*; see also collect.
gecko (n.) *pɛhɛna*; see steal.
gently (adv.) *mʷɛniyɛ*.
ghost (n.) *pɛlit*; *amat su*.
gift (n.) *patɛč*; *saʔɔŋ*; *lɔku*; (i.n.) *tɛwɛya*; *kɔnɔha*; see also celebration.
girl (n.) *(nɛʔ)ɛhin*; (i.n.) *nɛʔɛhiyɛ*.
give (v.t.) *tow*, *tɛwɛ*.
giving (i.n.) *tɛwɛya*.
give birth (v.i.) *tiyan*.
go (v.i.) *la*; *yaw*; *wanaw*.
God (n.) *lapan*.
good (n.) *huya*; (d.a., adv.) *huyan*.
good-bye (phrase) *kilɛ ala*; *(k)ɛtɔw*.
grandchild (i.n.) *ɲɛtukɛmɛpu ~ ɲɔkɔmɔpu*.
grandfather (i.n.) *ɲatupu*; (n.) *čapoh*.
grandmother (i.n.) *ɲato*; (n.) *čačoh*.
grass (n.) *mʷiʔiw*; *poŋ*; see also seaweed.
grate (v.t.) *ɲumʷi*.
grave (n.) *kakawah*.
green (d.a.) *ɔʔowan*.
grieve for (v.t.) *taŋɛsi*.
groin (i.n.) *mɛʔipihinɛ*.
grope (v.i.) *akalakan*; (v.t.) *lɛkɛhi*.
grow (v.i.) *mata*; *ɛk*.
gut (i.n.) *putuwa*; (v.t.) *sɔ*; *pʷihi*.
hair (i.n.) *lɔmu (pala)*; *lɛmi*; (n.) *lɛmilam*; see also feather, fur.
half (num.) *sipi*; *pɛliway*.
hand (i.n.) *nimɛ*; *ɔpunimɛ*.
handle (i.n.) *pɛʔɛ*; *kɔlɔ ~ kɔlu*.
hang (v.i.) *apulɔk*.
head (i.n.) *pala*.
headdress (n.) *papuwɛ*; *nɔʔɔnɔw*; see also ornament.
heal (v.i.) *wo*.
heap (v.i.) *ɛku*; (v.t.) *(pɔ) hutuŋani*; (n.) *hutuhutuŋ*; *puliyan*.
hear (v.t.) *ɛŋɛ(yɛni)*; see also listen.
heart (i.n.) *pusɛsa*.
heat (n.) *ŋatah*; (i.n.) *paŋataha*.
heaven (phrase) *kɔ laŋ*; see also sky, land.
heavy (d.a.) *tuwan*; (v.i.) *tawa*.
heel (i.n.) *čɔtɛkaka*.

hello (phrase) *wɔw ɛli mɛ*, lit. 'you have come'.
help (v.t.) *čupani*; *čučupɛ*; (n.) *čup*.
here (dem.) *itipɔ*; *itiyɔ*; *iyɛ(n)*.
hibiscus (n.) *ɛŋɔw*.
hiccough (v.i.) *mɛmɛsu*.
hide (v.t.) *yaka?an(i)*; *yarɛhɛni*; (v.i.) *ač ~ ay*.
high tide (v.i.) *ulu*.
hip (i.n.) *čɔte*.
hit (v.t.) *ta*; *ta?i*; see also beat, kill.
hold (v.t.) *pɔtɔwɛ*; *hu(ti)*.
hole (n.) *pʷičik*; *ŋay*; (i.n.) *ŋɛyɛ*.
hole (make a) see bore, pierce, dig.
hook (n.) *kow*.
hot (d.a.) *mʷičiŋat*; *ŋatah(an)*; (v.i.) *ŋatah*.
house (n.) *um*; (i.n.) *umʷɛ*.
house parts (n.) *kumʷɛt*; *lɛhɛtu*; *mɛsɛ?ɛn*; *kɔ?ɔtut*; *če?e ta pučɔn*; *kɔpʷiliŋ*; *tu*; *tɔpɔkɔw*; see also floor, roof, door(way), window(frame).
how (interr.) *tɛtapɛ*; *hitapɛ*; *(y)apɛ*.
how much/many (interr.) *mačɛhɛ*.
huge (d.a.) *čehemɛtiyɛn*; *tiŋan*.
human (n.) *amat*.
hungry (v.i.) *mu?un*; *čɔŋ*.
hunt (v.t.) *čɔŋ*; (v.i.) *kɛhɛkah*; see also find.
husk (v.t.) *čunah*, *čunɛhi*; (i.n.) *mʷiči ~ muči*.
husking post (n.) *kučum*.

illegitimate child (n.) *ɲɛtupoke*.
in (i.n.) *lɔ*.
infant (n.) *tɛtɛ*, *maman*, *mama?an*; see also child.
inform (v.i.) *papaha*.
insect (n.) *kɛ?iwɔh*; *piloh*; *sikey*; *ɲanɛmʷat*; see also cockroach, ant, bee, caterpillar, fly, mosquito, worm.
inside (i.n.) *(lɔ)tiyɛ*.
insist (v.i.) *pɛtɔt*.
intensifier (part.) *tasih*.
intentional/inchoative (part.) *ma*.
ironwood (n.) *kalapulin*.
island (n.) *pučɔ(n)*; *patakɔ*; *pɛtɛpučɔ*.
isolation (phrase) *lɔ čɔw*.
itch (v.i.) *pi?ah*.

jaw (i.n.) *kɛlipawɪ*.

joint (i.n.) *kɔluču(kaka) ~ kuliču(kaka)*; *pɔkɛlɔkɔluč.*
joke (v.i.) *pʷasaw.*
jug (n.) *čɔpoŋ*; *kɔʔum.*
jump (v.i.) *hes*; *ah*; *oč*; *čapʷatapʷat; yɛ.*
just (part.) *ɛpʷe.*

kidney (i.n.) *kuče.*
kill (v.t.) *taʔi*; *taya*; see also beat.
kind (i.n.) *lɔmata.*
kindle (v.t.) *suluŋ(ɛn)i*; *nɛnɛs.*
knee (i.n.) *tahapulekaka.*
knife (n.) *motow*; *motow kɔčɔ, motow pipɛtow*; see also axe.
knock (v.t.) *tukuni.*
know (v.t.) *pɛsani*; *pasan.*
knowledge (i.n.) *pasa.*

ladder (n.) *tɛt.*
ladle (v.t.) *kawi*; (n.) *kakaw.*
land (n.) *kɔ*; (i.n.) *kɔhɔna.*
land (v.i.) *tuʔuhe.*
language (n.) *kɔmu*; (i.n.) *kɔmuwa.*
last-born child (n.) *(hi)mʷɛčɛpu*; *(hi)mʷimʷiʔin.*
laugh (v.i.) *han*; *hɛlɛsay.*
leader (n.) *lapan.*
leaf (i.n.) *lɔʔɔ(na)*; *nɔʔɔna*; see also branch.
lean-to (n.) *laʔo*; *paʔɔn.*
learn (v.t.) *hɛnɛhɛnɛwɛ*; see also teach.
left (side) (n.) *kɔʔun.*
leg (i.n.) *kaka.*
library (phrase) *umʷɛ lɔʔɔ ke pɛti mʷalih* (lit. 'house of leaves for stories').
lid (of pot) (i.n.) *mata (ku)*; see also eye.
lie (v.t.) *sɛhi; kip(ani)*; (v.i., n.) *sɛhisah.*
lie (down) (v.i.) *ehe*; *yɛ(n)*; see also sit, sleep.
lift (up) (v.t.) *tɛpɛʔi.*
light see kindle.
light (coloured) (d.a.) *lɛlɛn*; see also yellow, white.
lightning (n.) *ɛmɛn.*
like (v.t.) *pusani*; see also want.
like see as.
lime (n.) *pɛʔič*; *ŋah*; (i.n.) *ŋaha.*
lip (i.n.) *pɔʔɔŋusu.*
listen (v.i.) *ɛŋ(ɛ)*, *ɛŋɛʔɛŋ*; see also hear.

live (v.i.) *tɔ(w)*; *yɛ(n)*.
liver (i.n.) *ɛtɛ*.
lizard (n.) *wati*; see also gecko.
locative (part.) *ta(h)*; see also live, stay, sit, stand.
long, length (n.) *la?ɛlɛwɛ*; see also far.
look (v.i.) *lɛlɛ*; see also see.
look see appearance.
looking for (i.n.) *le?eya*.
loose (v.i.) *puta*.
lose (v.t.) *luwɛ*; *čalap^{w}ɛni*.
louse (n.) *kut*; see also nit.
lower (v.t.) *uluwɛni*.
lung (i.n.) *pusɛsa*; see also heart.

maggot (n.) *un*.
mahogany (n.) *ɲɔw*; *^{n}rɔw*.
make (v.t.) *pɔ*; *hinɛ(ni)*; see also do, allow, cause.
making (i.n.) *pɔta*; *hinɛya*.
malaria (to have) (v.i.) *kɔ?ɔkɔ*.
Malay apple (n.) *čay*, *me?e*.
male (n.) *kaman*; (i.n.) *kɛmɛli*.
mango (n.) *wɛwɛ*.
mangrove (n.) *kɔpuča*.
many (d.a., n.) *čɛlɛwan*.
market (n.) *pah*; *um^{w}ɛ čimičim*; see also barter, buy.
marriage (n.) *mačah*; *kɔsow*; *tɛp^{w}ɛča*; *yɛsow*; *kɔsɔnay*.
married (n.) *(hi)yɛsoway*.
married housing (n.) *čaw*.
mast (canoe) (n.) *kɛpɛlɛy*; *čin*.
mat (n.) *čɔw*.
matches/lighter (n.) *m^{w}ɔnuyap*; see also fire, foreigner.
maybe (part.?) *ma?in*.
men's house (n.) *kaman*; (i.n.) *kɛmɛli*.
mend (nets) (v.t.) *yanohi*.
mess(y) (d.a.?) *masɔ?ɔnɛ*.
method (i.n.) *pɔta*; *ɛrɛna*.
midday (phrase) *tikɔ aŋ*.
middle (i.n.) *tikɔ?ɔ*; *lɔhɔluwa*.
middle-sized (n.) *ɲɛtuwɛnɛyan*.
midnight (phrase) *tikɔ peŋ*.
midrib (of leaf) (n.) *ah*; *papuwɛ*.
milk (n.) *sus*; see also breast.

miss	(v.i.) *puh.*
miss	(title) *sɔ*; see also mister.
mister	(title) *ŋɛʔɛ*; see also miss.
mix (with)	(v.i.) *sɔsɔʔiyɛ.*
moan	(v.i.) *takɛmɛyam*; *takokow.*
modal	(part.?) *čarɛm*, *čarɛwa*; (aux.) *mara ~ mɛra.*
mollusc	(i.n.) *ke*; see also clam.
money	(n.) *(ču)čupat*; *lɔʔɔ ke*; *čilimata ni.*
moon	(n.) *pun.*
morning	(n.) *mapeŋ*, *tɔtɔ aŋ*; *makɔʔɔhun*; *malɔlɔmʷan.*
mosquito	(n.) *ɲamɔn.*
mother	(i.n.) *ɲanɛ*; (n.) *yaya.*
mother-in-law	(i.n.) *lasɔhɔ*, *sɔsɔ.*
mountain	(n.) *pʷili ~ puli.*
mourn	(v.t.) *taŋɛsi.*
mouth	(i.n.) *pʷaha.*
mouth (of river)	(n.) *pʷahamɛsa.*
move	(v.i.) *mʷɛŋɛʔiyɛ.*
mucus	(n.) *ⁿrɔw*; *kečew.*
mullet	(n.) *kanas.*
mushroom	(n.) *eke.*
musket	(n.) *pʷɔkat.*
mutter	(v.i.) *čɛkɛnan.*
nail	(n.) *nin*; (i.n.) *pʷičikaka*, *pʷičinimɛ.*
name	(v.t.) *hasɛwɛni*, *pʷasɔwɛ*; (i.n.) *ŋaʔa*, *piliŋaʔa.*
navel	(i.n.) *kɔputu.*
near	(adv.) *(pa) paʔɔh.*
neck	(i.n.) *kɛŋuwɛ*; *kɔlu*, *pukɔlu.*
necklace	(n.) *puwɛyap.*
needle	(n.) *nɛn.*
net	see fishing net.
new	(d.a.) *(ma)mahun.*
next to	(i.n.) *maʔa*, *kɔsɔ.*
night	(n.) *peŋ.*
nit	(n.) *lus.*
noise	(i.n.) *kuʔu*; (n.) *tukutuk.*
no, not	(part.) *pʷe.*
nonsense	(v.i.?) *pʷasaw.*
north wind	(n.) *tɔlaw.*
nose	(i.n.) *ŋɔ*; *pɔʔɔŋɔ.*
not yet	(phrase) *ma sow.*

now (adv., dem.) *ⁿrəpo ~ ⁿrəlopo.*
nurse (v.t.) *hasuwɛ.*

oarlock (n.) *mak.*
ocean (n.) *ⁿrəkɔ, tas*; see also deep sea.
of (prep.) *pɛti.*
old (inanimate) (d.a.) *čakɪn.*
old (animate) (n.) *pata.*
only see just.
open (v.i.) *hɔh*; (v.t.) *hu(ti)*; *tipɛʔi.*
origin (i.n.) *tɛkɛ.*
ornament (n.) *wake*; *nɔʔɔnɔw*; *mʷɔn*; *papuwɛ*; *let.*
out (part.) *ŋɔh.*
out (of something) (part.?) *hɛpʷe.*
outrigger (n.) *čam*; (i.n.) *čama.*
outside (i.n.) *tuwɛ.*
overripe (d.a.) *mɛlɛmun.*
owner (i.n.) *ɛmɛtɛʔi.*

pack (v.t.) *pɔkaʔani.*
packet (i.n.) *čumʷɛya*; make a packet: *yakulumʷani.*
paddle (v.t.) *suwɛ*, *suwani*; (n.) *pahaw(ɛ)*; *pɔs(ɔ).*
pain (n.) *ŋɛtiyan*; (v.i.) *ŋɛti.*
palm (of hand) (i.n.) *pɔʔɔnimɛ.*
palm (tree) (n.) *niw*; *ɛpi.*
pandanus (n.) *mɔŋ.*
pant (v.i.) *tahɔhɔy.*
papaya (n.) *ɲat pɔpɔ.*
parrot (n.) *kɛʔɛŋ.*
parrotfish (n.) *pʷɛlɛyah.*
passage (n.) *mačaw.*
peace (n.) *mʷaʔay.*
peel (v.t.) *ɲaŋaʔe*, *ɲɔŋɔʔi.*
peer (v.i.) *tiʔitin.*
penis (i.n.) *uti.*
perfective (part.) *kɪli*, *kɛli*, *ɛli; kiʔi*, *kɛʔɛ*, *ɛ.*
period (of time) (n.) *lɔhɔliyan.*
pick (v.t.) *han*; *hat*; *tiʔihi.*
picnic (v.i.) *hiwɛnɛ.*
piece (i.n.) *(čupu)čupu*; *kɔʔɔniyɛ ~ kɛʔɛniyɛ*; *kɔnɔ*; (n.) *kɔnukɔnun*; *wɔlɔwɔlɔn.*
pierce (v.t.) *ta; sɔʔi*; *sɔwɛli*; *sɔpɔʔɔti.*

piercing (i.n.) *sɔya*; *tawayah*.
pig (n.) *pow*.
pigeon (n.) *pan*.
pile (up) (v.t.) *pɔkutum^{w}ani*; see also heap.
pillow (n.) *kaluŋ*.
pitiful (n.) *čɛlɛm^{w}a*.
place (i.n.) *kɔhɔna*; *čɔhona*; *čɔmuna*; *hawan*.
placenta (n.) *ah*.
plain (d.a.) *m^{w}ɛlɛhɛ(y)*; *susuwah*
plant (v.t.) *lɔm^{w}i*; *has(ɛʔi)*.
planting (i.n.) *lɔm^{w}a*; *hasaʔa*; (n.) *lɔlɔn*.
plate (n.) *čɔmun*.
platform (n.) *pičɛlɛ*; *kɛyaw*; *kɛlɛw*; *činɛn*.
play (v.i.) *ɔw*.
point (n.) *p^{w}ahačɔpɔn*; *pɔʔɔŋɔ*; see also promontory.
point (out) (v.t.) *čɛn(ɛwani)*; *čɛwɛnɛni*.
poison (d.a.) *ɛmusun*; see also allergy.
pole (n.) *kumum*; *mɛtɛpɔw*; *mumum*; *nas*; *tɔ*.
possessive (part.) *a*, *ta*; *ana*; see 3.1.1.
possum (n.) *lawat*.
post (n.) *tu*; *puhut*.
post office (phrase) *um^{w}ɛ pɛʔɛpa* (lit. 'house of paper').
pot (n.) *ku*; see also bowl, dish, plate, jug.
pour (v.t.) *hačɛle*; *čɛwɛhe(y)*; (v.i.) *ɔ*.
powder (n.) *ɔhuwɛn*; see also dust.
powerful (d.a.) *ɲapɛriyɛ*.
praise (v.t.) *misiyɛni*; see also chant.
press down (v.t.) *apɛti*.
promontory (n.) *tɔtɔhun*; *palačɔpɔn*.
pronouns, personal

1SG	*yo*
2SG	*wɔw*
3SG	*iy*
1DU.INC	*tɔʔu*
1DU.EXC	*u*
2DU	*ɔw*
3DU	*suʔu*
1PCL.INC	*čito*
1PCL.EXC	*uto*
2PCL	*ɛtow*
3PCL	*hetow*
1PL.INC	*tahah*
1PL.EXC	*uwɛh*
2PL	*hah*
3PL	*sɛh*

pronoun (inanimate oblique object)	*ɛy*
pull	(v.t.) *iwani*; *uli*; see also tug.
punt	(v.t.) *čɛnɛ(ni).*
punting pole	(n.) *tɔ.*
purple	(d.a.) *pɔn.*
push	(v.t.) *pisili*; *sunani*; *tapɛrɛnani.*
put	(v.t.) *tow*, *tɛwɛ*; *uti.*
put on	(v.t.) *čuŋuhani.*
put to bed	(v.t.) *ahani.*
queasy	(v.i.) *mʷɛkɛlikɛliyɛ.*
quickly	(adv.) *mɛʔiyɛn.*
rain	(n.) *lɛŋin*; *čamʷaʔaw.*
rainbow	(n.) *susuyɛlaw.*
rash	(n.) *tɔʔɔhač*; *tɔtɔhun.*
raw	(d.a.) *mapitan.*
ray	(n.) *lah*, *lɛhɛ.*
recline	(v.i.) *ehe*; *taʔas.*
red	(d.a.) *aman*; *mɛʔiman*; *yamaʔam.*
red paint	(n.) *puʔuhu.*
reef	(n.) *mat*; *marapuket.*
reject	(v.t.) *mʷičiŋɛni.*
related (to)	(i.n.) *čɛkɛhɛnɛ.*
relatives	(n.) *law*; (i.n.) *lawa.*
remove	(v.t.) *sɛwi; puti.*
repayment	(i.n.) *kohowa*; *čɔʔuya.*
repeat	(v.t.) *pukute.*
reprove	(v.t.) see reject.
resent	(v.t.) *ɛŋisɛni.*
resentment	(n.) *ɛŋisan.*
rest	(v.i.) *huŋaŋ.*
return	(v.i.) *mɔn*; (v.t.) *pɔ čɔʔuya(n).*
revenge	(i.n.) *čɛwi*; *čɔʔuya.*
rid	(v.t.) *sɔ.*
ridge pole	(n.) *tɔh*; see also roof, house parts.
right (side)	(n.) *paʔahan.*
ripe	(v.i.) *ma*; *čaʔača*; see also red.
road	(n.) *(pʷaha)čan*; (i.n.) *(pʷaha)čala.*
roll	(v.t.) *tipiyɛni*, *tipiyani.*
roof	(n.) *puŋey*; *pun*; *kaʔɔh*; *sɔhan*; *tɔh*; see also house parts.

root (i.n.) *(pu)ŋɔʔɔ.*
root hair (i.n.) *(lɛmi)lɛmi.*
rope (n.) *wamata*; *was*; *tutut*; *tɛliki*; *kulupačow*; *mɔm*; *aley*; *luluwɛ*; *atay*; *tɛʔin.*
rot (v.i.) *pʷaʔa*, *pʷɛŋat*; (n.) *pɔʔɔn.*
rotten (d.a.) *pʷɛŋɛtun*; *pɔʔɔwan.*
round (v.t.) *tapɛlihani.*
round (d.a.) *puwɔn*; see also moon.
rub (v.t.) *sɔliyɛni.*
rubbish (n.) *čakalut.*
run (v.i.) *hilow*; (v.t.) *haluwɛni.*
run away (v.i.) *čakuputi*; see also escape.

sago (n.) *ɛpi*; *ɛkɛs.*
sago, cooked (n.) *usuʔus*; *tutupu*; *kahatay*; *pɔp*; *susuwah*; *puwɛpɛ*; *kɔrɔs*; *čuhučuh*; *pɔlɔm ~ purɔn*; *kɛlikan.*
sago waste (n.) *pohow.*
sail (n.) *pɛlɛy.*
salt (n.) *tas.*
saltwater colour (n.) *pɔkɪt.*
same see alike.
same age (d.a.) *hɛyɛw.*
sand (n.) *tɛʔɛwɔn*; *luwin.*
sardine (n.) *tɛnih.*
say (v.t.) *pʷa*; *pʷasɔwɛ.*
scales (fish) (n.) *pʷičipʷičin.*
scarred (d.a.) *ŋɛŋɛy.*
scattered (v.i.) *mɔsɔʔɔŋɛ.*
scold (v.t.) *pʷaʔi.*
scoop (v.t.) *sun(i)*; see also take.
scrape (v.t.) *yɔʔɔsi*; see also peel.
scratch (v.t.) *asi.*
screen (n.) *pepeʔeh*; *pačilew*; (v.t.) *piʔiti.*
sea (n.) *tas*; see also ocean, deep sea.
sea turtle (n.) *poŋ.*
season (i.n.) *pinɔ*; *pinɔsɔsɔ.*
seaweed (n.) *ŋaŋay*; *walas*; *kačam*; *mɛnih*; see also grass.
see (v.t.) *leʔe.*
seed (i.n.) *puwɛ.*
self (i.n.) *kapʷana.*
sell see buy, barter.
send (v.t.) *tɔʔɔnani ~ tɔʔunani*; *tapɛyani.*

separate (v.t.) *ipʷiti; posoʔoŋaʔani.*
sew (v.t.) *sus(uwi)*; *čɛwɛti*; see also fasten.
shade (n.) *owan*; (i.n.) *yoʔuwa.*
shark (n.) *pɛw ~ pɛwi.*
sharp (d.a.) *ɲaman.*
sharpen (v.t.) *tɛhi*; *yasa(y)*; *čočomʷi.*
shelf (n.) *pay.*
shell (i.n.) *(pʷɛ)pʷɛ*, *kamana.*
shin (i.n.) *pɛʔɛkaka.*
shine (v.i.) *sɪŋ.*
short (d.a.) *puwon.*
shoulder (i.n.) *kɛhɛya.*
show (v.t.) *čɛwɛnɛni*; see also point (out).
shred (v.t.) *sɛʔɛ.*
sibling (i.n.) *tɛʔi*; *wɛ.*
sickness (n.) *yap*; *sesɛma*; *koʔoko.*
side (i.n.) *kɛpɛʔɛ*; *pɛlɛ*; *kohu*; (n.) *pɛliway.*
sign (i.n.) *kilima*; (n.) *kilim*, *(ko)koluh*, *(kɛ)kɛluh.*
signal (v.t.) *takoluh*, *takulihi.*
sing (v.t.) *hu(ti) wɛʔi.*
singe (v.t.) *sun*, *sulɛy.*
sinker (n.) *tak*; see also bottom.
sister see sibling.
sister-in-law (i.n.) *mɛlɛsɛwa*; *čiʔe ~ čɛʔɛ.*
sit (v.i.) *min (tan)*; *yɛ(n).*
skin (i.n.) *maʔa*; *mʷiči ~ muči*; see also bark.
skin disease (n.) *lot*; *lahah*; *pʷičipʷičin*; *toʔohač*; *totohun.*
skirt (n.) *nay.*
sky (n.) *laŋ*; see also heaven.
slap (v.t.) *čɛli.*
sleep (v.i.) *mete*; *meteten*; *pɛpaʔa.*
sleeping (n.) *meteʔiw.*
slit (v.t.) *sala.*
small (d.a.) *inɛn ~ ninɛn*; *ɲɛti.*
smell (i.n.) *ɛy*; *lolowa*; (v.t.) *huŋɛ.*
smoke (i.n.) *ŋɛsu(mʷan)*; (v.t.) *tahasuwɛ*, *husuwɛ*, (v.i.) *(husu)hus.*
snail (n.) *pʷičikatay*; *pom.*
snake (n.) *mʷat.*
sneeze (v.i.) *yɛsiŋ*; *kɛŋuʔu*; (n.) *kɛsiŋay.*
soft (d.a.) *wɛʔis*; see also comfort.
sole (of foot) (i.n.) *poʔokaka.*
some (num.) *hayah*; *uwoh*; *uput*; *umow*; (n.) *tikɛn.*

someone (n.) *ana.*
song (n.) *wɛʔi.*
sorcery (n.) *kaw*; *ɛmʷɛs*; (v.t.) *ɛmʷɛsi*; see also curse.
sore (n.) *lɛkɛn*; *mʷat.*
sorry (phrase) *kɔlu mamʷa*; see also angry.
soup (n.) *pɔlɔm ~ purɔn*; *čuy*; *kɛlikan.*
sour (d.a.) *ɲɛmulɛn ~ ɲumulɛn*; *mɛhiyun.*
source (i.n.) *pɛʔɛ.*
south wind (n.) *lan.*
spear (v.t.) *sɔ(ʔi)*; (n.) *ɲah*; *ⁿrakaw*; *kakaw*; *pičilow.*
spicy (d.a.) *čipitan*; *ŋahan.*
spider (n.) *wilaw.*
spike (n.) *čuwɛp.*
spirit (i.n.) *mɛlɛwa*; *hɛliya*; *su*; see also ghost.
spit (v.i.) *yaŋoʔoh*; (v.t.) *mɔmɔtani.*
split (v.t.) *(ta)sala*; *(y)aʔɛ*; *utu(wɛ).*
spoiled (child) (n.) *ulɛy*; *kɔkɔnɛ.*
spouse (i.n.) *(ɲa)pulu.*
spread (out) (v.t.) *ahani.*
sprout (i.n.) *čili*, *putɔ.*
spy (v.t.) *ɛmɛnɛ*, *ɛmɛnani*; (n.) *aʔah.*
squeeze (v.t.) *pičɛy*, *tapičɛy*; *pɔpičɛy*; *tɛli*; see also wring.
stain (n.) *čɛčɛ.*
stake (n.) *now.*
stand (v.i.) *sɔ(w)*; *čɛlu*; (v.t.) *sɔtɛhɛyani*; *čuluwɛni.*
star (n.) *piti*; see also constellation.
stay (v.i.) *yɛ(n)*; *tɔ(w).*
steal (v.t.) *pɛhɛnɔ.*
steer (v.t.) *yaliwi*; *apɛti.*
stem (i.n.) *pata.*
step (on) (v.t.) *ahi.*
stern (of canoe) (i.n.) *muʔu.*
still (part.) *a.*
stone (n.) *pat*; see also coral.
story (n.) *mʷalih*; *titiyɛ*; (i.n.) *mʷalihi.*
straight (d.a.) *mʷɛnɛn.*
straighten (v.t.) *mʷɛniyɛ*, *mʷɛniyani*; *pɔnɔsani*; *pɔkaʔani.*
strength (i.n.) *pito.*
string (n.) *sɔri*; *tɛliki.*
stump (of tree) (n.) *tɔmatake.*
suck (v.t.) *hus(i).*
sufficiency (i.n.) *močo ~ ŋočo.*

sugarcane (n.) *toh.*
sulk (v.i.) *yɛhut*; *kus(uwɛni).*
sun (n.) *ŋan.*
support (n.) *sonat*; *čɛmɛna*; see also witness.
surf (v.i.) *čɛč.*
surface (of water) (n.) *sasaw.*
survey (v.t.) *siliyani.*
swamp (n.) *puʔučiʔey.*
sway (v.i.) *ɛraw*; *so*; *pin*; *manunuwɛ.*
sweat (i.n.) *ŋɔʔɔhiyɛ*; *ŋɔŋɔʔo*; (v.i.) *tič.*
sweep (v.t.) *pačičiʔi.*
sweet (d.a.) *kamakaman*; *ŋaman.*
swell (v.i.) *čama.*
swelling (i.n.) *tɔhuwa.*
swim (v.i.) *yaŋaŋay*; *yay*; see also surf.
swollen (d.a.) *tɔhu.*

table see platform.
taboo (i.n.) *tɔpu ~ tupɔ.*
tail (i.n.) *kɛlepɛ.*
take (v.t.) *hu(ti)*; *puti*; *ŋikiti*; *apʷɛsi.*
take after (v.t.) *tahilisi.*
talk (v.i.) *nɛnɛs.*
talk back (v.t.) *pʷačɔʔɔyan.*
talk nonsense (v.i.) *pʷasaw.*
talon (i.n.) *pʷičikaka.*
tap (v.t.) *tɛtɛhi.*
taro (n.) *mah*, *kɔpɔ*, *pulɛʔut*, *talas.*
taro (mashed) (n.) *pɛn.*
taste (i.n.) *kana*; *kɛmɛ(y).*
tattoo (n.) *kamʷɛt.*
taunt (v.i.) *ilani.*
tea (n.) *čutupʷɛ.*
teach (v.t.) *hanuwɛni*; see also show, point out.
tear (i.n.) *ɛnumata.*
tear (v.i.) *pučɛ.*
tell (v.t.) *(ti) tiyɛ*, *tiyani.*
termite (n.) *an.*
testicle (i.n.) *puwɛ.*
thank you (part.) *uɾɔh.*
that (dem) *itiyɛn*, *iyɛn.*
thatch (v.t.) *yɛtɛhɛ*, *yatahani*; (n.) *um*, *yataha.*

there (dem.) *itiyɛn.*
thick (d.a.) *hutun.*
thief (n.) *lolow*; *amat pɛti pɛhɛna*; see also spy.
thigh (i.n.) *čowɛya.*
thin (d.a.) *mɛkɛhɛn.*
thing (n.) *lɔŋɔw.*
think (v.t.) *pʷa*; *sisimi*; *ɔŋɔhe*, *ɔŋɔhani*; (v.i.) *ɔŋɔʔɔŋɔhe.*
this (dem.) *itiyɔ*, *itipɔ.*
thorn (i.n.) *pɔtɔ*; *pɔtɛʔiy.*
three (num.) *čulu.*
throat (i.n.) *kɔlu*; *pukɔlu*; *kɛŋuwɛ.*
throw (v.t.) *takɛni*; *takɛye*; *čalapʷɛni*; see also toss.
thumb (n.) *pɔkɛmata.*
thunder (n.) *katuŋ.*
ti (plant) (n.) *toʔɔw.*
tickle (v.t.) *takɛkɛʔɛ.*
tie (v.t.) *husi*; see also fasten.
tired (v.i.) *tawa*; (phrase) *wan imɛman.*
today (adv.) *ⁿrɔpɔ*; (n.) *hɛyah.*
toe (i.n.) *palakaka pɔkɛmata.*
together (v.i.) *hič*; (quant.) *pučey.*
toilet (n.) *palaʔah*; *pačɛpow.*
tomorrow (adv.) *mahu.*
tongs (n.) *pɛlɛʔip.*
tongue (i.n.) *palakɛʔimɛ.*
tool (n.) *kilim*; *pɛʔič*; *kiʔam.*
tooth (i.n.) *lɛhɛ.*
top (i.n.) *tata*; *tɛʔi*; (n.) *atatan.*
torch (n.) *tɔtuʔum.*
toss (v.t.) *čapʷɛni; pʷačɛrahani.*
tough (d.a.) *čikan.*
toward (prep.) *ya.*
trace (v.t.) *čɛliti*; (i.n.) *ɛmiʔɛmi.*
tray (n.) *pakɔw.*
tree (n.) *kɛ.*
tremble (v.i.) *ɛʔɛ*; (v.t.) *ɛʔɛya(ni).*
trim (v.t.) *pɔnɔsani.*
trough (n.) *patah*; *yas*; *kupʷi.*
true, truth (n.) *tuwɛnan.*
trunk (n.) *pʷiʔɛ*; see also stem.
try (v.t.) *hanuwɛni.*
tug (v.t.) *uŋiyɛni*; see also pull.

turn	(v.t.) *(ta)pɛluwani.*
twist	(v.t.) *čuwɛni*; (v.i.) *mʷaʔusuwɛ.*
umbilical cord	(i.n.) *putɔ.*
uncircumcised	(d.a.) *pusuwan.*
uncle	(i.n.) *puwɛni.*
under	(i.n.) *paʔaha.*
under (house)	(n.) *kɔpʷiliŋ.*
underarm	(i.n.) *paʔahakɛhɛya.*
unmarried	(n.) *(hi) kɛlaw.*
unsuccessfully	(adv.) *lapʷe.*
up in the house	(n.) *pɛlɛŋan.*
urinate	(v.i.) *mimim.*
useless	(d.a.) *mʷɛlɛhɛ(y).*
veranda	(n.) *palakɛtuŋ.*
village	(n.) *kɔ*; see also land.
vine	(i.n.) *akapata*; *matakapʷa*; (n.) *puʔis.*
vomit	(v.i.) *ɛmɔt*; (v.t.) *ɛmʷɛtɛni*; see also spit.
waist	see middle.
wait	(v.t.) *piliŋani*; *tɛʔɛŋani*; (v.i.) *piliŋ*; *luwɛ*; (n.) *pipiliŋ.*
wake	(v.t.) *huni*; (v.i.) *hunuhun.*
walk	(v.i.) *yoʔose*; *kɛwɛsay*; (v.t.) *yawɛse*, *yawɛseni.*
want	(v.t.) *yɛliŋ(i)*; (n.) *yɛyɛliŋ*; see also like.
wash	(v.t.) *hɛ*; *tɛhi*; *ɲihi*; see also bathe.
washing	(i.n.) *hɛya*; *ɲihiya*; *ɲuhay.*
waste	(i.n.) *koʔɔniyɛ ~ kɛʔɛniyɛ*; *te*; *wawa*; (n.) *pohow*; see also rubbish.
water	(n.) *an*; (i.n.) *ɛnu*; (n.) *kilim*, *čɛlɛŋat*, *tas*, *sɔs*; see also ocean, deep sea, wave.
wave	(n.) *ɲipiŋip*; *huh*; *huhu*; *kalih*; (v.t.) see signal.
weave	(v.t.) *tiʔi.*
weed	(n.) *lɔtay*; (v.t.) *sut(i).*
west wind	(n.) *hay.*
wet	(v.i.) *ɛmʷa*; (d.a.) *ɛmuʔun.*
whale	(n.) *lɔlɔ*; *mɔlɔwam.*
what	(interr. pro.) *čah*; *čika.*
when	(interr. pro.) *tukɛhɛ.*
where	(interr. pro.) *ɛhɛ*, *itɛhɛ.*
which	(interr. pro.) *čihi.*
whisper	(v.i.) *pʷaŋunuŋun.*
white	(d.a.) *piʔɛn.*

who (interr.) *he.*
whole (d.a.) *mamʷɛnɛʔɛn.*
why (interr.) *ilɛ čah; pɛti čah.*
wide (d.a.) *malahan.*
wind (n.) *kɔ; lan, tɔlaw, kup, hay.*
wind (v.t.) *hakɛlɛyani.*
window (n.) *čip.*
window frame (n.) *matačip.*
wing (i.n.) *(ka)pɛni.*
wipe (out) (v.t.) *pɔsɔŋani.*
wish (for) (v.t.) *takɛmɛs.*
with (i.n.) *pɛliŋɛʔi; kalama.*
within (i.n.) *pɔʔɔ; lɔ.*
witness (v.t.) *čɛmɛni, čɛmɛnani.*
woman (n.) *pihin*; see also female.
wonder (v.i.) *takɔkɔw.*
wood (n.) *ke; kihi(ye).*
word (n.) *kɔmu*; see also language.
work (n.i.) *purɛt*; (i.n.) *puriya.*
work on (v.t.) *pɔpɔtɛ.*
worm (n.) *tɛkɛlimʷɛt.*
wrap (v.t.) *čumʷɛ, čuhɛ*; see also cover.
wrapping (i.n.) *čumʷɛya; čuhuya*; (n.) *čuhučuh.*
wriggle (v.i.) *čakilikin.*
wring (v.t.) *isi; yalɛsani*; see also squeeze.
write see draw.

yam (n.) *suwɛ; pičinah; ɛnumɛnan; čɛŋi; kɔʔun.*
yawn (v.i.) *yɛlimaw.*
yell (v.i.) *takɔʔo(w); čuli;* see also call.
yellow (n.) *ɔŋowa.*
yes (part.) *ɛhɛ; u.*
yesterday (adv.) *piŋɛhɛ.*

zenith (n.) *pɛlih.*

APPENDIX A: Plant and tree names

FOOD PLANTS:

coconut	*niw, aman, kowosun, mami, okɛt, pa, palɛʔun, paramanan, paʔaŋ, pɛlɛwa, puto*
fruit-bearing plants	*čay, kun, mɛʔɛw, mʷoɲ, ɲat kun, ɲat popo, pakow, pʷaw, pu, pun, puwe, puʔay timɛta, wɛwɛ, wi*
sago	*ɛpi, pamat, pamat čɛhit, pamat palalaw, potopaŋ, puwɛlan, puwɛʔuy, umɛy, uy*
taro	*mah, kopow, pulɛʔut, talas, wos*
yams	*pičinah, mʷat, puwɛpat, puwɛpičinah, pʷapohowan, pʷomɛlɛw, walɛlɛy, suwɛ, korɔ, moɲomoɲ, parɛpit, pʷahɛn, pʷakah*
other food plants	*mɛlɛn, pʷatay, tɛlus, tomon*

OTHER PLANTS:

bamboo	*kas, powet*
betel nut	*puwe, kɛtiyat, kɛwe, mʷičimʷi ~ mučumuč*
betel pepper	*pun, palaŋap*
cane	*ah, lolow, toh, ulɛy, wahaw, wɛsiw*
seaweed	*kačam, mɛnih, ɲaŋay, walas*
trees used for canoe building	*čah, kun, ɲɛtut, ɲow, (k)owak, puŋew, takɛʔɛŋ*
other trees	*čeʔi, čoyɛt, ɛŋɛy, umɛy, kalapulin, kap, kopuča, malin, paha*
vines	*patapɛlɛy, pulut, puʔis, tup, tɛlipɛʔɛ*
miscellaneous	*ake, apo, apow, čɛʔih, čimɛnat, ɛŋow, eyt, ka, kɛsuwas, kɛmɛt, kes, kiʔi, ku(h), kuku, mɛmey, moʔohow, pa(h), papan, pasisi, patapow, pɛčuču, pɛpe, pɛtimʷɛs, pɛtin, powo, put, ⁿrow, sas, titiʔi, toʔow, yaŋ*

APPENDIX B: Bird names

amɛy	*kanaw*	*mɛnuway*
čɛlɛhɛy	*karuli ~ ⁿruli*	*morɛ*
čɛrikow	*katah*	*mʷi*
čihi	*kɛʔɛŋ*	*ɲako*
čilim	*kɛʔɛŋaŋay*	*ŋay*
čočow	*kɛʔipow okotɛn*	*pan*
čoʔuka	*kɛʔipow piʔɛn*	*paʔaŋ*
čurɛy	*kikiw*	*wɛlɛn*
kalaŋat	*kiniw*	

APPENDIX C: Shells

arikoko	*mɛkɛyaŋ*	*pʷak*
čiči?ɔn	*pey*	*(pʷe)pʷe*
čuh	*pini*	*pʷičikatay*
kamana	*pi?ihɪt*	*tah*
kɛray	*pɔm*	*tan*
kɔ?ɔč	*pɔŋ*	*tu*
lot	*puke*	*tuwes*
mana	*pun*	*yaŋ*
mataluh	*putɛlɛ*	

APPENDIX D: Canoe parts and related words

aley	*mɔn*	*pʷiliyah*
amat a tɛlɛ	*mu?utun*	*tasus*
atay	*mʷɛlin*	*tɛlɛ*
čam(a)	*mʷɛlipʷe*	*tɛlɛ law*
čɛlɛp	*ɲapʷɛlɛkɛw*	*tɛlɛ ŋɛsumʷan*
čin	*ŋɔ tun*	*tɛlɛ pʷɛlɛyah*
čipʷan	*ɔlɔh*	*tɛlɛ ulin*
kepahaw	*pa*	*tɛliki*
kɛpɛ?ɛn	*pahaw(ɛ)*	*tɛtɛy*
kiyɛč ~ kiyɛy	*pɛlɛy*	*tɛ?i tun*
kɔhun	*pɔs pɔsɔkuli*	*tun*
lɔkɔtuŋ	*pɔs pɔsɔtun*	*tun pɛti pɛlɛŋan*
luluwɛ	*pɔw*	*tun pɛti pʷahačan*
mak	*pɔ?ɔŋusu tun*	*tun pɛti tas*
mɛtiput	*pun*	*tutut*
mɔm	*pʷahakɛtuŋ*	*wamata*

APPENDIX E: Fish names

a	*akuwɛn, ana, apulupun, awah*
č	*čakɛliyew, čakəpu?ɛpi, čamɛti, čamʷat, čapaŋ, čapʷa, čapʷɛ?imam, čatɔp, čaway, čaway palamata, čɛlipuh, čɛlipuh ko?o, čɛlipuh pi?ɛn, čɛmɛ, čɛ?ih, čič, čič kɔkɔh, čilimʷɛkɛw, čɔlay, čɔnay, čɔŋɔn, čo, čor, ču, ču kɔhɔh, ču mas, čučum, čuwɛmʷɛkɛw, čuwuh*
ɛ	*ɛčɛ, ɛki, ɛlɔn, ɛtun, ɛw, ɛwi, ɛ?ah*
h	*han, hikupʷi, hikurɔw, hipɛlit*

k	*kahah, kalipuwɛy, kali?aw, kali?aw ma?aw, kamalay, kanas, kasi, ka?upwɛn, kɛkɛŋah, kɛ?ɛmɛt, kɛlaw, kɛli, kɛli aman, kɛsi, keh, kemey, kemʷa?ay, kih, kit, kɔhɔh, kɔlɔpʷaw, kɔpɔw, kɔt, kɔ?ɔwow, kokopɛlos, kulupačɔ(w), kutukutupɛliyaw, kutuɲaɲay, kutuwalas, kuwɛ, kuwɛpat, ku?u, ku?uwaniw*
l	*lah, lala, laŋah, lapak, lɛhɛ?an, lɛhɛpat, lɛmilam, len, lɔlɔ, lɔwi, lɔ?ɔput, lɔ?u, lɔ?uyaŋ, low*
m	*mam, manaw, marɔn, mas, may, ma?aw, mɛlɛkɔt, mɛliwi, mɛnuway, mɛtɔ, mɔlɔwam, mɔmʷak, mɔnɔy, mɔtɔmʷat, mɔtɔmʷat kɔ?ɔtulutun, mɔtɔmʷat kɔ?ɔ, mo, mulow, mumučay, mu?u*
mʷ	*mʷalat, mʷamʷaw, mʷasas, mʷasas ɛtiw, mʷay*
n	*ni, nini, niniyɛ mač, niniyɛ mɔluč, nipaŋ, niyɛ, niyɛ mʷɛkɛw, niyɛ ɔ, niyɛ pat, niyɛ pun, nɔh*
ɲ	*ɲačun, ɲapɔn, ɲuk*
ŋ	*ŋan, ŋɔtɛyan*
ɔ	*ɔlɛn, ɔlow, ɔwatas*
p	*pač, pahatɔ?ɔpaŋ, palaken, palakɔčɔ, palapow, palaputuwɛhɛ, palapʷɛlɛyah, palawati, paᵐbɔɲ, panah, pataniw, pa?at, pɛlɛwa, pɛlɛy, pɛliyaw, pɛw, pɛw čupɛla?uwɔh, pɛw iŋay, pɛw kɛlɛwɛy, pɛw kɔpow, pɛw mʷɛtamat, pɛw pɛliyaw, pɛw pusuwan, pɛw sɛlɛyaw, pɛw wati, pɛwi?an, piɲɛ, piyɛsi?i, pɔ?ɔt, pɔ?un, puɲ, putiyɛmɛ?is, putɔŋuč, putuwapuwɔkɔp, puwɛ?ɛpi*
pʷ	*pʷa, pʷah, pʷahaliyam, pʷɛlɛyah, pʷɛm, pʷemačaw, pʷɛpʷɛ, pʷič, pʷekasi ~ pukasi, pʷili ~ puli, pʷili pɔtɔpɔt, pʷisi?i*
ⁿr	*ⁿrɛhiyaw, ⁿrɔka, ⁿrɔpɔw*
s	*saput*
t	*ta, tahapulen, taŋini, tawan, ta?ay, tɛnih, tiw, tɔk, tɔmɔn, tɔpɔkɔw, tuma?aw, tupuŋɛ?ɛy, tus, tuwɛy*
u	*ulɛh, ulɛy*
w	*walaŋ, wɛ, wi?i, wo*
y	*yamiyam, yaw*

APPENDIX F: Plant parts, body parts, and kin terms

PLANT PARTS:

Loniu	Gloss	Loniu	Gloss
akapata	vine	*palapa ~ pɛlapa*	branch
čɛŋi	fruit	*pata*	stem, trunk
čili	sprout	*pɛ?ɛ*	stalk
kɔkɔ	?bark	*pɔtɔ*	thorn
kulihi	bark	*putɔ*	core, sprout
lɛmi	root hair	*puwɛ*	fruit, seed
lɔ?ɔ(na)	leaf	*pʷɛlɛ*	crown (of tree)
matakapʷa	cluster	*tɛkɛ*	base (of tree)
mʷiči ~ muči	husk	*wa*	flesh, esp. of sago
ŋɔ?ɔ ~ puŋɔ?ɔ	root		

BODY PARTS:

Loniu	Gloss
ay ~ ɛyɛ	blood
čɛŋi	flesh
čilimata	eyeball/socket
čɔte	hip
čɔtɛkaka	heel
čɔwɛya	thigh
ɛkɛsa	collarbone
ɛtɛ	liver
kaka	leg, foot
kapɛni ~ pɛni	wing
kɛhɛya	shoulder
kɛlɛŋa ~ pukɛlɛŋa	back
kɛlɛpɛ	tail
kɛlimata	cheek
kɛlipawɪ	jaw
kɛŋuwɛ	neck
kɔhu	side
kɔlu ~ pukɔlu	throat
kɔlučukaka	ankle joint
kɔlučunimɛ	elbow
kɔputu	navel
kuče	kidney
lɛhɛ	tooth
lɔmu ~ lɛmu	fur
lɔmupala	hair
(lɔ)tiyɛ	insides
mata	eye
matapup^{w}ilin	anus
maʔa	skin
mɛʔipihinɛ	groin
m^{w}ɛ	buttocks
nimɛ	hand, arm
ŋɔ ~ puŋɔʔɔ	nose
ɔpukaka	ankle
ɔpunimɛ	hand
ow	bone

Loniu	Gloss
pala	head
palakaka pɔkɛmata	toe
palakɛʔimɛ	tongue
palanimɛ	fist
pase ~ kɛpase	chin
paʔahakɛhɛya	underarm
pɛtitupuwɛ	body
pɛtiʔɔ	bone
pɛʔɛkaka	shin
pičɛlalan	?chest
pɔkɛlɔkɔluč	joint
pɔkɛmata	thumb
pɔkɛpikan	?ankle bone
pɔkɛʔɛnimɛ	finger
pɔkɛʔi	little finger
pɔʔɔkaka	sole
pɔʔɔmata	eye
pɔʔɔnimɛ	palm
pɔʔɔŋusu	lip
pusɛsa	lung, heart
pusumata	eyebrow, eyelash
putɔ	umbilical cord
putuwa	belly
puwɛ	testicle
p^{w}aha	mouth
p^{w}ahatɔpɔŋa	breastbone
p^{w}i	female genitalia
p^{w}iči	scale (of fish)
p^{w}ičikaka	claw, toenail
p^{w}ičinimɛ	claw, fingernail
susu	breast
tahapule	forehead
tahapulekaka	knee
tɛliŋa	ear
tɔpɔʔɛtɛ	upper chest
uti	penis

KIN TERMS:

Loniu	Gloss	Loniu	Gloss
čačah	father	*ɲatama*	father
čačoh	grandmother	*ɲato*	grandmother
čapoh	grandfather	*ɲatupu*	grandfather
či?e ~ čɛ?ɛ	sister-in-law	*ɲɛtu*	child
hitupu	mother-in-law	*ɲɛtukɛmɛpu*	grandchild
lasɔhɔ	in-law	*puwɛni*	in-law
law(a)	relative	*sɔsɔ*	in-law
mɛlesɛwa	in-law	*tɛ?i*	sibling, same sex
ɲana	father-in-law	*tupuɲɛtu*	descendant
ɲanɛ	mother	*wɛ*	sibling, opposite sex
ɲapulu ~ pulu	spouse	*yaya*	mother

APPENDIX G: Inalienably possessed nouns expressing spatial relationships

Loniu	Gloss	Loniu	Gloss
kɔhu	?side	*pu*	behind
kɔsɔ	near, next to	*pukɛlɛŋa*	behind, at the back
lɔ	in	*pum^{w}i?i*	behind
lɔhɔluwa	middle	*pu?u*	bottom, underside
lɔtiyɛ	inside (*lɔ* 'in' + *tiyɛ* 'inside')		
ma?akɔsɔ	next to	*p^{w}ɛlɛ*	?centre of
m^{w}ɛlɛŋa	between	*tata*	on top of
nɛ?ikɛti	side of	*tɛkɛ*	base of
pa?aha	underneath of	*tɛ?i*	top of
pase	edge, chin	*tikɔ?ɔ*	middle
pɛlɛ	near, in area of	*tiyɛ*	inside of
pɛliŋɛ?i	with, accompanying	*tuwɛ*	outside of
pɔ?ɔ	within, mixed with		

APPENDIX H: Roots with short and long alternants

VERBS (A gloss is provided for the short form only when it differs from that of the corresponding long form):

Short	Long	Gloss
ča?e	*ča?iti*	cut
čɛlu 'stand'	*čɛluwɛni*	stand (NP) up
čun	*čulum^{w}i*	cook
čunah	*čunɛhi*	husk
ɛmɔt 'vomit'	*ɛm^{w}ɛtɛni*	vomit up, spit out

ɛŋ	*ɛŋɛ, ɛŋɛyɛni*	hear
ɛʔɛ 'be afraid'	*ɛʔɛyani*	make afraid
han	*hanɛʔi*	pick
haŋ	*haŋɛni*	feed
has	*hasɛʔi*	plant
hi	*hinɛ, hinɛni*	make, do
hilow 'run'	*hɛlowɛni, hɛlowani*	drive
hu	*huti*	take, hold
hus	*husuwɛ*	smoke over fire
in	*ili*	dig
in	*inumʷi*	drink
kus	*kusuweni*	sulk
luŋ	*luŋuti*	catch (fish)
ɲak	*ɲɛkɛti*	climb (tree)
ɲu 'bathe'	*ɲihi*	wash (NP)
ɔh	*ɔhɔ*	write, draw
pah	*pɛhɛyani*	barter
pɔ 'do'	*pɔta*	doing
sah	*sɛhi*	carve
sɔ	*sɔʔi, sɔyɛni*	make holes
sun	*sulɛ*	singe
sus	*susuwi*	sew thatch
suwah	*suwɛhi*	fry
ta	*taʔi*	hit, kill
takɔluh	*takulihi*	signal
takuwɛn	*takuwɛli*	dig with adze
tames	*tamesɛʔe*	clear
taŋ 'cry'	*taŋɛsi*	mourn for
tawoh	*tawihi*	clear
tow	*tɛwɛ*	give, put
tuwah	*tuwɛhi*	chew (betel nut)
ulu 'be covered in water'	*uluwɛni*	lower into water
up	*upʷi ~ ipʷi*	pound sago
utu	*utuwɛ*	split open
wɔh 'fly'	*wihi*	blow on (to move)
yan	*yɛni*	eat

NOUNS:

Short	Long	Gloss
ay	*ɛyɛ*	blood
an	*ɛnu*	water
čam	*čama*	outrigger
čan	*čala*	road, path
čik	*čikiya*	arrogance

čim	*čima*	buying
ɛnum	*ɛnumʷa*	garden
kačaw	*kɛčɛwa*	bride price
kaman	*kɛmɛli*	male; men's house
kihi	*kihiye*	firewood
kilim	*kilima*	signal
kɔ	*kɔhɔna*	land, village
kɔmu	*kɔmuwa*	language
kɔnɔh	*kɔnɔha*	gift
kɔw	*kawa*	fence
kuɲ	*kuɲɛ*	basket
lah	*lɛhɛ*	ray
law	*lawa*	relative
law	*lawɛ*	fishing net
lɔʔɔ	*lɔʔɔna*	leaf
mʷalih	*mʷalihi*	story
mʷan	*mʷɛnu*	fire
nas	*nɛsɪ*	digging stick
nɛʔɛhin	*nɛʔɛhiyɛ*	girl
ni	*niyɛ*	fish
ɲala	*ɲɛlɛtun*	cold
ŋah	*ŋaha*	lime
ŋay	*ŋɛyɛ*	hole, cave
ɔkɛt	*ɔkɔtɛn*	black
pahaw	*pahawɛ*	paddle
papɛt	*papɛtɛ/papɛti*	boundary
pɛw	*pɛwi*	shark
pihin	*pihinɛ*	female
pilɛŋ	*pilɛŋa*	garden
pɔs	*pɔsɔ*	paddle
purɛt	*puriya*	work
pʷah	*pʷaha*	mouth
sus	*susu*	breast
tɛliŋ	*tɛliŋa*	ear
tɔp	*tapʷa*	basket
tun	*tɛlɛ*	canoe
tupunah	*tupunɛ*	boy
um	*umʷɛ*	house
wɛlɛy	*wɛlɛya*	anchor?
wɛʔis	*wɛʔisɔ*	gentle(ness)

TEXTS

TEXT 1: MAKING A YAM GARDEN

This text, a conversational narrative, was spoken by Matthew Kaping, a man about 45 years of age.

ɛnum a suwɛ. sɛh pihin sɛh čani.
garden POSS yam 3PL woman 3PL clear
A yam garden. The woman clear away the bushes.

sɛh tawihi ilɛ pʷič, uwɛh kaman
3PL clear 3SG.go finished 1PL.EXC male
When they finish clearing the area, we men

uwɛh wɛčɛ ake. uwɛh wɛčɛ ake
1PL.EXC cut.down trees. 1PL.EXC cut.down trees
we cut down the trees. When we have finished cutting the trees

ilɛ pʷič, ponɔsani ilɛ pʷič, uwɛh ča?iti ke,
3SG.go finish trim 3SG.go finish 1PL.EXC cut.up tree
down, (and) trimming them, we cut up the trees,

uwɛh tɛwɛ kɔw a suwɛ, ilɛ čah pow, pow iy
1PL.EXC put fence POSS yam 3SG.go what pig pig 3SG
we make a fence for the yams, because pigs, a pig

kiyɛni suwɛ ɛ pičinah ɛpʷe. uwɛh ča?iti ke,
POT.SG.eat small.yam and big.yam only 1PL.EXC cut.up tree
will eat small yams and big yams. We cut up the trees,

uwɛh sɔtɛhɛyani puhut, čani tɛ?in pɛti husiyan,
1PL.EXC stand.up post cut rope for binding.3SG
stand the posts up, cut rope for binding them,

husiyan tɛ?in ɛpʷe. kɔw ilɛ pʷič,
binding.3SG rope only fence 3SG.go finish
only bark fibre rope is used. When the fence is finished,

iy kaman ɔ pihin uwɛh tɛwɛ kɔw ilɛ pʷič, ɛ sɛh pihin
3SG man or woman 1PL.EXC put fence 3SG.go finish and 3PL woman
when we men or women finish putting up the fence, and the women

sɛh pačiči?i lɔtiyɛ ɛnum, itiyɛn sɛh pihin sɛh ɲɛhɛti hačan hačan
3PL sweep inside garden DEM 3PL woman 3PL divide one one
sweep inside the garden, then the women divide (it) into sections

aŋ uwɛh kaman uwɛh ma kɔsɔy, uwɛh ma
day 1PL.EXC male 1PL.EXC INT POT.NS.dig.it 1PL.EXC INT
When we men want to dig (the holes for planting), then we

kala hepe ɛnum itiyɛn, pilɛŋ itiyɛn, ɛnum itiyɛn;
POT.NS.go bit garden DEM garden DEM garden DEM
go to that particular garden;

iy ma kilɛ hepe purɛt, itiyɛn ikat koʔɔnɔn čɛlɛwan.
3SG INT POT.SG.go bit work DEM 3SG.got foodstuffs many
it it is intended for use in ritual exchanges, then there is a lot of food involved:

suwɛhi ɛpi, ɛleke ilɛ ɛy, tɔ kɛli pɔlɔm, uwɛh tɔ sɔ
fry sago oil 3SG.go PRO STAT boil soup 1PL.EXC STAT dig
(they) fry sago with coconut oil, (they) boil soup, we are digging

suwɛ, ɛ uwɛh tɔ huti ɛnɛyan peti ɛy. uwɛh kaman
yam and 1PL.EXC STAT take food for PRO 1PL.EXC male
yams, and we get food for it. We men,

uwɛh sɔʔi ɛ sɛh pihin sɛh lɔmʷi. ɛnumɛnan ɛpʷe.
1PL.EXC dig and 3PL woman 3PL plant seed.yam only
we dig, and the women plant. Only seed yams.

lɔmʷi ilɛ pʷic, itɔw. purɛt a uwɛh kaman
plant 3SG.go finished 3SG.STAT work POSS 1PL.EXC male
When the planting is finished, that's it. Our (men's) work

ilɛ pʷič. purɛt a uwɛh kaman ilɛ pʷič
3SG.go finished work POSS 1PL.EXC male 3SG.go finished
is finished. When our work is finished,

ɛ sɛh pihin ɛpʷe. sɛh čaʔiti ɲɛti ke inɛn,
and 3PL woman only 3PL cut DIM wood small
only the women (are working). They cut small pieces of wood,

lɛŋɛʔi suwɛ imɛ ɛk, itiyɛn ɲɛti ke inɛn sɛh tɔ pɔsɔwey
when yam 3SG.come grow DEM DIM wood small 3PL STAT call
when the yams come up, then the small piece of wood they call

now, sɛh sɔtɛhɛyani. sɛh sɔtɛhɛyani ilɛ
stake 3PL drive.into.ground 3PL drive.into.ground 3SG.go
a stake, they drive it into the ground. They set up a stake

ɛy ilɛ pʷič, aŋ itɔ ɛk ilɛ now, itiyɛn
PRO 3SG.go finished day 3SG.STAT grow 3SG.go stake DEM
for each plant, (and) when they are growing up the stakes, then

sɛh pihin sɛh la hakɛlɛyani ilɛ now, sɛh la husi was
3PL woman 3PL go wind 3SG.go stake 3PL go bind rope
the woman go and wind (the plants) around the stakes, they tie a rope around each one.

ɛ itɔ ɛk. purɛt a sɛh, sɛh tɔ puti lɔtay.
and 3SG.STAT grow work POSS 3PL 3PL STAT take weed
And they grow. Their work, they pull the weeds.

mʷiʔiw, ɲɛti ke inɛn imɛ tahɔw, kɛsuwas, sɛh suti ilɛ ŋɔh.
grass DIM wood small 3SG.come appear plant 3PL pull 3SG.go out
Grass, small trees which come up, plants, they pull them out.

itiyɛn sɛh pʷa lɔtay. iwɛnɛy hipɛta suwɛ ɛpʷe iy kimɛ ma.
DEM 3PL say weed 3SG.enough so yam only 3SG POT.SG.come ripe
Those things they call weeds. Until only the yams become ripe.

sɛh tɔ leʔe tɔ leʔe suwɛ ilɛ ma nɔʔɔnan ilɛ ɔ,
3PL STAT look STAT look yam 3SG.go ripe leaf.3SG 3SG.go wither
They watch for when the yams get ripe, their leaves wither,

nɔʔɔnan yɛmaʔam. aŋ sɛh pihin sɛh ma kɛʔili,
leaf.3SG red day 3PL woman 3PL INT POT.NS.dig
their leaves are red. The day the women go to dig,

lɔ pʷah pʷe, tukutuk pʷe, pʷaha sɛh mʷɛniyɛ ɛpʷe
in mouth NEG noise NEG mouth 3PL soft only
they can't talk loudly, there is no noise, their voices are soft.

sɛh la mat itɔ ɛy ɛpʷe sɛh tɔ ili.
3PL go die 3SG.STAT PRO only 3PL STAT dig
They are dead to everything but the digging.

čɛŋin ilɛ ŋɔh, ɛnumɛnan ilɛ ŋɔh. čɛŋin pɛti puɾɛt,
fruit.3SG 3SG.go away seed.yam 3SG.go away fruit.3SG for work
Good yams to one side, seed yams to one side. The good yams are for special use,

ɛnumɛnan pɛti lɔlɔn, koʔun tɔ yɛni mʷɛlɛhɛ ɛpʷe.
seed.yam for planting yam STAT eat plain only
the seed yams are for planting, the ordinary yams are for regular consumption.

suwɛ ilɛ ma ikat ŋaʔan mačɔlɔh: čɛŋi suwɛ, ɛnumɛnan, koʔun.
yam 3SG.go ripe 3SG.have name.3SG three fruit yam seed.yam yam
When they are ripe, yams have three names: special yams, seed yams, and eating yams.

čɛŋin, suwɛ itiyɛn ɲohi ilɛ tɔp, huti tɔp ilɛ
fruit.3SG yam DEM fill 3SG.go basket take basket 3SG.go
Good yams, these yams are put into baskets, (they) take baskets to

ɲohi ilɛ ɛy, iy pihin pɛti ɛnum itiyɛn, pɛti pilɛŋ
fill 3SG.go PRO 3SG woman of garden DEM of garden
fill up with them, the woman of this garden

ya iy kipʷɛy sɛh pihin sɛh kala kuni kimɛ
FUT 3SG POT.SG.say.it 3PL woman 3PL POT.NS.go carry POT.SG.come
will tell the other women to help her carry them to

lɔ um. itiyɛn, imɛ lɔ um ilɛ puɾɛt a iy.
in house DEM 3SG.come in house 3SG.go work POSS 3SG
(her) home. Thus, they come to the house for her celebrations.

pɔta tupunah ɔ pɛti tɛwɛya tɛliŋ ɔ ana pihin
doing boy or for piercing ear or POSS woman
For circumcision or for ear-piercing or for ritual isolation,

puræt mačɔlɔh ta ɛy. ɛnumɛnan, iputi lɛmilɛmin ilɛ ŋɔh,
work three LOC PRO seed.yam 3SG.take root.hairs 3SG.go away
it has three uses. The seed yam, (she) takes off the root hairs,

ikuni imɛ lɔ um, itɛwɛ ilɛ ŋan ipʷɛsaw.
3SG.carry 3SG.come in house 3SG.put 3SG.go sun 3SG.dry
carries them home, and puts them in the sun to dry.

itiyɛn, pɛti lɔlɔn mʷiʔin ya iy kipɔ nupela pilɛŋ pɛti ɛy,
DEM for planting later FUT 3SG POT.SG.do new garden for PRO
These, for planting, later she will make a new garden for them,

ɛnumʷan. iwɛnɛy hipeta ɛnum itiyɛn ya iy kiredi
garden.3SG 3SG.until so garden DEM FUT 3SG POT.SG.ready
a new garden. Until that garden is ready for them,

itiyɛn ɛ suwɛ a iy ɛnumɛnan itiyɛn iɲohi itɔw.
DEM and yam POSS 3SG seed.yam DEM 3SG.fill 3SG.STAT
(so?) her yams, these seed yams, she puts them in baskets to keep.

kɔʔun, iy kilɛ tuwani ilɛ pɛliŋɛʔi ɲɛti puke a iy
food.yam 3SG POT.SG.go boil 3SG.go with DIM clam POSS 3SG
The yams for daily consumption, she will boil them with her small clams,

ilɛ hetow ɲɛtun ɲapulun he iy imɛ ya hetow
3SG.go 3PCL child.3SG spouse.3SG who 3SG 3SG.come FUT 3PCL
for her children, her husband, whoever comes, they

kani. puræt a ɛnum ilɛ pʷič itiyɛn. kɛli pʷe.
POT.NS.eat work POSS garden 3SG.go finished DEM PERF NEG
can eat (it). The work of the garden is finished now. That's all.

TEXT 2: THE TURTLE AND THE SHARK

This text is a traditional story told by Hičatut, a woman of over 80 years of age. It is a legend about two women who are transformed into a turtle and a shark. It is not uncommon to find such transformations from human to animal or fish, or from plant to human, taking place in Loniu stories.

mʷalih mʷalih mʷalih mʷalih ɛ.
story story story story EMPH
I'm going to tell a story. (Standard introduction to any story.)

ana hi lɔtɔʔɔw ... ana hi lɔtɔʔɔw ɛ ana hi pawi...
some FEM Lotoʔow some FEM Lotoʔow and some FEM Pawi
A Lotoʔow girl...a Lotoʔow girl and a Pawi girl...

ana hi lɔtɔʔɔw ana hi pawi ɛ, ana hi pawi ɲanɛn
some FEM Lotoʔow some FEM Pawi EMPH some FEM Pawi mother.3SG
there was a Lotoʔow girl and a Pawi girl, the Pawi girl's mother.

ɛ ɲataman su?u tɛwɛ iy iso lɔ čɔw.
and father.3SG 3DU put 3SG 3SG.LOC in mat
and father put her into ritual isolation.

ɛhɛ ɛ ana hi lɔtɔ?ɔw ɲanɛn ɛ ɲataman tɛwɛ iy
yes and some FEM Loto?ow mother.3SG and father.3SG put 3SG
Yes, and the Loto?ow girl's mother and father put her

iso lɔ čɔw. itiyɛn ɛ su?u tɔ lɔ čɔw ɛhɛ ɛ hetow
3SG.LOC in mat DEM and 3DU STAT in mat yes and 3PCL
into ritual isolation. So the two were in isolation, and the

mahamɔw hetow tɔ pah, hetow tɔ pah ilɛ mʷanus.
four 3PCL STAT market 3PCL STAT market 3SG.go Manus
four (parents) were at the market, they were at the market in Manus (Pere).

hetow tɔ pah pɛ?ɛsih hetow tɔ pah pɛ?ɛsih hetow tɔ
3PCL STAT market time.one 3PCL STAT market time.one 3PCL STAT
They were at the market for several days,

pah ... pɛ?ɛsih ɛ pɛ?ɛsih ... ana hi lɔɔtɔ?ɔw ɛ ɲapulun
market time.one and time.one some FEM Loto?ow and spouse.3SG
day after day they were there...the Loto?ow woman and her husband

su?u pɛhɛyani ɲapulu ɲɛtu su?u. ɛ ana hi pawi
3DU barter spouse child 3DU and some FEM Pawi
arranged for a husband for their child. And the Pawi woman

ipɛhɛyɛni ɲapulu ɲɛtun ⁿrɔpɔ itiyɛn. ɛ su?u ma?amɔw
3SG.barter spouse child.3SG DEM DEM and 3DU two
arranged for her child's husband. And they were two,

ɛ su?u mɛ ɛ ana hi pawi ⁿrɔpɔ itiyɛn ile?e ɲapulun
and 3DU come and some FEM Pawi DEM DEM 3SG.see spouse.3SG
and they came and that Pawi girl saw (that) her husband

pɛ?ɛkakan wak ŋɔn ŋɛŋɛy. itiyɛn ɛ iy imɛ ɛtɛ
shin.3SG bowed nose.3SG pocked DEM and 3SG 3SG.come AG
was bowlegged with a pockmarked nose. So she came to

ana hi lɔtɔ?ɔw iy ipʷɛ ɔɔɔ! ɲapulum huyan ɛ muwan?
some FEM Loto?ow 3SG 3SG.say oh spouse.2SG good or bad
the Loto?ow girl and said: "Oh! Is your husband handsome or ugly?"

iy ipʷɛ ɲapulu, u ma?amɔw, u musih ɛpʷe.
3SG 3SG.say spouse.3SG 1DU.EXC two 1DU.EXC alike just
The Loto?ow girl said: "My husband, the two of us, we are just alike."

ɛ yo, ta yo pɛ?ɛkakan wak ɛhɛ ɛ ŋɔn ŋɛŋɛy.
and 1SG POSS 1SG shin.3SG bowed yes and nose.3SG pocked
(The first one said): "And me, mine is bowlegged and has a pockmarked nose.

ɛhɛ tɔ?u ma kaw ɛpʷe. itiyɛn ɛ iy itɛŋ.
yes 1DU.INC INT POT.NS.go only DEM and 3SG 3SG.cry
Yes, we must go away." And then (the other girl) cried.

ana hi lɔtɔʔɔw ⁿrɔpɔ itiyɛn itɛŋɛsi ɲanɛn ɛ ɲataman.
some FEM Lotoʔow DEM DEM 3SG.mourn mother.3SG and father.3SG
This Lotoʔow girl mourned for her mother and father.

pʷe, ya yo kili yaw pʷe. iy ipʷe pʷe,
NEG FUT 1SG PERF go NEG 3SG 3SG.say NEG
"No, I won't go." The Pawi girl said, "No,

tɔʔu mahiʔimɔw lɛʔi tɔ hič tɔʔu ma kaw ɛpʷe.
1DU.INC two.FEM PRES STAT together 1DU.INC INT POT.NS.go only
we two are together, we must go away."

iy ipɛtɔt ipɛtɔt itiyɛn ɛ suʔu yaw itiyɛn.
3SG 3SG.insist 3SG.insist DEM and 3DU go DEM
She insisted and insisted, so the two took off.

suʔu tiʔihi ɛɲɔw a suʔu, suʔu uti kamʷan a suʔu
3DU pick hibiscus POSS 3DU 3DU pack ash POSS 3DU
They picked their hibiscus, they packed their ashes,

suʔu la hepe suʔu la tɛwɛ ɛɲɔw sih ɛ kamʷan umɔw,
3DU go bit 3DU go put hibiscus one and ash some
they went a ways, they went and dropped a hibiscus (flower) and a bit of ash,

suʔu la tɛwɛ ɛɲɔw sih ɛ kamʷan umɔw.
3DU go put hibiscus one and ash some
they went along dropping hibiscus flowers and bits of ash.

itɔ pɔ tɔ pɔ tɔ pɔ tɔ pɔ ɛ suʔu la čɔŋ.
3SG.STAT do STAT do STAT do STAT do and 3DU go arrive
This went on for a long time, and they arrived.

itiyɛn ɛ ana hi lɔtɔʔɔw iy a isɔ čɛlu
DEM and some FEM Lotoʔow 3SG still 3SG.LOC stand
So the Lotoʔow girl was still standing there,

ɛhɛ ana hi pawi iy ilɛ ɛpʷe iy ilɛ čohok ɛ iy
yes some FEM Pawi 3SG 3SG.go only 3SG 3SG.go dive and 3SG
and the Pawi girl no sooner arrived that she dove in and she

kiʔi la pɛw. suʔu la an kɔkɔluh an kɔkɔluh
PERF go shark 3DU go water enchanted water enchanted
became a shark. They went to an enchanted lake, the enchanted lake

itɛkulihi suʔu. itiyɛn ɛ ana hi lɔtɔʔɔw ⁿrɔpɔ itiyɛn
3SG.signal 3DU DEM and some FEM Lotoʔow DEM DEM
called to them. Then this Lotoʔow girl

itɛŋɛsi ɲanɛn ɛ ɲataman ɛ itiyɛn ɛ iy a
3SG.mourn mother.3SG and father.3SG and DEM and 3SG still
mourned for her mother and father, and so she was still

isɔ čɛlu ɛ suʔu la suʔu taŋ suʔu tɔ tanɛsi iy ilɛ
3SG.LOC stand and 3DU go 3DU cry 3DU STAT mourn 3SG 3SG.go
standing there, and they went, they cried, they were mourning for her as they went

itiyɛn. iy a isɔ čɛlu ɛ itiyɛn ɛ iy inɛnɛs
DEM 3SG still 3SG.LOC stand and DEM and 3SG 3SG.talk
along. She was still standing there, and so she said

ilɛ ɛtɛ suʔu ɔw maʔamɔw ipɛtɔt pɛtɔt iy iputi yo
3SG.go AG 3DU 3DU two 3SG.insist insist 3SG 3SG.take 1SG
to them, "You two, she insisted and insisted, she took me,

ɛ u mɛ an kɔkɔluh kili pɔtɔwɛ u itiyɔ,
and 1DU.EXC come water enchanted PERF hold 1DU.EXC DEM
and we came, the enchanted water took hold of us here,

yo kulɛ ya ɛhɛ ɛ yo kumɛ ŋɔhʔ
1SG POT.SG.go toward where and 1SG POT.SG.come away
where can I go to get away?

iy kili čohok ɛ iy kiʔi la pɛw. ɛhɛ yo a lɛʔi so
3SG PERF dive and 3SG PERF go shark yes 1SG still PRES LOC
She dove in and became a shark. Yes, I am still standing

čɛlu, yo unɛnɛs imɛ ɛtɛ ɔw čɔw a yo itiyɛn ɔw
stand 1SG 1SG.talk 3SG.come AG 2DU mat POSS 1SG DEM 2DU
here, I tell you, my mat here,

kɔhɔti, ɛhɛ yo ma kučohok yo ma kulɛ pɔŋ.
POT.NS.take yes 1SG INT POT.SG.dive 1SG INT POT.SG.go turtle
you take it, I am going to dive in, I'm going to bcome a turtle.

yo kulɛ pɔŋ ɛ ɛtow ma kala pah kilɛ
1SG POT.SG.go turtle and 2PCL INT POT.NS.go market POT.SG.go
I'll become a turtle, and when you go to the market in

mʷanus ɛtow kɛpɛhɛyɛni ni masih ɛhɛ ɛ sih pɔŋ
Manus 2PCL POT.NS.barter fish all yes and one turtle
Manus, you can buy all (kinds) of fish, but if there is a turtle

ɛ sih pɛw tɔpu ɛtow kɛpɛhɛyɛni itiyɛn u.
and one shark taboo 2PCL POT.NS.barter DEM 1DU.EXC
and a shark, you must not buy them, that is us!"

suʔu taŋ. suʔu huti sahat čɔw a suʔu suʔu yaw
3DU cry 3DU take one mat POSS 3DU 3DU go
They cried. They took their one mat and they left

ɛ iy ičohok ɛ iy ilɛ pɔŋ itiyɛn. kali pʷe itiyɛn.
and 3SGF 3SG.dive and 3SG 3SG.go turtle DEM PERF?? NEG DEM
and she dove in and became a turtle. That's all.

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